

**GIRINKA RECONCILIATION APPROACH AND SUSTAINABLE PEACE
IN KAMONYI DISTRICT, RWANDA.**

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A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in Peace and Conflict Studies of Masinde Muliro University of Science and
Technology

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DECLARATION AND CERTIFICATION

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that this Thesis is my original work, prepared with no other than the indicated sources, support, and it has not been presented elsewhere for a degree or any other award.

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CERTIFICATION

The undersigned certify that they have read and hereby recommend for acceptance of Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology a Thesis entitled **“Girinka Reconciliation Approach Influencing Sustainable Peace in Kamonyi District of Rwanda.”**

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my family: my wife, Jeanine, and our children; Devin, Thankful and Faithful, who endured the pain of my absence while I pursued what I had yearned to earn for years: a Doctorate of Philosophy (PhD).

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ABSTRACT

Conventional reconciliation and peace-building approaches have been relied on in the past in post conflict dispensation with minimal effects at the community level. This has been experienced in a number of countries especially in Africa. Girinka is a community-based reconciliation approach practiced in Kamonyi District, Rwanda, with the purpose of achieving the five reconciliation premises: revealing truth, building trust, apology, promoting forgiveness, and collective identity/*Rwandaness* between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators. However, the approach's capacity to pave the ground for sustainable peace in Kamonyi District has not been incisively inquired into. There is no empirically tested evidence indicating how Girinka reconciliation approach influences the realization of sustainable peace after the genocidal violence in Rwanda in 1994. The study's overall objective was to establish the influence of Girinka reconciliation approach on sustainable peace in Komonyi District. Specific objectives were: to examine the nature of Girinka Reconciliation Approach in Rwanda; to assess the contribution of Girinka reconciliation approach on sustainable peace in Komonyi District, and to examine the challenges and opportunities of Girinka in Kamonyi District. This study is underpinned by the Conflict Transformation Theory of John Paul Lederach (1997) whose central emphasis is changing negative attitudes, violent relationships and behaviors of conflict parties into positive ones for sustainable peace. A descriptive survey and explanatory research designs were applied. Former genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors were the principal study population. A total of 314 respondents were sampled using purposive and cluster sampling. A questionnaire was used to solicit responses from 300 respondents while Semi-Structured Interviews (SSIs) was applied onto 14 respondents from the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, Rwanda Agricultural Board, CARSA implementing Girinka in Kamonyi District, Rwanda Academy of Language and Culture, Rwanda Elders Advisory Council, Rwanda Catholic Church. The latter category was selected based on its roles and knowledge in reconciliation in Kamonyi. Content Analysis was used as research instruments. Quantitative data sets were analyzed and presented in descriptive statistics and presented in form of frequency tables while qualitative was in form of narrative and verbatim quotes in line with the objectives. The research established existence of key Girinka practices, especially in pre-colonial era: Cow for Friendship, Cow for Peace, Cow for Dowry and Service for Cow. Service for Cow had two sides—convivial and conflictual. The latter side led to its ban in 1952. However, the reconciliation approach in Kamonyi District exhibits only two Girinka practices for peacebuilding: Cow for Peace and Cow for Friendship. The research also established the socio-economic and cultural significances of cows in in pre-colonial Rwanda: breaking escalation of social conflicts into repetitive vengeance (Cow for Peace); promoting positive relations, friendships (Cow for Friendship) and transactional value. It was established that the post-genocide Girinka contributed in addressing the *Them vs. Us* attitudes by 83% (249) out of 300 respondents. At most 89.6% (210.4) out of 300 respondents) confirmed that the revolving process of Girinka between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators leads to strong inter-ethnic bonding. This is further reinforced by 4% (15) levels of intermarriages between former genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors as a result of Girinka. The empirical evidence above specifically about addressed *them vs. us* divides between the two study population—genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators—is in tandem with Lederach's Conflict Transformation theory (1997). Security scored 90.7% (272), hence emerging as an opportunity for consolidating reconciliation gains by policy-makers and practitioners. The study recommended shifting the reparative (reconciliation) component of Girinka from Rwanda Agricultural Board to National Unity and Reconciliation Commission for effective realization of Girinka objective three. The research recommends scaling up Kamonyi Girinka reconciliation approach to the remaining 30 Districts of Rwanda building on good practices and lessons learned from Kamonyi District. Overall, the study concludes that Girinka reconciliation approach encompasses influencing practices of sustainable peace in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. These peacebuilding practices include—Cow for Peace (*Inka y'Icyiru*) and Cow for Friendship (*Inka y'Ubucuti*) and that they are derived from Rwandan culture. The research established that measuring changes in human attitudes, behaviours and relationships is extremely difficult especially after gruesome genocidal violence like the genocide against Tutsi in Kamonyi District. A scientific study to establish actor's contributions in changing attitudes, behaviours and relations between cow-givers and receivers should be conducted in Kamonyi District.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AU	: African Union
CARSA	: Christina Action for Reconciliation and Social Assistance
CEDAW	: Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CIPEV	: Commission of Inquiry into the Post-Election Violence
CSD	: Centre for Social Development
DRC	: Democratic Republic of Congo
EDPRS	: Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy
EICV	: Integrated Household Living Conditions Survey
GoU	: Government of Uganda
HREOC	: Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC)
ICC	: International Criminal Court
ICTR	: International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
ICTY	: International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia
IDEA	: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IEP	: Institute for Economics and Peace
IRDP	: Institute for Research Dialogue and Peace
KNDR	: Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation Monitoring
KNDR	: Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation Monitoring Report
LRA	: Lord's Resistance Army
NEPAD	: New Partnership for Africa's Development
NUR	: National University of Rwanda
NURC	: National Unity and Reconciliation Commission
OAU	: Organization of African Unity
RAB	: Rwanda Agricultural Board
RALC	: Rwanda Academy of Language and Culture
REAC	: Rwanda Elders Advisory Council
RGB	: Rwanda Governance Board
RRB	: Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer
SSI	: Semi-Structured Interview
TRC	: Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UN	: United Nations
UNAMIR	: United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda
UNICEF	: United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
USIP	: United States Institute for Peace

OPERATIONALIZATION OF KEY CONCEPTS

Concepts	Operative definitions
Girinka Practice	Culturally informed practice of giving and receiving cows among Rwandans after 1994 genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda. The practice embodies building friendships and meaningful relationships between the cow-giver and the cow-receiver in Kamonyi District of Rwanda.
Sustainable reconciliation	Refers to using indigenous home grown solution known as Girinka practice for longer term transformation of relations, attitudes, behaviors of 1994 genocide survivors and perpetrators in Kamonyi District of Rwanda.
Girinka Reconciliation Approach	A post-genocide reconciliation approach of cow-giving and cow-receiving between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District. It is informed by Rwanda's cow culture rooted in Rwanda's past.
Genocide Survivors, former genocide perpetrators & Genocide victims	In this study—Genocide survivors—are receivers/givers of cows under Girinka in Kamonyi District and equally escaped the 1994 genocidal violence perpetrated against Tutsi. In this study—Former genocide perpetrators—receivers/givers of cows under Girinka in Kamonyi District and formerly perpetrated genocidal violence. Victims—mean, the dead in Kamonyi District because of the 1994 genocide against Tutsi.
Collective identity (Rwandaness)	A deliberate choice of being Rwandan (<i>NdumunyaRwanda</i>) as a response to Rwanda's ethnic past. This operative definition is premised on the assumption that genocide survivors and perpetrators (and all Rwandans) have unequivocally drawn lessons from 1994 genocide against Tutsi.
Truth-telling	Girinka enabled revelation of factual information between genocide survivors and perpetrators about the preparation, perpetration of genocide and post genocide reconciliation and peacebuilding processes.
Trust	Girinka-enabled value earned through truthful and peaceful cooperation between genocide survivors and perpetrators in Rwanda.
Apology	Girinka triggered expressions and acts consisted of acknowledgement, taking responsibility for the harm done and committing to reverse genocide-based victimization by former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District. In this study, apology is promoted by speeches escorted by cow-centered actions.
Justice	Both conventional and traditional mechanisms for settling genocide related crimes in Rwanda for sustainable reconciliation between genocide survivors and perpetrators in Kamonyi District.
Forgiveness	Girinka-enabled expressions and acts reflecting self-acceptance and acceptance of genocide perpetrator's regained non-harming attitudes, practices/actions and reconciliatory values by genocide survivors.
Indigenous home grown solutions	A locally-inspired and culturally-based approach used in responding/restoring broken relationships after 1994 genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda.
Sustainable peace	A long term relationship based on improved economic livelihoods, delivered [fair] justice, forgiveness, psychic harmony and collective support (solidarity) between genocide survivors and perpetrators.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the background to the study, the statement of the problem, the overall objective and specific objectives, research questions, justification of the study and lastly the scope of the study. The chapter introduced the study.

1.0. Background to the Study

The United States Institute of Peace Report (2015) considers reconciliation as one of the long term challenges peace-builders, state-building actors and non-actors face. The complexity of reconciliation is cited by Bloomfield *et-al.*, (2003), noting that the topic—reconciliation—is huge, complex and there is little agreement on its definition. Although many scholars concurred with the view about the complexity of reconciliation, none thinks otherwise, specifically about its necessity not only for achieving co-existence, temporal peace, but as an arduous path to sustainable peace.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu in his foreword in the United States Institute of Peace Report, stressed: "Meaningful reconciliation is a difficult, painful and complex process" Bloomfield *et-al.*, (2003:14). However, Bloomfield *et-al.*, (2003) notes that although reconciliation is painful and complex, "it must be grasped, because ignoring it sows the seeds of later, greater failure," (2003:15).

From the foregoing views, reconciliation is not optional, but an essential pillar for building sustainable peace, especially after gruesome violence like genocide. Because of its fast-pace and

viscious nature, the genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda was the the worst genocides in the recent human history.

Bloomfield *et-al.*, (2003) argues that a goal in far as reconciliation is concerned, is—something centered on an outcome to be achieved—and a *process*—a means to achieve that stated goal. "A great deal of controversy arises from confusing these two ideas [reconciliation as a goal in pursuit and reconciliation as an ongoing process," Bloomfield *et-al.*,(2003:12). Considering the viciousness of 1994 genocide against Tutsi and the foregoing Bloomfield's view: reconciliation as a process, fits Rwanda. This means, Rwanda's reconciliation is still inconclusive.

In view of the above, Lederach (2010) recommends conflict transformation touching four critical dimensions: personal, relational, structural and cultural. Such multi-dimensional transformation reveals also the complexity of reconciliation. In fact, Lederach's considered view of reconciliation is an onerous journey of moving from crisis times to fundamental generational changes (2010).

Whereas Lederach's recommendation above is scholarly appealing, according to Waller (2002), such romantic view about transformed relationships as suggested by Ledearch (1996) should not lead us to ignoring the oblivious fact—humans have greater potential of causing deadly violence again even most gruesome violence like genocides. Cases of human's disposition for violence can be viewed from slavery, colonialism, the Holocaust, stealing of Aboriginal children in Australia, Apartheid Waller (2002). In line with Rutayisire's reasoning (2009) repetitive genocidal acts in Rwanda even before the 1994 genocide against Tutsi affirm Wall's view above.

Staub (1989) observed that humans are not only evil, they have greater dispositions towards goodness, kindness, helpfulness, generosity among others. The view of Staub about capacity to

reconstruct and regenerate even after the unprecedented genocidal violence needs empirical investigation in post genocide Kamonyi District, Rwanda. Kamonyi stood out as one of areas which witnessed higher genocide intensifications. What is worthy of investigation is also the ingenuity of Rwandans to use unconventional home-grown approaches to repair fractured relationships after 1994 genocide against Tutsi. Part of this human ingenuity is Girinka Reconciliation approach.

Murithi (2008) and many other scholars have cited the use of home-grown mechanisms for restoration of fractured relationships and sustainable peacebuilding in some post colonial societies in Africa. Examples of such valuable unconventional approaches for conflict transformation cited by Murithi (2008) include *Mato Aput* (Acholi's in Uganda), Rwanda's *Gacaca*, the *Kotgla* in Botswana, *Abashingantahe* in Burundi, *gadaa oromo* in Ethiopia, *thedare/dale* (traditional court) in Zimbabwe and a host of others. Chapter two provides a detailed analysis of these approaches and how they contributed to peaceful co-existence, reconciliation and peace through reparation of relationships, revelation of truth, fostering trust and promoting forgiveness in pre-colonial societies in Africa. These unconventional home-grown solutions are not only found in Africa, each society has certain rich mechanisms for sorting out its problematic mess, conflicts inclusive. Tutu's foreword in E. Daly & J. Sarkin, (2007) aptly captured it:

A reconciliation movement is taking place throughout the world. People are beginning to see that there is a way out of the bloodshed and fighting and violence. They are beginning to see that if they try to understand one another, try to see humanity in every person, then they can learn to get along, or at least live in peace with one another," (E. Daly & J. Sarkin, 2007:Foreword).

Tutu, in E. Daly & J. Sarkin however, emphasized, "this reconciliation movement did not start in South Africa; people have been trying to reconcile for centuries," (2007: Foreword). Tutu

highlighted, “reconciliation is as old as humanity, (E. Daly & J. Sarkin, 2007: Foreword). If this is the case, how has it been applied in many post conflict societies around the globe? Are there African-oriented, indigenous reconciliation approaches to inform building sustainable peace in Africa’s post conflict societies? If there are, how are they faring in terms of rebuilding fractured relationships? Specifically, what unconventional approach culturally fits the genocidal violence in Rwanda’s Kamonyi District? These questions partly guided this research.

Fischer (2011) noted that many researchers and practitioners see reconciliation as a precondition for lasting peace, assuming that once a top-down political settlement has been reached, a bottom-up process should take place, in which unresolved issues of the conflict will be handled in order to prevent questioning of the settlement and a return to violence. Rwanda's revival of, and application of home-grown solutions, specifically, Gacaca and Girinka reconciliation approaches alongside other conventional mechanisms fit into this foregoing analysis. The reintroduction of unconventional approach in Rwanda was guided by unsettling situations occasioned by the 1994 genocide against Tutsi. Reviewed scholars revealed how and why unconventional approaches are more responsive to conflicts in Africa by citing their strengths and weaknesses of conventional approaches.

Whereas there is emerging scholarship interrogating the relevance of western (conventional) approaches to conflicts in Africa, culturally-inspired African resources for reparation of relationships, building sustainable peace tend to be considered as after-thought solutions. Conventional approaches are scholarly prioritized as one size fits all panacea for conflict situations in most post conflict societies in Africa. Building on scholarly cited success cases in Africa, the researcher argues that unconventional approaches are capable of realizing sustainable

peace after successful reparation of fractured relationships in African communities. This view can gain its strengths after revealing out the weaknesses of conventional approaches.

After the Cambodia war and infamous 'killing fields' of 1975-1979, some 5,000,000 people out of 8,000,000 were displaced and gross human rights violations were committed against the people of Cambodia, Bloomfield *et-al.*,(2003). The number of people who died during the Cambodia genocide varies depending on one's source of information. Such discrepancies are inherent part of poorly transformed post genocide societies. Varying interpretation and presentation of the past and intentional negation of what happened: how it can happened, who did what, where and why form the integral features of unresolved and poorly transformed conflicts. Effectively transformed attitudes, relationships, and behaviours of both genocide perpetrators and survivors reveal the truth about the past, ampathize each other, collective identity, nurture mutual trust, promote apology and forgiveness initiatives after dreadful genocidal violence.

Nonetheless, most scholars have never differed while discussing Pol Pot's genocidal intention of 'cleansing' what he considered the "undesirable people" Bloomfield *et-al.*, (2003). Pol Pot (the principal author of Cambodian mass atrocities) caused unparalleled mass murders, torture, diseases and starvations for about 1.7 million Cambodians, Bloomfield *et-al.*, (2003). As earlier noted, reconciliation after unprecedented mass murders is multi-dimensionally challenging. It involves truth-telling, trust-building, genuine apologies and economic reparation, securing both survivors and tormentors, and a host of many other integral elements of reconciliation.

John D. & Ramji-Nogales (2012) revealed some variances in understanding how to respond to the higher levels of victimization in Cambodia citing two separate versions—victimizer's (Khmer

Rouge) and the victim's. John D. & Ramji-Nogales noted that one section of Cambodian understood reconciliation (Kar Phsas phsa) as cessation of hostilities—linking it to conflict settlement whereas another section linked reconciliation to individual healing process, revealing the truth about the past, administering justice, reconnecting the broken pieces together and fostering peace. Consequently, the Cambodian post genocide leadership accumulated more criticisms than praises on how it prioritized amnesty over justice, consolidation of political power at the expense of national reconciliations, Bloomfield *et-al.*, (2003). Nonetheless, Buddhism, a national religion was extensively commended as an effective approach which facilitated individual healing and reconciliation among Cambodian victims of genocidal violence Bloomfield *at-al.*, (2003). Buddhism, to which at least 90 per cent of Cambodians subscribe, has at its key messages of compassion and reconciliation Bloomfield *et-al.*,(2003). Religion if it nationally embracing and non-divisive can contribute to healing and reconciliation and building of peace.

Cambodian reconciliation approach—emphasizing amnesty over justice and reconciliation does not provide a broader and satisfying picture of what reconciliation entails. It is on this basis an Australia's reconciliation case is worthy of consideration, principally to inform further analysis. Australian reconciliation process, its linkage with apology and forgiveness is illustrative of how its applicability is problematic, especially after gross human rights violation by the State. Presenting Australia's case, Fleming (2008) chronicles human rights violations committed to Aboriginal communities under what was then called the 'Stolen generations'.

Fleming further notes that from late nineteenth century to 1970s, the Australian Government removed Aboriginal children from their families and sent them to State institutions, or had them forcibly adopted by white families in what was considered as an effort to 'civilize' what most

literature referred to as bring them to white ways. This can be compared to colonial assimilation policy which swept in most parts of Africa. As a result, families of the Aboriginal communities were broken, and their children grew up in abusive and punitive institutions, Fleming (2008). The Government commissioned Report—termed as *'Bringing Them Home'*, done by the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC) concluded that the *'forcible removal of children from their families was an act of genocide,'* yet, the Australian Government had ratified the United Nations Convention on Prevention and Punishment of Genocide in 1949 Fleming, (2008). The Australia's official reconciliation message to Aboriginals' attracted greater scholarly attention and critiques.

Mellor, Di Bretherton & Lucy Firth (2007) also observed whether or not the mistreatment of Aboriginal communities by the Government of Australia constitutes genocide or any other form of crime against humanity, the discussions about this matter remains inconclusive. However, there was some degree of acknowledgement of intentional harm committed against Aboriginals. Whether this acknowledgement constituted a genuine apology, there has been sharp disagreements between victims and the side of perceived or actual victimizers. Apology constitutes key elements of reconciliation. However, several analysts of the official apology to Aboriginal peoples of Australia have been critiqued for being too vague, incomplete and meaningless.

Mellor *et al.*, (2007) pointedly argued that though John Howard, the former Prime Minister of Australia acknowledged the blemish of the past and expressed personal regret, his statement: Australians of this generations should not be expected to accept guilt and blame for the past actions and policies over which they have no control," (p.102) this kind of response did not reflect apology or intent to do so, instead, it widened gaps between Aboriginal communities and

the Australian leadership. Fleming, (2008) quotes Senator Herron in 1998 to underline hard-stance and unwillingness to express genuine apology by the Australian leadership:

The government does not support an official apology. Such an apology could imply that present generations are in some way responsible and accountable for the actions of the earlier generations, action [...] (p.102).

However, Fleming (2008) observed, there were some greater acts of acknowledgement, unity and grassroots commitment to revisit the past suffering of the Aboriginals as exemplified by the commemoration of *National Sorry Day* to symbolize Australia's journey of Healing. Recommended in the Bringing Them Home Report, The National Sorry Day, Fleming further emphasized signified: "a day when all Australians expressed their sorrow for the whole tragic episode, and celebrate the beginning of a new understanding," (2008:102). He argued, *The National Sorry Day*, was a visible and symbolic way for Australians to accept the obligations to repair their past, regardless of the opinions of the Federal Government. Reluctance to apologize and deliberate refusal to apologize to the victims emerged key barriers against Australia's reconciliation process.

Another reconciliation approach used in most post conflict societies is economic livelihood improvement mainly targeting survivors of extreme violence by state and non-state actors. University for Peace compendium (2011) recommends that economic recovery is critical for avoiding the recurrence of violence in post conflict contexts. Calls for economic reparation as remedial response to fractured relationships and a prerequisite for sustainable peace are also made in Kenya, specifically when Kenyans refer to responding to historical injustices. Whereas Kenya has had election violence cases, arguably, these have been conflict triggers rather than conflict drivers. Economic injustice acts as the reflector of the latter.

One of the proponents of economic compensation as imperative to reconciliation is Fredrich-Ebert-Stiftung (2007). The institution vigorously warns that economic contributions to reconciliation world-wide should be 'unmistakable' (Fredrich-Ebert-Stiftung (2007)). As proof to this argument, the institution report includes the tales of the South Africa Apartheid survivors as thus: Money can never compensate the death of loved ones but can help a surviving family build a better life as well as serve as... an official, symbolic apology, Fredrich-Ebert-Stiftung (2007)

Whereas South Africa's reconciliation approach has been internationally lauded, over the years, two critical issues relating to ineffectiveness of the conventional reconciliation approach have emerged; first is unresolved economic injustices. The gap between former perpetrators of violence and black South Africans has kept widening. Literature reveals deeper cracks in the internationally celebrated South Africa's reconciliation approach. To most Black South Africans, sustainable peace cannot be attained when consequences of past economic injustices are still deep in lives of black South Africans. Whereas economic reparation has been emphasized as one of the missing links in the reconciliation approach for Black South Africans and South African minority whites, ethical questions: how much monetary value is worth the lost life of their loved ones have been raised.

According to Bloomfield *at-al.*, whereas reparation is a key element of reconciliation process, the term means many things: "compensation, rehabilitation, restitution, redress and even satisfaction, (2003:145). It can also mean psychological healing. Reparation sought by Black South Africans will not deliver sustainable reconciliation between White and majority black South Africans. After all, the economic divide between Black South Africans and White South African is still visible.

The response towards Hitler and Holocaust masterminds in German has been largely legal, conventional. The most cited limitation of the responses to perpetrators of Holocaust has been too much State-centric and victor-led justice. Being state-driven yet most of the mass murders committed against Jews happened both at individual and national levels, the used conventional reconciliation approach achieved one thing and failed another. It reduced/removed animosity between the (future) State of Israel and German (realizing strategic objective) but never healed or reduced the relational gaps between former perpetrators and survivors of the Holocaust.

Literature reveals conventional based reconciliation approaches have not brought lasting solutions in Cambodia and Australia. For instance, the former has been discredibly assessed to have prioritized political interests and amnesty over justice, personal healing and national reconciliation (John D. & Jaya Ramji-Nogales, 2012). Survivors of state-organized violence, Australian Aboriginal communities regarded Australian reconciliation approach as vague and incomplete, Mellor *et al.*, (2007).

In view of the above criticisms of reconciliation processes, Bloomfield *et-al.*,(2003), recommends "to realize [sustainable] reconciliation, each society must discover its own route," (Foreword). This research is hinged on such revelations. The researcher's premise is: African societies can respond to its post conflict challenges using unconventional approaches. E. Daly& J. Sarkin revealed:"the notion of reconciliation has been a part of African systems of dispute resolution for centuries," (2007:7).

Reconciliation is a mechanism for dealing with the past that is forward-looking; constructive and transformative rather than punitive or retributive. The goals are to heal the victim, educating the society, and help the perpetrator to reintegrate into the society (E. Daly& J. Sarkin, 2007:15).

The rationale for inclusion of reconciliation in Africa's dispute resolution systems and mechanisms was informed by Africa's societal and traditional arrangement centered on community rather than an individual, E. Daly & J. Sarkin, (2007). This way, the duo further stressed, response to violence was a community responsibility, after all violence committed did not destroy an individual but the entire society. Hence, African oriented "legal proceedings were community affairs" E. Daly & J. Sarkin (2007:15). Such Afro-centric response to violence emphasized restoration of societal harmony—the general community peace rather than individual punishment, E. Daly & J. Sarkin (2007).

Amisi (2008) is one of the authors acknowledging Africa's increasing recognition and adoption of indigenous mechanisms of justice, peace and reconciliation. He cited Burundi, Kenya's Masai community, Rwanda, Somaliland, and Northern Uganda as examples. Whereas there are literature resources citing such examples, they do not reveal cultural commonalities between communities applying them to enhance mutual learning, exchanges and replications. They do not also reveal barriers for such failures. Whereas African communities are culturally diverse, this should not limit exchange of cultural knowledge resources and insights. Writers about Africa's unconventional approaches to reconciliation largely focused on what rather than how such approaches restore truthful and trusting relationships especially after vicious genocidal violence.

Though Masai community of Kenya is cited among communities that embraced indigenous mechanisms, as a country, Kenya is one of the countries that missed opportunity to adopt and mainstream localized reconciliation mechanism to respond to the electoral violence of 2007. Failure of setting up local tribunals subjected Kenya's high-profile personalities to the International Criminal Court (ICC). "After several unsuccessful attempts to set up this

mechanism within the specified timeframes, the matter was handed over to the ICC in July 2009, Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation Monitoring Report, (2011:3).

Whereas on 15th December 2010 the ICC Chief Prosecutor announced and summonses were subsequently issued and honored, critical causes of Kenya's violence have not been resolved. Yet, 81% of Kenyans want perpetrators of post-election violence prosecuted and tried (KNDR, 2011). Whereas Kenya has made laudable progress after 2007/2008 post-election violence, there are still unresolved issues such as land reforms, poverty, inequality still barring reconciliation and sustainable peace. Home-grown justice administered by Kenyans would have served justice and position them towards reconciliation and sustainable peace better than Internationalized justice system (ICC). The extent how these Africa-rooted approaches contributes to restoration of fractured relationships of central interests to this study. Emphatically, Bertha Kadenyi referred to them as supplements or alternative approaches to approaches to conflict resolution that are largely western designed (2008).

Though Africa has awakened to realize that there are positive values that can contribute to solving its internal problems, there are awash of criticisms, citing mismatches between old traditional mechanisms and post-colonial challenges. However, Kariuki (2015) takes a rather strong stance against the 'mismatch' argument between Africa's ancient problem-solving mechanisms and modern post conflict challenges, noting that resourceful African values, norms, and beliefs which acted as the undergirding framework for conflict resolution were severely weakened, undermined and disregarded by colonialism. He argues, African problem-solving mechanisms were not downgraded because of their ineffectiveness, but primarily because they were African in nature. One of the compelling reasons is the ineffectual impacts of conventional responses to extreme violence whose analysis and cure rests solely on Africa's indigenous

knowledge. The application of classical—conventional—reconciliation strategies has delayed the realization of sustainable peace in Africa. For instance, "had Rwanda applied classical [conventional] justice to deliver justice to genocide survivors and perpetrators of 1994 genocide against Tutsi, it would have taken 100 years," Report on the Activities of Gacaca Courts, (2012:16).

The proponents of Africa's reconsideration of positive values and resources from its past emphasize that the way forward for a society emerging from violent conflict "lies within it, in its choices, knowledge, wisdom, and understanding of its experience of war and peace," Kadenyi Amisi (2008). Most of the African-inspired conflict res

olutions mechanisms place greater emphasis in restoration of both victims and victimizers as a path to building the sustainable future Amisi, (2008). South Africa's *Ubuntu*, *Gacaca*, *Girinka* in Rwanda, *Bashinganahe* in Burundi and *Mato Oput* in Northern Uganda are noticeable examples. E. Howard & Gibney (2008) *Ubuntu*, an African concept of reconciliation emphasized restorative justice, including restoring relationship between perpetrators and victims, over western retributive justice. In conception and practice, all the above cited indigenous mechanisms emphasize the same: restoring the humanity of the person, social harmony and so forth.

Murithi (2009) highlighted how South African *Ubuntu* encompasses peace-making: acknowledging the guilt, showing remorse and repenting, asking for and giving forgiveness and paying compensation or reparation. He thus emphasized, these stages serve as prelude to reconciliation in South Africa. There is ample scholarly literature supporting the above ingredients as key elements of reconciliation. Owing to Africa's diverse culture, discourses on

what constitute African perspectives on reconciliation remains inconclusive. What is in existence are case-by-case, country-specific solutions or what is strongly emerging as home-grown mechanisms on reconciliation.

In Uganda, for instance, the Acholi culture used the *mato oput* rituals to achieve reconciliation between enemies, E. Daly & J. Sarkin (2007). This practice as E. Daly & J. Sarkin continued to highlight, the wrongdoer is required to give a full and truthful account of what she or he did, admitting responsibility, and making some sort of restitution. The author further explain, the offender and the victim share a drink made of bitter hops before witnesses to indicate and confirm the reconciliation has happened.

Though locals applaud such rituals and practices as effective, they have attracted less attention in terms of resource investments and empirical investigations. If they bring society together after violent behaviours, restore harmony, calmness, peaceful co-existence, and longer term peace, these are resources that deserve much attention in terms of research, policy prioritization for realization of sustainable peace in Acholiland and where possible replication is intentionally promoted.

After 1990-1994 war and genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda, reconciling genocide survivors and perpetrators was one of the daunting tasks for the post genocide leadership. Over one million people had been mercilessly slaughtered, some mothers inhumanely raped and victim's properties unabatedly destroyed or looted. Rwanda after 1994 genocide was a polarized society fitting the *them vs. us* dichotomy between survivors and perpetrators of genocide. In specific terms, this was the same case in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. The Senate Report, captured the situation in the proceeding statement:

Tensions in the post genocide period were extremely high; relations between Rwandans were characterized by the fear of being killed: genocide survivors by their killers who wanted to wipe out traces of their crimes, and fears by killers of survivors who could potentially avenge their loved ones (the Senate Report, 2006:155)

In P. Clark & D. Kaufman's *After Genocide*, Rwanda's President, Paul Kagame observed that the years since the genocide against Tutsi have “involved much soul-searching and rebuilding.” (2008: xxi). The Government of National Unity, constituted on July, 19th 1994 was faced with a huge challenge—to rebuild Rwanda—reconcile and reunite Rwandans, who were in total trauma and distress, NURC, (2007). Situations after unprecedented genocidal violence, for instance, the 1994 genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda are characteristically unfathomable and challenges tend to seem unsurmountable. Bridging the relational gaps between survivors and perpetrators appeared as an unworthy undertaking. To some Rwandans, ethnic division, rather than unity had been a normalized way of life—propagated and supported by succeeding crop of leaders before 1994 genocide.

P. Clark & D. Kaufman (2008) aptly captured Kagame's recollections on complexity of the genocide and its consequences, noting the genocide had touched on the lives of all Rwandans; the survivors and the perpetrators of genocide, their relatives and friends. “Every Rwandan is either a genocide survivor or a perpetrator, or the friend or the relative of a survivor or a perpetrator,” in P. Clark & D. Kaufman, (2008: xxi). From the above submission, it is safe to point out three points. First, after 1994 genocide, the dividing lines between survivors and perpetrators of the 1994 genocide relationally and deeply drawn and well-thought out reconciliation approaches were imperative to rebuild the torn apart social fabric. Secondly, literature review revealed conventional approaches alone would not have delivered justice, reconciliation and sustainable peace to post genocide Rwanda. Thirdly and lastly, both survivors

and perpetrators of the 1994 genocide against Tutsi were traumatized though at varying degrees. An approach that would effectively respond to the foregoing post genocide complexities was being solicited in and outside Rwanda.

The post genocide state actors, non-state actors were faced with shortage of contextually appropriate solutions or responses; some impatient non-state actors would prescribe or call for short-term fixes, scholars often proposed empirically tested approaches, and policy analysts from outside Rwanda threw in their intellectual weight by recommending to replicate what worked well elsewhere, for instance, South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation model. Thus, responding to the aftermath consequences in Kamonyi District of Rwanda required deep soul-searching and context-sensitive and culturally appropriate approaches. This study advances unconventional homegrown—Girinka Reconciliation Approach, as not only best-suited for restoration of lost trust between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators, but as a channel for revelation of reconciliatory truth, create collective identity/Rwandanness, promote apology and strengthen pillars of sustainable peace.

The National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC) was created in 1999 with the mandate to promote and lead all strategies relating to unity and reconciliation process in Rwanda, NURC, (2015). The legal lane was also in pursuit, for instance, the United Nations Security Council in November 1994 created the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) under resolution 955(1994) of November 8, 1994 whose aim was to contribute to delivery of justice and reconciliation in Rwanda, Senate Report, (2006). The relationship between ICTR and Government of Rwanda sometimes aroused tensions—the latter accusing the former of doing too little in providing faster and fairer justice to survivors and suspects of genocide in Rwanda. After genocide, the risk of judicial inertia was also looming large in

Rwanda. Reconciling the two judicial dichotomies—faster and fairer justice—seemed nearly impossible given the unprecedented number of cases to be handled. The Senate Report (2006) indicated that had Rwanda singularly applied conventional courts, it would have taken over a century to provide justice hence reconciliation. The Senate Report (2006) underscored that "the major challenge of the time was not only prosecuting and punishing the last genocide criminal, but to also restore the fabric of the post genocide society that had been completely torn-apart,"

The post genocide Rwanda found itself at the crossroads—circumstances required providing fair, fast justice to 130,000 genocide inmates packed in harsh prison conditions, reconciling deeply divided Rwandans as well as delivering other services. P. Clark & D. Kaufman captured recollection of one observer aptly: "the gap between what was ideally desirable and what was practically feasible in terms of delivering outcomes," (2008:382). The Organic Law N° 08/96 of 30 June 1996 was established for the prosecution of genocide crimes and other crimes against humanity perpetrated from 1 October 1990, Report on the Activities of the Gacaca Courts, (2012).

As evidence for the foregoing view about gap between reality and desires, in five years after enactment of the above law, according to Report on the Activities of Gacaca Courts in Rwanda, "there were still 120,000 suspects detained, pending trial for the genocide crimes. At this pace, it would require at least 100 years to try all these suspects," (2012:1). This applied to Kamonyi District.

Gacaca was one of them. "Gacaca courts were introduced to provide justice and reconciliation by using both the law and the Rwandan culture of solving problems in public while giving everyone concerned an opportunity to be heard," Report on the Activities of Gacaca Courts in Rwanda,

(2012:1).Gacaca courts were established by Organic Law N° 40/2000 of January 26, 2001, according to Gacaca Activity Completion Report (2012). The Gacaca courts officially started on 19th June 2002, in 755 Cells, of 12 targeted Sectors in the Country (Senate Report, 2006). Gacaca had five broader objectives, for purposes of this research, we can cite two: "to strengthen unity and reconciliation among Rwandans and to highlight the capacity of the Rwandan society to solve its own problems," Gacaca Activity Completion Report, (2012:1).

Another unconventional homegrown mechanism that got revitalized to contribute to Rwanda's socio-economic recovery, reconstruction and peace was Girinka; a cow-giving amongst Rwandans. The Rwanda Governance Board's Assessment of the Impact of Home-grown Initiatives Report (2014), lists Girinka as one of the post genocide Home-grown Initiatives developed by Rwandan citizens based on local opportunities, cultural values and history to fast track their development. Though it was deeply rooted in Rwanda's traditions, specifically in the ancient times, Girinka practice, along with a host of other deeply rooted socio-cultural values, folded as colonialism took strong hold in Rwanda. However, cows kept their special place in Rwanda's socio-economic life. As shall be presented in the chapters ahead, cows served cultural, economic and social significances in Rwanda. Throughout Rwanda's significant periods, giving a cow to a friend signified unbreakable friendship.

Girinka practices embody reconciliation as a process requiring that recipient of the cow passes on the first heifer to the next neighboring family regardless of his/her ethnic affiliations. Of importance, Girinka's inherent reconciliatory elements are manifestly revealed in bridging the *them vs. us* relational gaps between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. For instance, the revolving cow becomes a seal of social pact, cements social bonding and bridges the gap between the giver and the recipient.

Whereas the post genocide government initiated the cow-giving process for the most vulnerable Rwandans, in this study, the researcher was specifically interested in two categories—givers and recipients of the cows who are also genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. Cows are a major resource especially in economically disadvantaged people in rural areas. Reviewed literature reveals that reverence of the cow in post genocide Rwanda is supported by cultural significance of cows originating from Rwanda's pre-colonial past. Anecdotal evidence reveals that to break perpetual enmity, a cow would be given to survivors of violence by the victimizer. This was called Cow for Peace or Reconciliation Cow as attested by the empirical revelations/evidence.

1.1. Statement of the Problem

Referring to reconciliation processes in South Africa, Tutu makes a central point: "there is no handy roadmap for reconciliation," Bloomfield *et-al.*, (2003: Forward). He added, the aftermath of unprecedented violence tends to run short of appropriate responses, noting societies emerging from such horrible past struggle to forge their future as "there is no short cut or simple prescriptions," Bloomfield *et-al.*, (2003:forward). Tutu's recommendation is critical: for sustainable peace to prevail, each society must discover its own route to reconciliation rather than using imported approaches Bloomfield *et-al.*, (2003). Marithi (2008) Francis (2008) and many other scholars have advocated for reintroduction of unconventional approaches to Africa's conflicts citing their strengths such as deepening interpersonal and social trust, promoting cooperations, reparation of relationships and promoting societal harmony. A wide range of examples of African unconventional approach to peacebuilding and conflict resolutions are scholarly cited by the foregoing scholars.

Responses to genocidal violence can be validly various some are prescriptive modeled on political, economic, psychological dimensions. From the reviewed literature, for instance, Report on activities of Gacaca Courts (2012), Rwanda Senate Report (2006) it was established that had Rwanda applied one single route—the conventional approach—as a response to the consequences of 1994 genocide against Tutsi, it would have taken hundred of years for survivors and perpetrators of genocidal violence to get truths, restore trust, promote apologies and repair fractured relationships (reconciliation). Cognizance of the above registered limitations of conventional approach, Rwanda reintroduced a number of unconventional approaches to realize post genocide development and peacebuilding objectives. Rwanda reintroduced *Girinka* in 2006. *Girinka* is one of the homegrown initiatives, Rwanda Governance Board (2014) and its reconciliatory value is rooted in cow-revering culture of Rwandan people. *Girinka*—is nationally implemented in all 30 districts of Rwanda. The reconciliation approach of *Girinka* is nationally piloted in Kamonyi District, Rwanda. This approach is premised on the view that it enables revelation of truth, trust-building, triggering apologies and strengthening Rwandaness and forgiveness for realization of sustainable peace in Kamonyi District. However, the time this study was being conducted, there was scanty scientifically and empirically tested evidence base indicative of how the localized unconventional *Girinka* reconciliation approach is influencing the realization of sustainable peace after such unprecedented genocidal violence that befell Kamonyi District.

Failing to establish the scholarly contributions of *Girinka* Reconciliation Approach to Kamonyi's peacebuilding process contributes in widening the research-policy gaps. Specifically (importantly), establishing the empirical evidence relating to the Rwanda's unconventional approach—*Girinka*—adds to emerging scholarship aimed at demonstrating the relevance and

impacts of African cultural values, resources in conflict transformation in Africa. In a modest way, the study further contributes towards translating the African Union mantra: “Africa solutions for African problems” into practice, Run (2013:27).

1.2. Study Objectives

Overall, this study sought to establish how Girinka reconciliation approach influences sustainable peace in Komonyi District, Rwanda. This research was guided by the followingspecific objectives, namely, to:

- i. Examine the nature of Girinka Reconciliation Approach in Rwanda;
- ii. Assess the contribution of Girinka reconciliation approach on sustainable peace in Kamonyi District of Rwanda;
- iii. Examine the challenges and opportunities of Girinka Reconciliation approach in Komonyi District of Rwanda.

1.3. Research Questions

This research will be guided by the following questions:

- i. What is the nature of Girinka Reconciliation approach in Rwanda?
- ii. What are the contributions of Girinka Reconciliation Approach on Sustainable Peace in Kamonyi District?
- iii. What are the challenges and opportunities of Girinka Reconciliation Approach in Kamonyi District?

1.4. Justification of the Study

The justifications for this study are twofold: academic and policy improvement. Karren (2007) recommended that reconciliation strategies should be centered on local needs, values and traditions. Analysis of Africa's responses to violent conflicts, even genocides reveals an over-use of western classical (conventional) at the expense of context-sensitive and best-fitting African cultural values, approaches and resources. Rwanda has been one of the few countries that has reintroduced home-grown solutions to respond to a multitude of burdens left behind by 1994 genocide against Tutsi. To cite but some include: Gacaca traditional courts, National Umushyikirano (Dialogue) Council, the Umuganda (Community Cleaning Service), National Abunzi (Mediation) Committee, National Ubudehe (Mutual Support) Programme, Ingando (National Problem-solving Workshops), Umwiherero (National Leadership Retreat) and Girinka (National Cow-giving), RGB (2014). However, nearly all the above home-grown solutions were met with scholarly reservations or outright skepticism from western countries.

1.4.1. Academic Justification

Gbaydee Doe's (2009) argued:

Current approaches to state building [and peace-building], primarily dominated by the liberal peace thesis, tend to gloss over indigenous or organic mechanisms rooted in the sociological, historical, political, and environmental realities of post-conflict contexts (2009:1)

There is scholarly-based limited interest in unconventional solutions in Africa, specifically, Rwanda. Whereas Kamonyi District is the only district where Girinka Reconciliation Approach is piloted, there was scanty scientific evidence pointing how this approach is promoting the realization of sustainable peace. The findings will not only trigger academic discourse but will also act as catalytic for empirically grounded academic discourses. Some Rwandan knowledge

centers—Universities, think tanks and research institutions may consider using this research’s generated empirical evidence not only to reclaim their rightful place of filling scientific research—policy implementation gaps, but also strategically position themselves for greater influence (voice), visibility and impact in their respective home countries, regional and intellectual platforms. Homegrown initiatives and solutions are not only a niche for research, they are strongly emerging as peacepaths and development solutions to the ailing aid-based development approach in emerging economies of Africa. Both anecdotal and empirical evidence revealed that a research of this nature, scope and anticipated scientific value is the first of its kind in the post genocide Kamonyi and Rwanda as a whole. Undoubtedly, its findings, specifically, recommendations will trigger more research projects, for instance, a comprehensive cost-benefits analysis of applying home-grown peacebuilding approaches vis-as-vis classical peacebuilding mechanisms in post-conflict societies.

1.4.2. Policy Justification

This research is premised on the view that that Girinka Reconciliation Approach influences sustainable peace in Kamonyi District. Whereas Girinka’s reconciliatory part is being piloted in Kamonyi District, how this process is contributing toward the realization of policy objectives as enshrined in the national policy and reconciliation policy (2007) is not yet scientifically established. A review of literature on Girinka Programme revealed that the entire programme objectives (including the one touching on social cohesion and reconciliation) are coordinated by Rwanda Agricultural Board (RAB). This arrangement was incontestably informed by a policy directive. Part of this study’s objectives are to establish the contribution of Girinka reconciliation approach—challenges and opportunities emerging from its implementation. The outcome of this foregoing endeavour, specifically its research findings and recommendations—will not only

contribute to strengthening evidence-based policy discussions, but reinforce policy improvement processes in Kamonyi District and Rwanda as a whole.

Arguably, research should inform policy formulation, influence change in policy in Kamonyi District and Rwanda as a whole. The Government of Rwanda may consider transferring coordination of Girinka objective four from Rwanda Agricultural Board (RAB) to National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC) to effectively consolidate reconciliation gains and also scale up the implementation of Girinka objective four to the remaining 29 Districts—key policy proposals of this scientific study.

1.5. Scope of the Study

Geographically, the study's scope is in Kamonyi District, specifically 7 Sectors out of 12 Sectors making Kamonyi District, Southern Province, Rwanda. In terms of periodization, the study mainly focuses on the post 1994 genocide against Tutsi in Kamonyi District of Rwanda to establish how Girinka Reconciliation Approach influences the realization of sustainable peace in the district.

However, given the centrality of establishing the nature of Girinka in Rwanda (research objective one) the researcher generated some secondary and empirical data stretching back to Rwanda's past: pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial period by generating views from resourceful respondents with such hindsight historical knowledge. A review of Rwanda's socio-cultural and economic Girinka practices and significances of cows provided an understanding related to why the post genocide Rwanda reconsidered Girinka as one of the unconventional solutions for restoration of shattered relationships between genocide survivors and former genocide

perpetrators after the 1994 genocide against Tutsi. A reversed view of Girinka acted as a connecting thread between the other two objectives guiding this study.

1.6. Chapter Summary

The chapter entailed conventional approaches to reconciliation, for instance, Australian reconciliation approach, Cambodian reconciliation and reconciliation in Kenya. Conventional approaches exposed mismatches with Africa's culture and context. As reviewed literature in this chapter revealed further, countries and their communities in Africa, for instance, Acholi (Uganda) Rwanda have contextually tested, responsive mechanisms, local resources, values and capacities for repairing fractured relationships which influence the realization of sustainable peace. Specifically, had the post genocide single-handedly applied conventional approach to administer justice, reconciliation after 1994 genocide, against Tutsi it would have taken 100 years. The reintroduction of unconventional justice model: Gacaca shortened time, enabled citizen participation and revelation of truth among other benefits. In the same vein, Girinka was reintroduced in 2006 and it is implemented nationally in all 30 districts of Rwanda. The reconciliatory dimension of Girinka is piloted in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. Whereas Girinka reconciliation dimension is premised on the view that it enables revelation of truth, trust-building, apologies and strengthening of collective identity, there was no scientifically and empirically tested evidence base indicative of how the localized unconventional Girinka reconciliation approach influences the realization of sustainable peace after such unprecedented genocidal violence that befell Kamonyi District. The foregoing acted as the central study problem. Three objectives guided this study: to examine the nature of Girinka reconciliation approach in Rwanda, establish the contribution of Girinka reconciliation approach on sustainable

peace in Kamonyi District and finally, examine the challenges and opportunities of Girinka reconciliation approach in Kamonyi District. The justifications for this study are threefold: academic, programmatic and policy improvements.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0. Introduction

This chapter entails a review of the relevant literature. It covers the nature of reconciliation, conventional and unconventional reconciliation, and nature of reconciliation in Rwanda after 1994 genocide. It also consists of prerequisites of reconciliation: truth, apology, trust, collective identity/*Rwandaness*. Forgiveness, justice and economic livelihood improvement are discussed as pillars of sustainable peace. It also covers the challenges, opportunities of unconventional approaches. This chapter also entails the theoretical framework guided by Lederach's Conflict Transformation Theory (1997). The chapter is guided by research objectives and themes. The rationale for blending the two was based on the novelty of the study topic.

2.1. The Nature of Reconciliation after Sustained Violence.

There is concurrence among scholars—both those from global north and global south that the nature of violent conflicts even that of genocidal nature has changed. This serves as the primary justification for seeking to understand the nature of reconciliation after sustained violence. The entry point in analyzing the nature of reconciliation should first and foremost be informed by understanding what reconciliation means. The definition of reconciliation is foundational to determining the nature of reconciliation after sustained violence. Evidence from emerging literature revealed a major point of contention among scholars and practitioners relating to lack of definitional consensus on what reconciliation practically means especially after unprecedented levels of violence for instance, genocidal violence. Even Rwandan survivors, and perpetrators, especially at the lowest levels have not fully come to terms with how and why such a thing would have.

One reason the Truth and Reconciliation connection is so problematic is because there is no single meaning of the concept of reconciliation. Defining the concept has proven difficult and, despite—or perhaps because—the proliferation of scholarship on the subject, no single scholarship on the subject, no single agreed upon definition exists Borer (2004:23).

Whereas there are sharp differences in definitions of the concept of reconciliation, there are also scholarly convergencies of views relating to what reconciliation means. For instance, Lederach (1997) and Shyaka (2007) emphasized the restoration of broken relationships by redressing the past wrongs while Daly and J. Sarkin (2007) and Porter (2015) focused on two major dimension— time: their view centered around revisiting the past by refining the future, transformation of survivors and perpetrators for sustainable peace. Specifically, Daly and J. Sarkin (2007) emphasis of transforming of two categories—survivors and perpetrators of violence as opposed to retribution resonates with the central focus of this study—determining how Girinka Reconciliation Approach contributes to removal of them vs. us divide between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. The only difference between the author’s views and this research’s position lies in the reconciliation approach.

While the two authors advanced transformation of perpertrators and survivors through conventional approach as a prerequisite to sustainable reconciliation, this study advances a different route—application of a homegrown unconventional approach—to realize the same results: reconciliation through transformation of genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in post genocide Kamonyi District.

“Reconciliation is a total for transformation...it helps whole societies transform themselves from violent and chaotic places into communities where people work together to raise children and live productive and hopeful lives (Daly and J. Sarkin, 2007: XI).

Lack of common understanding on what reconciliation means amongst scholars, policy-makers, and practitioners remains as one of the critical challenges for using conventional reconciliation as a tool for building sustainable peace. “To date, there is neither exhaustive definition nor common vision about reconciliation. Neither researchers, nor groups to be reconciled are unanimous as to the concept of reconciliation,” Shyaka, (2007:11). Such lack of common view provides a lee way for applying any reconciliation approach any post conflict society deems best fit. Relating to definitional divergences, Daly and J. Sarkin observed:

“The lack of any agreement whatsoever as to what reconciliation means presents both conceptual and pragmatic challenge. People who do not know what to expect from governmental programmes promising reconciliation. Governments do not know what promises are reasonable to make, nor what steps are necessary to meet those promises. (2007: Preface).

Citing Assefa (2001:339), Shyaka, however observed, whereas reconciliation is subjected to different interpretations and hard to translate into practice, “nobody questions its relevance and importance in torn apart communities,” (2007:12). Different societies form different interpretations of what reconciliation means to them. For instance, D. Bar-Tal and G. Bennink as cited by Porter, consider reconciliation to mean “secure peace and requires forming a new, common outlook on the past,” (2015:186). Bar-Tal’s writings on reconciliation have largely focused on reconciliation between Jewish Israelites and Muslem Arabs in Midle East hence emphasizing the security component of peace in Middle East.

Also, there is a close nexus between the nature of conflicts and the nature of responses to the conflicts, Best (2006). Put in other words, conflict response should be determined by the nature of conflicts rather than applying conflict responses as templates imported from else where. This view emphasizes a systematic self-review in terms of examining existing cultural resources, tools

and values, wisdoms which can be revitalized and repackaged as part of conflict transformation response packages.

From Best's perspective above, two arguments can be developed; first, the best suited response to the genocidal violence in Kamonyi District of Rwanda, is a culturally, and localized unconventional reconciliation approach. Secondly, if there is a close nexus between the nature of conflict and nature of response, Best (2006), the appropriate approach of reconciliation should be organically (internally) driven than imported. The Girinka reconciliation approach provides greater opportunities for restoring lost trust, fractured relationships, removing them *vs. us* divides and revealing truths and promoting pleas for apology and forgiveness between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. Murithi (2008) acknowledged that "the type of intra-state conflicts that we are witnessing today in Africa divide the population of a state by undermining interpersonal and social trust," (p.17).

As for Boege (2006), the nature of violent conflicts which he referred as hybrid in Global South has to take into account conflict prevention, conflict transformation and post-conflict peacebuilding. Transformation of conflicts in societies still struggling to rebuild broken social fabrics, lies in what Murithi specifically termed as "African indigenous and endogenous approaches" (2008:17). The author's preference for such approaches can be understood from his definition of indigenous, as "that which is inherent to a given society but also that which is innate and instinctive, Murithi (2008:17). Arguably, an approach that is inwardly processed, made out of people's cultural recipes are expected to deliver sustainable solutions to both survivors and perpetrators of violence. Such approaches, according to Murithi, which "have been internalized

by years of tradition, and therefore the values, practices that they propose do not seem to be strange to their referent community” Murithi (2008:17).

Discussions focused on what reconciliation pragmatically means have raised issues relating to whether reconciliation is a continuous process or a measurable and determinable goal. An understanding of whether reconciliation is process or goal oriented is vital in untangling the nature of reconciliation in post genocide societies. The following section provides a detailed analysis centered on process-based and goal-oriented reconciliation after sustained violence.

2.1.1. Process-Oriented Reconciliation and Goal Oriented Reconciliation

Bloomfield *et-al.*, (2003) underscored that reconciliation is both a goal—something to achieve and a process—a means to achieve that goal (p.12). However, the authors stressed their firm preferences for a process-oriented reconciliation, especially in the post genocide context. They further justified why they preferred process-oriented reconciliation, noting that reconciliation is an over-arching process which includes the search for truth, justice, forgiveness, healing and so on. In this research, these concepts; truth, forgiveness, justice, adding to trust, apology, and collective identity are not only contextualized but tested and discussed as critical sub-variables for post genocide Girinka based reconciliation approach in Kamonyi District (in chapter five and chapter six).

Secondly, whereas Bloomfield *et-al.*, (2003) preferred the process-oriented reconciliation, considering the multi-dimensional consequences of genocide in Kamonyi District, the researcher endorses the two—process-oriented and goal-oriented nature of reconciliation. Reasons abound:

The first reason is linked to the intensification of genocidal violence in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. Genocidal violence alters many dimensions of people's lives and core values including those that formerly bound them together. Considering the severe nature of genocidal violence, the most appropriate response should not be prescriptive and but responsive to the on-going operative context. Karbo characterizes such form of reconciliation as "processual and dynamic" in Francis (2008:118). As a culturally informed approach, Girinka inherently exhibits Karbo's view above.

However, the integral value of measuring and determining the goal of reconciliation should not be obscured by Karbo's "processual and dynamic" in Francis (2008:118) as it would seem not goal-oriented, unguided and unmanageable, notwithstanding raising measurability concerns by reconciliation and peacebuilding practitioners.

Goal-oriented reconciliation largely prioritizes a shared sense of the future after a shattered past by former genocide perpetrators, genocide survivors and relatives of the two special social categories and members of Kamonyi District of Rwanda. Invariably, an effectively achieved goal is a product of a well-refined process. To realize sustainable peace in post genocide Kamonyi District, the two variables are considered by the study as not only intimately integral, but inseparable reconciliation approaches.

Bloomfield *et-al.*, pointedly observed "building a reconciliation process is the means to workeffectively and practically, towards that final goal—and is invaluable in itself," (2003:12). He added:

“There is no quick-fix to reconciliation. It takes time, and it takes its own time: the pace cannot be dictated. It involves changes in attitudes, aspirations, emotions, and feelings, perhaps even beliefs. It is not just for those who suffered directly or those who inflicted the suffering (Bloomfield *et-al.*, 2003:12).

According to Shyaka (2007) “Many researchers and practitioners observe that reconciliation should be considered as an orientation not a fact: a goal or a process rather than an end or finality” (p.12). Tutu in Bloomfield *et-al.*, (2003), justified the process-oriented reconciliation citing associated complexity and longevity, and he revealed the unending journey of reconciliation in South Africa: “Reconciliation is a long-term process and it must – and will – continue for many years to come, (Bloomfield *et-al.*, 2003: Foreword). In responding to the question of ‘how’ to operationalize reconciliation after sustained violence, Bloomfield *et-al.*, (2003) used Lederach (1997) reconciliation model of truth, forgiveness, restorative justice and peace.

Inspired by Lederach, Francis for instance considers truth, forgiveness, [restorative] justice and sustainable peace as “instruments of reconciliation,” (2008:119). It is worthier to stress, some of the concepts postulated by Lederach above, for instance, truth, forgiveness, restorative justice were empirically tested to determine their relevance in Girinka Reconciliation Approach in Kamonyi District. However, sustainable peace served as a dependent variable—an end in pursuit through Lederach’s suggested “instruments of reconciliation,” (Francis, 2008:119). In fact, Lederach considers reconciliation as the place where justice, peace, truth and forgiveness meet and he referred to that meeting point a “locus and a focus,” Francis, (2008:119).

Referring Karbo's view processual and dynamic" nature of reconciliation in Francis (2008:118), Lederach's consideration of reconciliation as a point of convergence or what he termed as "a locus and focus point" in Francis, (2008:119) raises critical issues one scholar pointing reconciliation as a fixed, immobile point whereas the other (Karbo) noting it as a point always in motion.

However, Lederach acknowledges that reconciliation involves convergence of a complex web of relationships and other interwoven dimensions of human life—healing, apology, forgiveness, memory hence touching on multiple dimensions and aspects of surviving generations and their former tormentors. Whereas the Bloomfield *et-al.*, (2003) and Lederach (1997) considered sustainable peace as one of the influencing factors of reconciliation. In this study, it was reversed—unconventional Girinka reconciliation approach influences the realization of sustainable peace in Kamonyi District of Rwanda.

Drawing from the complexities and lessons from South Africa's reconciliation approach, Tutu made an important recommendation:

"Each society must discover its own route to reconciliation. Reconciliation cannot be imposed from outside, nor can someone else's map get us to our destination: it must be [your] own solution," (Bloomfield *et.al*, 2003: Foreword).

Emerging from the literature is the unanimity among reconciliation scholars and practitioners alike, that reconciliation involves a long, and painful journey Bloomfield *et.al*, (2003) or what Karbo in Francis referred to as "processual and dynamic" nature of reconciliation (2008:117). It is a complex process as opposed to a swiftly achievable end (outcome). This complexity (especially in the cases of mass murders and genocide) has been explained: changing attitudes

and behaviors from genocidal to collegial relationships takes decades and generations and enormous amount of human ingenuity, Brounéus, (2007), IRDP, (2006), Bloomfield et.al (2003).

Bukari (2013) posited that that today's major challenge of human race is not about the occurrence of conflicts, but how those conflicts are fully resolved whenever they occur. Bukari reminded us the original thinking of conflict analysts about, "the inevitability of conflicts" noting, this social phenomenon is part and parcel of human society, but our major concern however, should be when "conflicts become pathological to society depending on the type and nature of the resolution methods used," (2013:86). In line with the above reasoning, the following section further analyzes the conventional nature versus unconventional homegrown nature of reconciliation after sustained violence.

2.1.2. Conventional and Unconventional (Homegrown) Approaches to Reconciliation

Drawing distinctions between conventional conflict resolution approaches and Africa's conflict transformation approach (unconventional), Castro and Ettenger (1996) argued, the latter are not focused on adjudicating who is right or wrong and the punishment of culprits, but the reconciliation of the conflicts and emphasizing on letting go of the pain through forgiveness. Prosecutorial nature of conventional(judicial) approach runs counter to what Boege (2006) referred to as restitutive reconciliation, restorative justice, restoration of order, harmony and maintaining of positive relationships.

In line with the earlier Murithi's view of embracing Africa's innate indigenous approach, Tutu equally called for moving from the western one-size fits all approach to self-improvised reconciliation: "There is no handy roadmap for reconciliation. There is no short cut or simple

prescription for healing the wounds and divisions of a society in the aftermath of sustained violence," Bloomfield *et.al*; (2003: Foreword). Tutu, further revealed: "As our experience in South Africa has taught us, each society must discover its own route to reconciliation. Reconciliation cannot be imposed from outside, nor can someone else's map get us to our destination: it must be our own solution," Bloomfield *et-al*, (2003: Foreword). One of the recommendations from the study related to mechanisms of sustaining peace in northern Uganda, emphasized: "Formal and traditional justice systems should be synchronized to ensure that they mutually reinforce peace in culturally appropriate and relevant ways," Barigye (2014: i).

The foregoing view is critical for this study which focuses on revitalization of homegrown reconciliation approach as a pathway to realization of sustainable peace after enduring sustained violence. Rwanda features in the literature relating to experimentation of two routes—conventional and unconventional to unburden herself from the multi-dimensional consequences of the man-made catastrophe—the 1994 genocide against Tutsi.

"Rwanda provides a far-reaching example of experiments in justice and reconciliation. It also reveals how the combination of international, national and traditional criminal prosecutions can both facilitate and limit justice and reconciliation, AU Report (2013:32).

E. Daly & J. Sarkin made not only illustrative, but a conclusive point for this section of the study: "Rwanda's Gacaca courts are prominent example of participatory justice, and contrasted with the exclusive nature of of domestic and international [conventional] tribunal, (2007:114). Noteworthy, Jeremy Sarkin was one of the key sceptics of Rwanda's Gacaca courts at its inception.

2.1.2.1. Nature of Conventional Reconciliation

There is concurrence from many peacebuilders—state and non-state actors from societies severely stricken by sustained levels of violence that there are many routes to reconciliation other than the Western route. Acknowledging this diverse route, the researcher emphasize that revitalization of unconventional homegrown approaches as a pathway to transformation of conflicts and realization of sustainable peace in societies that formerly sustained gruesome genocidal violence. Galadima (2006) and Konteh (2006) have challenged the use of conventional nature of conflict resolution and conflict transformation. For instance, the two authors argued, under the influence of Western scholarships, policies and peacebuilding practices, many conflicts that occurred in Africa in the 1990s were approached with approaches and mechanisms through conventional-oriented international statesmen, international, regional organizations, peacekeeping, peace support operations and civil society organizations. Murithi (2008) argued that international initiatives in Africa to promote preventive diplomacy, prevent, manage and resolve conflicts and promote development have traditionally neglected indigenous resources and capacities for peacebuilding and reconstruction.

Stories of failed peacekeeping missions, western-baked negotiations and conventional conflict transformation agendas are common in societies emerging from sustained violence. For instance, the genocide against Tutsi happened after the failures of a UN mandated peacekeeping mission in Rwanda in 1994. Many scholars have cited several countries with records of failures of conventional approach for example: Somalia, Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo and Niger Delta.

Bukari (2013) stretched against conventional-oriented nature of interventions in most parts of Africa further, noting that “many of these methods of conflict resolution were thus western and conventional that did not take into account the cultural settings of their occurrence. As a result, many of the conflicts became protracted and intractable,” (p.87). Bukari (2013) observed:

Even where there is a return to peace, deep-seated issues still remain to be resolved and therefore make peace in these areas fragile. This questioned the effectiveness of most of these conventional and western resolution approaches and mechanisms in Africa (2013:87).

According to Cravo (2018) even where there was no blatant return to hostilities, in countries where conventional approach was used, “materialization of formal peace faced serious difficulties and, in many cases, the initial effusive statements of success proved premature,” (p.14). Wunch (2009) re-surfacing of conflicts and lack of durable peace in Africa have therefore forced many governments to re-think what can be done to bring about sustainable peace.

Bukari (2013) criticizes the Westphalia methods, specifically, the use of court system, noting that this approach does not sustainably and practically lead to sustainable conflict resolution. In view of the above, the researcher argues, conventional-oriented court system does not always guarantee the realization of sustainable peace because of their inherent potential to polarize them *vs. us* divides between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators. Court system involve the contention between conflict parties using facts tested through western constructed legal frameworks at the expense of African cultural notions and salient relational improvement. Most of unconventional reconciliation approaches are culturally sensitive and mindful of relational impairment and draw much of

their focus on relational improvement between the perpetrator and survivors of genocidal crimes.

“The court system often leads to blame and punishment of some factions which tend to aggravate hostility among the conflicting factions and lead to the escalation of violence,” Bukari (2013:90). Considering the limitations of conventional approach, Bukari (2013) cited Kirby (2006), emphasizing that responses to conflicts should be responsive to cultural context rather than adopting western methods which are not culturally sensitive. “The key to good conflict resolution requires entering deeply into cultural issues at all levels and also considering the ritual dimensions to the issues at conflict,” Bukari (2013:91).

Whereas foreign non-state actors, specifically Non-Government Organizations are key drivers of peacebuilding interventions such as reconciliation in post-conflict societies, Agyeman (2008) critiqued the use of foreign and international Non Governmental Organization at local levels citing lack of local roots, limited knowledge of nature and dynamics of conflicts in most parts of Africa. Where there is demonstrable link between statebuilding and peacebuilding, Non-Governmental Organizations tend to key implementers of peacebuilding processes.

Bukari (2013) cited failures of western conventional approach in resolving conflicts in Northern part of Ghana among Bawku communities. Extending his criticisms of conflict resolution approach used in Northern Ghana, Bukari, observed, “many of the parties in these conflicts have resorted to the court system of resolution and use of foreign NGOs which

has not helped to address the root causes underlying them (2013:90). Some of the conventional approach NGOs used in Northern Ghana included: mediation, peacekeeping, courts, decrees and peace enforcement, Police and Rapid Force Deployment and imposition of curfews, Bukari (2013).

Cases of failures of the international Criminal Court (ICC) to conclusively investigate, prosecute and judge suspects of Kenya's Post Election Violence in 2007-2008 are reported in the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation Report (2011). Kenya as a country largely applies conventional approach in pursuit of reconciliation and peace after the electoral violence in 2007. However, there are communities in Kenya which have kept their unconventional approaches to peacebuilding which would have been effectively harnessed to try perpetrators of post election violence in Kenya. According to the Review Report of Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation Project (2011), "there are many people who feel that reconciliation is taking place but the responses do not suggest a lot has been achieved in this respect, (2011:34). The report further noted, in December 2010 only 23% said that a lot of reconciliation has taken place, this is a drop from 33% of the responses obtained in March 2009 survey. Such low score of reconciliation could be attributed to two major factors—the limitations of the conventional approach and freshness of wounds as it was conducted only two years (2010) after electoral violence in Kenya. As earlier noted, Kenya lost a unique opportunity of creating localized unconventional mechanisms of prosecuting perpetrators of electoral violence, yet, Kenyans had powers to institute localized, homegrown mechanisms for dealing with post-election violence cases. Kenya's missed opportunity is reflected in Moreno Ocampo, the former Prosecutor General

of ICC statement: “In the Rome Statute, the ICC is complementary to domestic systems and intervenes only when a state fails to genuinely act,” P. Clark & D. Kaufman (2008:xxvii). Some scholars have also established failures of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) created to investigate, prosecute and provide fair and fast justice to survivors of genocide against Tutsis of Rwanda. Whereas the research did not establish the statistical level of Rwanda’s dissatisfaction with ICTR, Kenya’s KNDR (2011) noted that as ICC had not fully prosecuted and judged suspects of Kenya post-election violence, a staggering 81% of Kenyans by the year 2011 wanted perpetrators of the crimes prosecuted and tried. The failures of ICC (Kenya) and ICTR (Rwanda) expose weaknesses of conventional approaches to respond to some of justice, reconciliation and peacebuilding issues in African societies. Besides being top-down, slow, and costly, the process of investigating and prosecuting crimes denies suffers and perpetrators to access truths at the hills where crimes were committed—after all, justice is administered geographically farther than crime scenes.

2.1.2.2. Nature of Unconventional Reconciliation

The search for reconciliation and sustainable peace in a society after conflict must begin from its own roots, importing from outside whatever can be of use, but the society's transformation should be based on its own unique set of traditions and cultural heritage (Brounéus,2007).The author added, "each reconciliation process needs to be designed according to the specific context: the country, the conflict the country has been through, the culture and traditions it has that can strengthen reconciliation," Brounéus,(2007:14). Bloomfield recommends "lasting reconciliation must be home-grown because, in the end it is the survivors who assign meaning to the term and the process," (2003:23). Consequently, a new proposal—an African-inspired

approach—to achieving sustainable development, reconciliation and peace is irreversibly emerging. Although this African-centered solution to Africa's peacebuilding challenges has to a large extent been championed by politicians, thus, attracting both enthusiasm and skepticism. The rationale for revitalizing Africa-based approaches to solving Africa's problem is emphasized by Moghalu :

Africa must chart its own course, just as the West and the Asian countries did. Each region utilized and mobilized certain culture-specific traits in the evolution of its worldview over a period of several centuries. Thus the West is authentic in its western-ness, while the rising Asia is also authentic in its Asian-ness with its "Asian values" asserted when challenged by previously dominant West, (2014:22)

What is missing is the translation and emulation of existing indigenous African knowledge to fill Africa's development and peacebuilding gaps. Moghalu made a recommendation for building prosperous and peaceful African societies; "African countries need to look into their societies, identify and draw upon their internal strengths," (2014:22). Moghalu (2014) stressed an important recommendation which resonates with this study's central emphasis of Africa-led process toward restoration of relationships, sustaining of peace and development (prosperity). For this to happen, there is a deliberate choice that should be made: "articulating Africa's cultural values and apply them to a vision they set for themselves [Africans]," (2014:22). Murithi's (2008) has emphasized the use of African Indigenous and Endogenous Approaches to Peace and Conflict Resolution, emphasizing that these approaches are "endowed with valuable insights that can inform the rebuilding of social trust and restoration of the conditions for communal co-existence," (Murithi 2008:16).

Citing Ginty (2008:139), Barigye suggested that "indigenous approaches to peacemaking are participatory and relationship-focused and that the peaceful outcomes are more sustainable since

they have a higher degree of community adherence than template-styled western-oriented peacemaking,” (2014:28). Many scholars have emphasized the enhancement of relationships and potential of homegrown unconventional approaches in building sustainable peace after dreadful sustained violence like the one perpetrated by Lord’s Resistance Army of Joseph Kony in northern part of Uganda. Analyzing the the potential for community participation in conflict resolution in northern Uganda, Barigye (2014) blamed the failure to reach mutually satisfying peace agreement between the Government of Uganda (GoU) and Kony’s Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) to use of conventional, elitist, involving high-level representatives at the expense of ordinary citizens and locally available Acholi unconventional approach—*Mato-Oput*—referred by Barigye as “an indigenous conflict resolution practice in Acholi for truth-telling and reconciliation,” (2014:i).

Whereas Barigye blamed the collapse of GoU-LRA peace talks to limited community participation and inclusiveness, he acknowledged the unsuitability and limitations of Acholi’s *Mato-oput* in addressing more dreadful conflicts such as war crimes. Claims relating to unsuitability of unconventional approaches in dealing with heavier crimes such as crimes against humanity and genocide have been overly advanced by Western scholars. However, the expediency and efficiency of Rwanda’s unconventional approach—*Gacaca* traditional courts in delivering justice to genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators challenged this line of thinking. Rwanda’s successful use of unconventional approaches after 1994 genocide against Tutsi serves as one of the examples.

Murithi, however raised the most cited concerns by Afro-centric scholars, underscoring that the value of African indigenous and endogenous approaches to conflict resolution and conflict transformation was obscured by colonialism. Recounting Gacaca's historical roots, Schamas in P. Clark & D. Kaufman, also acknowledged, Rwanda's unconventional system of conflict transformation "fell into obscurity when European justice system models were imported, following colonization by the Germans in the 1890s..." (2008:2023).

The cause for destruction of Africa's homegrown unconventional mechanisms for conflict transformation was to make colonial governance of their colonies much easier, Bukari (2013). Consequently, according to Bukari (2013), the occurring deadly conflicts in Sudan, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo and their attendant manifestations of genocide are attributable to colonial consequences in Africa. There is ample literature evidence showing the linkage between negative impacts of colonial-engineered ethnicity and the genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda.

As for Moghalu (2014), the post-colonial strategy centered on negative portrayal of Africa by western media has contributed to undermining of Africa's capacities for peace, reconciliation and development. Francis (2008) equally challenged such deliberate portrayal of Africa as "a helpless, hopeless continent," (2008:3). The recent Africa rising narrative has not been backed by a strong research-base, thus feeding into the earlier stated Afro-skepticism. According to Francis, an Africa-led solution can contribute towards reversing "the global perception of Africa is an image of a dangerous, mysterious Africa represented by perennial violent wars and bloody armed conflicts, perpetual political instability, unrelenting economic crisis, famine, diseases and poverty," (2008:3). Moghalu emphasized that the reversal of such negative portrayal lies in making deliberate choice—revitalizing African cultural values and knowledge resources. This

“is the path to Africa's global relevance and the sustainability of its emergence,” (Moghalu, 2014:22).

Boege (2007) as cited by Bukari (2013): new wars in Africa are more internal, non-conventional and culture-sensitive,” (p.86). He stressed, “Many of these new wars need intervention mechanisms that culturally-based and relate to their environment of occurrence,” Bukari (2013:86). Whereas the researcher concurs with Bukari’s perspective, a distinction between wars, conflicts and genocide need to be clarified especially as per operative context of Rwanda—before, during and after 1994 genocide. These three concepts are sometimes used interchangeably, with intention of causing confusions centered on references of two parties involved in fighting (war) as opposed to genocide where one party, especially the state plans and executes a sinister project—genocide—with intent to exterminate a specific group of people based on its religion, region, ethnicity and race (genocide).

In line with Moghalu’s earlier recommendation of identifying and drawing upon Africa’s internal strengths, specifically socio-cultural resources and values, Murithi (2008:16) cited several examples of African-based unconventional approaches of conflict transformation and peacebuilding in Africa: *gacaca courts* (small courts) in Rwanda, The *Kotgla* in Botswana, *matopot* (drinking the bitter root) in Acholi Uganda, *bashingantahe* in Burundi, the shrine of *tirusina* in Ethiopia, *gadaa oromo* in Ethiopia, *ukuzidla* in South Africa and *thedare/ dale* (traditional court) in Zimbabwe. Murithi also cited South African’s *Ubuntu*, traditional institutions in Niger, post-conflict Mozambique's healing and reconciliation practices of reintegrating child soldiers into communities they had brutalized, Somaliland's cultural norms as resources which ample lessons that can inform other societies emerging from sustained violence

in Africa. For purposes of brevity, a few from the above list shall be discussed in the forthcoming paragraphs.

Inspired by the experience of indigenous approach, specifically the disputes mediation session in a communal square by *Tiv* People of Nigeria in 1990s, Murithi highlighted practical benefits of homegrown approaches stressing that , “in most African societies, the resolution of conflict was guided by the principle of consensus, collective responsibility and communal solidarity,” (2008:19). These principles—communal solidarity, collective harmony and collective responsibility of *Jir* (the Dispute Mediation Assembly) of *Tiv* People of Nigeria are illustrative of the unifying and reconciliatory nature of most homegrown solutions in Africa. The most reconciliatory nature of the Nigerian Homegrown unconventional *Jir* approach is emphasized in the citation below:

“Commitment to maintaining order and ensuring the peaceful co-existence of groups; a desire to ensure that the community remained a cohesive unity, the leadership was not there to decide a particular issue, but to encourage the disputing parties to reconcile between themselves, the whole process was consensual and every member of community was free to participate and contribute to the settlement process,” Murithi (2008:19).

The dedicated nature of unconventional approach is worth noting: “the emphasis that was placed on all sides gaining from the process based on the belief that a settlement or resolution could not follow unless the disputes mediation session (*Jir*) had been satisfactorily concluded,” Murithi (2008:19). Murithi underscores five key elements of *Tiv* approach to conflict resolution in Nigeria. Frst, commitment to maintaining order and ensuring peaceful co-existence of disputing groups, secondly a desire to ensure that community remained a cohesive unit, third, the disputing groups prioritized reconciliation, forth the process was consensual and every member of the

community was free to participate in the conflict resolution and finally, emphasis was placed on all sides gaining from the process, (Murithi, 2008). There is closer resemblance between the above elements of Tiv approach and the objectives of most unconventional approaches in Rwanda, for instance, the concluded Gacaca traditional justice.

Murithi, (2008) emphasized that such approaches deepen interpersonal and social trust, collective action, cooperation, community well-being and healing of social divisions as well as restoration of broken relationships. Though he romanticizes Africa's approaches as more responsive to African peacebuilding challenges for their intrinsic values: "consensus-based peace-building processes, collective responsibility and prioritizing community solidarity," Murithi, nonetheless, agreed with the recommendation from recent studies which called for a "hybrid approach," that might take best practices from indigenous and so called modern or official approach to peace and conflict resolution," (Murithi, 2008:29). The most important critique to western response or what Murithi (2008) sarcastically referred to as "official," approach to post-conflict is not only according to Francis' (2008), "inappropriateness, but the usual quick fix, short-term and exit strategy orientation of the international community interventions

Northern Somalia people largely relied on their conventional approach in solving most conflicts through traditional clan elders, generally regarded as "repositories of moral authority," and catalysts for social harmony, Murithi (2000). According to Francis (2008), during the absence of state because of war in Somalia in the 1990s, two major homegrown approaches—"shir—meaning the Council of elders and *guurti*—meaning the inter-clan mediating council—helped resolve Somali conflicts in northern part (Somaliland) as opposed to conflict-stricken south part of

Somalia,” Francis (2008:20). The Somali concept known as “*Xeer*” (pronounced as hair) is unwritten but loosely accepted code of conduct,” Francis, (2008:20).

Similarly, Murithi (2008) considers such approach of self-governance and conflict resolution to promote the principles of inclusion, consensus and kinship among the elders and the wider society (p.20). According to Francis (2008) these principles form core elements of building positive relations between people especially after violent conflicts. According to Francis, the Somali based unconventional approach—*Xeer*, stresses the value of interdependence, and inclusiveness and forms the basis for social contracts or covenants between lineage groups. The approach, “defines obligations, rights and collective responsibility and organizes the sharing of resources such as grazing land, water resources, Francis (2008:20). “*Xeer* does not eliminate strife but provides accepted and workable ways of dealing with disputes and conflicts” Francis (2008:20).

Ultimately, according to Francis (2008):

“In 1991, Somaliland’s elders organized inter-clan reconciliation conferences, which were followed by meetings at district and regional levels. The conference produced a peace charter which brought hostilities to end in several parts of Somaliland and recognized individuals’ rights to move, trade, and pursue their aspirations within the clan’s boundaries” (p.21).

To conclude on unconventional approach in Somaliland, Francis observed, the application of homegrown unconventional approach, Somaliland “managed to maintain a relatively high degree of peace. Today a relatively peaceful Somaliland has applied for membership of the African Union and has requested the UN to grant it special status ...” (2008:21).

To a greater extent, *Gacaca*, one of the Rwanda's homegrown indigenous (unconventional) approach to reconciliation emphasized the conflict transformation principles similar to Somaliland's unconventional reconciliatory approach—*Xeer* such as revealing truth that heals, collective participation for societal healing, eradicating the culture of impunity, advance unity and reconciliation after the 1994 genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda, Gacaca Completion Report (2012). The emphasis of the greater societal good rather than individual interests makes unconventional reconciliation approaches most effective responses to societies affected by deadly and sustained violence like genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda. Intrinsic values of all homegrown unconventional approaches to conflict transformation is also emphasized by Francis as evidenced in the citation below:

The examples of the Gacaca system of justice and reconciliation in Rwanda and the use of the Mato Oput peace-bulding in Nothern Uganda give an indication of the potential relevance and application of African traditional resources and indigenous approaches to modern conflicts, Francis, (2008:198).

2.1.3. Nature of Reconciliation in Rwanda

Rutayisire (2009) argues Rwanda witnessed what he termed as “episodic violence” against Tutsi sequentially following each: 1959, 1963, 1973 and finally culminating into 1994 genocide against Tutsi.

In less than 100 days, from April 7th to July 4th, 1994, more than 1 million Tutsi and moderate Hutus of Rwanda were massacred in one of the worst genocides of the century. Up to date, people are still trying to process the causes of this madness?" (Rutayisire, in A.Kalayjian & F. Paloutzian, 2009:171).

In view of the above, there were ample historical injustices that required initiation of reconciliation process in Rwanda. "Even prior to the 1994 genocide, reconciliation was viewed as an important priority for overcoming a history of conflict within Rwandan society," NURC,

(2010:14). Sarkin (1999) confirmed that by 1993, Rwanda had a Truth Commission that would specifically deal with the earlier noted episodic cases of violence. J. Sarkin further states that following the signing of the Arusha Peace Accord, the 1993 Rwanda's Truth Commission started In January 1993 and was welcomed by President Juvenal Habyarimana and RPF. However, the Commission's lifetime was short and after its disappearance, between 300 and 500 people are estimated to have died (Jeremy, 1999).

Though it collapsed before implementation, the 1993 Arusha Peace Accord between the then ruling Government of Juvenal Habyarima and Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) had expressed similar sentiments of 'prioritizing reconciliation,' (RRB,2010). As a consequence, over 1 million deaths, 3,000,000 Rwandese mainly Hutus were trapped into refugee camps, in the neighboring countries, over 500,000 children were counted unaccompanied, A Kalayjian & Paloutzian, (2009). Numbers of imprisoned genocide suspects was estimated between 128,000 and 115,000 between 1998 and 2001, according to A. Kalayjian & F. Paloutzian, (2009). Over 500,000 women were molested and raped leaving a generational challenge: 20,000 children born out of genocidal rape (The East African, Sunday, April 2017). Worth noting, rape was used not only to dehumanize Tutsi, but as a genocidal weapon with multi-dimensional generational consequences. Put briefly, by 1994 and immediately afterwards, Rwanda was at the precipice and this view is well captured by Rutayisire, "[...] all in all, everyone saw the future with justifiable apprehension," A Kalayjian & F. Paloutzian, (2009:181). However, he acknowledged the fact that amidst critical challenges, reconciliation had been underlined as a non-negotiable value for the survival of Rwanda.

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 was faced with a huge challenge—to rebuild Rwanda, to reconcile and unite Rwandans (RRB, 2015). The National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC) was formally instituted in Parliament by passing of the law No 03/99 of 12 March 1999, and with the broad mandate of promoting and fostering reconciliation among Rwandans (RRB, 2010). The formal establishment of the NURC was the outcome of reflective meetings convened by the Presidency in 1998-1999 to discuss a range of issues pertaining to the history of Rwanda and ways forward in the aftermath of genocide. Further, the National Unity and Reconciliation Policy (2007) considers reconciliation as:

A conduct, practice of Rwandans that reflects the identity of shared citizenship, culture and equal rights manifested through interpersonal trust, tolerance, respect, equality, truth and healing of wounds with the objective of laying a foundation for sustainable development (NURC, 2015:5)

From the above definition, one notices critical issues which informed formulation of the policy. First, was a response to identity differentiation used by genocidal politicians to create *Them vs. Us ethnicity* in Rwanda through *Tutsi vs. Hutu dichotomy*. At the centre of any discourse on causes of genocide against Tutsi, there is ethnic identity. Therefore, the post genocide leadership deliberately opted a shared collective identity (Rwandaness/NdumunyaRwanda) as a longer term or remedial solution to *Hutu vs. Tutsi* ethnic polarity which had been deeply planted in the psyches of Rwandans since independence through genocide periods.

Despite scholarly skepticism and even outright negation of effectiveness of post genocide Rwandaness policy, the Rwanda National Barometer (2015) findings revealed that 97.3 % of Rwandans are proud to be Rwandan than subscribing to the earlier politically entrenched Tutsi-

Hutu ethnic divisive identity. According to the Reconciliation Barometer (2015), the Commission responsible for steering National Unity and Reconciliation in Rwanda (NURC) considers 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/inter-dependence, truth and healing of wounds inflicted by Rwanda's history with the objective of laying a foundation for sustainable development, (RRB, 2015:5)

In view of the above definitions specifically relating to Rwanda's context, it is evident that the overarching goal of reconciliation starts from what caused the violent conflicts and concerned parties seek to revisit their past as a way of building a peaceful future. To sustainably build a shared future, Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer (RRB, 2015) argues for change in the underlying causes of the conflicts, goals, beliefs attitudes and emotion of conflict parties. Lederach's Conflict Transformation Theory—the theory that guided this study recommends changing of negative attitudes, beliefs, behaviors and emotions as the way to reconciliation and realization of sustainable (1997).

Rwanda's adoption of homegrown approach to reconciliation reflects an attempt to create unfavorable environment for regeneration of future ethnic violence and genocide. IDEA (2003) underlines that effective reconciliation is the best guarantee that the violence of the past will not return.

In abide to present the essence of the NURC after genocide, Institute of Research and Dialogue for Peace (2006) stretches far back from the disintegration of unity of Rwandans, in 1950s, specifically, at the birth of the Hutu Republic, and the subsequent issues associated with it: institutionalization of Tutsi persecution, refugee problems, the civil war of 1990, the genocide

against Tutsi and political massacres of 1994. In response to the above issues, Institute of Research and Dialogue, pointedly underlined that, the post genocide leadership established a tool: the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission to deal not only with the elite, but also with the people at the grassroots. Sustainable reconciliation should be from within societies and bottom-up.

Outlining the key activities of the NURC: identification of the origin of the divisions, organizing solidarity camps, conducting periodic consultations intended for dialogue between Rwandans within and those outside the country, the Institute of Research and Dialogue for Peace (IRDP) argues that activities, specifically, the periodic consultations acted as tool that measures the progress of achieving unity and reconciliation policy. Still under measuring the progress toward reconciliation, NURC has measured this complex process twice (2010 and 2015) what we referred to earlier as—Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer (2010) and (2015) respectively. This confirms the earlier discussed process-oriented nature of reconciliation after sustained violence like genocide.

Conversely, the findings from Rwanda's Reconciliation Barometer (2015) revealed that on average the current status (as of 2015) of reconciliation in Rwanda is 92.5%, up from 82.3% in 2010. Using the variable of time to analyze this, by 2015, the publication date of Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer (2015), 21 years had elapsed since the end of the gruesome genocide against Tutsi and its far-reaching consequences. Going by the level of reconciliation (95.5% and 82.3%, 2010 and 2015 respectively), hypothetically, three facts can be constructed: first, for such achievement to be realized (92.5%), especially after the far-reaching genocidal violence and its

multi-dimensional consequences, conformed what Grieff (2008) referred to as heavy investment in reconciliation process. Secondly, it reflects that Rwandans the magnanimous nature of genocide survivors, specifically the demonstration of forging ahead through forgiveness. Thirdly, if sustainable reconciliation involves the psychological healing and reparations, arguably, there is still some journey to cover because complete healing of genocide related inner-wounds will take generations. Though the two forthcoming cases cannot be compared, the healing process of Jews from the Holocaust can offer sobering lessons to Rwanda's uphill tasks of healing from the 1994 genocide against Tutsi. The recovery and healing from Holocaust is still incomplete six decades after.

2.1.3.1. Nature of Conventional Reconciliation after Genocide in Rwanda.

In P. Clark & D. Kaufman (2008) Paul Kagame asked: “How do we now go about rebuilding a Rwandan society that was so decimated—physically, emotionally, psychologically, and spiritually—by the genocide?,” (2008:xxi). P. Clark & D. Kaufman provides an illustrative image about the state of judicial infrastructure before and immediately after 1994 genocide against Tutsi, noting that by “1994, Rwanda had only 700 judges and magistrates, of whom 50 had formal education training, and there were only 20 lawyers with genuine legal education by November 1994,” P. Clark & D. Kaufman, (2008:2012).

Henceforth, on 8th November 1994, the UN Security Council authorized the establishment of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) to prosecute those most responsible for the genocide, According to P. Clark & D. Kaufman (2008). Amidst criticisms, the establishment of ICTR under resolution 955 by the UN Security Council symbolically reflected the official

start off the internationally administered conventional approach towards reconciliation through judicial route. According to Schabas in P. Clark & D. Kaufman (2008), the adoption of the resolution on 8th June 1994, UN confirmed that indeed, the genocide against Tutsis of Rwanda, constituted a crime punishable under international law mechanism (p.209). Rwanda's President, Paul Kagame, has been one of the critics of the costly, geographically detached internationally-driven judicial approach, the Arusha, Tanzania based International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR). ICTR has had both praises and blames from genocide survivors and genocide perpetrators in Rwanda and some scores of scholars and peacebuilding practitioners outside Rwanda.

Whereas Schabas in P. Clark & D. Kaufman (2008) lauded ICTR, he also acknowledged the stomy relationships between the intenational tribibunal and post genocide government. Evaluation of ICTR performance stretches beyond the scope of this study. Much of ICTR's criticism have been based on its inefficiencies, insensitivities in face of higher expectations from Rwanda, specifically, expedient delivery of justice to genocide survivors, genocide perpetrators, their relatives and a host of Rwandans. According to African Union Report, "The ICTR has been plagued by charges of inefficiency," (2013:32). Very few objective-minded Rwandans would refute the foregoing view point. However, ICTR has got also admirers and supporters in and outside Rwanda.

According to NURC's Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer (2010), Rwanda had one of the two international criminal tribunals established since Nuremberg and Tokyo after World War II (the other being the court for the former Yugoslavia). Bloomfield et.al.,(2003) prosecution of crimes

against humanity, genocide has been extremely rare because these crimes were not recognized in domestic legislations in the past. The genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda set a legal precedent as many governments were awakened to formulate laws on such gravest crimes.

The promulgation of laws, establishment of courts to punish genocide crimes and formation of institutions to promote unity and reconciliation are some of the indicators of conventional nature of reconciliation after 1994 genocide against Tutsi. It is against that background national laws, for instance, the organic law: 08/96 of 30/08/1996 on the organization of prosecutions of offences involving the crime of genocide or crime against humanity committed from 01/10/1990 to 31/12/1994 and other similar laws were drafted, adopted for the purpose thereof, Senate Report (2006). Schabas (2008) stated that the foregoing legislations defined four categories of offenders—the first category consisted of organizers and planners of genocide, persons in position of authority within the military or civil infrastructure who committed or encouraged genocide, and person who committed odious and systematic murders. The second category, Schabas further reflected was covering those not in the first category who committed murder or serious crimes against the person that led to death. The third category comprised of other serious crimes against the person, and the fourth category was made up of crimes against the property.

According to the Report on Activities of Gacaca (2012) the earlier stated Organic Law put in place special chambers in ordinary and military courts responsible for trying genocide cases and established conventional mechanisms for confessing and guilty pleas by genocide suspects in Rwanda after 1994 genocide. “The guilty plea and confession set out in the 1996 legislation soon proved that it could work effectively,” Schabas in P. Clark & D. Kaufman (2008:2017). He

supported this foregoing view with statistical evidence: “only 500 prisoners confessed in 1997, but by December 1998, there were 15,000 confessions and by early 2000, more than 20,000 confessions,” in P. Clark & D. Kaufman (2008:2017).

Schabas (2008) provided statistical facts about how the adopted 1996 legislation contributed in delivering justice in Rwanda after 1994 Genocide against Tutsi. For instance, he noted, 2,406 persons had been tried by the national special genocide courts, of whom 348 (14.4%) were sentenced to death (that was before death punishment was abolished), 34% to jail terms of between 20 years and one year, and 19% were acquitted. Schabas (2008) further reported that 346 accused were acquitted in 1997, 928 in 1998, 1,318 in 1999, 2,458 in 2000, 1,416 in 2001 and 727 in 2002.

By 2004, according to Schabas (2008) approximately 10,000 genocide related offences had been tried in Rwanda. In view of this, Schabas (2008) quoted Michel Moussalli commendation of Rwanda: "There is much to applaud in this process." (p.219). To conclude on how Rwanda fast-tracked the process of reducing caseloads after the 1994 genocide using national courts as provided for in the 1996 legislation, Schabas observed, “Rwanda has done more in this respect in the ten years following the end of the conflict, than did the national courts of Germany, Italy and Austria from 1945 to 1955,” in P. Clark & D. Kaufman (2008:2019). P. Crisafulli & A. Redmond (2012) observed that, by 1999, five years after the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, only 6,000 of 120,000 detainees had been tried. In view of the above, “ at this pace, it would require at least 100 years to try all these suspects,” Report on Activities of Gacaca, (2012:1). From the foregoing

view, it is worth-while to establish the limitations of the conventional approach in delivering justice and reconciliation after 1994 genocide against Tutsis in Rwanda.

Whereas the researcher contends that conventional judicial approach alone cannot satisfactorily deliver reconciliation which would culminate into the realization peace after genocide, E. Daly and Jeremy (2007) argued that “even a more conventional conception of justice does not preclude reconciliation,” They stressed, “the extent to which reconciliation achieves justice and justice achieves reconciliation will inevitably depend on how it is done and how it is interpreted by supporters and skeptics alike” E. Daly and Jeremy(2007:15). What is worth noting from E. Daly and Jeremy (2007) is trials can promote reconciliation if they are seen to be part of unbiased process...” (p.15).

2.1.3.2. Nature of Unconventional Reconciliation in Rwanda

Scores of scholars have widely cited Rwanda’s peacebuilding and development strategies informed by Rwanda’s unconventional insights, cultural values and how they have contributed in uplifting socio-economic livelihoods in rural areas. This study limits itself to peacebuilding. Rwanda’s President, Kagame in P. Clark & D. Kaufman, remarked:

“Rebuilding Rwandan society requires responses to conflicts that draw upon our own culture. Efforts to achieve justice, peace, healing and reconciliation must derive from concepts and practices that the Rwandan population recognize and own,” Schabas in P. Clark & D. Kaufman (2008: xxv).

Though Kagame has been largely associated with advancing homegrown approaches in managing genocide challenges and consequences, the use of some homegrown solutions to restore positive relationships, reconciliation and peace in Rwanda is older than Kagame. Some Homegrown solutions in Rwanda pre-date the genocide against Tutsi and the leadership

thereafter. Schabas in P. Clark & D. Kaufman (2008) and many other scholars who have written widely on Gacaca acknowledge the above view. The African Union Report for the Panel of the Wise (2013) describes the historical functioning of Gacaca before colonialism, noting that “during the proceedings, respected community figures served as “judges” who involved the entire community in the process,” (p.34). Rwanda’s Gacaca comes from grass, but its practical meaning is derived from Rwanda’s cultural practice of discussing over and settling disturbing matters such as conflicts and disputes amicably by men of integrity (known Rwanda’s local language, *Kinyarwanda* as *Inyangamugayo*) while seated on grass or lawn. This does not necessarily mean modern Gacaca sessions would be ritually required to sit “on grass while listening to and considering matters presented to them by conflicting parties” as Schabas noted in P. Clark & D. Kaufman (2008:221).

“There is a tendency after conflict to expect solutions to come from outside creating dependency and a lack of sustainability,” Ms Futuma Ndagiza, the former Executive Secretary for Rwanda National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (Kenya’s Daily Nation, August, 27th 2008).

However, principles such as sense of service, integrity, impartiality, soberness of mind which characterized pre-colonial Gacaca’s men of integrity *Inyangamugayo* often informed the character, the stature and the significance of post genocide Gacaca Courts. The main aim of the pre-colonial Gacaca proceedings were restitution and reconciliation, The African Union Report for the Panel of the Wise (2013:34).

According to the Mukantaganzwa, “Gacaca courts were established by Organic Law N° 40/2000 of January 26, 2001. This law was only used in the pilot phase. After the pilot, it was replaced by Organic Law N°16/2004 of June 19, 2004. This law was also revised and complemented by other organic laws to improve the functioning of Gacaca courts,” Report on the Activities of the Gacaca Court (2012:2). The

post-genocide Gacaca was guided by five objectives, but for purposes of brevity and relevance to this section, the researcher cites only three whose order is arranged in accordance to the researcher's preferences: firstly, "to highlight the capacity of the Rwandan society to solve its own problems; secondly, to strengthen unity and reconciliation, and thirdly, to reveal the truth on the genocide against Tutsi," Report on the Activities of the Gacaca Court (2012:2).

Relating to the first objective of Gacaca Courts, Futuma Ndingiza, the former Executive Secretary for Rwanda's National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, stated, "unlike the truth and reconciliation commission model, we are using homegrown models for reconciliation because of the nature of the conflict which was 'hate built'," (Daily Nation, August, 27th 2008). Whereas there is extensive scholarship supporting the foregoing view, few post conflict societies in Africa do stretch their imaginations to explore approaches beyond conventional ones. Partly, this contributes to lack of sustainable peace in most of post conflict societies in Africa. This view is supported by the former Executive Secretary of Rwanda's National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, noting that one of the reasons for revitalization of homegrown approach in the post genocide Rwanda was: "avoiding the risks of over-dependency and a lack of sustainability, (Daily Nation, August, 27th 2008). The first objective: to highlight the capacity of the Rwandan society to solve its own problems—of Gacaca Court in post genocide Rwanda, (Report on the Activities of the Gacaca Court, 2012:2), illustrates the foregoing view.

As earlier stressed, Gacaca's guiding operative principle was not punishing wrongdoers, but rather repairing relationships fractured by genocidal violence in a reconciliatory homegrown approach. However, this popular participation of citizens in administering justice and

reconciliation has been misunderstood by international law specialists as another form of Kangaroo court in the post genocide Rwanda. Most criticisms against Gacaca related to “inadequate guarantees for impartiality, defense, and equality before the law,” The African Union Report for the Panel of the Wise (2013:35). The same report however acknowledged an important point worth noting:

Gacaca was a locally appropriate and pragmatic mechanism to address impunity and reconciliation. The *gacaca* experience illustrates the possibilities of using a nuanced approach to combine customary African values with international criminal law and human rights practices to overcome intractable conflict, the African Union Report for the Panel of the Wise (2013:35)

Whereas Gacaca has been widely cited as Rwanda’s unconventional approach that contributed to revelation of truths, building trust, providing platforms for former genocide perpetrators to apologize and seek for forgiveness, there are plenty of other homegrown solutions more or less oriented toward the realization of reconciliation and sustainable peace after genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda. Rwanda Governance Board Report (2014), outlines several homegrown solutions referred to as Homegrown Initiatives in Rwanda’s operative terms. These, according Rwanda Governance Board Report (2014) include: Umuganda—Community work, *Gacaca*—truth and reconciliation traditional courts, *Abunzi*—Local Conflict Mediators, *Imihigo*—performance contracts, *Ubudehe*—community-based and participatory effort towards problem solving, *Itorero & Ingando*—National Reconciliation Retreats, *Umushyikirano*—National Dialogue, *Umwihherero*—National Leadership Retreat, and *Girinka*—National Reconciliation-based One Cow per Poor Family Programme.

The report further revealed, “being locally-created, HGIs are appropriate to the local development context and have been the bedrock to the Rwandan development successes for the last decade,”

(2014:1). Rwanda's Cabinet of 4th November 2012 directed the formalization, institutionalization and documentation of Homegrown Initiatives for wider public use and accessibility. According to Rwanda Governance Report (2014), the above directive followed another from the 8th National Dialogue of December 2010 "which instructed the Rwanda Governance Board to assess the social and economic impact of the HGIs on ordinary and their integral beneficiaries," (p.1).

The objective of the documenting the Rwanda's Homegrown Initiatives was "to create an information bank for HGIs and best practices that will be referenced and used by interested parties—academia, media, civil society and policy-makers," Rwanda Governance Board (2014:1).

In line with above objective, documentation of Rwanda's unconventional knowledge resources is also intellectually unsettling as it is laced with controversies and complexities. Three points need to be noted: whereas Rwanda history is a replete of valuable wisdom, legendary facts, esoteric codes, royal success processes, *Ubwiru* (royal court secrets), *ubusizi* (dynastic poetry) and Ubucurabwenge (knowledge of the dynastic genealogy) and so forth, the documentation of these resources started rather late and it was poorly done. This explains why Rwanda's history is regarded by many scholars as controversial. According to D. Byanafashe & P. Rutayisire (2016), the official documentation of these historical resources started in 1910 by Alex Kagame, the man regarded as "unofficial specialist" by the two historians and authors. Emerging from literature, Alex Kagame attracted both admirers and haters in far as recording Rwandan history is concerned. Basing on the reviewed literature, Kagame's was as a merely stenographer of Rwanda's history as dictated by original writers of the history of Rwanda.

He (Kagame) is however widely lauded for documenting what is generally known as Rwanda's dynastic rituals, historical narratives and myths which would have otherwise remained unknown for eternity. The second point is related to loss of Rwanda's unconventional resources—artifacts, curative (herbal) medicine, wisdom, tactical knowledge such as organization of the Kingdom at the behest of early explorers, missionaries and colonialists. Unconventional resources became the first casualty of the three relatives (explorers, missionaries and colonialists).

The third point about Rwanda's tragic process of documenting unconventional knowledge rests on Rwandans themselves: adherence to tacit knowledge transferable through oral traditions than documentable process. Much of Rwanda's unconventional resources, approaches, values and insights are explained in mystical terms whose origin is not precisely traced in most of knowledge Resource Centers such libraries and universities. In view of this background, two points emerged—first, literature about unconventional approaches, knowledge resources predating colonial Rwanda is swallowly written and scanty. Secondly, literature about colonial and post-colonial Rwanda, specifically Rwanda's history, traditional knowledge, resources and practice is controversial. This explains the difficulty associated with finding the historical origin of the reintroduced homegrown approaches such as Girinka, Gacaca, Umuganda, Intorero and Ingando among others. In fact, a detailed report of Rwanda's history was published in 2016 by Rwandan professors; Byanafashe & Rutayisire.

However, there are identifiable literature resources indicating how the cow-based reconciliation approach (Girinka) was enhanced peace-building, trust-building and reconciliation in the pre-colonial Rwanda. Eussi (2012) reminisces, traditionally, a cow in Rwanda [was] a symbol of wealth (milk and manure), unity and solidarity; it was the currency of socio-economic

transactions before colonization and was also used as dowry price. Discourses about pre-colonial Rwanda remain incomplete until the cows are involved.

For purposes of clarity, *Girinka* in *Kinyarwanda* means cow-giving and the practice entailed strengthening friendship, reconciling former enemies and building peace, and empowering vulnerable members of the society, Rwanda Governance Report (2014). *Girinka*'s reconciliation dimension and peacebuilding elements is the central focus of this research. Noteworthy, cows and cow-giving (*Girinka*) are integral part of Rwanda's historical stories. For instance, D. Byanafashe & P. Rutayisire (2016), revealed that there is close link between Rwanda's creation story and origin of cows. In fact, the legendary *Gihanga* generally and mythically perceived by Rwandans as the founder of Rwanda is linked to the origin of cows in Rwanda. For instance, the historical narrative goes:

Popular narratives present two major symbols to justify the creation of Rwanda by Gihanga: the royal drum and the cows. Hence, [...] it is said the hero is Gihanga cyahanze inka n'ingoma, or Gihanga is the origin of cows, (Byanafashe & Rutayisire, 2016:56).

The Journal of Pan African Studies, (2014) made similar conclusions, noting that the origin of cows and its high socio-economic status in Rwandan tradition is traceable to ancient history which has it that in Rwanda circa 1091-1124, a cousin of Gihanga, the nation's ruling monarch fell in love with the king's daughter named Nyirarucyaba. The journal further recounts that the two youngsters engaged in pre-marital sex and the princess became pregnant. Traditionally, pre-marital sex and pregnancy as an outcome were extremely unwelcome and attracted severe punishment in pre-colonial Rwanda. As such, an unwedded mother (the princess) was destined to be thrown inside the evil forest, but when the king's cousin learnt of the princess' pregnancy, he went to the evil forest, and the princess would later join him and both lived together among cows

and leopards, eventually going on to become cattle ranchers. Byanafashe & Rutayisire (2016) also corroborated the above historical narrative, associating the discovery of cows and use of cows for milk to princess' escape to the evil forest after quarreling with her queen mother, Nyirampirangwe.

The gathered legends in The Journal of Pan African Studies about the origin of cows in Rwanda pointedly revealed, at some point, the monarch fell ill and was at the point of death. According to Byanafashe and Rutayisire (2016), the king is said to have been suffering from dysentery. All known remedies had failed to cure him until his cousin and the princess somehow learnt of his predicament and sent cow milk to him. King Gihanga made a dramatic recovery a few days after drinking the milk, and he granted an official pardon to his daughter and cousin and sent for them to be part of the community again. Most cow herders in Rwanda hold convictions that cow ghee cures diseases nutritional deficiency and skin related diseases.

Upon their return, the couple presented cows as gifts to the king and that was the first time cow rearing became recorded in Rwandan history. This version of the historical legendary is confirmed by the version in the Rwanda History Book (2016) by Byanafashe & Rutayisire though the latter observed that with the help of a soothsayer called *Gakara*, *Gihanga* discovered a vast number of cows in Rugezi valley. Unfortunately, the bull leading the flock escaped. And before he died of old age, the monarch called his sons together and distributed his cows to them. The sons went on to become the rulers of various Rwandan groupings and were thus considered wealthy and powerful, according to the number of cows they owned. Since then, cows have been considered as the pillar of Rwanda's economy, Rwanda Governance Board, (2014). There is scanty literature on the origin of cows in Rwanda. Therefore, it was extremely hard to validate or

invalidate the above historical recount. What is undisputable however, is the central role cows played in Rwanda's history—as an important socio-cultural, political and economic resource.

The history of cows in Rwanda is however twofold: horrible and honorable. Noteworthy, recorded writings of Alex Kagame (1947) as the official writer of royal history and rituals, D'Hertefelt M. and Coupez A (1968) and several other authors confirm the cow's 'historical honorable' place in pre-colonial Rwanda, whereas, the writings of politically-minded authors in the post colonial epoch highlighted the former. An analysis disregarding the two perspectives should attract scholarly skepticism. While we acknowledge the two, our main focus and scope is on the helpful side rather than the harmful side of cows in Rwanda. Though literature about cows in pre-colonial Rwanda remains scanty, the existing one depicts cultural adorations and historical honors of cows at all levels of Rwandan society. Pierre Bettez Gravel (1962) tried to illustrate the magnitude of the cow-honoring frenzy in pre-colonial Rwanda.

To Banyarwanda, the cows was indeed something special. Cows stood in a class quite apart from animals and from man himself. One cannot in Kinyarwanda, classify cows under animal (i.e., that category of things we translate by our word "animal,"). As a term a cow stands by itself because of its function, which is unique. One must treat cows with the same respect that one would give to man's English word of honor...That was precisely the kind of respect granted to cows by Banyarwanda, (Pierre Bettez Gravel, 1962:327).

Rwanda's historical narratives captured by Alex Kagame as quoted by Byanafashe and Rutayisire (2016) revealed *ubuhake* (cow transfer) as one of key institutions including *Ubwiru* (royal court secrets), *ubusizi* (dynastic poetry) and *Ubucurabwenge* (knowledge of the dynastic genealogy) which legitimized the ruling king. These constitute some of scantily explored knowledge resources by Rwandan scholars. Considering the foregoing Pierre Bettez Gravel's illustrative perspective above, this is a factor worthy of research time and other resources.

Cows are an integral part of Rwanda's history; it promoted both controversy and conviviality in pre-colonial Rwanda. As highly valued and scarce socio-cultural and political resources, cows definitely contributed to Rwanda's recorded social tensions. Sohier (1951) in "*Le droit de vache*," as quoted Pierre Bettez Gravel (1962) stressed that cows in Rwanda were not regarded as animals in pre-colonial Rwanda but as an institution, a sign of wealth like gold.

Further, a source of wealth, Pierre Bettez Gravel, argued that prior to introduction of cash (Francs) by the Belgians, "there was no question of cows being equivalent of money," (1962:326). Similarly, Pierre Bettez Gravel affirmed the relationship between cows and what he termed as "unstructured power—power broadly defined as the capacity to act under authority, authority stemming from the society at large," (1962:326). He however differed with Helen Codere's coercive power as presented in 'Power in Ruanda,' (1962).

As an economic resource (wealth), source of power and an enhancing socio-cultural prestige, cows inevitably widened the gaps between the patrons and clients under the systems that are going to be discussed in the proceeding sections. The IRDP Report (2006), cites three major systems Ubhake (patronage-Client relationship) Igikingi (right of ownership of land for pastoral purpose, loosely interpreted), Ubukonde (a system of temporal ownership of land for farming, loosely interpreted), Uburetwa (unpaid works for the superior leader, usually the King, loosely interpreted) as some of examples revealing how cows caused controversies and conflicts in the pre-colonial even during colonial times in Rwanda. In this research, we term Ubhake as Service for Cows based on its nature.

There are differing opinions on how these systems caused tensions (non-ethnic based conflicts) amongst Rwandans. The IRDP Report states "cows acquired by the client through *Ubuhake* in form of gifts (impano and inkwano) could be re-owned by the patron at will. This led to ceaseless conflicts between bosses and clients," (2006:74). Pierre Bettez Gravel generally depicts cows and *Ubuhake* system in good light. He acknowledge cows of the bow (*inka y'Umuheto*)—meaning descendants of the cows taken in raids upon neighboring population were highly undesired and were not part of the Patron-client transfer process, because they were generally unwelcome. However, he stressed, "the Umuheto cows probably had the tendency to infiltrate the cow giving practice or transfer system and this often caused quarrels and disputes," between *Banyarwandans* (Pierre Bettez Gravel, 962:327). However, this was not at a wider scale thus not worth generalization. From the foregoing reason and Pierre Bettez Gravel's submissions, it seemed Umuheto cow was laced with bad luck.

Though the Patron-client cow giving practice in the pre-colonial times has been overly presented as conflict-laden, writers such as Pierre Bettez Gravel highlighted "friendship cow," which according to him, "if a chieftain [Patron in this case] lacked cows to transfer to a client, he could request a cow from a man of equal rank and status as himself with whom he had established good relation. This was termed as a "friendship" cow, implying the Chieftain would reciprocate," Pierre Bettez Gravel, (962:326). Such reciprocity and mutuality enhanced friendships and harmony between the giver and the receiver—a point ignored by post-colonial writers, knowingly or unwittingly. According to Pierre Bettez Gravel (1962), friendship cow, deepened mutual support and social reciprocation, harmonious relationships between Rwandans.

Importantly, Pierre Bettez Gravel, also dismissed the view which presented cows as a Tutsi preserve—a factor raised by post-colonial politically minded writers as a contributor to enabling cow-owners to wield uncontrollable power against Hutus. He argued, “It must be supposed that the Hutu peasant wanted a single cow so avidly that he was ready to exchange land, soul, and freedom for the object of his passion,” Pierre Bettez Gravel, (1962:323). This view along with a host of others refutes the line of reasoning relating to cow’s Tutsification of Rwandans. Most of the literature written in the post-colonial Rwanda presents cows as some of the tools a section of Rwandans used to exploit and subjugate others.

The friendship cow, according to the Pierre Bettez Gravel, was ethnically non-selective, but it involved clientage between Tutsi and Tutsi, or Tutsi and Hutus in a primary relationship. He argues further that there other clientage relationships, such as secondary Tutsi-Hutu relationships or those between Hutu peasants. This submission disqualifies claims made by post colonial political elites who presented *Ubughake* as exploitative system steered by Tutsi against Hutus. Literature on Rwandan history specifically written in the post independence period underlines the negative side of *Ubughake* and undermines the positives. As one of the practices of cow-giving between pre-colonial Rwandans, *Ubughake* (Service for Cows) was not principally one single cause of conflicts as suggested by some writers in the post-colonial era. Instead, Francis, reasoned, patron-clientelism bound patron-clients together in form of a system of mutually beneficial relationship—offering general or specific support and assistance (2008:10). He however acknowledged, such exchange system bestowed power, authority and control on the patron (2008:10). Whereas wielding and exercising power is often associated with contentions and conflicts between power-seekers and power-holders, in the context of pre-colonial Rwanda.

Critics of Service for Cow (*Ubuhake*) have largely pointed its hierarchical inequalities based on a superior patron versus an inferior client mode of relationship. Gravel also indicated cow giving practice was both horizontal and vertical. For instance, through horizontal nature of *Ubuhake* "a cow also received from a peer was also called a friendship cow," (1962:326). Implying, it was regarded as "a sign of deep friendship and to increase one's esteem in the eyes of a neighbour or friend, one can give a cow. Tradition demands that respect be perpetually granted the giver by the recipient," (The Journal of Pan African Studies, 2014:245). Noteworthy, Pierre Bettez Gravel highlighted endearing friendship between the chieftain (patron) and clients, for instance, whenever former's family was visited by death, the latter consoled him by giving him a cow and he would be gifted with a cow in case of birth. The researcher termed this nature of Girinka as Cow for Solace and Cow for Life and Cow for Solace (*Inka y'inkura cyobo*). Such acts carried and still reflect deeper social-cultural meanings and significances in post genocide Rwanda. If this is the case, cows presented enormous power and potential in achieving sustainable reconciliation between genocide survivors and perpetrators. The empirical findings will confirm or dispel this assertion.

The Journal of Pan African Studies (2014) stressed that "warring families who want to seal the peace agreement by exchanging an agreed number of cows. The cow that has broken vengeance between families is highly regarded as cows for peace or reconciliation cow. To prevent vengeance and enmity [violence] from being perpetual amongst families and clans, wise men of the hill (*Inyangamugayo*, Men of integrity) in the pre-colonial days required a victimizer to give a cow to the victims to mend fences for peaceful relations for the future generations.

Pierre Bettez Gravel pointed cows as dowry, underlining that the social value outweighed bride wealth since "at different times cows might be transferred from groom's to bride's family but also from bride's to groom's," (1962:326). To many Rwandans, such cow giving practice in form of dowry amongst families signified unification of groom's and bride's families. The Journal of Pan African Studies, (2014) presented specifics relating to number of cows presented to the bride's family as an expression of groom's love, appreciation and respect to the bride's family. Though modernism is gradually changing cow-giving practice in form of dowry to money and other material possessions, culturally-sensitive families still place greater value in cows as dowry above anything else..As Pierre Bettez Gravel, emphasized, "cows did just did that: they chronicled the occurrence of certain things called social relationships," (1962:327). Glorifying pieces about cows can be found in dynastic poetry(*ibisigo*), war poetry (*ibyivugo*), pastoral poetry (*amazina y'inka*) cow musical songs (*Amahamba*), folktales, proverbs, riddles, vows and oath and even discourses to express either anger or joy Byanafashe & Rutayisire (2016) confirmed the above.

According to Rwanda Governance Board Report (2014), the the revival of Girinka was inspired by Rwandan culture and it forms part of other home grown solutions developed to respond to multi-dimensional challenges of 1994 genocide against Tutsi. It was reintroduced by Paul Kagame, President of the Republic of Rwanda in 2006 and approved by the cabinet meeting of 12/04/2006 as part of the fight against rural poverty in Rwanda (Ingabire, 2013). Girinka was reintroduced as a pro-poor national program under Vision 2020 Umurenge in the Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy (EDPRS). The EDPRS has been Rwanda's economic development strategy for realization of Vision 2020 objectives. Girinka's objectives

are summarized as: to fight malnutrition, to increase crop productivity, to increase household income and lastly which is centrally relevant to our study—to promote social harmony and reconciliation through family passing-on of the first heifer to the next family of poor status.

In practice, Girinka consists of giving out the first heifer to the next beneficiary. Rwanda Governance Board termed the practice as "the passing-on scheme consisting of giving out the first heifer to the next beneficiary on the list," (RGB: 2014:46). The listing alluded to by RGB is established through another community-based home grown development approach known as Ubudege which grades Rwandans according to their economic statuses. Consequently, the first recipient of a cow under Girinka is determined by Ubudehe and the giving of the cows revolves around the neediest members of the community. Rwanda Governance Board (2014) further clarifies, the beneficiaries of Girinka are poor households in the first and second categories of Ubudehe selected by the community as the neediest.

In far as this study is concerned, we are interested in two categories of the recipients of cows under Girinka practice: genocide survivors and perpetrators in Kamonyi District. According to UNICEF (2011) the system includes parameters that require recipients to pass on the offsprings of their initial cow onto others, creating a multiplier effect to maximize and passes on the benefits of the initial investment and ensure a sense of communal responsibility for the success of the Programme. Importantly, the researcher is interested in the reconciliatory elements embedded in the "passing-on offspring of the initial cows to others," (UNICEF, 2011), specifically amongst genocide survivors and perpetrators in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. Rwanda Governance Board Report (2014), emphasizes, "in the Rwandan culture giving and receiving a cow from someone builds a strong bond of friendship," (p.46).

The Rwanda Governance Report (2014), Girinka is part and parcel of Rwanda's Homegrown Initiatives and its socio-economic impacts on ordinary and integral beneficiaries was assessed as directed from the 8th National Dialogue of December 2010. However, this researcher established that the reconciliatory approach of Girinka as one of the homegrown unconventional approaches in post genocide Rwanda was not robustly assessed. This justified inclusion of Girinka as part of the literature view of homegrown initiatives in line with objective number one of the study. However, there are more homegrown solutions which emphasize the reconciliation and conflict transformation. Futuma Ndagiza, the former Executive Secretary of National Unity and Reconciliation stressed, the Homegrown National Reconciliation Retreats—Ingando and Itorero—entail organizing month-long or more incisive discussions about Rwanda's history, causes, consequences of Rwanda's conflicts and genocide against Tutsi by Rwandans, mainly genocide perpetrators before returning to their former communities after facing trial, (Daily Nation, August, 27th 2008). For Warfield & Sentongo: “ingando is a Rwandese traditional practice of immobilizing regular activities to reflect and find solutions to communal challenges, and the re-integration of convicts into communities through special programmes,” (2011:97).

In the past, according to reviewed literature, for instance, Warfield & Sentongo (2011), *Ingando* was a strategy used by the Rwanda's Kings to reflect on the situational events and such as wars, drought, diseases and other calamities and to find collective and remedial solutions. After the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, as one of the strategies to respond to human-made disaster, the genocide against Tutsi, Ingando was adopted by the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, to engage scores of Rwandans, including former genocide perpetrators, genocide survivors into what Warfield & Sentongo referred to as “reconciliatory dialogue,” (2011:97).

Some literature consider Rwanda's *Ingando* as purposeful and problem-solving workshops. This view holds credence considering key themes covered in *Ingando*: "Philosophical foundations of humanity, Rwanda's history, genocide against Tutsi, conflict prevention, conflict management and conflict transformation, socio-economic issues, human rights, citizenships, civil duties, rights and obligations of citizens, youth in development, leadership, gender and development and so forth, NURC (2008:vii). Courses covered in *Ingando* are not only interrogative of past human wrongs, incisively, they also introduce participants to what to expect after reintegrating into the wider post genocide society. According to Warfield & Sentongo (2011) it is mandatory for prisoners and returnees to participate in *Ingando* before reintegrating into the wider Rwandan society. However, regardless of their roles in the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, Rwandan youth joining University and institutions of higher learning undergo *Ingando*. Warfield & Sentongo (2011), the post genocide reconciliatory approach "takes the form of civil education and [it] has been extended countrywide to also include students, traders, women, youths, leaders and perpetrators and others,"(p.97). Therefore, the foregoing makes *Ingando* an expanded conflict transformation approach beyond genocide perpetrators, convicts but for all Rwandans.

Noteworthy, whereas some scholars have criticized this unconventional homegrown approach to be a nother form of ideological re-orientation, *Ingando* has acted as a conflict prevention strategy by refamiliarizing former genocide perpetrators and returnees to post genocide operative context: socio-economic and political priorities, principles and programmes before returning their communities. This view was confirmed by Warfield & Sentongo, reporting that "*Ingando* participatns retreat into residential programmes of between three and two months to reflect on

their crimes and other atrocities and commit themselves to ways that crimes do not reoccur,” (2011:97).

“When people are in *Ingando*, they can go for ‘*Umuganda*’ for trust building. In Umuganda the population participates in community work every last Saturday of the month to enhance cohesion,” Ndangiza, (Daily Nation, August, 27th 2008). Rwanda Governance Board (2014) defines Umuganda as “doing things together and pooling together the energy to supplement the efforts of a person,” (p.69). Derived from Rwanda’s culture of mutual support—*gutinza umuganda* or community volunteerism, Umuganda involves working together on projects such as communal farming, crop harvesting, and construction of shelter and thatching as well as maintenance of public infrastructure and management of environment, RGB (2014). Participation in Umuganda, Ndangiza emphasized, is a civic duty and it was designed as such to ensure all Rwandans participate in national reconciliation and development, (Daily Nation, August, 27th 2008). Central to note, whereas, Umuganda was revived by the post genocide leadership as a dialogic, development, and reconciliatory approach after genocide against Tutsi, Rwanda Governance Rwanda Board, established that the same approach:

Served as a means of mass mobilization during the 1994 genocide against Tutsi. *Umuganda* was used to destroy what had been achieved such as decimating forests, destroying water catchments and some infrastructures were laid to waste while hunting the Tutsi in their hiding place. The good image of community service (Umuganda) became hazy and finally got lost.” (2014:70).

The above revelations bring forth two points. First, is the complexity of the genocide against Tutsi and its challenges associated with such man-made disaster. The second point derived from the above citation justifies the earlier view about the mandatory Intorero and Ingando activity of refamiliarizing genocide perpetrators to Rwanda’s new operating systems, practices and values.

From conflict transformation perspective, taking genocide perpetrators through *Intorero* and *Ingando* acts as a strategy of preventing reoccurrence of genocidal violence through recidivism. Though most post genocide homegrown unconventional approaches are conceptually distinct, pragmatically, they are mutually reinforcing and interrelated.

Nearly all homegrown unconventional approaches are guided by aspirations of Rwandans—rebuilding Rwanda’s fractured social fabric. Gacaca acted as Rwanda’s experimentation of unconventional approach in promoting truth revelations, forgiveness, and reconciliation through eradication of the culture of impunity by and for Rwandan citizens themselves, Report on Activities of Gacaca Courts (2014). The earlier cited objective of Gacaca emphasizing Rwanda’s capacity to solve the problems associated with 1994 genocide attested to the above line of thinking.

Similarly, *Itorero* and *Ingando* complement the realization of the foregoing objectives through restoration trust between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators. Whereas Umuganda carries a negative genocide brand, the post genocide Umuganda acts as a dialogic platform and opportunity for citizen participation in national reconciliation and development after genocide. Literature reviewed on all homegrown unconventional approaches emphasized similar benefits such as improved citizen voice and participation, strengthening mutual support and solidarity, restoration of trust and resonance with environment and cultural context where dreadful violence happened. The previous analysis largely focused on reintroduction of Umuganda in the post genocide Rwanda. As illustration of the practical benefits of most of the reviewed homegrown approaches in Rwanda and Africa as a whole, the researcher cites the

objectives of Rwanda's Umuganda. Overall, Rwanda Governance Board Report (2014) revealed that:

Umuganda aims at promoting development activities and to provide an opportunity for conviviality to Rwandans. The specific objectives of [Rwanda's] community works [Umuganda] are: supplement national resources by executing specific activities, instil a culture of collective efforts in the population, and [finally] to resolve problems faced by the population using locally available resource," (p.71).

To reemphasize, like most of the the reviewed homegrown unconventional approaches in Africa and Rwanda's homegrown initiatives are mutually reinforcing and supportive. Common position emerging from scholars of these approaches is Africa's capacity to resolve and transform its conflicts. This capacity is deriving from cultural resources and values to transform and re-establish fractured societal relationships after violent conflicts. The last objective of Rwanda's Umuganda (as it appears in previous citation about Umagand) and one of the earlier cited objectives of Gacaca (still Rwanda's homegrown approach), herewith purposesely recited—"to prove the capacity of the Rwandan society to solve its own problems", Schabas in in P. Clark & D. Kaufman (2008:225) are some of the verifiable evidences for the foregoing perspective. Further, it also demonstrates the relevance and signifance of uncoeventional homegrown approaches in transforming attitudes, behaviours and relationships of former genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors in post genocide Rwanda.

2.2. Pre-requisites of Reconciliation

In this study, thematic prerequisites of reconciliation are consisted of: truth, apology, and trust and collective identity/Rwandanness while forgiveness, restorative justice and economic livelihood improvement are pillars of sustainable peace. However, there are other studies which prioritize other variables as primary dimensions of reconciliation. For instance, citing Kriesberg

(2007), Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer (2010) “truth, justice, respect and security as primary dimensions of reconciliation,” (2010:17).

Truth is underscored as essential for healing of inner wounds, contributes to restoring the broken trustful and reassuring peaceful relationship between violators and survivors of 1994 genocide against Tutsi. Given the much celebrated reverence of cows in Rwanda, can the cow-giving practice between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District trigger truth revelations? Literature revealed various forms of truth. What form of truth can heal deeply wounded genocide survivors after the atrocious murders in Kamonyi District? Whereas truth is variously cited as precious by some scholars, it was established that there are scholars who regard truth revelation as injurious, as such, it can reverse reconciliation gains, E. Daly & J. Sarkin (2007: x). These issues are puzzlingly hard, the forthcoming section attempts to answer them

2.2.1. Truth

Truth is, a complex concept, John D. & J. Ramji-Nogales (2012). However, historical accounting of the horrible past via truth-telling is one of the most important steps in the reconciliation process Bloomfield *et.al.* (2003). Sentama (2009) underscored the agreement between scholars and practitioners of peacebuilding on the centrality of "truth-telling to achieving lasting peace," (p.45).

The importance of truth to the victims and surviving generations after genocide was aptly captured by the French Philosopher, Voltaire: "We owe respect to the living; to the dead, we owe them only the truth," in Thomson quoted (2007: xi). Though the foregoing Voltaire's quote captures the importance of truth about the 1994 genocide against Tutsi to two categories—the

victims and survivors of genocidal violence, in this study, we note that truth is powerfully impactful to even genocide perpetrators. This view is based on mutual contributions of the two categories in building trustful relationships after the 1994 genocide against Tutsi.

As for Brounéus, (2007), truth-telling is one of the most important components of reconciliation processes around the world. The same author pointed out that there is worldwide assumption and belief that "truth-telling is cathartic or healing and thereby will advance reconciliation," (p.11). The power of truth has been emphasized in South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation process as captured in Desmond Tutu (1999):

We found that many who came to the commission attested afterward to the fact that they had found relief, and experienced healing, just through the process of telling their story[...]. The acknowledgement that they had indeed suffered was cathartic for them. (p.165).

Testimonies given in the ground-breaking South Africa's TRC was internationally lauded for enabling the revelation of truth, triggering apology pleas, forgiveness through structured free space forums. Bloomfield *et.al.*,(2003) through dialogue, survivors of violence can take advantage of Truth Commission's public platform for survivors to speak in their own voices. What is worthy of noting is "truth is said to be necessary for reconciliation because it exerts a transformative power over all stakeholders: the public at large, the victims, and even the perpetrators," E. Daly & J. Sarkin (2007:141).

Whereas truth is generally emphasized as a prerequisite for reconciliation and sustainable peace in post conflict societies, some scholars, argue that truth can be injurious, as such, the processes leading to its revelation needed to be accompanied by a well thought-out strategy. For instance, "how much truth is enough?" E. Daly & J. Sarkin (2007: x) interrogated. The co-authors further

revealed: "The more truth is known, the more people are likely to clamor for justice,"(2007:140). The duo presented that once unknown is now known, the survivor of violence is rendered vulnerable and exposed to whims of justice. The two authors further questioned truth's importance in building trustful relationships after extreme violence, "the more I know about you, the less I trust you," (2007:140).

While E. Daly & J. Sarkin's views about how revelation of truth can contribute to justice at the expense of reconciliation, the co-author's conception of justice largely focused on retributive justice as opposed to restorative justice. For instance, Gacaca courts as one case of restorative justice in Rwanda significantly contributed to revelation of truth as an integral part of restoring relationships and peacebuilding in Rwanda. The reviewed literature emphasized the strengths of unconventional homegrown approaches in revealing truths geared towards renewing relationships, harmony and positive lives after sustaining violence. Delving into details of these two concepts (retributive justice and restorative justice) stretches beyond the study's scope. However, we provide brief analysis of them in sections ahead.

Though duo acknowledged that unless the 'beast' of the past is confronted through genuine truth-telling, reconciliation would be compromised through reduced or reversal of healing or reduced trust, E. Daly & J. Sarkin (2007). It is also important to note that if truth is not always genuinely told, but it is intentionally twisted, retold incompletely and inaccurately, the process can be harmful rather than helpful to restoration of broken relationships(reconciliation) and building sustainable peace in post conflict societies, E. Daly & Jeremy (2007). Whereas Brounéus, (2007) advocated for revelation of truth as one of the strategies to validate the past experiences, sufferings and restore dignity, he also acknowledged the other side of truth revelation to

wounded survivors of violence as it may increase re-traumatization and stigmatization especially if too much is told inappropriately. This applies to genocidal violence which extensively involved dehumanizing strategies such as gender-based violence; rape.

To most genocide perpetrators in Rwanda, truth was so dangerous that the the people who were interested in its revelation were supposed to be frustrated at any costs. The genocider's organized war against the revelation of truth is captured by Aryeh Neier in E. Daly & J. Sarkin (2007) who argued that "to reveal the truth is to identify those responsible, and to show what they did, is to mark them with a public stigma which is punishment in itself," (p.143). This highlights the reasons why some genociders resisted Gacaca courts. Revealing truth of what happened, who did what, where and how equated to declaration of war against genocide perpetrators especially those who were in the first category as per the categorization of genocide crimes in the Organic Law N° 40/2000 of January 26, 2001 as replaced by by Organic Law N°16/2004 of June 19, 2004.

The above ran counter to Lederach (1997) considered as importance of the truth-seeking and truth-telling—as a process of longing for acknowledgement [and revelation] of wrong and validation of the painful loss and experience. He however emphasized, the circle of truth acknowledgement and revelation becomes complete once there is mercy which articulates the need for acceptance, letting go and formulation of a new beginning Lederach, (1997). The earlier case of genocide perpetrators in the first category who resisted truth revelation under Gacaca refutes this. However, were genocide perpetrators who revealed truths about the genocide and their revelations significantly contributed to psychological healing, forgiveness and

reconciliation? The perpetrator's willingness to reveal the truth was supported by Gacaca courts, under the provisions spelling out the benefits of making apology pleas.

Using Cambodia's context, John D. & J. Ramji-Nogales (2012) underlined how truth means different things to different people. For instance, the two authors noted that according to many Cambodians, truth means learning the facts surrounding victim's own painful experience and the fate of their lost loved ones, John D. & Jaya Ramji-Nogales (2012). Reconciliation scholars, specifically, truth proponents, do consider truth as not only contributing towards healing, but preventative of future violence. In view of this, it is important to underscore the importance of truth in reconciliation processes after genocidal violence.

First, truth is said to have deterrent effects—meaning, dissemination of truth changes the moral climate by underlining the mental foundations that justified criminality—thus, preventing its repetition in the future, (Daly.E and J.Sarkin, 2007). This can only happen, if the truth, is widely known, the two authors further argued. They however noted, too often, the past abuses are known but are accepted by the populace—perhaps if they are viewed as not that harmful. In this cases, Erin Daly and J. Sarkin (2007), underlined, the truth acts not as a deterrent but to legitimate past abuses—"it can even act as a precedent and as justification for future abuses," (Erin Daly and Jeremy Sarkins,2007:144).

According to Naqvi (2006), the right to truth is a right of the victims and their families. The right of truth of what happened is generally demanded by surviving people whose knowledge of the whereabouts of their relatives is constrained by lack of truth revelation. The primary victim of this ugly psycho-social phenomenon in the context of Rwanda are children born out of genocidal

rape, women whose husbands were killed in unknown places. Failure to know whether their beloved ones were killed or not keeps the survivors in a permanent mental state of expecting their return. Though this has not been empirically tested, reviewed literature confirmed this mental state, specifically by survivors of sustained violence. It was uncovered that knowing the deceased's whereabouts will help survivors in dealing with the past and continue with their lives. And revelation of truth acts as a way to prevent impunity Vroomen, (2013). The extent how revelation of truth prevents impunity has been linked to punishment by naming who did what, where and how by witnesses during public hearings such as Gacaca Assemblies and Truth Commissions, Council of Elders among others.

E. Daly & J. Sarkin have argued that stigmatization associated with such public exposure of one's unworthy actions under truth-telling arrangements, is punishment in itself and a moral sanctioning (2007). The truth-revelation under Gacaca traditional courts in many parts of Rwanda actualized the E. Daly and J. Sarkin's moral sanctioning perspective by perpetrators of genocide against Tutsi. Sentama (2009) stressed that perpetrator's acknowledgement of what they did—in the sincerest way possible—enabled the survivors of genocidal violence to some extent—be assured of no repetition of perpetrator's genocidal violent behavior. In fact, E. Daly & J. Sarkin made a powerful observation that acknowledging what happened by the perpetrator is "truth-plus" (2007:161). Citing the case of former US President, Bill Clinton's statement in Rwanda in 1998 of not only stating the truth of what happened four years earlier (truth), but Bill Clinton, according to E. Daly & J. Sarkin (2007) acknowledged the survivor's suffering and taking responsibility of failure to intervene.

Truth serves as a predicate for forgiveness, E. Daly & J. Sarkin, (2017). The process of taking responsibility for the past horrible actions (contrition) to express regrets and escorting such expressions with apology can easily trigger forgiveness—a key step towards reconciliation after extreme violence. Though there have been noticeable exceptions, most cases of forgiveness by genocide survivors have involved sincere revelation of truths by former genocide perpetrators.

This study seeks to determine how the Girinka Reconciliation Approach contributed to revelation of truth, seeking for apology, forgiveness and restoration of trust between genocide survivors and perpetrators. Recounting South Africa's case, E. Daly & J. Sarkin (2007) quoted one of the victims as thus: "We may eventually decide to offer amnesty to some or all our former oppressors, but before we forgive, we must know what evil we are forgiving, and who caused it,"(p.145). There is ample scholarly-based literature pointing to the causal relationship between truthful revelations of the past, pleading for forgiveness and building trustful relationships. In this study, these are thematic prerequisites of Girinka Reconciliation Approach in Kamonyi District of Rwanda.

The most important contribution of truth to reconciliation is limiting or reducing the deniability of what happened, E. Daly & J. Sarkin, (2007). Denial of what happened and its magnitude strong emerged from Rwanda as one of the major challenge of reconciliation after 1994 genocide against Tutsi. Gregory Stanton one of the prominent scholars of genocides considers denial as the last stage of the ten of genocide stages (2003). Denial in the context of Rwanda appears in different forms, for instance, the *Ceceka* (silence) campaign which characterized the process leading and during Gacaca court sessions can be one of the forms of genocide denial. "*Ceceka*"

(a Kinyarwanda which means 'keep silent,') and *Ceceksha* ('silence them') was a strategy of countering the revelation of truth during Gacaca sessions. The Senate Report (2006) confirmed the above in what it referred as 'buying of witnesses' silence.'Reducing the severity of harm, equating genocide to inter-ethnic war (double genocide hypothesis), dissemination of falsehoods through media, books and documentaries. Practically, genocide denial can also act as a barrier against the process of truth-telling.

The public hearing (active participation) and dialogic communications which are integral features of unconventional reconciliation approaches reduces the potentiality of telling lies. Quoting Michael Ignatieff, E. Daly & J. Sarkin (2007) stressed that the process of truth-telling narrows the range of permissible lies that the perpetrator can tell. Participating citizens in Gacaca sessions facilitated in the process of separating lies from truths.

Miroslav Volf, (1996) reveals the liberating power of knowing *who did what, to whom, where, when* and possibly *'why'*. Despite many incentives and appeals to reveal the truth, there are still many genocide survivors in many parts of Rwanda still searching for answers in line with the above questions. According to Miroslav Volf, while getting the answers for the foregoing questions can be extremely liberating for genocide survivors, the suffering associated with the silence and deliberate refusal to answer them is undescrivable. In Cambodia's case, the truth is regarded as a device for empowerment and opportunity to have one one's voice heard after a long period of silence, John D. & J. Ramji-Nogales (2012).

Boraine (1999) is one of the writers who exposed the bitterness of truth in the report which ran with the title. He also revealed the inherent tensions between truth, amnesty, justice and reconciliation in South Africa. In fact, he reported that those who demanded to reveal the truth

regarded the process as a 'witch-hunt.' Similarly, whereas the truth was precious, highly desirable by genocide survivors in Rwanda, to genocide perpetrators, some truth about *who did what, to whom, where, when* and possibly *'why'*, in line with Volf's perspective above (1996) was injurious to them and it was supposed to be guarded from public knowledge. As earlier noted, though Ceceka tried to counter truth revelation during Gacaca sessions, the public participation counter-reacted against Ceceka adherents wherever they would be discovered.

According to RCN Justice & Democracy (2003), at least 11,659 genocide inmates had no enough prosecutory evidence to prove their participation in Gacaca courts. After public consultation and presentation of the list of the suspects to villages where they had allegedly committed the crimes, 2,721 of the accused, or 23.3%, were provisionally released due to lack of evidence of their involvement in genocide crimes, National Service of Gacaca Court Report (2012). However, we cannot authoritatively establish whether the release of 2,721 of the accused (23.3%) due to lack of evidence was linked *Ceceka* or *Cecekesha* campaign alluded to earlier. In the section ahead, we present specific details of truth-telling in Rwanda.

Tutu (1999) provided an insight into the liberating power of the truth and its capacity to heal survivors of Apartheid violence in South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation public hearing sessions. Tutu captured the testimony of Apartheid survivor, Lucas Sikwepere specifically how affirmed feeling as if he was regaining his eyesight after getting the truth from a policeman, Warrant Officer H.C.J Barie Benard who had shot him in the face and hence blinding him:

I feel my eyesight back after coming here to tell the story. I feel what has been making me sick all the time is the fact that I couldn't tell my story. But now...it feels I have got my sight back by coming here and tell you the story Tutu, (1999:167)

Experiences of liberation, and healing and relief from anguish has been established from testimonies of survivors of extreme violence in Rwanda, South Africa, Northern Ireland and so forth. Unconventional reconciliation approaches provide such free space and opportunities for revelation of such liberating truth by perpetrators to survivors.

Reviewed literature revealed that there several forms of truth. An understanding of these forms of truth is is crucial in determining which truth would catalyze the process under the unconventional, culturally-inspired reconciliation approach. Tutu (1999) presented forensic factual truth—as the truth which is verifiable and documentable. Some other authors, for instance, Hassmann et.al, (2008) qualified forensic or factual truth as legal truth. He also talked of social truth. This truth, he claimed, can be drawn from experience that is established through interaction, discussions and debate [dialogue]. Howard-Hassmann et.al, (2008) social truth is also termed as narrative truth, and it is an important aspect of reconciliation since it espouses a historical account (narrative), a national story that brings all together in acknowledgement of the past wrongs. For purposes of comparison, there is close resemblance between this form of truth with the truth revealed in different Gacaca sessions in Rwanda. Most of the unconventional homegrown approaches revealed by Murithi (2008) facilitate the revelation of social truth. Rwanda' NdumunyaRwanda also fits into the earlier lined up African unconventional approaches to peacebuilding.

The third category of truth, according to Tutu (1999) is the *personal truth* which means the truths of wounded memories mainly from uneducated, unsophisticated. In his report titled All Truth is Bitter from a study visit in Northern Ireland, the Deputy Chairman of South Africa's TRC, Boraine (1999) gave more perspectives on personal truth, noting that through the telling of

their own stories, both victims and perpetrators gave meaning to their multi-layered torturous experiences from South Africa's Apartheid. Importantly, the earlier established lists of unconventional homegrown approaches in Africa by Murithi (2008) also favour the revelation of Tutu's suggested form of truth: personal truth.

The complexities and risks associated with the latter category has been revealed to be widely spread and hugely re-traumatizing effects of the truth Brounéus (2003). This is so especially in cases of extreme violence popularized through all channels of society: church sermons, mass media, and political forums among others, for example the genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda.

Boraine (1999) provided the fourth category of the truth—*healing and restorative truth*. He argues that this kind of truth required the South Africa's TRC to look back to the fractured past and to look to the future at the same time. Boraine emphasized that this type of truth aims at contributing to the reparation of the damage inflicted, and to the prevention of it ever happening again in the future. It is in these two paradoxical objectives of this category of truth; first, knowing what happened for purposes of repairing fractured past, secondly, truth for prevention of future occurrences that truth's powerful indispensability to reconciliation is revealed.

Citing Boraine *et al.*, (1994), Tutu (1994), Zalaquett (1993) Stanley (2001) approved the reasoning that truth-telling provides opportunities to heal, restore human dignity, demonstrate censure for horrific acts, encourage democracy, and promote reconciliation. Referring to the Chile Truth and Reconciliation Report, Zalaquett, J (1993), describes truth to have an absolute and un-renounceable value to reconciliation. The overall purpose of the Chile Truth and Reconciliation Commission was to work toward the reconciliation of all Chileans USIP (2002).

However, Boraine (1994) observed, knowing the truth about *what happened, who did it, where, when* and *why* as suggested by Miroslav Volf (1996) is not sufficient ingredient to spur reconciliation and healing, knowledge of these specific facts must be accompanied by acknowledgement of the pain caused. In the preceding section, we present and analyze the importance of acknowledgement of wrongs done (under the section of apology).

Despite the elusive nature of this concept (truth), its centrality to reconciliation has not been doubted by many scholars, policy-makers and peacebuilding practitioners. According to Jeremy Sarkins (2007) many believe that truth begets reconciliation. Using South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) as a reference point, Asmal et al., (1996) reveal the centrality of truth to recovery and reconciliation, noting that the truth acts as disinfectant of conflict-related wounds, a cathartic release, and heal balm. Regarding Rwanda, this study also considers truth as a prerequisite of reconciliation in Rwanda. In fact, the catchy slogan for Gacaca (Rwanda's restorative justice administered at the hills) emphasized that *ukuri kurakiza* (meaning: the truth heals).

Uncovering *what happened, where, by whom, when and why* Volf, (1996) is complex especially after the dehumanizing crime like the genocide against Tutsi of 1994. According to National Unity and Reconciliation Commission Report (2010), survivors of violence often seek the truth of who organized, perpetrated, and covered up crimes, and how they were able to do so. The report further revealed, knowing the truth was a cornerstone and a base for reconciliation, healing, apology and forgiveness, Rwanda National Reconciliation Commission (2010). In fact, revelation of truth under guilty plea procedure in the Organic Law no: 08/96 of 30/08/1996 on

the organization of prosecution of offences involving crimes of genocide or crime against humanity committed from 01/10/1990 to 31/12/1994 as well as the Organic Law no: 40/2001 of 26/01/2001 provided mechanisms for revelation of truth and reduction of penalties for qualifying categories of offenders (Senate Report 2006).

According to Kaufman (2008), offenders who qualified for substantial reduction in penalties were in the 2rd, 3rd and 4th category under guilty plea procedure defined in afore-mentioned Organic Law. He further stressed that confessions (truth-telling) were required to include a complete and detailed description of the offences that the accused admitted to, including information about accomplices and any other relevant facts. Schabas drew comparative analysis of the Rwanda's Guilty Plea Procedure which placed great premium on revelation of truth by perpetrators of genocide. His observation went as thus:

Though not comparable to South African approach, which offered amnesty in return for a full confession, the guilty plea procedure displayed key similarities to that method and was, to a large extent, inspired by the same principles, Schabas, (2008: 214).

Studying the Rwandan national legal processes, specifically the guilty plea procedure, Schabas noted some benefits of revelation of truth the same procedure, "though guilty plea did not result in immediate release, there were substantial benefits in terms of reduced sentences," William A. Schabas, 2008: 214). Henceforth, the guilty plea concept under Rwanda's post genocide legislation, according to William A. Schabas, soon proved that it could work effectively. For instance, he further argued:

By year 1997, 500 prisoners confessed, by 2008 the number had grown to 9,000 and by end of 1999, there were 15,000 confessions. By early 2000, more than 20,000 prisoners confessed their genocidal crimes, (William A. Schabas, 2008:217).

Whereas survivors of violence needed the truth for attendant benefits—healing, forgiveness, reconciliation and intra-personal and inter-personal harmony and peace, and so forth) Asmal et al.(1996), Stanley (2001) and Tutu (1999) emphasize that revelation of truth exposes perpetrators (inside and outside prisons) to societal rebuke (moral accountability) and legal accountability (justice). In essence, truth in a post genocide context becomes an existential (survival) tool for both genocide survivors and perpetrators, but in varying ways and for varying purposes.

The empirical findings revealed that the “truth about genocide was revealed through gacaca—94.4% of males and 93.2% of females, NURC’s Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer (2010:67). Similarly, the findings of another NURC Report (2015) revealed, “93% of Rwandans contend that truth about what happened during 1994 genocide against Tutsi has been disclosed,” (p.83). The interviewees as per NURC (2015) further highlighted Gacaca as one of the central forums where truth was extensively uncovered, and with its completion, further truth was revealed through similar homegrown forums such as Civic Education Forums (*Itorero ry’igihugu*) and Ndi UmunyaRwanda initiative. An interviewee from Tutsiro District of Rwanda captured in the NURC (2015) underscored the significance of truth to reconciliation:

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 leads to sustainable reconciliation (2015:83)

It is important to clarify three major points: First, Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer is a tool for tracking and measuring the status of reconciliation in Rwanda after 1994 genocide against Tutsi. Secondly, there have been two Rwanda Reconciliation Barometers after the 1994 genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda—one in 2010 whose aim was—“to measure in the appropriate manner

on going process of unity and reconciliation in order to evaluate and focus to main challenges if any, (RRB, 2010:8), and another one in 2015. The first one was inspired conceptually and methodologically by the South African Reconciliation Barometer (SARB), whereas the latest one—RRB 2015—according to NURC, sought to fill some of the methodological gaps found in the first RRB 2010. Overall, the objective of RRB 2015 was “to track the status of reconciliation in Rwanda and to identify the reconciliation favorable factors, challenges, and suggest the necessary recommendations for a way forward,” RRB, 2015:3). Some of the thematic areas being covered by this study for instance, truth, trust, apology, forgiveness and so forth had been covered by the Rwanda RRB 2015. Noteworthy, the difference lies in their scope—the scope of the current study is limited to Kamonyi District, whereas RRB 2015’s scope was national. However, literature in the two RRBs significantly enriched the ongoing research work.

From the above analysis, it emerged that truth can be both injurious and precious for reparation of fractured relationships, restoration of trust and acting as a catalyst for making apology pleas and forgiveness.

Gacaca sessions provided safe space and platforms for revelation of truth. Most unconventional homegrown approaches (*Gacaca courts*) in Rwanda, The *Kotgla* in Botswana, *Mato oput* Acholi Uganda, *bashingantahe* in Burundi, *gadaa oromo* in Ethiopia, facilitate the revelation of social truth. Rwanda’ *NdumunyaRwanda* also fits into the above lined up approaches. All of unconventional approaches provide opportunities for citizen to scrutinize the gaps between lies and truths. However, truth alone cannot lead to reconciliation after sustained violence. In the next section, the researcher discusses how apology contributes to reconciliation.

2.2.2. Apology

Another complex, but essential prerequisite of reconciliation and building sustainable peace at intra-personal, inter-personal and societal peace is apology. After awful violence, like the ones suffered by victims and survivors of genocides (genocide against Tutsi, for instance), what is highly desired is apology, for healing, forgiveness, inter-personal peace and the larger societal harmony to take root. However, apology is a complex psychological, moral and social phenomenon. The difficulty of apologizing is a daily human relational matter which gains its practical relevance in post genocide context.

Citing Tavuchis, Gaertner (2011) put the complexity of apology into practical perspectives: “when we apologize ... we stand naked,”(p.5). The risk of standing naked, more in public, is what bars most apologies from happening especially between the grave offenders and the offended. Noteworthy, learning from Rwanda’s experience, the guilty, anguish and burdens associated with failure to apology more sincerely outweigh public ridicule and the earlier noted nakedness by the apologizer.

Apology can delay or fail restoration of relationships and building of sustainable peace at all levels after extreme violence. Similarly, genuine apology accelerates the process of reconciliation and peacebuilding. Though Renteln (2008) acknowledges the centrality of apology to forging ahead peacefully by the apologizer and the offended, she alludes to complexity of apology basing on its *'face-saving'* (for the hearer) and *'face-threatening'* nature. Apology involves accepting responsibility—owning up the injury caused to another person, and vulnerability—the risk of accepting to be humiliated, admit to be faulted without making any excuses, Carl Schneider, (2007) (Renteln 2008). Lazare (1995) cited by Gaertner stressed:

A good apology also has to make you suffer. You have to express genuine, soul-searching regret for your apology to be taken as sincere. Unless you communicate guilt, anxiety, and shame, people are going to question the depth of your remorse (2011:5).

In the following discussions, we analyze the types of apology, the causal nexuses between apologies and truth, apology and justice, forgiveness, trust-building, and, hence how all these propel reconciliation and the realization of sustainable peace in Kamonyi District and Rwanda as a whole. This analysis is hinged on the assumption that: Girinka Reconciliation Approach acts a social propeller of apology-seeking and apology-giving between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District. As shall be noted, cows have always acted as social glue that binds Rwandans together. This way, the researcher shall demonstrate whether the foregoing holds credence, specifically by establishing how cows triggered positive relationships between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators.

Like other thematic prerequisites, apology is marred by differences in definitions. This study will not claim to provide a conclusive one. For instance, Thompson, in the *Age of Apology* (2008) defines apology as the speech act—an action performed by an appropriate person saying appropriate words on an appropriate occasion. The latter underlines the importance of timing. Failure to apologize at the right time has been noted to be damaging especially in cases of grave atrocities like genocide. Determining the time for apologizing goes beyond the researcher's interests. Expounding more on the concept, Thompson (2008) clarified that the person performing the act of apology is conveying the following to his victim: first, is acknowledging that s/he committed a wrongful act against the victim (a survivor in the Rwanda's context) and takes responsibility for it; secondly, that the apologizer feels remorse for his/her deed and lastly, that she undertakes to avoid doing similar wrongs against the victim in the future.

For Renteln (2008), apology is not only a speech act by the wrongdoer, but acknowledging responsibility for the offences and to [unconditionally] request forgiveness. It is at this stage where it is important to note that apology may precede forgiveness and reconciliation, Gaertner (2011). However, there are several authors who argue otherwise. For instance, Renteln's insistence of wrongdoer's acknowledging and taking of responsibility stems from what she called 'sarcastic' and 'feigned apologies', which need to be guarded against. Sarcastic apologies can prevent the wrong-doer from taking responsibility for the harm done and it inflicts more pains to the survivors of genocidal violence. Such apologies were detected and rebuked by the population participating in Gacaca courts in Rwanda. Reviewed literature highlighted citizen participation as one of the key features and benefits of unconventional homegrown reconciliation and peacebuilding approaches in Africa.

As earlier noted, citizen participation influenced apologizers from feigning or faking apologies or advancing untruthful information during Rwanda's Gacaca sessions. Lies are counted as the worst vice in all reviewed unconventional homegrown approaches in Africa. The process of making genuine apologies by apologizers tends to be done in public forums such as *Ndumunya Rwanda* truth telling forums in Rwanda. Though there are not systematic social instruments to measure the sarcastic apologies, public participation in Gacaca Courts enabled detecting of false or unguenuine apologies. Sarcastic apologies are worthless, worst cases and they aren't apologies at all. Indeed, in the event such apologies would be made during Rwanda's Gacaca sessions, they faced immediate public rebuke and chunning.

According to Coicaud & J. Jönsson (2008) apology is a written or spoken expression of regret, sorrow, and remorse for having wronged, insulted, failed/or injured another person [or groups of

people]. The duo further defined apology as an act, speech, or writing, that implies a certain relationship between someone who has caused another pain (the wrongdoer, who becomes the issuer) and another one who has been wronged (the victim).

Wayeneth (2011) expressed channels through which apologies can be communicated to the intended recipients: through verbal statements [preferably desired] issued publicly, joint diplomatic declarations, legislative resolutions, document reports, legal judgment, pardon ceremonies, apology rituals, days of observance, monumental memorials and so forth. In view of this, the researcher is interested in finding out how the cow-giving ceremonies/processes between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators are accompanied by pardon ceremonies, apology rituals at community levels in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. To emphasize, such ouvertures and happenings are unique opportunities for reconciliation, fostering trustful relationships.

Sharing similar concerns as Alison Dundes Renteln (2008), Jean-Marc Coicaud & Jibecke Jönsson (2008) argued that for the apology to have real value, it is essential that the remorse conveyed is genuine, and for this to happen, it requires the wrongdoer to have a sense of guilt, the acute feeling and consciousness of having wronged someone. Aaron Lazare (1995) argues apology involves exchange of power between the survivor and perpetrator, as plainly noted:

What makes apology work is the exchange of shame and power between the offender and the offended. By apologizing, you take the shame of your offence and redirect it to yourself. You admit of hurting or diminishing someone...I'm the one who was wrong, mistaken, insensitive or stupid. In acknowledging your shame, you give the offender the power to forgive. The exchange is at the heart of the healing process, (Lazare, 1995:42).

Lazare insists that what is important is not only redirection of shame in its own terms, but one of its consequences: "it puts the offender in a position of vulnerability and therefore redraws the

balance of power with the offended, who is now in a position to either grant or withhold something the offender wants, the release that comes through forgiveness," (1995:42). Alluding to vulnerability of the offender, David Gaertner (2010) observes that apologizing bares the offender to the victim, putting him or her in a position of extreme vulnerability.

Grigsby (2007) borrows from Levi Deborah's Typology of Apology (1997) to offer four types of apology. First is what he called Tactical apology—when a person accused of wrongdoing offers an apology that is rhetorical and strategic—and not necessary heartfelt (insincere apology); second is explanation apology—when a person accused of wrongdoing offers an apology that is merely a gesture that is meant to counter an accusation of wrongdoing. In fact, it may be used to defend the actions of the accused, third form of apology according to Grigsby (2007) is formalistic apology—when a person accused of wrongdoing offers an apology after being admonished to do so by an authority figure—who may also be the individual who suffered the wrongdoing. The last form of apology advanced by Kevin Grigsby (2007) is happy ending apology—when a person accused of wrongdoing fully acknowledges responsibility for the wrongdoing and is genuinely remorseful.

Each of the four types of apology was noticed in Rwanda's concluded Gacaca courts which placed a many incentives for genuine truth and apology pleas from genocide perpetrators. In fact, the Organic Law no: 08/96 of 30/8/1996 on the organization of prosecution of offences of genocide or crimes against humanity committed from 01/10/1990 to 31/12/1994 provided specific reductions in punishing offenders in other categories except category one upon revelation of truth under what was termed as "*Guilt Plea Procedure*," (Senate Report 2006).

Human beings are tactical animals capable of making apologies based on potential costs and benefits than genuinely feeling the emotional, psychological value of the act to the offended or to the apologizing person. Some genocide inmates tactfully owned up—apologized (under legally provided guilt plea procedure) for their colleague's crimes for an agreed upon rewards—financial gains, acres of land and so forth. Nonetheless, there were also many instances of Grigsby's 'Happy ending apologies' induced by Gacaca (2007). In the proceeding section, we stress that Rwanda's healing, reconciliation and sustainable peace rest on harnessing the opportunities in *NdumunyaRwanda*. The program encompasses greater opportunities for revealing more truths about genocide, creates platforms for apologies, forgiveness and building stronger relations between genocide survivors and former perpetrators of genocide. How this program can be better harnessed to realize the above remains the hardest question to answer. This research cannot claim to provide satisfactory answers to the question. However, highly credible men and women, (*Inyangamugayo*) totally driven by larger societal supergoal can play a critical role in driving *NdumunyaRwanda* forward. Healing wounded Rwandans through *NdumunyaRwanda* requires healed-healers from both genocide survivors and genocide perpetrators and other members of post genocide society. In sections ahead (2.2.4), we discuss Rwandaness—*NdumunyaRwanda*, in detail.

Undoubtedly, the same can be said of Happy Ending Type of Apology underscored by (Kevin Grigsby 2007). Girinka carries greater dispositions for realization of such type of apology. E. Howard-Hassmann & Mark (2008) stressed that after several generations, historic injustices should be erased from consciousness so that sufferers and perpetrators of injustices can go about their lives as equals. Citing Mohawk proverb, Rhoda E. Howard-Hassmann & Mark noted: "it is hard to see the future with tears in your eyes," (p.6) implying that too much focus on the past

prevents healing, intra-personal peace and actualization of one's life purpose and potentials.“ [...] In accepting these apologies, victims [survivors, for the case of Rwanda] will be relieved some of their personal suffering,” E. Howard-Hassmann and Mark, (2008:4)

Similarly, the ongoing *NdumunyaRwanda* programme can further promote the delivery of the four types of apologies in Rwanda. In fact, there are still Rwandans who still desire opportunities to publicly apologize and be forgiven for their own long term psychic harmony (intra-peace) and general societal harmony. Besides the greater opportunity the Cow-giving ceremonies provides for apology-seeking and apology-giving, *NdumunyaRwanda* encompasses similar potentials for apology-seeking and apology-giving between the two categories of Rwandans in Kamonyi District. Importantly, *NdumuRwanda's* potential to spark longer term reparation of genocidal wounds and stimulating generational impact in terms of reconciliation, healing, trust-building and building sustainable peace is out of question. Noteworthy, basing on its unique features, potentially qualifies to be a homegrown initiative. Qualification of *NduamunyaRwanda* as a homegrown initiative stretches beyond the scope of this researcher.

In Gaertner (2011) established the relationship between transgressions, apology, forgiveness and reconciliation Citing Tavuchis (1991), Gaertner (2011) contends that it is only through apology, followed by forgiveness, that one can arrive at what he identified as "the climax of reconciliation," and he portrays this process in a linear way characterized by call for reconciliation, apology, forgiveness, and eventually reconciliation Gaertner (2011). He considered transgression as the initiator of the process, noting without transgression [violence], apology, forgiveness and reconciliation are needless.

For Tavuchis (1991) as quoted by Gaertner (2011), a proper and successful apology is the middle term in a moral syllogism that comes with a call and ends with forgiveness. Presenting different religious stances for apology before forgiveness, Tavuchis insisted: "the call is essential and must entail some expression of sorrow and regret," (14). Building on Tavuchis's (1991) concept of the call, Gaertner (2011) referred to call as dialogue or discourse—rhetorical, ideological and political expressions for reconciliation after transgression or violence. Apology is the beginning of a teleological progression toward reconciliation, Gaertner (2011).

Though Gaertner's definition of the call can be likened to Rwanda's *Urugwiro* dialogue of 1998-1999, the linear process to reconciliation rigidly passing through call, apology, forgiveness and hence to reconciliation does not apply in the context of mass violence that happened in this country. For example, there are many genocide survivors in Rwanda who chose to forgive their offenders before getting any apologies or any signs or intentions thereof. And, there are also cases when apologies were provoked by advanced forgiveness from genocide survivors. There are several causes for such unusual behavior, the most cited by writers has been the need to off load the burden and move on (healing) by the genocide survivors. There are verifiable testimonies of genocide survivors who attest to the foregoing view that forgiving genocide perpetrators helped them heal internal wounds. The proponent of forgiving even before apology pleas is Tutu, who argued that waiting for perpetrators to make the first move—seek forgiveness—[survivors] "victims would be locked into perpetrator's whim, locked into eternal victimhood," in E. Daily & J. Sarkin, (2007:160). Though E. Daily & J. Sarkin, acknowledge the practical value of forgiving before apology pleas, he critiqued such a route as lacking moral and

philosophical standing. Likewise, there is scholarly evidence pointing to how "sincere apologies are a stepping stone to healing and reconciliation," Shchimmel (2002:148-49). There is little literature indicating how forgiving before apology is widely spread among survivors of extreme violence in Rwanda and other societies struggling with reconciliation after gruesome violence like genocide.

According to M. Gibney & Howard-Hassmann (2008) violence is perpetrated at different levels: state against peoples of another state (*inter-state*) for instance: France's deportation of Jews to German's death camps during World War 11, France's role in the genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda, or a state against its citizens (*intra-state*): Australian, Canadian State institutions against Aboriginal communities, American citizens against black African-American peoples, White South Africa against Black South Africans, major multilateral corporation against citizens of a sovereign state, an ethnic or tribal groups against other groups (*inter-ethnic*) or a person against another person (*inter-personal*). To this end, apology can take similar patterns and levels.

M. Gibney & Howard-Hassmann (2008) provide levels of apology right from individuals to others, corporate institutions to citizens, a state to its own citizens, a state to another state or foreign state to citizens of another state or international multinational corporations to citizens of a sovereign state and so forth. Examples outlined by the two authors include—States such as New Zealand, Canada, Australia and apologizing for cultural and structural violence perpetrated against Tainui tribe, Japanese Canadians, Aboriginal communities respectively. Other examples outlined include, apologies from Germans to Herero people of Namibia, Papal apologies of Pope John Paul II, apologies for slavery, colonialism and slave trade and so forth. There were Papal

apologies to the survivors of genocide against Tutsi in April 2017. Earlier, we also alluded to apologies of former US President Bill Clinton to survivors of genocide in 1998.

E. Daly & J. Sarkins (2007) provides cases of head of States who apologized to their citizens as a way of forging ahead, for instance, President John Agyekum Kufuor apologized in his maiden speech in Parliament in 2001, Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo apologized "for all the misdeeds," in Nigerian brutal events and many others. Kerstens (2008) pointed out how the Belgian State apologized to Rwanda and Democratic Republic of Congo, underlining particular facts and events such as Belgian's involvement in 1994 genocide against Tutsi (Rwanda) and the assassination of the Congo's first Prime Minister. According to E. Daly & J. Sarkins, Guy Verhoftadt's apologetic statement: "I pay my respects to the victims of the genocide. In the name of my country and my people, I ask forgiveness," in Kigali, April, 7th, 2000 was nationally awaited. France's role in 1994 genocide has been a socio-political thorn in the flesh of many Rwandans, mainly the genocide survivors. France's failure to acknowledge her role in the genocide against Tutsi has negatively impacted making apology to genocide survivors in Rwanda. Delayed or outright refusal to apologize to the genocide survivors by key state actors and institutions in France has remained problematic to the relations between Rwanda and France.

Though we shall present forgiveness independently in the section ahead, it is important to underscore the connections between apology and forgiveness. Tavuchis's (1991), Lazare (2004) have extensively elaborated the causal relationship between these two concepts. Coicaud & J. Jönsson (2009) observed "that not all wrongs are equal. Some are graver than others." They therefore argued, the lesser the crime, the easier to issue and receive apology and the promptness of forgiveness. The greater the crime, the more difficult to apologize and the harder to forgive.

Gaertner's (2011) observed above that apology precedes forgiveness. We have noticed however that there are exceptions as exemplified by some cases of genocide survivors who chose to forgive their tormentors before apology in Rwanda. Sebarenzi (2009) noted that genuine forgiveness does not necessarily depend on how the offender behaves, but the necessity of stopping the cycle of violence, and prevent our mind soul from being dominated by anger and bitterness. He also alluded to "forgiveness as a powerful tool that is at the victims' disposal that facilitates their own healing," A. Kalayjian & F. Paloutzian (2009:v).

Though Minow (1991) was not dismissive of the power of apology to compel forgiveness, she underscores the capacity of apology to persuade forgiveness. She stated, "Nevertheless, forgiveness, while not compelled by apology, it may depend on it," Minow (1991:114). She based one part of her argument on survivor's powers to forgive with or without apology or refusal to forgive even with genuine apology. Renteln (2007) supported the above line of argument, asserting that forgiveness can be dependent on how the victim/survivors finds the apology adequately symbolic or substantive.

On the other hand, E. Daly & J. Sarkins (2007) argued that if the offender admits the facts of his deeds, acknowledging his responsibility for it, and seeks to atone for it by some palliative action, he is a better candidate for forgiveness. Such a bold step forward shows his capacity to transcend the deed—he no longer wants to be identified with what he did but wants to be readmitted into survivor's community (re-humanization).

J.M Coicaud & J. Jönsson (2009) did highlight critical elements of apology as: acknowledging the wrong, admitting guilt, taking responsibility, recognizing suffering, seeking to reverse

victimization, reestablish trust, and empower the powerless and cycles of resentment. Expounding the above elements, the two authors narrowed their focus on three defining elements of apology which are worth noting. First, J.M Coicaud & J. Jönsson (2009) suggested that the survivor—the receiver of the apology—has to recognize being wronged. Failure to recognize being wronged by survivors has been argued to be caused by gross victimization, thus leading to a state of blind self-knowledge. This state—'blind victimization', they argued, can go deeper into the life of the survivor because of the incessant pain and the survivors get to the point of being blinded to the violations inflicted upon her or him. Though not yet proven scientifically in Rwanda, such psychological phenomenon is likely to be present in Rwanda after 1994 genocide because of the severity of genocide to survivors.

Augsburger (1996), a psychologist, qualified such psychological state denial. He argued that denial is one of the human responses to a painful experience by survivors or victims. As Steward (2015) a peacebuilding practitioner who spent many years in Rwanda recalls, the need to respond to apparent complex survival needs and the need to remake Rwanda after the 1994 genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda made many survivors fail to acknowledge their suffering or deal with their inner issues, but focused on rebuilding multiple fractured—psycho-social, economic, political and emotional structures. There is no denying this psychological issue is still apparent 24 years after genocide against Tutsi. Denial in the context of post genocide Rwanda, Steward further observed was caused by cultural attitudes (that Rwandans do not usually weep, especially men), sense of urgency to rebuild Rwanda (lack of time), 'lack of nowhere to turn' or energy for self-awareness and acceptance of the awful 'self' caused by dreadful past. Though there is no research-based evidence to validate Steward's claims, the spirit of acting with

urgency—'let's catch-up mindset' was or is the key feature of the *mondus oparandus* for post genocide leadership. For this reason, Steward's claims above cannot be outrightly dismissed.

The second element of apology according to Coicaud & J Jönsson, (2009), is about the identification of the actor (the perpetrator) responsible for the wrong. Whereas the literature presented cases of forgiveness before the perpetrator of the crime is identified, the researcher did not establish many cases where relatives or people who did apologize yet they were not direct wrong-doers or crime actors. They further observed that putting a face and a name on the wrongdoer (a genocide perpetrator) is very critical. Identification of the wrong-doers minimizes, according to , Coicaud & J Jönsson, (2009) self-destructive behaviours and self-blame.

Coicaud & J. Jönsson's (2009) third element of apology is empowering the survivors or what the two authors referred to as putting the sufferer in "a commanding position" (2009). However, the latter part of this element of apology needs to be approached cautiously as it can also lead to further victimization especially if under putting the sufferer in a commanding position comes with deliberate publicization of victimizer's lack of humanity. Their concluding remarks on the elements of apology are also critical and worthy of note:

An apology is a reciprocal act that depends on the relation between the issuer (apologizer/perpetrator) and the receiver (survivor), one [the former] asking for forgiveness while making a promise, the other receiving the offering and, if not forgiving, then at least being open to try and do so Coicaud & J. Jönsson, (2009).

Although there is no denying that apology and reparations are critical prerequisites to reconciliation, there are scholarly diverging views on these two concepts. First, these divergences emerge from arguments centered on prioritizing one over the other as opposed to appreciating the two as mutually complementary. The intricate tensions amongst scholars is also centered on the existent reparations versus apologies schools of thought. Renteln's (2007) is one

of writers on the two divergent schools of thoughts, for instance, the reparation line of argument claiming that reparations specifically in form of monies make more sense to reconciliation than apologies, whereas, the other pointedly reveals the insidious side of reparation in consideration of extreme genocidal violence suffered by victims and survivors. What amount of monetary compensation of rape victim inflicted with HIV/AIDS ever have?

Arguing for reparations, Gaertner (2011) noted that starvations, homelessness, and sicknesses which are direct consequences of gruesome historical violence suffered by survivors cannot be redressed by apologies, but financial restitution (reparation). There is ample literature supporting this line of argument. Reparation is one of the key proponents of apology as critical for reconciliation are Nicholas Tavuchis (1991) and Arron Lazare (1991). Gaertner's views are sharply opposed to Nicholas Tavuchis's (1991), the former emphasizing that apology, "itself cannot serve as a reparation without requiring additional actions on the part of the transgressor. If there is sincerity in apology it is in material redress for wrongs done," (David Gaertner 2011, page:31).

Gaertner challenges the assertion that there cannot be any price tag placed on extreme violence like genocide (Ray L. Brooks, 1999), arguing that when rights are ripped away, the survivors of extreme violence are entitled to compensation and much more. In the advocating for reparatory compensation, Ray L. Brooks (1999) calls for empowering survivors to get them to privileged position more or less closer to perpetrators'. This points to bettering economic wellbeing as a route to fostering reconciliation. There are numerous scholarly reviewed literature supportive of this approach. Though economic improvement is a critical prerequisite to reconciliation, the scope of this study does not cover this variable. Gaertner further (2011) argues reparation has the

power to illustrate the perpetrator's intent for change. Without it, apology is a purely ideological act, a means to paper over psychological and physical wounds and begin the process of forgetting. Citing Hideko and Hicks, Gaertner further noted, in some cultures and contexts, reparations make apology "matter"—in both senses of the word: "physical object" and "importance" (Gaertner, 2011).

The earlier analyses revealed one of the key outcomes of sincere apology is restored harmony (peace) between the apologizer and the apologizing person. To contextualize the foregoing view, it is critical that genocide perpetrators make sincere apologies through unstructured and structured forums to the genocide survivors in Rwanda. This study assumes that the Girinka reconciliation approach for example the cow-giving and receiving ceremonies and events present opportunities for making apologies and making mends between genocide survivors and perpetrators. One of the earliest writers on Rwanda's cow transfer process, Gravel (1962) observed that the transfer of cows amongst Banyarwanda "can be a device through which the relationships were rendered concrete and unavoidable," (p.1). The potential of cows to trigger apologies is premised on Gravel's view that "Banyarwanda have a high respect for cows, and they will indeed go through a lot of trouble before killing their cows as a last resort, but they do hold their survival dearer than the life of a cow," (1962:323). Though Gravel affirmed the respect of cows by Rwandans, he strongly dismissed the view that some Rwandans value cow's life dearer than the life of their children.

Tavuchis (1991) provides the causal linkage between apology and social harmony noting that besides individual rehabilitation, apologizing promotes restoration of social harmony, and it can

prevent trespasses from being obstruction to social relationships. Though Tavuchis is in agreement with the view that apologies can restore good feelings and trusting relationships thus the reason for valuing them, he nonetheless made an important caution—that if the apologizer's motivation for making apology is to make feel victims/survivors happy under the guise of restoring harmonious relationship, then apology risks to be insincere. Given the higher moral standing apologizers gain from making genuine apologies, undoubtedly, apology promotes social harmony and provides greater opportunities for reconciliation and sustainable peace in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. At all levels, household, community even inter-state levels, sincere apologies have paved way for forgiveness, restoration of trust, understanding and reconciliation. Deliberate refusal to acknowledge harm done or justifying it can strifle forgiveness and reconciliation. Similarly, it cannot provide prospects for sustainable peace in post genocide societies.

2.2.3. Trust

Tutu has been one of the strongest voices for building truthful, trustful relationships for reconciliation after prolonged violence. He observed, "creating trust and understanding between former enemies is a supremely a difficult challenge. It is, however, an essential one to address in the process of building a lasting peace," Bloomfield *et al.*, (2003: Foreword). Similarly, Suleiman (2016) stresses that trust has been identified as a key factor in maintaining harmonious relationship and it will remain an inherent part of social interactions.

Considering the importance of trust in determining the quality of inter-personal, group and peaceful social life, Ramzi Suleiman further argued that trust has been conceptualized as an inter-group emotions, the restoration of which will promote good-will, towards out-group members and reduce suspicions towards them. On the other hand, Suleiman (2016) clearly stated

that generalized distrust is a common emotional consequence of protracted violent conflicts, and is often harmful to reconciliation. In light of the earlier stressed episodic violence posited by Kalayjian & F. Paloutzian, (2009), building trust in post genocide Rwanda continues to be a daunting challenge.

According to Jamal, specifically in his writing titled: Trust, Ethics and Intentionality in Conflict Transformation and Reconciliation in The Role of Trust in Conflict Resolution (2016), trust is important in the inception and development of conflict and in its resolution and transformation. As for I. Alon & D. Bar-Tal (2016), trust and distrust determine to a large extent the nature of inter-personal and intergroup relationships: whether it is cooperative, competitive, conflictive or amicable. E. Yuchtman-Year & Y. Alkalay (2016) observed an understanding of trust and distrust specifically its operative nature are "of paramount importance in the study and resolution of inter-group conflicts," I. Alon & D. Bar-Tal (2016),

Sztompka (2016) made an observation about the genesis and basis of trust and distrust worthy of noting. He reasoned, the history of peaceful and fruitful cooperation or co-existence begets trust whereas history of mutual violence and wars results in distrust. Such Sztompka's assertion can be proven right considering Rwanda's historical and episodes of violence leading to 1994 genocide against Tutsi. The revival of homegrown initiatives after 1994 genocide such as Girinka at community levels sought to enable exchange of information, reducing social and relational gaps between genocide survivors and henceforth fostering the restoration of trust between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators.

Sztompka's distinction of trust and distrust cannot be overlooked especially given their operative value to fostering reconciliation in the post genocide context. He observes, trust—"is an optimistic bet: those actions of the other will be beneficial, meet our expectations," (2016:150). Distrust—" is a pessimistic bet: those actions of the other will be harmful, disappoint our expectations," r Sztompka,(2016:150). Conversely, trust is an integral prerequisite in restoration of fractured relationships—reconciliation—at interpersonal, intergroup and national levels. Arguably, the causal relationship between trust-building, reconciliation and building sustainable peace especially after violent crimes such as ethnic cleansing and genocide cannot be overemphasized.

Though many scholars underscore the centrality of trust in building lasting and peaceful relationships, there is a general consensus among them that "trust is a fragile resource," because "when [it is] breached or abused, it easily collapses." Sztompka, (2016:150)

Drawing on Palestine-Israel case, Jamal (2016) quotes Mayer *et al.*,(1995) in defining trust—as willingness to be vulnerable. Underscoring vulnerability, the same author pointedly argues that trust forms a very sensitive socio-psychological arena because it exposes the trusting party to the free conduct of others—assuming that they will behave with good intention and they will not cause harm to us Jamal, (2016). Surrendering self to the 'other' under the banner of trust is indeed scholarly inviting, leaving alone its risky applicability in the context after grave genocidal violence like the one that befell the Tutsis of Rwanda. Partly, this forms the researcher's curiosity.

In view of the gravity of 1994 genocide against Tutsi, Sevenhuijzen (1999) argues that what paralyzes trust after violence in former divided societies is not its opposite—distrust or mistrust but—incessant fear of the unknown (1999). This is in resonance with I. Alon & D. Bar-Tal's (2016) view that trusting is a risk-taking and a socio-psychological venture. Though there is ample literature base supportive of the above assertion, so far, there is no proven empirical evidence for it in far as survivor-perpetrator relationships are concerned in Rwanda. One of the insightful description of trust comes from the inspirational writer, Stephen M.R. Covey in his book, *The Speed of Trust* (2006):

There is one thing that is common to every individual, relationship, family, organization, nation, (...) and civilization throughout the world—one thing which, if removed, will destroy the most powerful government, the most successful business, the most thriving economy,, the most influential leadership, the greatest friendship, the strongest character and the deepest love. That thing is trust, Covey, (2006:1)

Covey further underlines the importance of trust, noting that if leveraged and developed, trust has potential to create unparalleled success and prosperity in every dimension of life. Fukayama (1995) who has emphasized the causal influence of trust on economic prosperity has maintained that without trust, there is no relationship, and if there is, it is guarded and encumbered by legalistic contracts and processes. In fact, trust in most Arabic settings means unwritten contract Jamal, (2016). Similarly, the Hebrew conceptualization of trust means social contract based on common values and conviction Jamal, (2016).

Basing on the centrality of trust in any societal or relational settings, Fukayama considers absence of trust as an impediment to flexibility and rapid growth—societal or individual. He argues, relationships depend on trusts, and trust depends on a culture of shared values—"a shared language of good and evil" Fukayama, (1995). Though Fukayama made no efforts to show how

to keep trust, his stance on the importance of trust is worth noting especially his emphasis on nexus between lack of trust and lack of shared values. Such environment cannot lead to shared business. Arguably, we can add, where there is no business, there is no prosperity and there won't be sustainable peace. The importance of trust in fostering economic successes and rapid growth stretches beyond this study's scope and interests.

Covey, purposely avoided complex definition of trust, noting that it simply means having confidence in people, in their integrity and their abilities. Such definition applies in the context of organizational effectiveness and leadership. It is operationally lacking in the context of building trust between people with a history of deep-rooted ethnic identifications and affiliations. Lewicki & Wiethoff (2000) defined trust as an individual's belief in, and willingness to act on the belief of, words, actions [behavior] and decisions of another. Much of scholarly based literature emphasizes the psychological, social, behavioral, attitudinal aspects of trust. Expounding trust in each of these dimensions can be an arduous task given the already highlighted lack of a unified scholarly definition. However, we can provide a snapshot for each in the proceeding paragraphs. Greiff (2008), is one of the authors who considers trust as predictability of individual's behavioral patterns. Romano re-affirms this view, arguing that research based on early sociological theories conceptualizes trust as a behavior. Citing Currall & Judge (1995) Donna M. Romano (2003) defined trust as one's individual behavioral reliance on another.

Greiff (2008) argues, while trusting someone involves relying on that person to do or refrain from doing certain things, for trust to be meaningful, it has to establish a sense of shared normative commitment to certain behavior guided by norms and values. "I trust someone when I

have reasons to expect a certain pattern of behavior from her/him, and those reasons include not just consistent behavior, but also, crucially, the expectation that among her [his] reasons for action is the commitment to the norms and values we share," Greiff, (2008). The revitalized homegrown solutions: *Umuganda, Ingando, Gacaca, NdumunyaRwanda, Girinka*, and so forth, are guided by building shared values, unity and reconciliation among others. Most of the reviewed unconventional homegrown approaches emphasize trust as critical components of building social solidarity, social harmony and positive interpersonal relationships.

Though such home grown solutions may have objectives [un]related to building truthful and trustful relationships between Rwandans, there are scholarly based evidence indicative of how keeping close social contacts through working together at community levels can significantly contribute to change of deep-seated negative attitudes, ethnic-based stereotypes and other demeaning and dichotomous divides between genocide survivors and perpetrators. Porter affirmed the above assertion, noting "sometimes during the process of working together, significant changes of attitudes can occur," (2015:150). One of the theoretical perspectives underpinning this study—the conflict transformation—pointedly emphasizes this proposition. Critical to this study is examining the observable and measurable attitudinal and behavioral changes on genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors in Kamonyi District of Rwanda.

The behavioral definition of trust was criticized by Gambetta & Luhmann, (1988), clarifying that trust can occur in the absence of observable behavior, noting that in fact behavior can occur in the absence of trust Romano, (2003). To give nuance to the above critique of behavioral definition of trust, Gambetta & Luhmann, gave an example within organizational context:

"An individual might cooperate with a co-worker, but such behavior does not necessarily constitute an instance of trust. Such behavior could reflect a situation of coercion or compliance with established rules and norms," Romano, 2003:15).

Can this assertion explain the level of trusting relationships in post genocide contexts? From the aforementioned explanations, trust seemingly appears as a socio-psychological imperative for sustenance of human relations and livelihoods. In fact, Porter (2015) states the imperativeness of trust in the context of societies emerging from divided past as a means persons choose for continuity of life without which meeting basic needs such as health, education, jobs, water supply, infrastructure, support to orphaned children, access to land, economic well being among others would be problematic.

Citing several authors, such as Jones & George, (1998), Rousseau et al., (1998), Kee & Knox, (1970) Romano, (2003) defined trust in attitudinal perspectives, specifically, underlining that trust is a subjective phenomenon that is defined by the psychological experiences of the individual who bestows it. In view of these definitional divergences, Romano summed it up by referring to trust as a psychological experience that consists of cognitive, affective, and behavioral sentiments (2003). Similarly, Romano (2003) piled up several author's definitional views on trust citing a combination of elements making trust a social phenomenon. These include, trustor's value, a target's attributes, a context's structure among others.

Presenting horizontal and vertical trust, Greiff described the former as the trust among citizens and the latter as trust between citizens and their institutions. In this study, our interests are on the former—horizontal trust—trust between citizens as suggested by Greiff (2008). The rationale for opting horizontal trust is hinged on the premise that Girinka-based reconciliation implemented at

local communities and the researcher is interested in establishing how this unconventional approach creates trusting relationships between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. I.Alon & D. Bar-Tal (2016) asserted that trust allows living with a particular conviction that enables a good feeling about the other; it allows avoidance of particular behaviors—for example preparation for harmful acts—as a result of risk taking. If trust leads to avoidance of harmful acts by a party against the other and this is one of the frontiers through which longer term peaceful relationships are built. We aim at empirically testing whether Rwanda's community based Girinka Reconciliation Approach practically fosters trusts between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators and laying the foundations for sustainable peace in Kamonyi District of Rwanda.

I.Alon & D. Bar-Tal (2016), however cautions that building trust especially after mass violence is a risk-taking endeavor because those we trust can take advantage of the trustor's vulnerabilities. If trusting is risk-taking and is laced with trustor's vulnerabilities, how has the cow-giving and receiving processes removed such fears between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District of Rwanda? Answers to this question are in chapter five of this thesis. Greiff (2008) argued, rebuilding trust after violation commends consists of monitoring and control of behavior patterns. Can such psychological state of monitoring and controlling the other's pattern of behavior sustainably lead to trust-building between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators? All these questions demand for answers which will be provided in chapter five under data analysis and interpretation.

Alluding to the risky nature of trust, I.Alon & D. Bar-Tal (2016), invoked distrust and its associated costs to relationship building. He argues that distrust forces parties to living with a

particular conviction that generates bad feelings and suspicion about the other, living in a continuous state of threat. He further argues, such socio-psychological state makes the party to live under conditions of preparedness for being harmed—living in continuous readiness to absorb information about potential harm (stress). Is this state of mind visible on the genocide survivors and perpetrators who live on the same hills in Kamonyi District of Rwanda? This question has partly been answered affirmatively by Console Mukanyirigira, coordinator of a Rwandan Widow's group for survivors, " [some] Rwandan people feel obliged to reconcile because we are neighbors," and she fastened to add, "but there is little trust," Porter, (2015:150). Mukanyirigira's view largely related to peaceful co-existence as opposed to restored relationships that will lead to longer term peace. From her response, one establishes limited trust. Such survivor's half-heartedness and choosing to live with perpetrators to realize short-term pragmatic objectives relate more to co-existence as opposed to sustainable reconciliation and peace after genocidal violence. The two concepts—co-existence and reconciliation are generally used interchangeably by some practitioners. The researcher emphasizes, co-existence and reconciliation are two different concepts, though they are intimately complementary.

Though there is recognizance of the fact that trust is an essential prerequisite of reconciliation, rebuilding trust takes long time although it can be broken so fast. Recounting responses from Sierra Leone victims of violence conducted by Laura Skovel, Porter, (2015) advances the view that people can choose to forgive and reconcile out of pragmatic reasons and motivations, but without trust. For instance, when Laura Skovel asked victims of amputations and other horrible forms of violence in Sierra Leone if they forgave wrongdoers and were reconciled, her respondents answered in affirmative: "Yes" Porter (2015:150). When she asked further: "Well,

do you trust those people? Could you trust them again?" They answered: "Oh no, we do not trust them, of course not. It will be a long time before we can we trust them,"Porter (2015:150). Worth marking, survivors of gruesome violence can co-exist with their perpetrators without necessary forgiving and reconciling with them. This kind of relationship does not translate into achieving sustainable peace.

Lewicki & Wiethoff (2000) suggested three elements to consider while analyzing trust as a critical factor for restoring positive relationships that will translate into sustainable peace in a post conflict context. Analysis of these elements is critical in understanding the importance of trust in fostering sustainable peace in the post genocide Rwanda, specifically in Kamonyi District. The two authors argued, the first one is deeply rooted in personality—the belief system developed through one's life experience related to trust. Given the Rwanda's historical injustices ranging from late 1950s through independence (1960s) up to the horrific periods of genocide (1994), is this personality-based trust traceable in Rwanda? If trust is shaped by one's life experience ('personality,' as Lewicki & Wiethoff, suggest), arguably, Rwanda's earlier stated sustained violence deeply shattered the ground for rebuilding trust. These questions are pertinent and worthy of attention in understanding the formative process of trust or developing life-long trusting relationships. The second element proposed by the two authors is based on—a set of rules and norms established by the institution/society.

By institution's set of rules and norms, suggested by Lewicki & Wiethoff, arguably, family-centered norms and rules can influence one's disposition to trusting. As an influential institution, family can significantly contribute to nurturing the value of trust for longer term trustful and

peaceful or distrustful and harmful relationship in any society. Family is the first institution that nurtures one's worldview influenced by family-based norms, values and a combination of these forms a key part of one people's adulthood—priorities, choices and consequences henceforth. The centrality of family in promoting trusting relationships is drawn based on three elements of trusting relationships: an individual's chronic disposition towards trust, situational parameters and finally, the history of the relationship as advanced by Diamond Management Consulting.

Thirdly and lastly, trust may be based on experiences within a given relationship—interpersonal, intergroup or intercommunity. Abusive and exploitative relationships beget distrustful relationships and they are more susceptible to vicious circle of violent relationships.

The Diamond Management Consulting established three types of trust. These types provide a sequential process of how trust changes, grows and declines. The proceeding analysis on trust types provides an understanding of practical pathways for restoration and sustaining trusts between Rwandans after 1994 genocide against Tutsi.

The First type of trust suggested by Diamond Management Consulting is **calculus-based trust**—which emphasizes not only trust based on fear of punishment for violating trust but also in rewards for preserving it. This mode of trust can be explained using post genocide context. To rebuild Rwanda's fractured fabric, justice system enabled genocide perpetrators to be released and reintegrated back into communities through what we discussed earlier as self-convicted confessions and pleas of guilty framework, Senate report, (2006).

However, the release was conditional—non-repetition of similar crimes once integrated back in their respective communities. Meaning, the realized genocide perpetrator's behaviors after reintegration into societies was tied on a key societal perishable value—trust. Succeeding in behaving in morally and legally acceptable ways attracted prospects for re-trusting the released former genocide perpetrator, whereas failure to conform to societal norms, values and systems attracted severer punishment. In other words, the perpetrator's subsequent behavior was under a close societal monitoring and control. The entire Rwandan society, survivors and beneficiaries of trust—released genocide perpetrators were engaged in calculations—comparing the costs and benefits of sustaining the established relationship versus the costs and benefits of severing it. Diamond Management Consulting¹ recommends, even the harmed party (survivors of genocide in Rwanda's case) must be willing to follow through on the threats of punishment. Repeat of offences similar to the ones of the past—violation of established trust by the perpetrator attracted harsher punishment Senate Report, (2006). While the atmosphere under such relationship does not necessarily reflect total trust, the costs of not pursuing it outweigh benefits of such calculus-based trust, especially in context of rebuilding trust and reconciliation after mass violence in Rwanda. Indeed, control of the perpetrator's behavior is central to calculus-based trust (Diamond Management Consulting).

The second type of trust is Knowledge-based trust—occurring when an individual or [a group of people or a community] has enough information and understanding about another person [other groups/communities] to effectively predict other's behavior (Diamond Management Consulting).

Sztompka, (2016) referred to this type of trust to "rational calculus," based on estimation of trustworthiness or distrust of the other party. To effectively gauge this type of trust, Sztompka, proposed six factors, namely, reputation—the history of earlier deeds and experiences in earlier contacts with the partner. He for instance noted that impeccable reputation over a long period of time is needed to obtain trust, whereas single dishonesty, disloyalty or any hostile gesture in relationship generates distrust. The second factor he proposed is credentials—direct or indirect evidence by trusted referees, third appearances matter, i.e., external signs or symbols of threatening status; fourth actual intentions, performance and actions of the trusted or distrusted other, fifth encapsulated interest of the other by putting ourselves in the role of the enemy and empathically imagining the vested interests of the partner in cheating or harming oneself. Sixth and the final factor proposed by Sztompka, (2016) is the environment—is trust revered and enforced or untrustworthiness easily punished and rebuked? The Diamond Management Consult further argues that accurate prediction of the other's behavior depends on understanding, which develops from repeated interactions, communications and building a relationship. Knowledge-based trust fittingly suits Rwanda's socio-cultural context because of interconnected and homogeneous nature of Rwandans facilitated by one language. Drawing from the foregoing view, it is worth noting that unlike the Calculus-based trust, knowledge-based trust is not founded on control of behavior but information about the trustee.

The third type is Identification-based trust—which happens when parties understand and endorse one another and can act for each other's interests and benefits. This requires the parties to fully internalize and harmonize with each other's desires and intentions (Diamond Management Consulting). This type of trust is central and relevant Rwanda's efforts of promoting

reconciliation after 1994 genocide. The principal aspiration of identification-based trust is formation of shared values and identity. This is what is prioritized by the current leadership as 'Rwandaness'—a shared sense of national identity—*Ndimunyarwanda*. *Ndimunyarwanda* is not only a reconciliation policy, but a practical solution to ethnic-based '*us versus them*' dichotomous problem introduced 1930s by colonialists and promoted by opportunistic elites after colonialism in Rwanda.

The National Unity and Reconciliation Commission's Barometer (2010)—a tool that assesses the status of reconciliation in Rwanda after 1994 genocide against Tutsi revealed that 95.5% of interviewed citizens are proud to be Rwandans as opposed to viewing themselves through ethnic identities: Tutsi, Hutus and Twas categories. Institutionalized identity-based discriminations and associated consequences significantly contributed to severing of relationships between Rwandans and it attributed to facilitating the occurrence of genocide against Tutsi in 1994. Going by the findings of Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (2015), Rwanda is on the right trajectory of rejecting ethnic discriminations to Rwandaness as evidenced by 97.3% of Rwandans who are proud to be Rwandans by 2015. The identification-based trust places greater emphasis on the removal of *us versus them dichotomy* and recommends parties to think, feel and respond like other person other.

Analysis from what entails the previous type of trust, it is evident that moving from Calculus-based trust to Identification-based level of trust is a laborious process requiring time, energy and deeper commitment to shared values. Rwanda's home-grown solution, Girinka which is rooted in

the culture of Rwanda suitably reinforces such shared value-systems. The centrality of shared value-systems in fostering reconciliation of Rwandans after 1994 genocide cannot be underestimated. In this study, we are interested to establish how influences restoration of trust, revelation of truth about genocide, promotes apology pleas, forgiveness and hence reconciliation.

Moving from calculus-based trust to knowledge-based trust requires a shift from focusing on differences to similarities between parties (genocide survivors and perpetrators in Rwanda for purposes of contextualization). Likewise, moving from knowledge-based trust to identification-based trust involves a shift from extending party's knowledge about the other to more mutual relationships. Noteworthy, enabling the extension of knowledge from horrible past to desirable present and future necessitates enormous efforts in trust-building between trustees and trusters especially in the context of sustained historical injustices and violence.

Earlier, we underlined the relationship between truth and trust. This study considers truth and trust as some of the integral prerequisites of reconciliation. However, the scholarly debate on whether trust is either integral processes or an outcome of reconciliation is intensive and inconclusive. Though there is no denying that reconciled relationships beget trust, our position is, like truth, genuine apology, trust is one of the integral prerequisites (processes) of reconciliation. There is plenty of examples pointing to delayed negotiations or broken reconciliation processes because of trust. For instance, Fitzduff (2016) attributed the difficulty and the length of time involved in obtaining an eventual political agreement—almost 30 years—in Northern Ireland was partly because of the difficulty in obtaining trust.

I.Alon & D. Bar-Tal (2016) revealed insightful analyses about how trust makes negotiations, mediations and reconciliation possible or break them completely. The contributors to the book were many and they were drawn from a multidisciplinary background thus brought forth different ways to the analysis of Palestine-Israel Conflict. Though their analysis validly differed considerably, their conclusion is worth noting: lack of trust between Arab Palestinians and Jewish Israelites does not only lead to the failure of all attempted negotiations, but subsequent conflict escalation and failed attempts to even build foundational groundwork for reconciliation.

I.Alon & D. Bar-Tal (2016), recommended, "there is a need for brave leadership that can lead and persuade the masses to end this disastrous conflict and begin the long way of peacebuilding with trust to free the two societies from their entangled vicious bond," (2016:xxv).Sztompka (2016) analyzed the theoretical approaches to trust and their implications for the resolutions of intergroup conflict. He acknowledged the implications of trusts and distrusts in great measure. In his theoretical analysis of both variables, he concluded, "there is evidence that barriers to trust, though formidable are not insurmountable. The knot of distrust if not untied completely, can at least be loosened Sztompka, (2016:15).

2.2.4. Collective identity/Rwandanness

It was established that reconciliation between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators cannot sustainably thrive in state of *us.vsthem* divide between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators. The collective identity *Rwandanness/NdimunyaRwanda* contributes towards the removal of ethnic walls by building bridges between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators. Bamporiki (2017) is one of the advocates of breaking ethnic walls after 1994 genocide. In his view, *NdimunyaRwanda* is the central remedy for Rwanda's

catastrophic ethnic divisions. Hailing from families with a history of genocide perpetration, Bamporoki's documented the reflections and regrets of of genocide perpetrators in his book: *My Son, It Is A Long Story: Reflections of Genocide Perpetrators* (2017). In the book which did not only feature regrets of the past, it recommends *NdumunyaRwanda*, moving forward.

"So, let us stick to that good program: '*I am A Rwandan*,' because I am a Hutu, I am a Tutsi left us in abominable situation. Forget it forever," reminisces Nizeyumukiza Louis, a genocide perpetrator serving his sentence over genocide crimes, in Bamboriki (2017:61). Bamboriki's book contains detailed reflections, regrets of genocide perpetrators and worth-while recommendations for today's crop of leaders and ordinary citizens in Rwanda and beyond. Most of Bamboriki's respondents were perpetrators still serving their genocide related sentences in different parts of Rwanda.

Noteworthy, much of reflections from Bamboriki's book can be summed up as insights informed by experiential knowledge of genocide: its planning, implementation and its aftermath consequences. After all, his respondents were active perpetrators of the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi. Nizeyumukiza's recommendation—"stick to:*I am a Rwandan*," (Bamboriki, 2017:61) is not only insightful, it invites concrete actions at all levels: strategic, operative and household levels. Rwanda's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Louise Mushikiwabo, a genocide survivor concurred with Nizeyumukiza's view that Tutsi-Hutu divides had destroyed Rwanda, "our *Rwandaness* no longer existed," referring to the situations immediately after 1994 genocide Rwanda Inc, (2012:72). Turning around the situation—the post genocide mess by translating Nizeyumukiza's recommendation into impactful actions was a heavy responsibility bestowed onpost-genocide peacebuilding policy-makers and practitioners. As part of responding to the

generational responsibility, specifically undoing Hutu-Tutsi divide, sowed and promoted by genocide planners, President Kagame stressed: “We have created one tribe, which is being *Rwandan*,” in Rwanda Inc, (2012:80). Kagame considers Rwandaness as a guiding philosophy, Bamboriki, (2017:5). As such, Rwanda’s Rwandaness carries intrinsic, humanistic values and similarities of South Africa’s Ubuntu, defined by Francis as “a person is a person through the other person,” (2008:129). The researcher referred to this as crafting *Rwandaness* (collective identity) or collective humanity, after 1994 genocide. Analyzed critically, Considered as a homegrown solution by the post genocide leadership, Rwandaness underpines humanness—a key emphasis of Ubuntu, for instance, if one has done unthinkable, atrocious wrongs such as committing genocide against Tutsi, he is mocked to have lost the Rwandaness values. Doing similar wrongs, one has not *Ubuntu*—an operative term cutting across many *bantu* speaking people of Africa. The two homegrown approaches—*Ubuntu* and Rwandaness—emphasize collective humanness and awareness of our interconnectedness, Francis (2008). Going contrary to highly revered Rwandan values, one is viewed as anti-Rwandaness. Put in other words, genocidal actions of 1994 (killings, systematic rape, looting and so forth) are dismissed as anti-Rwandaness (*ibikorwa bitari byakinya Rwanda*). The revitalization of Rwandaness, therefore is not only a reconciliation approach, but a deliberate strategy of bringing back perpetrators of genocide against Tutsi into human fold or what some scholars in the reviewed literature termed as a re-humanization process.

Importantly, collective identity/Rwandaness (Ndumunya Rwanda) is considered as a prerequisite to sustainable reconciliation in the post genocide Rwanda by this researcher. The regrets and recommendations of the genocide perpetrator above are essentially valid—the issue of collective identity in Rwanda—was at the centre of Rwanda's ethnic targeting—“episodic violence’—

which involves direct harm to the victim, with non-interminant harm committed indirectly to victims that result in(may result from) unjust social arrangement—structural violence,” Paloutzian & Kalayjian (2009:4). Any discourse about causes of genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda cannot be complete without ethnicity.

Therefore, Rwandaness can suitably be a systematic and sustainable response to Rwanda’s ethnic targeting and its associated forms of violence—“episodic violence, and structural violence,” Paloutzian & Kalayjian, (2009:4). Similarly, the post genocide leadership emphasizes that the future of the current and in-coming generations rests on effective management of Hutu-Tutsi and Twa ethnicity IRDP Report, (2006). Article 54 of the Rwandan Constitution of 2003 as amended henceforth, bans ethnic: Hutu, Tutsi and Twa identifications. This, however, has attracted both criticism, applauding and cold reservations from in and outside Rwanda. Rwanda’s decision to ban ethnic identification has been unfortunately benchmarked against Burundi’s soft-stance on ethnicity.

According to Buckley-Zistel“given the devastating impact of manipulation of identities in the past, which divided people and contributed to the genocide, the policy of the government to use the opposite strategy to bring people back together sounds rational," Buckley-Zistel (2006:101). Analysis of the origin of Rwanda's ethnicity, its processes and eventual consequences as well as its management is critical in any scholarly discourse focused on restoration of positive relationship between Rwandans.

Destructive as it was, analysis of Rwanda's ethnicity confuses well-establishedscholars and interested novice researchers alike. Early explorers and missionaries approached Rwanda's ethnicity using superior versus inferior racial ideological theories—a reflection of the operating

context of Europe of 19th Century. There are highly appreciable literature claiming the genocide against Tutsi was a long term outcome of European racial ideologies championed by post independence political elites of Rwanda. The IRDP Report(2006) on History and Conflicts in Rwanda, affirms the above assertion:

By the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century, explorers, missionaries and colonial administration were busy classifying the native races, ethnic groups, casts. This process corresponded to the raciology movement that was taking place in Europe, IRDP Report, (2006:65)

The writings of S.Tornay (1995) and Kagame (1957) as they appear in the IRDP Report (2006) invariably indicated that the origin of Hamitic hypothesis to be in the explorers' and missionaries' interpretation of Africa's context. Noticeably, there is a close relationship between Hamitic hypothesis, explorers', Missionaries' and colonizers' explanations of Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa identity in Rwanda. The Senate Report (2006) attributes Rwanda's primary "Hutuness and Tutsiness as products of colonialism and Christian evangelism," (p.264).

The documented thoughts of Joseph Arthur de Gobineau (1816-1882), Huston Stewart Chamberlain (1855-1927), George Vacher de Lapouge (1854-1936), Charles Darwin (1809-1882), Edourd Drumont (1844-1917), Wilhelm Marr (1819-1917) reflect derogatory racist theories based on superiority versus inferiority (IRDP Report 2006). "Racist theories have been the cause of hardships suffered by European Jews [...] They yielded unfortunate consequences on Africa in general, but on Rwandans in particular," IRDP Report,(2006:29).

Similarly, there is a link between racist theories espoused by the above European influential shapers of public opinions through writings, Hamitic theories, Rwanda's ethnic divides: Hutu vs Tutsi and its final outcome: genocide against Tutsi. "The racist ideology of MDR-

PARMEHUTU [was] nourished by myths, prejudices and stereotypes from explorers', missionaries' and colonizers' writings," IRDP Report, (2006:23). The IRDP Reports: 2005, 2006 and Senate Report, (2006) reveal common features of the theories of first explorers, missionaries, post independence political elites and masterminds of genocidal project: superiority vs. inferiority mental constructions, racial and ethnic prejudices, stereotypes, self-serving policy of divide and gain.

In line with the above, arguably, the genesis of the genocide against Tutsi is traceable in Europe, specifically, in German, Belgium. The basis of this claim is, the racial ideological theories so far presented. Secondly, apart from intra-elite dynastic struggles, there is no evidence of Hutu-Tutsi based violence in the pre-colonial Rwanda.

The three ethnic groups [Hutu, Tutsi and Twas] spoke the language, shared the same religious beliefs, and lived side-by side. Relations between them were not particularly confrontational. The historical record makes it clear that hostilities were much more frequent among competing dynasties of the same ethnic category than between the Hutu and the Tutsi themselves, Gerald Caplan, (1998: Chapter 2).

Though oral narratives of the pre-colonial times contain unverifiable mythological even metaphysical reminiscences, "the pre-colonial Rwanda was by no means an utopian paradise," NURC Report, (2017:8). This romanticizing worldview of ancient Rwanda is largely held by many elders regardless of their ethnic leanings, but its authenticity has not been verified by this researcher. However, the writings of Carney J.J (2013) reinforce the above claims, noting that "even after the hardening of Hutu and Tutsi identities under the influence of German and Belgian colonial rule, there was no explicit Hutu-Tutsi violence throughout the first half of the 20th century," NURC Report, (2017:8).

The Senate Report (2006) states that owing to the 1994 genocide, there has been deliberate effort to search for the origin of the ideas which led to the behavior of ethnic hate, and eventually to the criminal policies leading to genocide. Guided by the earlier presented racial ideological theories, Servvaes (1990), Sanders (1969) and Saevais(1990) provide distinctive features between Tutsi, Hutus and Twas. Though these writings shaped Rwanda's ethnic landscape and are said to have informed Himatic vs. Bantu theories, post genocide researchers and elites have vehemently dismissed them as unfounded and flawed as they "confused race with social classes," Senate Report, (2006:21).

Unfounded, flawed or not, unfortunately, they had far reaching consequences on Rwanda's social landscape. According to a survey conducted by Rwanda's Senate in 2005, 80.8% of respondents confirmed the above assertion—"establishing a close link between the writings on the origin of Rwandans and the genocide," Senate Report, (2006:26). Prunier (1997) once a seasoned researcher on Rwanda, reasoned that researchers in the colonial period "were responsible for the violence that regularly raged in Rwanda since 1959," (p.53).

This study advances the view that collective identity—Rwandaness—or Rwandanity—or *NdumunyaRwanda*, is a key prerequisite for sustainable reconciliation in Rwanda. Objectives of *NdumunyaRwanda* as outlined by NURC Report (2017:26) two critical thematic issues—eradication of ethnic divisions and unity and reconciliation strongly featured. This emphasis was based on three considerations. First, the past Hutu, Tutsi, Twa ethnic classifications led Rwandans "to abomination situation," Bamboriki (2017:61). According to the Senate Report, the ethnic-based identity was not only "a major factor leading to the destruction of the nation, it became the basis for the set of ideas conducive to the blossoming of the ideology of genocide," (2006:255).

Secondly, the future of Rwanda will be better off through deepening the "we-ness" (NURC Report 2017:5) as opposed to Porter referred to as "*harmful Othering*," (2015:110). Similar perspectives were drawn by the Senate Report, "the reconstruction of "Rwandaness," has been rightly viewed as a process of neutralizing the systems of ideas which generated the genocide," (2006:255).

In this study, we have considered *Rwandaness/NdimubunyaRwanda* as one of the thematic prerequisites of irinka-based reconciliation in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. The Senate Report (2006) considers *Rwandaness/NdumunyaRwanda* as a strategy of eradicating genocide ideology in the post genocide Rwanda.

Thirdly, the proposed collective identity fits into the regionalizing and globalizing trends rapidly getting accelerated by communication technologies and post genocide leadership. Put simply, Hutu-Tutsi-Twa mentality is not only an old-fashioned worldview, but a retrogressive path. This view is based on what writers considered as Rwanda's originator of destructions—ethnicity. . Findings from past research revealed a wavering resolve by Rwandans to eradicate ethnic divisions for sustainable peace. For instance, the NURC's Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer (2015) uncovered that 98% Rwandans want their children to know of themselves as Rwandans rather than Hutus, Tutsi or Twa NURC(2010).

Unlike the earlier presented racial ideological theories, current studies on race and ethnicity under constructionist theoretical perspective show that collective identity is socially constructed, progressively renegotiated and readjusted. Alba (1990) one of the proponents of constructionist school of thought on identity clarifies it even better: "symbolic ethnicities are easily reshaped in response to varying situational contexts and growing social needs," in NURC, (2017:6). The

view of Alba's identity transformation based on varying situational considerations as captured by the NURC Report reinforces the earlier proposition that—aligning with Hutu, Tutsi, Twa ethnic identity is no longer fashionable and tenable with the current regionalizing and globalizing trends. The Senate Report (2006) recommends:

Restoration of pride in being Rwandan should be implanted in the consciousness of citizens. Special emphasis should be put on other modern values such as belonging to supra-national identities and encouraging the integration of Rwanda into global economic, political and social networks, (p.292).

Collective identity/Rwandanness is spelt out in the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission Policy (2007), specifically noting that Rwanda as a country is committed to "promoting the spirit of Rwandan identity and put national interests first as opposed to favors based on ethnicity, blood relationships ...and region or origin," NURC (2007:11). According to the Senate Report (2006), rebuilding national identity among Rwandans is the one of the focal points in the post genocide national reconstruction process. The report further stresses that collective identity is a landmark pillar of Rwanda's vision 2020 and and a key requirement for achieving sustainable peace

Though abolition of Tutsi-Hutu ethnic classifications has been a policy priority of the post genocide leadership, according to the NURC Report (2017), the idea of *NdimunyaRwanda* Programme was mooted in a Youth Dialogue Gathering dubbed—TheYouthConnect Dialogue, held on 30th June 2013 in Kigali, Rwanda. The strength of *NdimunyaRwanda* lies in its being conceived and driven by Rwandan youths. It does not only communicate the youth's awareness of Rwanda's horrible past, it signals ownership of Rwanda's present and desire to prepare a better future. Youth's resolve to forge a future different from their peers' past is reflected in the following: "NdiUmunyaRwanda serves as a platform for Rwandans to face their history, tell the

truth, repent, forgive, and get healed," NURC, (2017:13). Earlier, we emphasized that Rwanda's sustainable peace and reconciliation rest on deeply rooted *NdimunyaRwanda* as opposed to subscribing to Hutu-Tutsi and Twa identifications. These identifications produced Rwanda's worst outcome: genocide.

Bamboriki (2017) captures President Kagame's views on *NdimunyaRwanda*, "upholding the value of being a proud Rwandan ought to be our guiding philosophy," (2017:5). Informed by the destructive role of youth in the 1994 genocide, the post genocide leadership challenges present youth to act differently. This attitude is emphasized by Bamboriki, "nurturing a youth without a visionary dream is like nearing a herd of oxen and expect milk from them," (2017:3). Retrospectively, Rwandan youths were drawn into the implementation of the genocidal project in 1994. Tales of why youth actively participated in genocide are variously told and written. Delving into this goes beyond the scope of this study.

Worth to note, some of the integral element of *NdimunyaRwanda* include, but not limited to—telling the truth, dialogue, trust, accountability, repentance, forgiveness, healing have been recited by different authors as critical prerequisites of reconciliation. In this study, we seek to examine how collective identity—*NdimunyaRwanda*--has contributed to reconciliation through Girinka. NURC's Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer (2015) indicates that the more there is a shared sense of national identity and inclusive citizenship, the more the promotion of reconciliation is likely to succeed. Although the Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer noted that 95.6% of Rwandans view themselves as Rwandans first before anything else, at least 25.8% from the same survey confirmed that there are Rwandans still sowing ethnic divisions. The

current study seeks to confirm the above by specifically focusing on the genocide survivors, former perpetrators of genocide in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. Some Rwandans believe, according to Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer (2015), "there are Rwandans who would try to commit genocide, if conditions were favorable," (XVI). In the same line of reasoning, at least "27.9% of Rwandans still view themselves, and others through ethnic lenses, NURC (2015:27). The same survey conducted in 2010 had 30.5% of Rwandans who still sowed ethnic divisions and genocide ideology.

Findings from both Rwanda Reconciliation Barometers (2010 & 2015) of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission stressed the contribution of *Rwandanness/Ndimunya Rwanda* programme in reconciling Rwanda after 1994 genocide. Launched in November 2013, the *Rwandanness (Ndi Umunyarwanda)* aims at encouraging Rwandans revisit their past, relearn and rebuild the future without *Hutu, Tutsi, Twa* divisions, but collective identity.

At the centre of Rwanda's history, for instance Rwanda's creation, there is a story about a cow. However, this story is wrapped in into three narratives—first a cow as resource for prestige and prosperity, second, cows as a Tutsifying agent: "*if you had ten or more cows, you would be considered a Tutsi; if you had less than ten cows you were considered a Hutu,*" Attia Karin (2016:22). Karin further observed that the ethnic lines were capable of changing depending on the number of cows one possessed. This line of argument therefore dismisses ethnicity as sociologically explained. There is a lot of literature about cow possessions and depossessions in Rwanda and what each of these meant in ethnicization of Rwandans.

Though cows can be blamed as an enhancer of ethnic divides if construed from the number of cows one possessed—through Tutsification process—it can also be argued that cows were

ethnically balancing, rather than being an ethnic perpetuating factor in Rwandan history. Most of the literature about cows by post independence by Rwandan writers emphasize cow's Tutsification. Thirdly, countrywide, cows were considered as economic resource, a separator of the 'haves' and 'have nots' regardless of the ethnic dichotomous divides. Once the Belgian colonial authorities began issuing national identity cards, cows were used as one of the determinants of the socio-economic status of Rwandans and later a race-based one Karin (2016:22).

Fourth, culturally, a cow was used as a unifying and a seal for unbreakable social bonds between individuals, families and clans regardless of the ethnic lines. Giving someone a cow was and is still regarded as a higher consideration and entry into an endearing friendship Ezeanya, (2014).

Literature on the pre-colonial Rwanda contains important information about the role of cows in building social relationships between Rwandans. It is important to note that cows were also at the centre of most controversial social institutions such as *Ubuhake*, *Bukonde* and *Uburetwa* IRDP, (2006). For instance, though some authors underscored *Ubuhake* as a social relationship mechanism between the patron and client, sometimes it took a detrimental ethnic dimension. "Being dispossessed of one one's goods anytime (Kunyagwa) such as cows acquired through other means—*impano* (gifts) and *inkwano* (dowry), caused ceaseless conflicts between patrons and clients," IRDP Report (2006:74). Either by a historical default or plan, Tutsi were predominantly patrons or clients were mainly Hutus. However, there were exceptions.

As ethnicity lies at the centre of Rwanda's dramatic problems, cows are thought to have widened Patron-client gaps. However, there is no consensus on this view among writers on Rwandan history as some argue that the cow giving practice between the patron and client was actually

gap-reducing rather than a gap widener. Analyzing the distribution of roles between the patrons and clients as put forth by J. Vanhove (1941), one notices a symbiotic relationship. In this relationship, the cow giving practice amongst patron and client is markedly stressed.

The IRDP Report highlighted socio-cultural advantages of *Ubuhake* such as cows equated to source of wealth, social protection, acquiring civil education, Kinyarwanda expression skills, whereas Pierre Bettez Gravel in his article: *Transfer of Cows in Gisaka (Rwanda): A mechanisms for Recording Social Relationships* (1962) depicts clientage—an English equivalent of *Ubuhake*—as an institution that was inherently non-conforming to Tutsi-Hutu ethnic dichotomy and usage of cows as the only medium of relationship, but it included banana plantations as well.

Transfers of cows under clientage were used for certain relationships, such as those involving clientage between Tutsi and Tutsi, or Tutsi and Hutu in a primary relationship. There were other recorded clientage relationships, such as secondary Tutsi-Hutu peasants. These were recorded through the transfer of a banana plantation in the case of the former and of a hoe in the case of the latter, Gravel, (1962: 329)

This study is not primarily concerned with Rwanda's ancient social institutions such as *Ubuhake*, *Buretwa* and *Ubukode*. This stretches beyond the study's scope. Our interest was to highlight—in passing—how cows were at the centre of these institutions. Whether *Ubuhake* exacerbated Tutsi-Hutu tensions can be understood using two schools of thought: one approving this assertion, and another one disapproving it. The narrative of Rwanda's politicians such as J. Gitera, Gregoire Kayinda, D. Murego and a host of foreign writers clearly endorses the former, whereas post genocide researches steered by Institute of Research and Dialogue completely disapproves the view that *Ubuhake* system was essentially responsible for ethnic tensions. The researcher established that Rwanda's history is presented differently depending on the writer's position on political dynamics of the time.

However, the two schools of thought do not disapprove the centrality of cows in sustaining clientage in the pre-colonial Rwanda. The IRDP Report (2006) argues that neither claims of Rwandans politicians nor the writings of J.J Maquet, G.Sandart, R. Bourgeois and a host of others are based on any scientific research(for more details about the Girinka practice before and after genocide, read sections ahead). More information about how cows were at the centre of *Ubuhake*, Bukonde and Uburetwa, see Girinka practice in pre-colonial Rwanda in the sections ahead.

2.3. Pillars of Sustainable Peace

This section; pillars of sustainable peace is an integral part of chapter two. It covers key thematic areas under the dependent variable: sustainable peace. It includes: forgiveness, justice and economic livelihood improvement. The consideration of these sub-variables as pillars of sustainable peace was based on their centrality in consolidating peace in Kamonyi District. It also includes, definition of peace, sustainable peace and analysis of the integral thematic pillars of sustainable peace. Different authors, as shall be discussed in the forthcoming paragraphs attest to the foregoing.

According to the Institute for Economics and Peace (2015) "peace is an essential prerequisite; without peace it will not be possible to achieve the levels of cooperation, trust and inclusiveness necessary to solve our challenges," (p.81). While the definition of peace remains inclusive among scholars, practitioners, even by survivors of violence and perpetrators from difference countries, Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP) contends that peace is determinable, measurable and achievable. "Without the appropriate measures and understanding of the factors

that support peace, it is not possible to know what policies work and what programmes need to be implemented, when, how and where (2015:81).

Though the influence of Girinka's reconciliation approach on sustainable peace seems obvious, hardly can survivors and perpetrators physically meet, express and receive apology pleas and forgiveness in a temporal or permanent state of violent conflicts. After critically analyzing countless definitions of reconciliation, Brounéus (2007) considers sustainable peace as the ultimate outcome of reconciliation, a concept she approached as a societal process that involves mutual acknowledgement of the past, suffering and the changing of destructive attitudes and behavior into constructive relationships towards sustainable peace.

Brounéus (2007) makes a significant contribution towards the rationale for reconciliation after violence. He reasons, "after peace, former enemies, perpetrators and victims, must continue living side by side just as before the atrocities were committed. However, attitudes and behaviors do not change from genocidal to collegial at the moment of a declaration of peace," (2007:5).

Karen Brounéus stresses an important point worth noting because of its relevance to Rwanda: "the gap between theoretical prescriptions and translating them into practice is vast," (2007:5).

Translating theory into practice especially after genocidal violence can be programatically problematic because of multiple complexities associated with operating contexts of post-genocide societies.

Rigby (2001) developed themes which are critical in pursuit of a research touching on reconciliation and sustainable peace after violent conflicts, specifically of genocidal nature. These include: punishment, compensation, truth, healing (therapy), commemoration, education (lesson learning), justice (law). Some of these themes are presented as prerequisites of

reconciliation in this study. Noteworthy, many scholars—Bloomfield (2006), Staub (2006), Van der Merwe (1999) have drawn more or less similar view of considering the restoration of relationships for a short period—co-existence—and reconciliation (for longer term)—as preconditions for sustainable peace. Though we do not dismiss the above perspectives, in this study, we argue it in reverse: reconciliation as is an essential ingredient for sustainable peace, Lederach, (1997).

Calling for reconciliation immediately after extreme violence, (genocide, for instance) has been largely critiqued by genocide survivors as a dispassionate mockery of peace and reconciliation. The consensus amongst scholars, practitioners on when is the right timing for reconciliation remains inconclusive, however. The same applies on whether peace precedes sustainable reconciliation or vice versa. Such inconclusiveness therefore obliges us to define the concept of peace.

Scholarly literature on peace are extensively inspired by Johan Galtung's concepts of peace; negative peace—meaning the absence of direct violence—for instance war, and positive peace—absence of structural violence and cultural violence and presence of social justice (see Erin McCandless, 2007). The Institute of Economics and Peace considers negative Peace—"an intuitive definition that many agree with and that can be more easily measured than other definitions of peace," (2015:83). Given its ease in measuring, "negative peace is used to construct the Global Peace Index," (2015:83).

The Institute (IEP) further divides negative peace into two categories—external peace and internal peace. External peace measures how a country interacts with other countries beyond its borders while internal peace measures how peaceful it is within its borders, Institute for

Economics and Peace, (2015). Peace in the eyes of many non-specialists can be understood in a minimalistic or what McCandless considered as conception of peace in a negative sense (2007). The minimalistic peace is negative peace in the view of Johan Galtung, (1969).

A robust conception of peace—positive peace, as postulated by Galtung (, 1969) has been praised to be all-inclusive since it calls for eradication of socio-economic, psychological, political and ecological injustices. This is the peace we are mainly studying about. As for IEP, positive peace which in this study we qualify as sustainable peace is "a more ambitious conceptualisation of peace,define[d] as the attitudes, institutions and structures that create and sustain peaceful societies," IEP (2015:83). Quoting Reyhler & Paffenholz (2000), McCandless writes, "Sometimes positive peace is referred to as sustainable peace," (2007:92). He further observed that positive peace is achieved when structural violence (referred to as indirect violence or institutionalized violence by Galtung, (1969) ceases to exist, or—when the gap between human potential and what human beings actually realize is bridged, the size of the gap being a measure of the level of ‘violence’ Galtung, (1969).

The IEP further argues, "Positive Peace can therefore be understood as a process which underpins the optimal environment for human potential to flourish," (2015:83). It is on this basis we argue in this study that there is demonstrable causal nexus between sustainable peace and societal prosperity. Sustainable (positive) peace creates underlying conditions to achieve outcomes that many in society find desirableIEP, (2015).

Though Africa has been deeply and widely hit by violence even of genocidal nature, an African conception of peace borders on the wide ranging concepts. Further, Hansen argues that an African perspective sees peace and development as inter-related—"it sees peace not only as the

resolution of conflict but as the transformation of existing social systems at both national and international levels. It is a concept which relates peace to the physical, social and existential needs of people," Hansen (1988:7).The literature on peace-development nexus is generating attraction from scholars and practitioners in post conflict societies. In the section ahead, we argue that unmet development objectives create socio-economic animosities, hence compromising the realization of the process toward reconciliation for sustainable peace. The above view is better captured by Global Peace Index Report (2015)

Both Negative and Positive Peace can be seen as the producer and product of forms of societal trust and cohesion that are a pre-requisite for well-functioning and prosperous societies. Countries higher in Positive Peace also tend to have many other fundamentally positive social and economic outcomes,IEP, (2015:83).

In consideration of the all-inclusive nature of positive (sustainable) peace, IEP recommended that "positive peace can be used as an overarching framework for understanding and measuring progress in many other areas of economic and social advancement," IEP (2015). Having drawn an understanding of peace from influential peace scholars—Johan Galtung and other like-minded scholars, as well as IEP, an internationally reputed institute developing conceptual frameworks to define peacefulness and providing global peace index (measuring), it is important to understand an African conception of peace and some of the approaches of achieving it. This way, we shall have laid a conceptual foundational base for uncovering the relationships between reconciliation, peace, prosperity as well as promoting a better understanding of the cultural, economic and political factors that sustain peace IEP, (2015).

McCandless, (2007) observed, Africans can ably measure presence or absence of peace through economic well-being (material prosperity), physical security, spiritual harmony, collective

personhood (South Africa's Ubuntu) and so forth. Hansen argues that the concept of peace most African can "defend and justify makes it possible for the majority of people on this planet to enjoy physical security, a modicum of material prosperity, the satisfaction of basic needs of human existence, emotional well-being, political efficacy and psychic harmony," (1988:3). Seen in an African light, positive (sustainable) peace encompasses most of what IEP Global Peace Index Report (2015) considers as global positive peace factors: "a well functioning government, sound business environment, equitable distribution of resources, acceptance of the rights of others, good relations with neighbors, free flow of information, high level of human capital and low levels of corruption," (p.85).

Whether Africa has an agreed upon understanding of positive peace is immaterial, what is tangibly important is, Africans—especially survivors of man-made violence—genocide, for instance—can measure, feel the presence or absence of, and significance of positive/sustainable peace. In fact, the Institute for Economics and Peace that conducts the Global Peace Index observed "in societies where positive peace is stronger, developmental goals are more likely to be achieved," (2015:3). There is ample evidence base pointing to low levels of positive peace and low socio-economic development in many parts of African societies.

Important to note, Africa's knowledge and experience of sustainable peace has been largely informed by first, its absence for a longer time, and secondly, by western-packed conceptions of peace keeping, peace making, or peace-building approaches. As Amisi (2008) put it, most African countries are searching for alternative supplements to western-based approaches to justice, peace, and reconciliation. Approaches such as *Abashinganahe* (Burundi), *Gacaca*, *Girinka*, *Ubudehe*, *Umuganda*, *Agaciro Development Fund*, *Mushyikirano* (Rwanda), *Mato Oput* (Acholi, Uganda), *Ubuntu* (South Africa) and several others reflect an increasing realization that

not everything that western-manufactured is best, hence, our proposition of resorting to home-grown, indigenous mechanisms for sustainable peace and reconciliation.

Noticeably, whether peace is the absence of violence negative peace, Galtung, (1969); peace as absence of structural violence Galtung, (1969); and peace as the constructive transformation of conflict Lederach, (1997) see the theory guiding this study, ahead, or peace as a combination of economic wellbeing, living harmoniously with God or gods, what needs to be enhanced is integrating African resources, cultural values and relevant traditions and practices into African peace-building processes and systems. This position is profoundly supported by scholars from Africa and beyond (see section ahead). Whereas there are a myriad of definitions of peace, the impacts of peace, specifically how it propels prosperity is what is desirably mattering for Africa and Rwanda in particular. Noticeably, the causal relationship between peace and prosperity is out of doubt. According to Global Peace Index Report (2015) Sub-Saharan Africa registered overall improvement in both positive and negative peace scores in the same year.

Though Rwanda's pre-colonial history was characterized by peacefulness and dynastic rivalries, Rwandan society, like any human society pressed greater emphasis on living in social harmony, tranquility, calm achieved through soci-cultural values such as integrity, dignity, restraint, self-sacrifice among others. In his book, *Les Enfants d'Imana: Histoire Sociale et Culturelle du Rwanda Ancien*, Galabert (2011) documented several concepts, their underlying meanings, Rwandan culture and values in the ancient Rwanda. To this end, Jean-Luc Galabert noted that Rwandans of ancient times defined peace (amohoro) as "absence of noise, and absence of all menacing actions, no internal and external troubles" Galabert, (2011:501). According to Galabert concepts such as harmony, calmness, concord, and tranquility were central in Rwanda's consideration of what constitutes peace and a peaceful society. In fact even in modern times,

reticence (silence) and self-restraint are culturally over-prized than being noisy or attracting noise around oneself in Rwanda. Put simply, silence in form of pensiveness is regarded as a virtue rather than a vice in Rwanda. For instance, noisy actions are viewed disdainfully contrary to many parts of Africa where the clamor for societal ideals such as justice, peace, democracy are pursued through noisy expressions and acts.

Peace in the post-independence through the periods after 1994 genocide mirrors minimalist conception—negative peace—based on existence of socio-economic needs that remained unmet. However, the IEP (2015) pointed out that Rwanda has made significant steps in promoting pillars of sustainable peace or what the Institute considers as 'positive peace factors.' Also, there is noticeable use of security and peace inseparably and interchangeably. According to Déo Byanafashe and Paul Rutayisire:

The establishment of peace and security was therefore one of the priorities of the new government because without security, no other activity would be possible. The actors involved in maintaining peace and security were the army and police as well as the political and administrative leader, (2016:580).

According to Rwanda's National Strategy for Transformation (2017-2024), ensuring continued peace, unity and security of Rwandans is critical for Rwanda's national prosperity and socio-economic transformation. Good governance, the third pillar of the strategy is informed by Rwandan culture which is also stressed as a foundation for peace, unity and security of Rwandans. Central to this study are two things; first the strategy's articulation of culture as a foundation for Rwanda's prosperity, peace and transformational processes. Second is the deliberate national efforts of putting citizens at the centre of transitioning from negative peace to positive peace. Emphatically, negative peace precedes positive peace. Negative peace acts as

the foundation for positive peace building especially in the operating context after 1994 genocide against Tutsi.

Contextually, the process of building positive peace in Rwanda has been informed by a wide ranging locally-improvised approach termed as homegrown solutions. Girinka (Cow-giving), Umushyikirano (the National Dialogue Council), Gacaca (Traditional Court), Abunzi (National Mediators) are some examples to cite. Assessing positive peace in post conflict societies in 2015, the Institute for Economics and Peace noted "Rwanda has shown significant progress at faster rates than global average improvement in six of the Positive Peace factors between 2005 and 2015 and has not recorded a deterioration in any factors," IEP, (2015:97). In this study, we refer to positive peace factors as pillars of sustainable peace. These include, forgiveness, justice and economic livelihood. The proceeding sections provides analysis of each.

2.3.1. Forgiveness

Like all other sub-themes of this proposal, forgiveness is equally a problematic issue especially after atrocious man-made genocidal violence committed against Tutsi in Rwanda. The complexity of forgiveness centers on its multi-dimensional and longer term impacts on survivors and perpetrators yet the two categories of people more often than not advance mutually incompatible interests from reconciliation processes. The former argues, for reconciliation to take root, perpetrators must be punished with full force of the law, while the latter insists that by-gones must be by-gones—invoking forgive and forget thesis Sebarenzi, (2009). The two polarizing demands run contrary to aspirations of reconciliation.

Though forgiveness is numerously cited as a major requirement for reconciliation and sustainable peace by several authors and peace-building actors, there is consensus that its genesis

and emphasis is spiritually grounded. Rutayisire (2009), a genocide survivor and pastor concurs with this assertion. Renteln (2008) pointedly observed that though the existing scholarship on comparative religious ethics makes it difficult to determine how widespread the concept of forgiveness is, he admitted that the concept is part of three major world religions: Christianity, Islam, and Judaism. Quoting scores of commentators, Renteln (2008) reveals how Islam emphasizes forgiveness, for instance, the Qur'an Arabic text shows Sixty uses of 'ghafara,' meaning forgiveness and over Forty of Istaghfara which means to 'to ask forgiveness'. Worth to note, both Islam and Christianity describe God as All-Forgiving, Renteln (2008).

Most of the testimonies of survivors of the horrendous human rights violations worldwide at least those who have documented journey of forgiveness cited their faith as the primary propeller of unconditional forgiveness to their perpetrators. Examples of these are Archbishop Desmond Tutu's (1999) *No Future without Forgiveness*, Tibet's Dalai Lama, Immacule Ilibigiza's *Left To Tell* (2006), Joseph Sebarenzi's (2009), Antoine Rutayisire (2009). Citing Shiver (1995), Rutayisire argued for the necessity of the concept to "escape its religious captivity and enter the ranks of ordinary political virtues," (2009). Using this recommendation, arguably, extension of forgiveness from religious bases to socio-cultural and political and societal forums will foster peaceful co-existence and reconciliation between survivors and perpetrators of violence. Given the potential of forgiveness in restoring fractured relationship in Rwanda, we endorse this recommendation.

Umbreit (2004) argues that forgiveness for the victim refers to a conscious decision to free themselves of the negative power that the offense and the offender have over a person while not condoning or excusing the actor. He further argued, letting go of the negative power usually

refers disconnecting from the trauma or releasing bitterness and vengeance. This reduction in negative motivations neither precludes nor includes positive feelings toward the offender. Such middle level state of feelings enables calm between the victim and victimizers but does not guarantee long term peace since the former has not healed to become more benevolent towards the former. Referring to Dickey (1998), Umbreit (2004) considers forgiveness as a symbolic act expressed as a willingness to accept back the offender through a process of accountability, remorse, reparation Dickey, (1998). As for. Giddo (2009), forgiveness can be defined as a key that unshackles us from a past that will rest peacefully in a grave.

There is substantial evidence from survivors of violence, researchers and reconciliation practitioners indicating how genuine forgiveness embodies healing and transformative powers. For instance, the above author emphasized that the crucial dimension of forgiving is that the forgiver experiences an emotional and psychological shift—an understanding of, and [re]developing a relationship with oneself, the other person and the world. Citing Everett L. Washington, Gaertner (2011) referred to this type of forgiveness as emotional forgiveness. Shortly, we shall be discussing three types of forgiveness. McCullough (2000) recommended that for such a shift to occur, the victim's empathy and remorse for the victimizer has to increase because of the victimizer's unworthy state of life thus reducing victim's anger and vengeance. In this case, Fow (1996) observed that forgiveness, enables the oneself (victim) to view both his/her own experience and the experience of the violating victimizer in a new and different light. Few survivors of genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda who have been courageous to express their journey to forgiveness have affirmed McCullough's (2001) recommendation and Fow's (1996) observation above. They attested—their emotional desire for vengeance reduced as they

witnessed the traumatizing life of the genocide perpetrators lived on daily basis either inside the prisons or outside the prison walls. This, perhaps, explains the earlier stressed view—forgiving before apology.

Filzgibbons et al., (2004) have cited several benefits to the one who forgives: decrease level of anger and hostility, improved ability to control anger, enhanced capacity to trust, no repetition of negative behavior, improved psychological health, and an improvement in those with psychiatric disorders. Giddo (2009) emphasized such benefits noting that research shows that those who forgive are happier, and perhaps even healthier, than those who will not or not forgive. In establishing the relationship between forgiveness and reconciliation, Smedes (1984) said that as long as our minds are captive to the memory of having been wronged, they are not free to wish for reconciliation.

Citing Enright (2001), Giddo (2009) admits that forgiveness is not an easy fix, but it requires willed change of heart which leads to successful result of any active endeavor. Basing on the uneasiness of forgiveness, Giddo (2009) suggested three types of forgiveness worth noting: Detached forgiveness—a reduction of in negative affect toward the offender, but with no restoration of the relationship. Citing Everret L. Washinton, a psychologist, Gaertner (2011) referred to this type of forgiveness as Hollow Forgiveness; “Often, hollow forgiveness is offered in resignation, such as when an abusive partner continually badgers for it,” (p.8). This kind of forgiveness does not lead to reconciliation and sustainable peace. Forgiveness in this case comes without thoughtful consideration by the survivor. Secondly, according to Giddo, (2009), limited forgiveness—consists of a reduction in negative affect toward the offender and partial restoration of, and decreased emotional investment in the relationship. Limited forgiveness fits into what

Everett L. Worthington as further quoted by Gaertner (2011:8) referred to as decision-based forgiveness. This type of forgiveness is “is defined as the cognitive letting go of resentment and bitterness and need for vengeance,” However, Gaertner, stressed, “it is not always the end of emotional pain and hurt. Forgiveness here is viewed as an act of will, a choice to let go,” (2011:8).

Finally, full forgiveness—as advanced by Giddo (2009) is that forgiveness emphasizing the total cessation of negative affect toward the offender and a full restoration of and growth of the relationship between the victim (the survivor as per Rwandan post genocide context) and the perpetrator. Everett L. Washinton as presented by Gaertner (2011) referred to his as Emotional Forgiveness (p.8). This style of forgiveness, the victim (the survivor as per Rwanda’s context) is able to forgive the perpetrator to the extent that s/he can fully control his bodily responses or reactions upon hearing or seeing the perpetrator, Gaertner (2011). Overcoming bodily emotional reactions: revulsion, fear and anger by the survivor can lead to deeper relationships: liking, loving and trusting, Gaertner (2011). In the real world, especially in situations which involved intensified genocidal violence, this type of forgiveness sounds impractical and unfathomable. Basing on reviewed nature and insistence on strengthening positive relationships, unconventional homegrown approaches would promote such type of forgiveness. Reviewed literature reveals this is the type of forgiveness extensively advocated by spiritually inspired [church] leaders.

There are other types of forgiveness advanced by different authors. For instance, Paloutzian & A. Kalayjian, (2009) referred to as intrapersonal forgiveness or what also Dillon considers as '*self-forgiveness*' (2001). “Self-forgiveness, can come so fast after violence even before the victim

receives apology to address self-respect (self-dignity) and self-damaging issues, Porter (2015:147). As earlier noted, there are some Rwandan genocide survivors who opted to forgive before their tormenters sought apology after realizing the pain the latter endured on daily basis. Importantly, the most likely candidates for self-forgiveness are rape victims who deliberately opt to forgive themselves for what have been done to them rather than inviting shame, stigmatization and social rejection as a result of testimonies and calls for apology from their victimizers.

Given Rwanda's culture that places higher premium on personal-respect and self-dignity (Agaciro), this notion might have barred many women victims of rape to come out to testify about their horrible past during the 1994 genocide and thus opted for Dillon's proposed 'self-forgiveness' (2011).

Earlier, established the negative therapeutic impact of truth revelations to the survivors of extreme violence, discovering what Brounéus termed as "*re-traumatizing truth*," (2007:12). From the above revelation, it is emerging that is a causal relationship between avoidance of bitter truth after extreme violence and self-forgiveness especially considering Porter's justifications for it: keeping one's dignity, sanity and tranquility (if there any), Porter (2015). However, there are instances where the destructive part—the psychological benefits of self-forgiveness as suggested by Dillon(2001) and Porter (2015) outweigh the costs of re-traumatization by survivors of genocidal violence, Brounéus, (2007). This therefore confirms the importance of self-forgiveness especially in the operating context of deliberate intention to harm victims under the cover of telling the awful truth.

Though the researcher argues that sometimes self-forgiveness can be prized over retraumatizing truth especially in the context of extreme genocidal violence, for instance raped victims, R.F Paloutzian and A. Kalayjian (2009) noted that whereas "intra-personal forgiveness is all about one's feelings and well-being, it is possible for the victim (survivor as per Rwanda's case) to believe that he has forgiven, even though he has or she has not,"(2009:7). This view contravenes Gaertner's emotional forgiveness and integral features: self-control by the victim of violence to the extent he/she cannot react upon seeing or hearing the perpetrator, Gaertner (2011).

Giddo (2009) proposes four stages towards forgiveness which are: awareness, change, interaction and reconciliation. He added, the stage of awareness requires an admission of the fact the violence happened by both parties. It therefore becomes the responsibility of the person aware of the violation, and its effects on the relationship to take step forward to the next step: change or not to change. Giddo, emphasizes that survivor might be required to be bold to come forward toward the offender(because he might be unaware or resists acceptance under what is known as denial). Coming forward to the offender enables the occurrence of the next stage: interactions and expressions of intent. Giddo (2009) argues that when all the three stages have been made constructively, the trust-building is required to ably move to the fourth stage: reconciliation. Botcharova (2001) also suggested seven steps toward forgiveness. Some of these steps are similar to Giddo's (2009) four stages, however, some bear noticeable differences. Botcharova's steps to forgiveness are: mourning and expressing grief, accepting loss and confronting fears, re-humanizing the perpetrator, choosing to forgive, and committing to take risks, establishing justice, reviewing history and negotiating solutions and joint planning.

E. Daily & J. Sarkin (2007) have studied and compellingly established the relationship between forgiveness and justice. To them, the two concepts face in two opposite directions. With forgiveness, E. Daily & Jeremy Sarkin further argued, the common humanity of the perpetrator and victim entails embracing the perpetrator back into the society's fold. For justice, they added, the perpetrator is punished, isolated, ostracized and alienated--sentenced through incarceration or even death. In forgiveness, E. Daily & J. Sarkin (2007) further argued, the perpetrator is separated from the wrongful deed, while in justice, he is defined by it.

What is worth mentioning there was the demonstrable oversight by E. Daily & J. Sarkin (2007) to analyze forgiveness using two forms of justice—retributive and restorative justice. Their submissions largely focused on the former at the expense of the latter. As shall be presented in the sections ahead, forgiveness and restorative justice bear certain common features especially from the perspective of their overriding purpose—restoration of both victims and victimizers among many other objectives. There is ample literature indicating how the two are key prerequisites for reconciliation and harmonious existence after historical violence.

As earlier noted, forgiveness is an emotionally ridden and complex concept. Translating it from concept to practice especially after devastating violence perpetrated to loved ones is extremely hard Paloutzian (,2009).E. Daily & J. Sarkin (2007) observed that different people, different traditions—both secular and religious—will find different ways to approach this issue—forgiving the unforgivable, Coicaud & J. Jönsson (2009). Paloutzian, a survivor of Armenian Genocide and later a writer, recounted that it took him his entire adult life to manage the two opposing desires: to forgive and not to forgive. Coicaud & J. Jönsson (2009) earlier on observed that not

all wrongs are equal; some are graver than others, thus he suggested that the lesser the crime, the easier to issue and receive apology, and the faster the forgiveness (holding other factors constant). In other words, the J. Coicaud & J. Jönsson implied that the greater the crime, the more difficult to apologize and the harder to forgive. As for E. Daily & J. Sarkin (2007) murder—any murder—is unforgivable because it gives no leaves no victim to confer forgiveness. This line of argument raises the other held view that none else can forgive the offender other than the victim of violence. Victim's rights not to forgive have also carry scholar's attention, Renteln (2008).

Contextually, the above may explain for the delay or refusal of many perpetrators of genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda to seek forgiveness from survivors and to Rwandans by foreign countries who participated in the genocide. In consideration of the gravity of the harm inflicted and the likelihood of unforgiveness by the survivors, perhaps, perpetrators of monstrous crimes find no courage of coming forward to seek forgiveness. However, literature points that seeking forgiveness should not be preconditioned by the survivor's state of mind. Though there are ample examples differing with above assertion, Jean-Marc Coicaud & Jibecke Jönsson emphatically noted that graver crimes such as "crimes against humanity represent the ultimate unforgivable," (2009:83). To justify their hard-position, J. Coicaud & J. Jönsson emphasized:

The unforgivable nature of crimes against humanity is that they challenge the humanity of being human...crimes against humanity, go beyond hurting a personalized individual to attack and deny the entire group of people the right and even the essence of being human, (2009:83)

Paloutzian insists that forgiveness is not simply a matter of answering: "forgiveness: Yes,' 'forgiveness: No," (2009:79). He stance against down-playing forgiveness as a formulaic response to structured questions, forgiveness goes a lot further, it is involves a longer term process of creating a new personality identity—"not a positive illusion," but an undertaking

done with the hope of peace,” (p.79). He added, such to happen, the forgiving person walks towards “a new-self” totally different from the “old-self,” has to tie with the “other,” (p.79).

Though he admits forgiving is not an easy gamble, but “a rare, saintly and complex” undertaking, he referred unforgiving to “death-promoting,” Paloutzian, (2009:79). In fact, Worthington (2006) noted, to be unforgiving is harmful. Testimonies of Genocide survivors in Rwanda who forgave their perpetrators without any conditionalities confirm the above. Examples of these are Antoine Rutayisire, Joseph Sebarenzi and Immacule Iribagiza who have testified through different platforms and communication channels such as published books the benefits of forgiving unforgivable crimes such as genocide released them from anguish and emotional burdens. Testimonies of violence survivors also confirmed anguish and burdens associated with the spirit of unforgiveness. They also acknowledge the difficulty associated with the journey of forgiving their tormentors.

Further, in his admission of the complexity of forgiveness as a concept and practice, Paloutzian cites Worthington (2006) to interrogate whether forgiveness is attitudinal, emotional, cognitive, or behavioral. In unspecific way, he concluded, "undoubtedly, in its fullest form, forgiveness involves a complicated mix of these dimensions," Paloutzian (2009:75). As for Giddo (2009), how to forgive can be an emotional response; but reconciliation has to be a behavioral response. Whether forgiveness is an emotional response or not, Paloutzian (2009) makes important pathways towards forgiveness. He argues, victims/survivors of mass violence are more likely to forgive if the perpetrators of the crime admit to having committed the crime, confess, show remorse, ask forgiveness and make amends.

Secondly, Paloutzian (2009) suggests that the victim is more able to forgive if he/she feels safe from the future harm. Guarantees of victim safety and security according to Paloutzian (2009) are in form of safety policies and procedures. However, safety policies and procedures are not sufficient in themselves, because difficulties associated with forgiveness can be made more complicated if the policies and procedures exist but not enforced or implemented. Raymond F. Paloutzian's suggested third point is the government initiating a process of restitution and reconciliation. Though the above author argues for government's intervention to establish safety policies and procedures, and lessons learned over the years Africa has never lacked good social policies, what we lack is enforcing/implementation. However, Tint (2009) in her article: Dialogue, Forgiveness, and Reconciliation, warns that sustainable forgiveness and reconciliation are supposed to evolve personally and organically and any attempts to push or force them should be guarded against. Such organic processes eventually lead to sustainable peace. This research considers Barbara S. Tint's claims above not only validly relevant, but also require empirical backing especially in the post-genocide in Rwanda. Emphatically, Giddo (2009) further argued that healing and peace are gifts granted in forgiveness; but earned in reconciliation.

2.3.2. Justice

Justice is one of the thematic pillars of sustainable peace. Subsequent discussions underscore the relationship between justice and reconciliation and how the two influence the realization of sustainable peace. Bloomfield *et-al.*, (2003) considers reconciliation and justice as twins. Going by the same token, the two concepts are conjoined twins from the same mother: sustainable peace. Porter (2015) contends, conflict increases where there are injustices, inequalities, repression, and human rights abuses. Though there is no disagreement on the importance of justice in promoting reconciliation and harmony (peace) in post violence contexts, there are

considerable divergences on what justice is. In attempts to define justice, Porter established these divergences by starting with even early thinkers—philosophers: Aristotle, Socrates and John Rawls.

To begin with, E. Daily & J. Sarkin (2007) stressed, of all the issues relating to reconciliation, justice is probably the most complex and most elusive. The two authors further revealed—the confusion is present at every level, from the philosophical to the practical spheres of life. In Aristotle's Ethics, Porter further noted, justice is defined as that which is “lawful and fair” (2015). This definition, justice being '*what is lawful and fair*,' can be rendered impractical and inconsequential when applied in the post genocide operating context. What is lawful and fair for a genocide survivor as Aristotle defined, is conceptually and even practically different from a genocide perpetrator. Difference in conception of reality after dreadful violence by genocide survivor and former genocide perpetrator was alluded to in our earlier discussions.

After all, each camp's definition of justice as per Aristotle's insightful reasoning negates the other's considered justice. Weinstein et al., (2010) has established that people's perceptions of justice in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Iraq, Rwanda, and Uganda are strongly influenced by a wide range of issues including: experience of the violence, prior experience with those on the other side, beliefs in retributive justice, access to accurate information, cultural beliefs and practices, and identity group membership. Though Porter agrees that people's experiences of injustice and what is needed to realize justice [significantly] differ, she did not highlight the practical limitation of Aristotle's definition. Such definition can harden the conceptual divides between two camps: genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors after genocidal violence.

Narrowing the divide between the two categories—genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators—required the revitalization of unconventional, homegrown approaches based on established benefits, intrinsic value and complementary roles in responding to post genocide consequences in Rwanda.

Plato's and Aristotle's harmonized position on justice resonates with the central theme of this proposal—reconciliation—because it underlines that justice's overall objective is to establish a relationship with somebody else Porter (2015). John Rawls considers justice as the first *virtue of social institution*, Porter (2015). In fact, John Rawls pointed out that justice's critical purpose is to regulate *social cooperation* (Porter 2015). The two positions—the Aristotelian's justice is to establish relationship and John Rawls's regulation of social cooperation Porter, (2015) fittingly resonate with the generally agreed upon among majority scholars that justice leads to restoration of fractured relationships (reconciliation).

E. Daily & J. Sarkin (2007) observed that “justice is often thought of as a balance—that is if an injustice weighs down one side, a countervailing act sets the balance right. This calls for '*eye for an eye form of justice*'—a retributive form of justice (p.169). In this form of justice, the wrong done by the perpetrator is inflicted back on him, E. Daily & J. Sarkin (2007).

Another version about justice as a balance focuses not on the nature of the wrong, but on the injury to the victim/survivor, E. Daily & J. Sarkin (2007). Simply put, judicial balance means rehabilitating the victim, according E. Daily & J. Sarkin (2007). What is worth noting from E. Daily & J. Sarkin's unpacking of justice relates more to a moving process: "an aspiration

continually to be striven for, a process to be committed to, but not a status that has been achieved," (2007:169).As a conclusion on definitional mislays, the Nuremberg Declaration on Peace and Justice, defined justice as accountability and fairness in the protection and vindication of rights, and the prevention and redress of wrongs," UN General Assembly 2008 as cited by Porter, 2015:10). She also underlined, protection of rights and prevention of their abuse assists justice.

The most pressing question after the mass violence is not whether to pursue justice or what justice is, but rather '*when*' and '*how*' to deliver justice, Porte (2015). This question reflected the situation in the post-genocide Rwanda. Importantly, genocide scholars, lawyers, reconciliation practitioners have sharply differed on the proceeding question: what form of justice is most suitable after gruesome violence like genocide? Can there be a mutually satisfying justice for genocide perpetrators and survivors after genocide? If justice is all about 'balancing' as E. Daily & J. Sarkin (2007) claimed, can this apply in the context of genocide or mass violation of human rights? Interestingly, E. Daily & J. Sarkin (2007) interrogated:

How can justice be conceived of when 20 percent of a people are killed or die of unnatural causes, as in Cambodia in the 1070s, Rwanda in 1990s, or Sudan today? The remaining 80 percent are certainly not unscattered, but are deeply scarred by the systemic brutality (p.170)

Part of the answer to the questions can be traced in the following quote:

"In too many situations around the world, justice (as commonly understood) maybe illusory: the tragedies are so huge that no justice is even conceivable. In other ways, the failure of justice is a practical problem," E. Daily & J. Sarkin (2007:6).

The latter part of quote above aptly paints a looming judicial disaster that awaited Rwanda after 1994 genocide. After 1994 genocide, the most suitable justice fittingly responsive to genocide judicial challenge was far from sight by many Rwandans. One finds resonance and confirmation of the above assertions from the testimonies of some the drivers of post conflict reconciliation processes who courageously shared their stories about the horrendous journey of transitioning from horror to reconciliation.

In fact, in his moving tale of Rwanda's grappling processes after 1994 (2009), Rutayisire, narrated that findings answers to the question of 'how' was the hardest puzzle for most people—state and non state actors. However, "one thorny question remained unanswered [by 1996]: what policy to adopt for justice?" Rutayisire, (2009:182). Answering the above question was imperative, not because survivors and perpetratorseagerly demanded answers alone, but Rwanda's future rested on how justice question would be effectively responded to.

After extreme violence, decision-makers from state and non-state actors are also challenged to come up with exploring all forms of justice that would be best suited. This foregoing statement was confirmed by Bloomfield et al., (2003:95) "justice has many faces." The variance in the forms of justice is based onthe severity of the committed crimes and cultural and historical contexts. In this section, we discuss the forms of justices and how they relate to reconciliation. The various forms of justice, Freeman (2008) argues that may, however, not be mutually compatible. Porter (2015) presented Rectifying justice—as the form of justicethat seeks to remedy the injustices that are the direct consequences of conflict, like abuses committed against

civilians. *Retributive justice*, according to Freeman (2008) is the form of justice which seeks to establish appropriate and proportional punishment for the wrongdoing.

Freeman however acknowledged that retributive justice may appropriately apply in some contexts and inapplicable in others. For instance, he notes, *retributive justice*—may apply in returning property wrongfully taken or paying equivalent compensation. Perhaps, this is where *Reparative justice*—defined by Thompson (2008) as restoration of the victims of injustice to the situation they were in before the injustice took place (so far as possible) or that they receive compensation equal to the value of what they lost resonates with retributive justice's position on return of destroyed or stolen properties. The last two forms of justice may (not) deliver satisfactory justice after genocidal violence like the one that swept Rwandans apart.

There is close resemblance between Thompson's (2008) reparative form of justice and Freeman's (2008) retributive justice especially at the level of property loss and return of the lost property through compensation. However, the two forms of justice can be faced with critical limitations especially in the context where loss is too much to be valued in term of properties and attempts to equate such with loss of loved ones risks to be interpreted as another form of injustice to victims/survivors. In defense of retributive justice, Porter (2015) insists, lawful punishment of the perpetrator by the state is required to prevent the creeping culture of impunity, Freeman (2008), defining impunity—as the failure to punish human rights crimes, justified punishment as a tool for reducing human rights violations.

Restorative justice accepts that court procedures alone rarely prompt a healing response Porter (2015). Brown et.al, (2009), stated that restorative justice is given many names including

informal, reparative, transformative, holistic, relational, corrective, and problem-solving. According to E. Daily & J. Sarkin (2007), restorative justice constitutes a paradigm shift because it conceptualizes crime in fundamental ways that have broad implications for the practice of criminal justice. First, Eric Daly & Jeremy Sarkin claim that restorative justice triggers a paradigm shift from the criminal justice system through the consideration of the crime as a violation against the victim, rather than the inchoate state—something they regarded as "abstract," (2007).

Another way how restorative justice has caused a paradigm shift is illustrated by Porter's (2015) consideration of restorative justice's involving of the community, the offender, and the victim as connected participants in determining the outcomes of the justice process. Such judicial process, First, Eric Daly & Jeremy Sarkin instructively noted is inclusive, transformative and cooperative rather than adversarial, (2007).

Though Porter declared that restorative justice is a preferred form of justice because it takes account complex relationships, she maintained that the only acceptable response to gross violations of human rights like genocide or ethnic cleansing is criminal prosecution and punishment—that is, application of *retributive justice*. The rationale for Porter's positional argument is straightforward—retributive justice deters abuses in the future. She based the above rationale on the creation of the Nuremberg Tribunal and the Tokyo Tribunal, the International Criminal Court (ICC), the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. All these, according to Porter (2015) “are examples of retributive justice,” (p.12).

According to NURC's Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer (2015) Restorative justice—mainly aims at repairing the injustice, recover the humanity of both the perpetrator and victims and restore social connections. As for Porter (2015) Restorative justice responds to the shortcomings of criminal law that ignore or understate the victim and the social context. As Porter further observed, in Restorative justice, building the connections between remorseful offenders and victims in forging workable ties across the community takes priority over punishment while in retributive justice, punishment is strongly emphasized for the sake of preventing reoccurrence of crime. One of the short term benefits of retributive justice according to the research done and reported by Elizabeth Porter (2015) is that “punishing criminals would bring satisfaction,”(p.15)

Bloomfield et.al.,(2003) provides an outline of points against retributive form of justice in managing violent past. These include: Firstly, the political circumstances may mean that retributive justice is simply not possible as a post-conflict strategy. In fact, this is where according to E.Daily & J. Sarkin (2007) justice depart from reconciliation because justice especially retributive form, not only advocates for punishing the perpetrator proportionally to the harm done, but isolating and alienating him/her from survivors. Yet, E. Daily & J. Sarkin (2007), further stressed, reconciliation—as a practical policy—is not comfortable with such extreme.

Secondly, retributive justice tends to ignore or sideline the real feelings and needs of victims, E. Daily & J. Sarkin (2007). In their analysis of forgiveness as an integral element to reconciliation, the two authors argued that in most cases, forgiveness can be an obstruction of justice. E. Daily & J. Sarkin (2007) defined forgiveness as a speech act of pleading for readmission into the human race upon terms that are acceptable to the victim. In the earlier

submission, retributive justice's proposition for perpetrator with gravest crimes such as genocide and crimes against humanity is sentence: incarceration and even death, E. Daily & J. Sarkin (2007)

Lastly and importantly, E. Daily & J. Sarkin (2007), noted that judicial trials have the potential to thwart reconciliation processes. Citing the experiences in Latin America, E. Daily & J. Sarkin (2007) pointedly observed that to a greater extent, reconciliation obstructs justice. For example, they further stressed, "where [retributive] justice is punitive, reconciliation is forgiving. Where justice seems principled, reconciliation seems pragmatic,"

To understand justice in Rwanda, it is important to make an attempt of reviewing the operating context after the 1994 genocide against Tutsi of Rwanda. The genocide cost over 1,000,000 human lives in less than 3 months while causing other "grave consequences in the social fabric," recounts Antoine Rutayisire (2009:181). About 3,000,000 Rwandans, mainly Hutus were trapped into refugee camps in the neighboring countries of Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo and Tanzania after 1994 genocide P. Crisafulli & A. Redmond (2012:72). By the end of 1994, more than 500,000 children inside the country counted as unaccompanied Rutayisire,(2009:181). 80% percent of the population was plunged into poverty (Vision 2020).

The prison statistics show that the number of imprisoned suspects of genocide was fluctuating between 86,760 in 1998 to 89,865 in 2000 and 107,162 on March, 2002, Senate Report, (2006). According to Rucyahana, "What were we going to do in this country where all lawyers were gone? If not dead, they had run away from the country? Rucyahana, asked in the book: Rwanda, Inc.,

P.Crisafulli & A. Redmond (2012:77).Rwanda's future lied in unity and reconciliation, emphasized Rwanda's President, P.Crisafulli & A. Redmond:

Our unity, therefore, becomes our strengths, our power. We cannot have sustainable strategic development when are dismant[ling] ourselves. You cannot have Vision 2020 when you are not united. We need people who think together, who think alike, who love each other, who trust each other, and who own what we do together, P.Crisafulli & A. Redmond (2012:73)

Whereas Rwanda's unity and reconciliation was non-negotiable, structural, logistical and other factors would hardly facilitate the actualization of the above socio-political imperative in the post genocide Rwanda. According to William A. Schabas in *After Genocide:Transitional Justice, Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Reconciliation in Rwanda and Beyond*, Phil Clark and Cachary D. Kaufman (2008)

Prior to the 1994 genocide, Rwanda had 700 judges and magistrates, of whom less than 50 had any formal education training. Of these, the best had perished during the genocide. There were only 20 lawyers with genuine legal education in November 1994,(p.2012).

Given the state of the judicial system after 1994 genocide, it was estimated it would take more than 100 years to try all cases through the classical mode of justice, Patricia Crisafulli and Andrea Redmond (2012). To validate the above assumption, P.Crisafulli & A. Redmond further observed that indeed, by 1999—five years after the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, only 6,000 of 120,000 detainees had been tried.

According toNational Unity and Reconciliation Commission (2010) after genocide, Rwanda was left with a collapsed system of governance, a highly polarized society characterized by distrust and fear between citizens, and a lack of shared national unity. Indeed, "the whole fabric of our Rwandan-ness no longer existed," Louise Mushikiwabo, Rwanda's Minister of Foreign Affairs recounted to Patricia Crisafulli and Andrea Redmond, in P.Crisafulli & A. Redmond (2012:72).

Considering the operating context, specifically the gruesome picture of overcrowded prisons and apparent need to foster reconciliation, the major concern of the Government of National Unity was not only to punish the culprits, but to also to restore the fabric of a society that was completely torn out, The Senate Report (2006). The post genocide leadership and “Kagame in particular, was faced with the incredible challenge of "doing it all at the same time," Karen Jungblut, director of research and documentation for the Shoah Foundation recounted after his visit from Rwanda (in P. Crisafulli & A. Redmond, 2012:81).

Earlier, we argued that due to the weight of post-genocide socio-economic and political transformation burdens inherited by Rwandans, there was no time for self-review, mourning for the immense loss and healing by especially people who assumed leadership responsibilities immediately after genocide. John Steward, in his book *From Genocide to Generosity: Hatreds Heal on Rwanda's Hill*, referred it as a "catch-up" period, whereas, Karen Jungblut brilliantly called it period of ‘doing it all at the same time,’ from memorializing the past to promoting reconciliation and advancing the country’s economic development (in Patricia Crisafulli and Andrea Redmond’s *Rwanda Inc.*, 2012:81).

In hindsight the post-genocide legal and judicial landscape applied in Rwanda after the 1994 genocide against Tutsi can be classified in two categories : classical—national and international courts and traditional—Gacaca courts. Each of this judicial model has its strengths and limitations. Delving into details about each category’s strengths and limitations goes beyond this researcher’s scope. However, the mixing of Rwanda’s judicial approaches, not only provided better solutions, it revealed Rwanda’s capacity to revisit and re-use indigenous resources—

knowledge to deliver justice, weave broken relationships and start the long journey towards sustainable peace.

Schabas in Clark & D. Kaufman (2008) wrote that the silence of national courts had contributed to ethnic based persecutions and genocide (since 1962 when the country got its independence), the post genocide leadership insisted on holding perpetrators accountable. According to the Senate Report (2006) it is on the basis of this background that the national law—organic law no: 08/96 of 30/08/1996 on the organization of prosecutions of offences involving the crime of genocide or crime against humanity committed from 01/10/1990 to 31/12/1994 was drafted, adopted for the purpose thereof.

Schabas stated that legislation adopted in 1996 defined four categories of offenders—the first category consisted of organizers and planners of genocide, persons in position of authority within the military or civil infrastructure who committed or encouraged genocide, and person who committed odious and systematic murders. The second category, Schabas further reflected was covering those not in the first category who committed murder or serious crimes against the person that led to death. The third category comprised of other serious crimes against the person, and the fourth category was made up of crimes against the property, Schabas in Clark & D. Kaufman (2008)

Quoting Michel Moussalli, Schabas (2008) provided statistical facts about the tasks Rwandan national courts had performed. He said, 2,406 persons had been tried by the national special genocide courts, of whom 348 (14.4%) were sentenced to death (before death punishment was abolished), 34% to jail terms of between 20 years and one year, and 19% were acquitted.

Schabas (2008) further reported that 346 accused were acquitted in 1997, 928 in 1998, 1,318 in 1999, 2,458 in 2000, 1,416, 2001 and 727 in 2002. By 2004, approximately 10,000 genocide related offences had been tried in Rwanda. In view of this, Schabas in Clark & D. Kaufman (2008) quoted Michel Moussalli commending: "There is much to applaud in this process."

To conclude on how Rwanda fast-tracked the process of reducing caseloads after the 1994 genocide using national courts as provided for in the 1996 legislation, Schabas observed, "Rwanda has done more in this respect in the ten years following the end of the conflict, than did the national courts of Germany, Italy and Austria from 1945 to 1955." The Senate Report (2006) stated that national Organic Law has had great impact on the management of crimes of genocide, specifically the texts on procedure of confessions and plea of guilty and the categorization of people involved in genocide-related offences and crimes against humanity.

As earlier stated, in the aftermath of genocide, Rwanda's legal system was at its lowest base. The numbers of genocide perpetrators in prisons and genocide survivors who needed justice was astounding (as presented in the previous sections under classical-National Courts). After an inside-out soul-searching process in form of national consultations, or what was later popularized as Urugwiro discussions, held between May 1998 to March 1999 recommended exploration of a socially responsive and context-sensitive justice system to complement what the Institute of Research and Dialogue for Peace (IRDP) Report referred to as the "*already blocked legal system*," (IRDP 2006). Recounting the Urugwiro discussions, Rutayisire reminisces:

The general consensus was well summarized by the then Vice President Paul Kagame. He [Kagame] said, the problem of justice is not a problem of texts and

tribunals. We need to find a way in-between the classical justice, the rebuilding of the social tissue, and the prevention of another tragedy, of another genocide, (2009:183)

After multiple consultations coordinated by the Ministry of justice, the IRDP Report (2006) noted, Gacaca solution took shape and Organic Law No: 40/2001 of 26/01/2001 on Gacaca Courts, as henceforth amended and supplemented was adopted, Senate Report, (2006)& IRDP Report (2006). However, the IRDP Report claims the idea of establishing Gacaca Courts had been suggested by the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) Board of Inquiry on genocide as early as 1994 IRDP Report, (2006:291). There are also claims that an international conference held in Kigali in 1995 officially discussed about Gacaca IRDP (2006).

Basing on its newness, Gacaca Courts have been defined differently especially by post conflict, non-Rwandan scholars. Many have referred to it as extra-ordinary mode of justice while others have regarded it as extra-judicial. Whereas these differences abound, Schabas (2008) defined Gacaca as a revived method from the “ancient Rwanda's conflict resolution mechanisms used at local levels administered by respected leaders or elders,” (p.222). In Rwanda, these respected people are called *Inyangamugayo* meaning, wo/men of higher integrity Rutayisire, (2009:183). Gacaca's significance rested on its functions and the desired impacts on the current and future generations. After 1994 genocide against Tutsi, the post genocide Rwanda searched for any solution that would lead to transformational and generational change for posterity. Gacaca was one of these solutions from within Rwandan knowledge resources. Despite Rwanda having suffered repetitive violence, for some reasons, this home-grown resource: *Gacaca* had been left unused for decades.

Schabas (2008), Mutisi (2009) further wrote, though Gacaca fell into some obscurity after the advent of colonial justice models, the system had dealt with disputes concerning property matters, such as inheritance rights, land issue, cattle ownership, family law issues, and there was evidence the system being used in a criminal law context. As for Mutisi (2009) Gacaca is a traditional mechanism of conflict resolution originally practiced among the Banyarwanda, who use it to resolve disputes at the grassroots level through dialogue and a community justice system. For Rutayisire (2009), in the traditional context, Gacaca was not a court in the modern sense of the term because it did not have written laws and prisons.

Rwanda Governance Board's Rwanda Governance Review (2014) considers Gacaca as one of the home-grown initiatives after 1994 genocide against Tutsi. Others include: *Umuganda, ubunzi, ubudehe, itorero, ingando, umushyikirano, umweherero* and *Girinka*. Amidst skepticism and romanticisms, in 2001 the Rwandan government enacted the Gacaca Law (Organic Law N° 40/2000 of January 26, 2001, which was replaced replaced by Organic Law N°16/2004 of June 19, 2004) to give Gacaca courts a mandate to deal with cases of individuals who had committed atrocities in their communities during the genocide (see Martha Mutisi, 2009).

To most Rwandans, Gacaca is an organic, culturally rooted, context-sensitive, and complementary mechanism for managing genocide related cases. The cultural aspect of Gacaca is what attracted on one hand romanticizing fascinations and on other alarming condemnation, especially from a great number of external observers IRDP Report, (2006). Gacaca had many objectives, about five IRDP Report, (2006). Of interest to this research are only three—first, was to reveal truth about what happened between 1st October 1990 and 31st December 1994, secondly—to use Rwandan culture in search of solutions to post genocide problems and

thirdly—was to rebuild the social tissue and restore right relationships IRDP Report, (2006) & Rutayisire, (2009), Report on Completion of Gacaca Activities (2012).

The process of contemporary Gacaca involved citizens sitting under a tree shade or under any available shelter or in the open space to give testimonies for or against suspects through a participatory process. Mutsisi (2009) noted suspects had to be tried before people who knew them, specifically in communities where they are accused of having committed crimes. Gacaca judges were elected and integrity one of the guiding attributes electorates considered. Elections for approximately 255,000 Gacaca judges took place in October 2000 (Report on Completion of Gacaca Activities, 2012). The community had to elect among those present 19 people to constitute the bench. Training for the judges followed in April and May 2002, Bloomfield at-al, (2003).

During Gacaca hearings which were mostly held in the afternoons, all other businesses would be halted and all citizens by law were required to participate—discuss the alleged act or acts, provide testimony and counter-testimony, argument and counter-argument while Inyangamugabo actively listened, discerned and probingly asked questions for the truth. One of the judges on bench had to be a woman. According to National Service of Gacaca Courts (2012), the activities were carried out at three levels of jurisdiction: the Gacaca Court of the Cell, the Gacaca Court of the Sector, and the Gacaca Court of Appeal. Nationwide there were 9013 Gacaca Cell courts, 1545 Gacaca Sector courts and 1545 Gacaca courts of appeal. Each court had several benches depending on the number of cases it had to try.

One of the innovative elements of the gacaca law is the confession procedure or revelation of truth, noted Bloomfield et al., (2003). Bloomfield et al., (2003) further noted, "Prisoners who confessed and asked forgiveness received dramatic reductions in penalties," (2003:119). The earlier the suspect revealed the truth through confessions, the greater the reduction of penalties or the higher the chances of forgiveness. This exposes the greater emphasis Gacaca placed on truth as one of the ingredients of reconciliation. In fact, Gacaca's motto reads: *ukuri kurakiza*, loosely translated in English as "*the truth liberates.*"

2.3.3. Economic livelihood Improvement

Fostering economic vibrancy after devastating violence such as war and genocide can be a daunting task. War alone, argued T. Karbo and C. Nelson (2010) "leaves behind not only destroyed economies, but also decimated infrastructure, and more often than not, a dearth of the institutions, human, financial and other capacities needed for rebuilding," (p.18). After 1994 genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda, everything was at a low base; economic structures, systems and strategies required redesign and reviving from ground upward. Transformation of war economies, T. Karbo and C. Nelson (2010) to "peaceable economies requires a number of strategies including financial peacebuilding, economic policies and transforming the post conflict economies through sustainable peacebuilding," (2010:18). In this study, we emphasized, rebuilding fractured socio-economic structures, systems and fabrics after extreme genocidal violence requires intentional revisiting and revitalizing society's cultural resources; homegrown approaches. Internally inspired recovery, reconstruction strategies invariably create citizen confidence, galvanize ownership and provides stronger foundations for socio-economic sustainability, including sustainable peace. Rwanda's National Strategy for Transformation (2017-2024) specifically, the 2nd and 3rd pillars emphasize citizen welfare improvement through

prosperity, education, and continuity of peace and security as critical for Rwanda's sustainable transformation.

However, Mutisi (2010) observed, much of post conflict strategies do emphasize macro-economic stabilization, economic growth, and poverty reduction. Mutisi, however cautioned, these strategies are donor-driven and discussions focused on integration of peace-building into economic development strategies have been largely between scholars, donors and practitioners. This, in their view, has raised worries about how such economic development approach will translate into sustainable peace, if it is engineered and advocated by development partners (donors). Nonetheless, the author acknowledges the causal relationship between improved economic livelihoods and sustaining peace, noting that "there is an emerging consensus that economic wellbeing in post conflict reconstruction is imperative," (2010:25).

T. Karbo and C. Nelson (2010) further expounded on the imperativeness of shifting from warfare for survival to sustainable welfare by urging all former conflict parties to seize economic opportunities and integrate into economic security systems in the formal economy as a means to sustainable peacebuilding. Ineffective disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants, repatriation, resettlement and reintegration of returnees and refugees and ideological reorientation of para-military operatives and actors such as youth militias tends to be one of the critical challenges in post conflict contexts. As for T. Karbo and Catherine (2010) to avert reversal to deadly conflicts, provision of alternative livelihoods and implementing a multi-dimensional strategy that takes into account social, political, cultural and environmental factors as well as conflict sensitive approach to economic transformation is critical. The two authors noted, former combatants can promote warfare for survival—as war economy due to failing peace-oriented economic welfare—peaceable economy. Any country emerging from genocidal

violence faces greater exposure to risks of transcending into warfare/war economy than welfare state unless wellthought-out socio-economic strategies are formulated and effectively implemented.

The two concepts; war economies and peaceable economies, require both operative and qualitative clarifications for purposes of drawing practical relevance to Rwanda. Reviewed critically, the two concepts apply to Rwanda's operating situations of 1990-1994 war and genocide as well as the post genocide economic recovery period notwithstanding associated socio-economic strategies. Scholars regard economic war refers as contingencies undertaken by a state to mobilize its economy to support war—creating a system of producing, mobilizing and allocating resources to sustaining violence Billon, (2005). Specifically for this study study, peaceable economies, therefore, can be defined otherwise—mobilization and allocation of resources to achieve economic-oriented peace ends. We will revisit this definition later at the level of discussing locally-improvised peacebuilding approaches in Rwanda.

Put in context, war economy relates to 1990-1994 period of intensive allocation of resource—human, financial and logistical—into fighting the war in Rwanda, whereas, peaceable economy refers—to intentional mobilization and allocation of resources by state and non-state actors to reverse consequences of war and genocide as a socio-economic foundation for reconciliation and sustaining peace in Rwanda. Considering the consequences of war economies, T. Karbo & C. Nelson (2010) have emphasized, "many post conflict countries have poor economies with limited capacity for development initiatives, therefore, economic recovery should be at the core of achieving and sustaining peace,"(p.18). What is worth adding to Karbo & C. Nelson's view above, sustainable peace should be at the centre of long term socio-economic development policies, strategies and approaches. After all, peace and developmet are inseparably intertwined.

In fact, some of the definitions of positive/sustainable peace emphasize critical elements of economic development, for instance, positive peace pioneer, Johan Galtung considers sustainable peace as eradication of socio-economic, psychological, political and ecological injustice. African perspective of peace underlines material prosperity—economic wellbeing—as both a means and an end to peace Galtung, (1969), McCandless, (2007). In the section ahead, we discuss specific details on sustainable peace, Africa's perspectives of peace and its linkages with prosperity.

Whereas Mutisi (2010) cites several cases affirming development-peace nexus she equally presented several limitations for the same line of thinking. For instance, she argues, the assumption that development will translate into sustainable peace is misleading especially where development has largely focused on hardware at the expense of societal software. Citing other issues associated with poorly pursued development-peacebuilding approaches, she recommended that is imperative to pay attention to political and relational processes in order to bring about sustainable peace. Actually, what stitches the social fabric together has tended to be socio-cultural software in form of renewed cultural values, leadership, ideological orientations and socially improvised mechanisms to foster peaceful co-existence and longer term reconciliation in post genocide Rwanda.

T. Karbo and C. Nelson (2010) warned, "failure to identify the transformation of war economies as a fundamental sustainable peacebuilding approach can further accelerate divisions and lead to renewed violence," (2010:18). To evert the above, the two authors proposed income-generating schemes, infrastructural development, debt reduction or rescheduling as examples of economic-oriented peacebuilding measures. All these measures are at macro level and (Statist) strategically-oriented. In retrospective, the post genocide Rwanda benefitted from such

economic-oriented peace-building schemes after 1994 genocide. Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia, and Mozambique are other post conflict countries that benefitted from such schemes.

Another critique leveled against development-peace nexus centers on ineffectiveness of aid. Dambisa Moyo's *Dead Aid* (2009) William Easterly's *The White Man Burden* (2006) Mary Anderson's *Do No Harm Approach* (1999) and many others presented ineffectiveness of development-peacebuilding aid as a strategy in post conflict societies. Dismissal of aid as absolute failure in post conflict societies borders on misinformed analysis, but development and peacebuilding aid with a dictating can indeed disorient development. Easterly refers to Hong Kong, Korea, Singapore and Taiwan as '*Gang of Four*' countries which went from third world to first without foreign aid but through self-reliance and harnessing internal markets. He uses them to raise firmer evidence-based to critique development aid:

Most of the recent success stories are countries that did not get a lot of foreign aid and did not spend a lot of time in IMF programs [...] Most of the recent disasters are just the opposite—tons of foreign aid and much time spent in IMF constraints. This of course involves some reverse causality [...] the disasters were getting IMF assistance and foreign aid, Easterly, (2006:303).

Anderson's (1999) underlined that well-intended development assistance and program but delivered in uncoordinated manner can easily turn into social conflict triggers and drivers by reinforcing existing social differences rather than serving or promoting development. Easterly insists prosperity hardly comes from foreign aid but through homegrown markets. T. Karbo and C. Nelson (2010) cautioned against unintended consequences of creating dual public sectors; one championed by donor community funds managers and another one steered by state actors. William Easterly argues that one of infuriating things is by development aid actors is "a patronizing mind-set," (2006:23). While Easterly believes most of the developing economies

can take off and even achieve greater prosperity, he rejects the development aid proposal and laughed off its proponents of 'Big Push Approach' such as Columbia University Professor Jeffrey Sachs, former Prime Ministers Tony Blair, Gordon Brown. 'Big Push Approach' according to the author was recommended by 'Report for Africa' in 2005.

The International Alert has made notable advances in advocating for economic-oriented interventions for restoration of relationships and realization of prosperity for peace. In fact, the International Alert's Report states that, "conflict, violence and peace both shape and are shaped by the economy. Economic development in conflict-affected countries must take account of this and, where possible, be designed to strengthen peace," (2015:5). The title of International Alert's report: "Peace Through Prosperity: Integrating Peacebuilding into Economic Development" affirmed the foregoing perspective.

The Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP) provides conceptual frameworks to define peacefulness, provides metrics for measuring peace and prosperity. The IEP's Global Peace Index (2015) underscores peace as a positive, achievable, and tangible measure of human socio-economic well-being and progress. The Report findings revealed that the closer relationships between prosperity and peace, for instance, top 3 peaceful countries identified by the report— Iceland, Denmark, Switzerland are also economically prosperous. According to the Global Peace Index (2015), the top countries from Sub-Saharan Africa are Mauritius, Botswana and Namibia. Three African countries with high levels of peacelessness are the Democratic Republic of Congo, South Sudan, and Somalia.

International Alert's Report (2015) provides five interwoven 'peace factors,' notably fair access to justice, safety, well being, power and where the five are availed, there are greater prospects for realizing peaceful prosperity. International Alert considers peacebuilding as a "art of promoting progress towards these peace factors," (2015:9). Using the 'peace factors' perspective, International Alert argues that [economic] prosperity and peace propel creation of jobs and business opportunities, higher income generations, fair access to safe and decent livelihoods opportunities for increasing number of people, increased revenues by the state in order to provide services.

Localized cases of how prosperity can propel sustainable peace are scantily investigated and in fact it is not widely discussed in Africa. One of the major causes of failure to identify peace and prosperity success stories relates to the fact that Africa is a replete with conflicts. The other is a pervasive Afro-pessimism narrative we alluded to earlier. What are Rwandan policy and programmatic perspectives on prosperity and peace? The policy perspective on prosperity and peace can be found in the seven year target (2017-2024) and the National Strategy for Transformation (2017-2024). Specifically, the strategy is based on three pillars: economic transformation, promoting citizen welfare, and good governance. One key indicator of the strategy's stance on prosperity is reflected in the two pillars—economic transformationa and improving citizen welfare. Specifically, one of the objectives of the strategy is to create 1,500,000 jobs in various sectors by 2024 whereas the last pillar of the strategy—good governance—underlines promotion of Rwandan culture as a foundation for peace, unity and security. There is close resonance between the strategy and this research—both recognize culture as a foundation for sustianable development and sustainable peace. Worth noting, by 2024, the

strategy seeks to have created an economically empowered, prosperous, secure and peaceful citizenry, according to 2nd and 3rd pillar of the National Strategy for Transformation(2017-2024).

How does Rwanda's Girinka Reconciliation Approach engender economic livelihood improvement for peace? Literature on ancient Rwanda depicted cows as resources and sources of prosperity and peace. Presently, do cows serve as resources for prosperity and peace among Rwandans, specifically genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District? In this study, we are interested in understanding how the nationally-improvised reconciliation approach—Girinka—fosters the much scholarly theorized causal relationship between improved economic livelihoods, reconciliation and forging sustainable peace after deadly genocidal violence. We have stressed that to restore fractured relationships that will translate into sustainable peace, in post conflict societies have to leverage homegrown resources, devise culturally-inspired strategies. T. Karbo & C. Nelson(2010) concurred with the above perspectives, noting that development plans and their implementation must be participatory and designed with conflict sensitivity in mind.

Girinka is one of Rwanda's nationally improvised development and peacebuilding programmes demonstrating the causal relationship between local economic livelihood improvements (prosperity, reconciliation for sustainable peace after 1994 genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda.

In fact, the Cow-giving Practice in Rwanda has been qualified by Rwanda Governance Board as a home grown initiative (HGI) in the Report: Assessment of Rwanda Homegrown Initiatives (2014). Specifically, the four objectives of Girinka programme demonstrably reflect the

proximate linkages between prosperity, reconciliation and sustainable peace. The first three objectives of Girinka emphasize the socio-economic dimension. The objectives also highlight the socio-economic livelihood improvement through Girinka programmes or what we can refer to as prosperity-oriented programming, whereas the fourth objective focuses on reconciliation and peace-oriented programming. Put in other words, the fourth objective underlines promotion of harmonious relationships for sustainable. As most programmers would argue, setting objectives is one thing while translating objectives into outcomes on ground is another. How has the locally-improved Girinka reconciliation approach contributed to changing economic livelihoods of poor people? The following table is in tandem with what Bangwanubusa (2009) referred to as *homo oeconomicus* of human initiatives and actions.

Table 2.1: Local economic livelihood improvement by Girinka Homegrown Initiative

Local economic livelihood improvement by Girinka Homegrown Initiative					
Social dimension	Before Girinka	After Girinka	<u>Economic dimension</u> How have you economically benefitted from Girinka?	Yes	No
Access to Health services	10.6%	50.1%	Money	40.3%	59.7%
Shelter/housing	88.5%	96.6%	Biogas	1.6%	98.4%
Households' capacity to meet education costs for member	17.2% (limited capacity)	70.4% (limited capacity)	Milk production	61.3%	38.7
Meals by households	34.8% (2 meals/ day)	68.3% (2meals/ day)	Manure	97.1%	2.9%

Source: Researcher (2018)

The table above highlights its resonance with Oxfam International's Report which states that: "sustainable growth starts with poor people, where they live, what they do to survive, and with developing policies and institutions that support their struggles," (2012:161). In fact, most of the recipients of cows under Girinka programme were people from the lowest socio-economic strata of the Rwandan society.

Another important policy-oriented indication of intention to create prosperity was about situating Girinka programme in the Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources, specifically under Rwanda Agriculture Board (RAB). Like in most East African Partner States, agriculture is a major economic base for the rural Rwandans. Situating Girinka under RAB is a clear policy manifestation of the earlier cited *homo oeconomicus* dispositions Bangwanubusa (2009). Whether Girinka's first three objectives reflect our *Homo oeconomicus* or not, Brounéu (2007) reminds us that the path towards reconciliation and building peace after disproportionate violence should respond to local experiences, needs, values, aspirations and resources of the society where the genocidal violence took place.

Also important to note is, the first three objectives and fourth objective of Girinka confirmed what emerged from the literature relating to the nexus between development—improving rural economic livelihoods and peacebuilding. Also, placing Girinka programme under the Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources, specifically in Rwanda Agricultural Board (RAB) yet the fourth objective touches on a mandate of Rwanda's Unity and Reconciliation Commission is in conformity with the National Policy on Unity and Reconciliation (2007). Specifically, policy states that Rwanda's "unity and reconciliation concerns every Rwandan and every institution operating in the country," NURC, (2007:21). Notwithstanding this view, it is worthwhile to note

that effective coordination and implementation of the fourth objective of Girinka would have been if it was under the Ministry of Local Government, specifically under the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC). Such institutional alignment would only lead to effective coordination, implementation but for coherence in communication of unity and reconciliation messages to local audiences/Rwandans. RAB's coordination of the fourth objective conflicts with NURC's broad mandate. "The process of passing the first heifer to the next Rwandan, is culturally inspired, and giving and receiving a cow from someone builds a strong bond of friendship" (RGB, 2014:56).

Most importantly, the realization of objectives of Girinka goes beyond effective institutional alignment and policy message coherence. Reviewed literature established that realization of objectives of unconventional approaches requires greater human ingenuity, bold leadership, political good will, legislation, knowledge and skill-set, and effective use of locally available resources and seizing emerging opportunities. In the next section, the researcher provides expanded analysis of the challenges and opportunities of unconventional homegrown in Africa and Rwanda in particular.

2.4. Challenges and Opportunities of Unconventional (Homegrown) Approaches

Literature review reveals wide ranging challenges of unconventional homegrown approaches to peacebuilding, specifically, cessation of deadly violence, restoration of longer term relationships, delivery of justice and so forth. Whereas scholars, especially scholarship from Global North has downplayed the significance and intrinsic values in unconventional homegrown approaches in Africa, increasingly, there is irreversible realization of the relevance, significance and impacts as well as sustainability potentials of the foregoing. The new turn for Africa's unconventional approaches has even started attracting scholars from far global north.

The following section is focused on the inherent challenges and existing opportunities of unconventional homegrown approaches of reconciliation and how once maximumly seized, they can contribute to not only lessening genocidal burdens (Gacaca courts in Rwanda), but enabling a society to thrive without violent conflicts, for instance, Somalands inter-clan mediating council (of *shir* and *guurti*) and the disputes mediation assembly by the Tiv people of Nigeria and a host of others, Francis (2008) and Murithi(2008). The researcher contends that one of the demonstrable opportunities of unconventional homegrown approaches lies in the failings of Westphalia conventional approaches to restoration of longer term peaceful relationships in Africa, Malan (1997), Komuhangi(2006) as cited by Olowu (2018). In fact the author argues, “Africa’s peacebuilding, traditional approaches consider peace as not ending of hostilities, or settling of conflicts, but about restoration of relationships,” (2018:1).

Noteworthy, this section is guided by objective three: to examine the challenges and opportunities of Girinka reconciliation approach in Komonyi District of Rwanda. However, in recognizance of the newness of the foregoing, the researcher widened the scope of the objective to include unconventional homegrown approaches in Africa. Such inclusive view provides a broader perspective of challenges and opportunities of such approaches in societies after sustained violence. It is also worth noting that Rwanda’s Girinka is one of such approaches.

2.4.1. Challenges of Unconventional Homegrown Approaches

Literature reviewed reveals, nearly all colonized countries inherited one major challenge: eroded cultural values, indigenous knowledge systems and institutions. Some scholars have attributed colonization and its consequences to Africa’s socio-economic retardation and protraction of conflicts and peacelessness. However, Ethiopia, which was uncolonized has not proved the above suggestion wrong. In fact, except a few cases such as *gadaa Oromo*, Ethiopia does not have success stories related to application of unconventional homegrown approaches to

peacebuilding process. The following analysis covers the challenges of unconventional homegrown approaches in Africa in detail.

2.4.1.1. Colonial Erosion of African cultural values and systems

Whereas this study contends that there is a close positive relationship between Africa's cultural values and peacebuilding processes; revelation of healing truth, reparation of fractured relations, and restoration of trust, Kariuki (2018), Murithi (2008), Francis (2008) observed that African cultural resources, values, systems were adversely affected by colonialism. In fact, Kiruki's forthcoming views in the citation below reflect much concerns by Afro-centric views about the consequences of colonialism in Africa, specifically on cultural alterations. However, the foregoing view is not held by only Afro-centric scholars, even non-Africanist scholars, for instance, William Easterly (2013) who admit that colonialism altered Africa's cultural values, knowledge systems, structures and practices and hence undermining the continent's pace to development. Easterly has advanced a change of strategy from conventional to unconventional development strategy. Though most of his criticisms are targeting failures of conventional economic approaches in poor colonies in Africa and beyond, his voices and sharp views about the consequences of "colonial and semi-colonial actions by West and how they were violating the rights of the poor in the "Rest" are mouthful," (2013:9).

With colonialism, a western legal tradition premised upon an Anglo-American jurisprudential thought was imposed on African. African values, norms, beliefs, which provided the normative and undergirding framework for conflict resolution, were severely weakened, undermined and disregarded, Kariuki (2018:1).

Literature reviewed amply captures the devastating effects of colonialism on African cultural resources, and it is therefore not worth-while to overplay this historical fact. In the context of Rwanda, one discovers two double tragedies that befell on cultural values: first, the colonialism, second was genocide ideology. The latter was not only a principal cause of genocide against Tutsi, but a practical reflection of eroded culture in Rwanda. Some scholars have posited that

genocidal violence is an outcome of degenerated humanity and loss of Rwanda's unifying cultural values and practices.

Considering that Rwandans had peacefully lived together for centuries, sharing the same language(Kinyarwanda), the same cultural practices, the same mode of environment and sense of belong to the same country, (Senate Report, 2006:13), the researcher concurs with the foregoing view. This concurrence is supported by the dehumanizing, demonizing and inciting messages to carry out genocidal violence, Godard (2004:378) as cited in the Senate Report (2006:14). The perspective about genocide ideology in Rwanda as symptomatic reflection of cultural loss and an integral prerequisite of genocide against Tutsi gains credence in view of what the concept is: "a set of ideas or representations used to describe a situation and propose a direction of action by a group or a community," Senate Report (2006:15).

It was established that homegrown culturally inspired unconventional approaches in Africa have not been widely and deeply recognized, legalized and institutionalized. Citing a wide range of countries and communities which have embraced homegrown unconventional approaches to reconciliation and peacebuilding, Kariuki(2015) for instance observed that whereas Teso's *Ameto* and Acholi's Mato-Oput approaches carry greater potential for conflict resolutions and peacebuilding, the challenge of these systems is that they are only applied at village level. Citing Somaliland's case, Boege made similar observation, noting that "the Somali case strongly suggests that the capacity of traditional peace-making processes is strongest at the local and regional levels, and weakest at the national level, (2006:10).

Most of the homegrown unconventional approaches are not formally recognized, institutionalized and documented for posterity. Reviewed literature revealed some of homegrown

unconventional approaches for peacebuilding and conflict transformation are referred as things of the past, mystical, diabolical and detached from today's real life challenges. Boege cited four factors that have adversely influenced negative change of Africa cultural values: "capitalism, colonialism, imperialism and globalization," (2006:6)

Exploring the the potential for community participation in conflict resolution in Northern Uganda, Barigye (2014) noted minimal utilization of Acholi's culturally inspired *Mato-Oput* unconventional approach in the peace process between the Republic of Uganda and Lord's Resistance Army. Drawing experiences from Burundi, Rwanda, South Africa and beyond, Barigye stressed "community members could have made a difference in the [GoU-LRA] peace process leading to more sustainable outcomes, (2014:52). Whereas Rwandans had expressed the pragmatic value in Rwanda's homegrown unconventional approach of managing genocide consequences such as fighting the culture of impunity, promoting justice and reconciliation after the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, Gacaca courts initially met unprecedented skepticism, resistance from conventionally oriented proponents: scholars, decision-makers from outside Rwanda, P. Clark & D. Kaufman (2008: xxv).

Whereas South Africa made significant advances in partially legalizing traditional courts, they are still policy and legalistic constraints barring effective application of traditional courts to settle disputes and conflicts in South Africa, Kariuki (2015). According to this author, the application of traditional dispute resolution mechanisms "must have Minister's authorization, the race of the parties must be African and the parties of the defendant must be residents within the traditional leader's areas of jurisdictions," Kariuki (2015:5).

From above analysis, it emerges that whereas African unconventional homegrown approaches encompass potentials for resolving and transforming violent conflicts in Africa, one key challenge for their application is related to limited approval of them as complementary and influential contributors to conflict transformation process in Africa. This is supported by scores of scholars in and outside Africa. Indeed, African homegrown unconventional approaches are underutilized because they were adversely undermined and devalued by colonialism and the subsequent post-colonial systems, Kariuki (2018:1). In line with the above arguments, Bloomfield et al,(2003) acknowledged:

There is a tendency, especially among Western or Northern interveners, to export conflict management and [conflict transformation] mechanisms from the developed world and try to impose them in novel contexts - Western models of mediation, for example, or Western justice mechanism, (P.46).

Such tendency, according to Kariuki, have not only undermined African cultural capacities and values, but contributed towards delays in using African unconventional homegrown approaches to build sustainable peace. Yet, according to Idowu, African homegrown traditional (unconventional) methods/approaches of conflict resolution “remove root causes of conflicts, reconcile the conflicting parties genuinely, restore peace, remove fear and restore social harmony, establish truth which engenders remorsefulness and forgiveness,” Idowu (2016:29).

2.4.1.2. Failing on expediency

As earlier noted, unconventional homegrown cultural approaches are process-oriented, consensual, participatory and inclusive, Francis (2008). Reviewed literature revealed, the process of truth revelation, restoration of trust, reparation of fractured relationships requires intensive resource consumption and time wastage. Citing Acholi’s *Amato Oput*, Francis, observed that, “in order to restore harmony, and rebuild social trust, there must be general satisfaction among the

public, in particular the disputants, with both the procedure and outcomes,” of such approaches (2008:23). Indeed, Francis emphasized, “consensus-building is embraced by the Acholi as an endogenous cultural pillar of their efforts to regulate relationships between members of a community,” (2008:23). For or worse or better, the researcher established that all the above are integral features of all unconventional homegrown cultural approaches for peacebuilding in Africa.

Though the nature of unconventional homegrown cultural approach of drawing consensus, community participation, inclusiveness are laudable principles, Francis observed, such process can be “a lengthy affair” (2008:23). This runs against the socio-political and military expediency that is generally solicited by mediators, military strategists and peace-keepers, especially during and after deadly violence, Francis (2008). Pouligny (2006) illustrated in details the effects of short-term agendas and exit strategies of peace operations worldwide. The short-term agendas Haiti, Somalia and Bosnia affected the mandates, the naming (Acronyms) and the the objectives of peace support missions, Pouligny (2006). Short-term agenda means, according to Pouligny (2006), “teams work to very close deadlines and must be prepared to pack at any time—a prospect that diverts a good deal of time and energy from the work that they are supposed to be doing in the country,” Pouligny (2006:10). Such mindset also influences politico-military strategists and decision-makers involved in the peace support mission start to arrange for exit strategies, Pouligny added. She revealed, such mental orientation occasioned by short-term agenda, “undoubtedly had an impact on the peace operations in the 1990s,” (2006:10). The former Commander of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), Major General Roméo Dallaire has exposed weaknesses of peacekeeping missions especially those that informed by the operating context of the host country. Basing on peacekeeping failures in

Rwanda in 1994, Major General Roméo Dallaire, advised peacekeepers and even other peace support teams like journalists: “Get yourselves a lot more cultured, learn some geography, some anthropology, some sociology and maybe some philosophy,” in Thompson (200:19). These recommendations are tandem with the central message of this research—approaching peacekeeping, peacebuilding processes from a culturally and contextually informed stand point.

Most unconventional homegrown solutions are criticized by scholars for being slow, lacking specific, time-bound and measurable objectives and their conversational nature to talk out issues can be indefinite. To some scholars, however, the foregoing makes them the most suitable approaches for promoting processes that lead to sustainable (enduring) outcomes: transformed relationships, durable peace rather than cessation of violence. Citing Menkhaus (2000:198), Boege (2006) stressed that desire for rapid, tangible and fixed results in international led negotiations are almost certain cause disappointments to international peacemakers about the absence of those elements in traditional (unconventional) homegrown approaches. He however defended the slowness, breaks and time outs of unconventional approaches, noting that lack of urgency is built into the approach’s “conflict transformation so as to give conflict parties time to calm down, to assess the state of the process so far and to reformulate their position,” Boege (2006:13).

Assessing the approaches suitable for conflicts in Africa, Karbo also reasoned that peacebuilding frameworks that take longer, and broader interventions are in line with principles of unconventional conflict transformation approaches. Whereas longevity of unconventional homegrown cultural approaches has been cited as a weakness on their part, Karbo in Francis (2008) argued the approaches suitable for Africa’s nature of violent are those ones with a long-range view of transforming relationships within their communities, and their members, through

conflict prevention, vision and transformation,” (2008:126). In fact, he stressed: “there is potential for sustainable peacebuilding in Africa that is rooted in strong and deeply embedded indigenous conflict resolution mechanism,” Karbo in Francis (2008:129).

The dialogic, consensual, participatory nature of unconventional homegrown approaches fit into above discussions. However, the fast-paced and competitive real world requires the realization of smarter and faster results. This peacebuilding arrangement favours conventional approaches and defeats the original logic and purposes of unconventional approaches to peacebuilding. Karbo, stressed the above view, revealing that: “the literature and governments such as Canada tend to approach peacebuilding in post conflict situations as a short-term proposition spanning two or three years,” in Francis (2008:114). Karbo aptly captured it well, shortcomings of such short-sighted approach [conventional] to peacebuilding have been widely documented,” Francis (2008:114).

2.4.1.3. Progressive Youths and Retrogressive Elders in Africa

African unconventional homegrown approaches put elders in position of authority, power and influence on young people. Kariuki (2015) observed elders derived power and authority from riches and wealth they held as they owned land and livestock. Kariuki, further reported, “Their wealth and respect enabled them to be independent during dispute resolution processes. However, in modern societies, young people have accumulated wealth and in most cases, older people rely on the younger people” (2015:15). Evidently, some youths in Africa are have embraced opportunities and resources associated with globalization and technology such as access to information, education, innovative and transformative ideas, finances, jobs and so forth. Such exposure to western-oriented tools, resources—knowledge, skills, lifestyles and

styles and standards influences youths worldview and how to effect change in their respective societies.

Boege (2006) referred the approach of making peace deals by old men only as “gerontocratic rule and problematic,” emphasizing that failure to integrate youth in the peace-making and decision-making process is not in tandem with with modern democratic standards and principles (2006:16). Considering Boege’s viewpoint, the exclusion of youths in unconventional approaches to conflict transformation, for instance in the council of elders justifies the youth’s disinterests and criticism of such approach as detached from modern operative context. Boege further expressed concern that while the council of elders may seek to manage, resolve and transform conflicts, their gerontocratic rule may attract an unintended consequence—conflicts—as “young women and men infected by modern ideas from the outside world—often are no longer willing to subordinate themselves to elder’s gerontocratic rule,” (2006:16). He however acknowledged, this weakness does not reflect onto all communities, thus, it should not be construed as size fits all as some communities prioritize gender and youth issues in their interventions and decision-making processes.

Kariuki (2015) cites several cases of corruption, favoritism and bribery involving elderly people who used to promote and practice African unconventional homegrown solutions to conflicts in their communities. For example, Abba Gada elders of the *Borana-Oromo* and Sefer chiefs of the Nuer community Kariuki (2015). Citing Osaghae (2000: 215), Boege (2006:17), concludes this discussion about how some adherents of unconventional homegrown approaches to conflict transformation have been compromised to the extent that themselves can easily be qualified as potential actors and drivers of conflicts in Africa:

The co-optation of traditional rulers as agents of the state, and their manipulation to serve partisan ends, which dates back to colonial times, not to mention the corruption of modern traditional rulers, have considerably reduced the reverence and respect commanded by this institution and, therefore, the ability of traditional rulers to resolve conflicts, Boege(2006:17).

2.4.2. Opportunities of Unconventional Homegrown Approaches

As earlier established, the strengths of unconventional homegrown approaches, for instance, *Ubuntu* (South Africa's), *Gacaca* (Rwanda's), *Amato Oput* from Acholi people of Northern Uganda among others, have amplified the African Union's mantra: African solutions for African problems," Run (2013:27). It is emerging from scholarly literature that nearly all African homegrown unconventional approaches share certain positive attributes: consensus building, focus on process for sustainable solutions, reparation of fractured relations, social solidarity, restoration of trust, among others, Francis (2008), Kariuki(2015), Boege (2006), Murithi (2008).

Citing the strengths of unconventional approach to conflict resolution by the *Barong* people of the Northern West Province of South Africa, Oluwo (2018) reported that it provides ample opportunity for conflict parties to express themselves, create the sustainable terms of peace-making and reconciliation along the tenets of *Ubuntu* and so forth. The strengths of unconventional homegrown approaches have attracted recognition, legislation, and scholarship and policy support in many countries in Africa and beyond. In the proceeding section, we explore available opportunities of African homegrown unconventional approaches to conflict transformation. Key opportunities about to be discussed include: the failures of westphalia approaches in Africa to transform conflicts, increasing incorporation of unconventional homegrown approaches into legal and policy frameworks and change in practice of considering

women as integral active players in conflict transformation in Africa. The forthcoming analysis is in tandem with research objective three.

2.4.2.1. The Failures of Conventional Approaches in Africa

The opportunity of unconventional approaches to conflict transformation lies in the apparent failings of western approaches to conflict transformation in Africa. There are scholars from both sides of scholarship continuum—Afrocentric and Eurocentric—citing the failures of western prescriptive one size fits approach to post-conflict contexts in Africa. To this effect, there is extensive literature indicative of failures of western approach compared to African unconventional approaches to conflict transformation. Oluwo (2018) argues:

Procedurally, western approach is adversarial in its form and content and evidence must be adduced to establish guilt or innocence. The process of hearing is winner-loser in all its ramifications while the actors have no room for sympathies or forgiveness, (p.4).

Related to societies emerging from dreadful violence like genocide, such approach does not guarantee reparation of relationships but rather expands relational them vs. us gaps between genocide survivors and the genocide perpetrators. A review of the objectives of Gacaca and how this approach evolved, the researcher established cross-cutting features aimed at transforming negative attitudes, relations and behaviors similar to Barolong conflict transformation processes in Northern West Province of South Africa. These are: processes are inclusive, the society in its entirety participates, the process are locally owned and locally-driven, implying survivors, their tormentors and their relatives approval of the relevance, validity and legitimacy of the process and their outcomes, Oluwo (2018), Francis(2008) and Murithi (2008). Oluwo thoroughly revealed the failures of conventional approaches, noting that:

Despite the increasing recognition of the necessity to find viable alternative approaches to conflict resolution in Africa, marking a departure from the top-down, prescriptive Western model, the dominant thought revolves around the alien, exclusionary, winner-takes-all approaches imported from the West which do not only aggravate conflicts and disputes but also deliberately denigrate the positive roles that African indigenous conflict resolution approaches can offer in building peace and maintain social harmony, (2018:5)

2.4.2.2. Increasing Recognition of Unconventional Homegrown Solutions

Oluwo (2018) stated, that there is a noticeable upward trend in the recognition of the role of indigenous approaches to resolving high-tempo, mid-tempo and high tempo conflicts in Africa. The claims that unconventional homegrown approaches are regaining recognition have to be backed by practical evidence in terms of existing scholarships, legislations, policies, institutions and applications in Africa. The call for incorporation of these approaches to peacemaking, peacekeeping and conflict transformation is hinged on the fact that they are still vibrant, relevant and responsive to post conflict challenges of justice, reconciliation and restoration of trust, Albert, (2008). Several scholarly studies, high level summits and decision-making forums have concluded that, traditional methods of conflict resolutions do in fact work but have not been [fully] incorporated into the official methods of conflict management and conflict transformation in many parts of African continent, Albert in Francis (2008:43). Albert reminded, scholarly studies sponsored by the United States Institute for Peace (USIP) conducted on such approaches in Sudan, Somalia, and Ethiopia in 1990s came to the same conclusion. Similarly, a study conducted by Wal Duany of the University of Indiana in South Sudan established valuable insights relating to how unconventional homegrown approaches can contribute towards consolidating and sustaining peace in Africa, Albert in Francis (2008). Some of these insights

have been highlighted in the previous analysis and reciting them would be inconsequential repetition.

Jackson (2016) highlighted countries in Africa—Namibia, Ghana, Lesotho, Malawi, South Africa –where traditional homegrown approaches are actively playing important roles in managing national affairs of their respective countries. For instance, Jackson further reported, that the council of traditional leaders in Namibia, plays an advisory role to the president, on matters related to communal lands. He added, Ghana’s House of Chiefs is constitutionally mandated to advise any authority on chieftancy and customary law. The Council of Chiefs was restored in Zambia in 1996, Jackson (2016) noted as he cited several policy-decisions related to the foregoing undertaken to mainstream the role of unconventional homegrown in peacebuilding in Africa. “South Africa’s 1996 constitution prohibits for the creation of provincial and National House of Traditional Rulers,” Johnson (2016:32).

Inclusion of unconventional homegrown solutions in the constitution of South Africa is particularly telling considering the country’s colonial prohibitive laws on the use of unconventional approaches to sort customary matters, for instance, the Black Administration Act, section 12 and 20, according to Francis (2015). Such prohibitive laws were not only in pre-colonial South Africa, as even in the post-colonial Kenya, “article 159(3) the Constitution limits the use of the traditional dispute resolution mechanisms,” Francis (2015:15). Rwanda is one of the African countries that have institutionalized unconventional homegrown approaches to respond to consequences of genocidal violence perpetrated against Tutsi in 1994. According to Shyaka in the RGB Report (2014), “Rwanda Governance Board is the custodian of most of the post-genocide homegrown initiatives and they are Rwanda’s trademark approach[es] to socio-economic development and transformation,” (p.iii). However, some homegrown approaches such

as Itorero and Ingando are coordinated by the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission while the archival resources of the concluded Gacaca courts are in the National Commission for the Prevention of Genocide. The Abunzi, (mediators), another homegrown approach to reconciliation and administration of justice in the post genocide Rwanda are coordinated by the Ministry of Justice in Rwanda. Oluwo (2018) attributed this recognition of unconventional homegrown approaches to their inherent capacities and principles of building sustainable peace. Based on the fact that they are locally-driven, solutions provided by such culturally-appropriate approaches are sustainable.

2.4.2.2. Political Goodwill and Policy Support

Literature presents strong evidence suggesting revalorization of African cultural values, practices and strategies as imperatives if the continent is to catch up with the rest of developed and developing countries. Mohalu (2014), Easterly (2013) Agupasi (2016) are key advocates of this view and noted Africa's failure to valorize cultural values contributed to delayed development. The same can be said on why Africa has been historically regarded as the hotspot and epicenter of conflicts. "Because local cultures and structures were seen as obsolete and barbaric systems that must be replaced, many Africa societies are constantly in conflict, attempting to completely rid themselves of their traditions and fully assimilate the Western development paradigm," Agupasi (2013:12). The author cited growing and industrializing economies from Asia and Latin America by not eliminating their own cultures, but by integrating some western models into them, Agupasi (2013). In view of the above, Agupasi recommended:

"It is ultimately important that African leaders have the confidence and the full support of donor communities to seriously consider local environment and culture, and how they might best take advantage of these in framing their development strategies," (2013:12).

Whereas the views of the foregoing scholars are emphasized the necessity of bridging the gap between African cultural values and development strategies in Africa, similar gaps are identified from analysis cultural resources and peacebuilding interventions and strategies in Africa. In view of the above recommendation, what existing indicators of Africa's support for unconventional homegrown approach for conflict transformation? Put simply, what can Africa show for African Solutions for African Problems?

According to M. Gebrehiwot & A. Wall (2015) in response to the Rwandan genocide of 1994 and related events including the war in the DRC, OAU established the International Panel of Eminent Personalities (IEP), the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), the Panel of the Wise. The foregoing reflect the continent-wide consensus on revitalization of African solution to African problems, mainly conflicts and undevelopment. M. Gebrehiwot & A. Wall (2015) captured the part of the rationales for such rare continental consensus while establishing such initiatives: "African solutions are typically tailored for specific circumstances, seeking to reconcile desperate principles with national realities. Africa is averse to the attempt to apply purportedly universal principles or 'one size fits all' policies' regardless of local realities," M. Gebrehiwot & A. Wall (2015:5).

There have been demonstrable policy support for revalorization of Mato Oput mechanism in managing conflict and consequences of Lord Resistance Army in Uganda under the leadership of President Yoweri Museveni. According to Francis (2008), Ugandan government "tacitly validated the use of Mato Oput in the peacebuilding processes with the LRA," Francis, (2008:25). Francis listed high level members of the Government of Uganda who participated in a series of Mato Oput ceremonies convined across Acholiland. However, there were also scholarly

literature indicating limited application of Mato Oput in resolving GoU and LRA conflicts hence the failure of not only transforming the conflict but even resolving it.

The post-genocide leadership has mainstreamed homegrown initiatives as some of the pathways towards transformation of Rwanda. As already stressed, Rwanda's homegrown initiatives are institutionally coordinated by Rwanda Governance Board while others, such as *NdumunyaRwanda*, *Intorero* are coordinated by National Unity and Reconciliation Commission(NURC). Girnka is coordinated by Rwanda Agricultural Board. According to Rwanda Governance Board (2014), the adoption of homegrown strategies was in response to the genocide consequence, fast-tracking development, and aligning the contry's development to local opportunities, cultural values, and history. "HGIs have been the bedrock to the Rwandan development successes for the last decade, RGB Report, (2014:1).One of these unconventional homegrown approaches in Rwanda is Abunzi—the national mediators in Rwanda. There are 2,564 members of Abunzi countrywide, De Winne et al., (2015). National Mediation is one of Rwanda's unventional approaches, and it is is a legally acceptable "conflict resolution body par excellence," De Winne et. al., (2015:2). Reviewed literature established, the post-genocide Rwanda legally adopted many unconventional approaches as complementary strategies for rebuilding the society fractured by 1994 genocide.

By establishing such a conflict resolution mechanism, which is *a priori* free, accessible and participatory, the post-genocide government has shown its commitment to facilitating access to justice for all the country's citizens, De Winne et. al., (2015:1).

Emphantly, the earlier cited endeavors relating to continent-wide valorization of unconventional approaches point to a collective African determination to resolve African conflicts and halt atrocities through the principle of non-indifference, experiences from the

recent past revealed big gaps between good intentions and actions especially in stances of internal abuses of state power, governance malfeasances and negative meddlings from colonial powers. In view of the above, M. Gebrehiwot & A. Wall argued, Africa's collective responsibility is not confined to preventing and stopping mass atrocities, but extends to peace, security, and other principles enshrined in the AU Constitutive Act (2015:5).

Citing Uganda's case, Francis (2008) noted were noticeable obstacles relating to undermining the full implementation of unconventional homegrown approaches in Uganda. Some of these challenges were discussed earlier. While Francis outlined strengths and benefits of these approaches across Africa, he acknowledged, their legitimacy and acceptance has not been fully achieved. As for M. Gebrehiwot & A. Wall (2015) Africa's principal challenges facing such initiatives as limited capacities to support collective vision and a range of other weaknesses of African peacemakers and mediators: "ignorance, arrogance, partiality, impotence, haste, inflexibility, false promises and formalism," (p.12).

2.4.2.3. Increasing inclusion of Women in peacebuilding

There is increasing recognition and inclusion of women in peacebuilding and conflict transformation processes after sustained violence. Women participation in both conventional and unconventional peacebuilding and conflict transformation processes in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Africa has been generally lacking. Even the much practiced and prominent conventional approach has not escaped criticisms for ignoring the provisions and standards espoused in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), Chhabra (2015). The UNESCO Report (2003) from the Pan African Women's

Conference for Peace and Non-violence held in 1999, Zanziba, expressed similar concerns, noting that regardless of women's efforts and initiatives to resolve conflicts and promote peace in Africa, peace negotiations have been male-dominated. Chhabra (2015) stated that UN Security Council Resolution 1325 passed on the 31st October 2000, recognised that women world-wide are playing an active and positive role in conflict resolution and peacebuilding.

According to Karbo in Francis (2008), the quest for sustainable peace in Africa because of the upsurge of "gendered peace process" (p.129). Karbo noted several regional women led peace initiatives that are transforming the socio-economic and political spheres through peacebuilding activities in Africa. Such initiatives, according to Karbo are Liberian Women Mass Action for Peace which contributed to peacebuilding in Monrovia, Liberia. Karbo cited countries with good scores in gender inclusion in peacebuilding and development processes: Rwanda, South Africa, Tanzania and others.

"Measures such as proportional representation, quotas, and a percentage of women on the list of candidates have succeeded in enabling women move ahead numerically and transform parliamentary agenda," Karbo in Francis (2008:130).

UNESCO has documented the contributions of women in promoting the culture of peace, specifically through traditional conflict resolution in some African countries: Burundi, Somalia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Northern Namibia and Tanzania. The UNESCO Report (2003) revealed many peacebuilding roles women known as *Inararibonya*—those who have seen many things—played in Burundi. Women's roles included, but not limited to educating peaceful relationships, caretaking and peacemaking. According to J. Ntahobari & B. Ndayisiga in UNESCO Report (2003):

“a group of highly respected and wise women in *Inararibonya* (the equivalent of the male-dominated *Abashingantahe*), played advisory role, hearing of conflict parties in an isolated spot known in Burundian culture as *Mukatabesha*—meaning—the pace where no lies are told, and passed judgement and prescribed acceptable behavior” (p.50).

Women’s equal participation in all aspects of peace processes has also been an important focus in the Beijing Platform for Action. In 1997, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development issued Guidelines on Conflict, Peace and Development Cooperation

2.5. Theoretical framework

The overall objective of this study was to assess how Rwanda's homegrown Girinka reconciliation approach influences sustainable peace in Komonyi District of Rwanda. The study shall be guided by Conflict Transformation Theory of John Paul Lederach (1997). This theory fits into the study specifically in its emphasis of changing negative attitudes, relationships for conflict parties to positive and peaceful relationships. Chapter four and five revealed details showing how empirical findings from Kamonyi District of Rwanda are tandem with theoretical underpinnings suggested by Lederach (1997).

2.5.1. Conflict Transformation Theory

Transformation of conflict at personal level, refers “to the changes effected in, and desired for the individual determined through their physical wellbeing, self-esteem, emotional stability, capacity to perceive accurately and spiritual integrity,” Lederach (1997:82). Karbo regarded Lederach’s conflict transformation as "processual and dynamic like the relationships it seeks to transform," (2008:119).

Conflict transformation theory is largely premised on the view that violence alters personal, society's relational fabric and structural resilience, Lederach (2004). This is where Lederach's theoretical views reflect practical operative context to Kamonyi's experience of 1994 genocide against Tutsi and its consequences. Genocide against Tutsi altered the lives and relationships of both genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in multi-dimensional ways.

Where Lederach's theoretical views fit this study lie in its definition by McCandles, (2007) as changing attitudes, behaviours, relationships and transactions between the parties in the midst of or previously engaged in a given conflict; addresses wider social, economic, and political sources of a conflict; and seeks to transform negative energy and violence into positive social change, McCandles, (2007). The objective two of this study—to assess the contribution of Girinka Reconciliation approach on Sustainable peace in Kamonyi District, Rwanda, fits into Lederach's conflict transformation theory as defined by McCandles (2007) above. As explained in detail (chapter five) Girinka has significantly improved livelihoods of survivors, transformed attitudes, behaviours and relationships between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District. Objective number three of the study which emphasizes examination of challenges and opportunities of Girinka Reconciliation Approach in Kamonyi District, Rwanda also sought to operationalize Lederach's conflict transformation theory. For instance, opportunities the study identifies are critical for promotion of Girinka Reconciliation approach act as assets policy-makers, scholars and programme managers in Kamonyi District can be leveraged to firmly cement relationships and reinforce reconciliation between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators. Prevailing security, political goodwill and growing recognition of culturally inspired knowledge resources and values for peace are some of these opportunities. Sustainable changes of attitudes, behaviours and relationships of genocide survivors and their

former tormentors cannot be imported, but transformational peacebuilding inputs such as Lederach's theoretical views can be localized to fit Kamonyi's operative peacebuilding dynamics.

Brounéus (2007) emphasized the imperative of genocide survivors and former genocide former genocide perpetrators living peacefully together, noting that after [temporal] peace, former enemies—perpetrators and victims, must continue living side by side as before the atrocities. The author however acknowledged that transforming attitudes and behaviors from genocidal violence to collegial hardly comes so fast and easily. Lederach asserted, a reconciliation approach that leads to sustainable peace must effect changes in "four interdependent dimensions: personal, relational (inter-ethnic), structural and cultural," Lederach, (1997:82).

Another important theoretical factor the study considers relevant is the improvement of what Lederach referred to as the "relational dimension," (1997:82). Cows given under Girinka Reconciliation approach contribute towards actualization of Lederach's theoretical underpinnings on relation through improved ethnic bonding, promoted conviviality, sharing of cow products—milk, manure and developing a win-win mutual relationship between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District. For instance, at least 89.6% (210.4 out of 300 respondents) confirmed that the revolving process of cows given under Girinka Reconciliation processes between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators leads to strong inter-ethnic bonding.

The third dimension as per Conflict Transformation theory is the structural which Lederach refers to as "transforming the underlying causes of conflict in social structures such as unmet basic human needs, access to resources and institutional patterns of decision-making," (1997:82).

The cows given under Girinka arrangement actualize the foregoing dimension by enabling both genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators improve their socio-economic livelihoods through joint planning of how to take care of the shared resource—a cow, sharing of cow's products: organic manure, milk and sharing of costs associated with keeping the cow. This process revolving around the cow (reconciliation cow) removes ethnical walls and builds bridges between genocide survivors through reduced negative stereotypes or what Porter referred to as negative othering (2017). Socio-economic web of relationship facilitated by the cow's transactional value reflects Lederach's third dimension stressed in the foregoing analysis.

Conflict transformation Lederach proposes the following: promote non-violent mechanisms that reduce adversaries, foster structures that promote meeting basic human needs and maximize participation in decision-making forums by all former conflict parties. Citing Kriesberg (1999) and the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC) Report (2007) consider conflict transformation as "a deep and fundamental change which affects not only the relationships between former protagonists but also the socio-political and economic structures in which it evolves," (2007:30).

Important to underline is the Report's emphasis that conflict transformation is not only aimed at finding sustainable resolutions of today's causes of injustices, inequalities and other forms of violence, but it stretches to uproot potential conflicts in the future. In view of this foregoing view, NURC Report makes an insightful observation: "conflict transformation goes beyond conflict as such by creating an atmosphere and environment favorable to durable peace," (2007:31). Chapter three provides, specifically the pairing process of Girinka recipients illustrates the causal linkage between Lederach's Conflict Transformation theory and the practice on ground in Kamonyi District.

The cultural dimension of conflict transformation as per Lederach (1997) refers to building on the existing cultural resources and mechanisms within a cultural setting to constructively and sustainably respond to conflict causes. Francis (2008) reinforced Lederach's view above, reiterating the earlier underscored importance of centering Africa's peacebuilding responses on Africa's home grown cultural, traditional institutions, socio-cultural resources and approaches to building the peace and addressing issues of reconciliation and justice in bitterly divided societies.

[Sustainable] reconciliation processes need to respond to local experiences, needs, values, aspirations and resources. Local cultures and traditional practices can provide important resources for reconciliation that are more locally accessible and legitimate, (Karen Brounéus, 2007:3).

As earlier established, there are many scholars underscoring the relevance and significance of unconventional homegrown approaches in restoration of fractured relationships through truth revelation, trust-building, promotion of forgiveness, apology, hence paving the ground for realization of sustainable peace in post conflict societies. The choice of Girinka Reconciliation Approach as one of Rwanda's unconventional homegrown solution resonates with Lederach's theoretical propositions, specifically where it emphasizes alteration of relational, personal, emotional, attitudinal and behavioral patterns of genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors. Indeed, Lederach emphasized, the overriding goal of conflict transformation is "forming new patterns, processes and structures through a context-responsive approach," (2004:72).

Citing Lederach (2004), Porter argues that the effectiveness of conflict transformation lies in its "comprehensive manner that sustains full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict toward more sustainable, peaceful relationship (2015:8). Lederach himself

lauded "Conflict Transformation as a holistic approach to managing [genocidal] violence," (2004:75). However, McCandles, (2007) states that although conflict transformation has faced definitional hurdles and producing agreement around its meaning, considerable consensus exists concerning the building blocks that define it. These building blocks informed the decision of selecting it as a theory guiding this study. Erin McCandles, (2007) pointed out these areas: relational and transactional process, going beyond the contradictions that cause conflicts by making conflicts more manageable, transforming structures and bring about systemic change, it develops within particular cultures and draws upon cultural resources and so forth.

As Jean Paul Lederach (1997) recommends, Conflict Transformation Theory seeks to determine changes at four interdependent dimensions—personal, relational (inter-ethnic), structural and cultural (p.82)., E. Daly and Jeremy Sarkin (2007) observed that transformative reconciliation "helps whole societies transform themselves from violent and chaotic places into communities where people work together to raise their children and live productive and helpful lives," (p.xi).

Conflict Transformation Theory is further operationalized through establishing how cow-giving and cow-receiving between genocide survivors and former perpetrators enables revelation of truth, building of trust, removal of them vs. us identity by embracing collective identity, promoting apology pleas and forgiveness in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. This process of relating and testing key components variables is advanced by Jabareen noting this process "not only to provide a causal [analytical] setting of the social phenomenon being investigated, but, rather, an interpretative approach to social reality," (2009:51). Conflict Transformation Theory of Jean Paul Lederach (1997) not only informed the analysis of literature, but it crucially informed the empirical interpretation and analysis.

2.5.2. Variables

There are two variables—Girinka reconciliation approach and sustainable peace. How the former influences the latter is central to this study. The former was the independent variable (IV) while the latter was the dependent variable (DV) for the study. Using Miles and Huberman (1994) specifically about 'relationships,' between variables—independent and dependent variables—the study considers sustainable peace in Kamonyi District to have been influenced by Girinka Reconciliation Approach. Given its centrality in peacebuilding after genocidal violence, security was considered as the intervening variable. Citing Hoenyman (2003:35) NURC Report of 2007 highlighted existential fears of any survivor after unprecedented violence similar to Rwanda's 1994 genocide against Tutsi, "it is widely known that the survivors and other witnesses worry that testimonies will trigger among other consequences reprisals from the criminals if still in liberty or from their respective families," (p.42). These fears educed security concerns that prevailed after 1994 genocide in Rwanda.

The necessity of keeping security for genocide survivors and perpetrators gained particular significance during judicial processes, specifically at level of reveling truth about who did what, when and how. Outcomes of such truth revelations encompass two-sided implications—detrimental truth and beneficial truths for healing and reconciliation. The former underpines the significance of security. In view of the foregoing, Brounéus recommended:

For a process of reconciliation after conflict, one must take into consideration the society's ability to sustain the pressure and tension of exposing difficult truths without collapsing [the society] into renewed violence. Finding the balance between truth and justice is not an undemanding venture, (2007:9).

We stressed the importance of truth in healing wounded survivors and liberating the truth-tellers (perpetrators) among other benefits. As a thematic issue, truth has been brought back into discussions to re-emphasize its two interwoven sides—the better and bitter sides, especially the latter's interference with personal and societal security. Security gets its relevance in reconciliation and peacebuilding processes when the revelation of bitter side of the truth—the traumatizing truth is likely to cause unintended consequences—widespread societal and inter-ethnic tensions in form of intentional injurious statements to genocide survivors, Brounéus (2007).

Official acknowledgement of past atrocity and injustice is important because it validates past experiences and may help restore dignity and self-esteem. However, to speak of traumatic wounds, which often have left feelings of deep humiliation, shame and guilt, is difficult, painful and may lead to stigmatization," Brounéus (2007:12).

Each of the critical issues raised above were of great importance in the post-genocide Kamonyi District of Rwanda. The issue of security cannot be taken lightly especially in societies emerging from bitter violence, for instance, Rwanda after 1994 genocide against Tutsi. Brounéus further stressed, if security of key parties is threatened, they may lead to a number of outcomes: physical injury, psychological anxiety, and ill-health, an increase of violence in order to silence the truth, acts of revenge either group (2007).

There is consensus among reconciliation scholars, practitioners and decision-makers that security, is a pre-condition for meaningful recovery, reconciliation and development in the post genocide period. According to Karen Brounéus (2007), many victims and witnesses in the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and witnesses in live televised truth revelation processes revealed feelings of fear and abandonment on the return to their homes after testifying. For South Africa, "witnesses in TRC described being stigmatized,

abandoned, and threatened," (Karen Brounéus, 2007:10). In Rwanda, former Prosecutor for the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), Justice Hassan B. Jallow made similar claims Brounéus, (2007).

Though not on a large scale, cases of intimidations of genocide survivors and perpetrators who were committed to revelation of truth for personal healing and reconciliation were witnessed before and during Gacaca sessions. In the reviewed literature, we presented a scheme coded named "Ceceka" that was aimed at silencing truth-tellers during Gacaca sessions in Rwanda. Such schemes were also laced with use of all means—resources (monies), intimidations and others as the quote from NURC's research conducted in 2007 revealed:

In Gacaca process, testimonies remain[ed] the most important mode of evidence. Testimonies [were] deposited without further ado and chiefly orally. The prosecuted [were] the witnesses' neighbor. A lot of witnesses (survivors and witnesses for the prosecution face[ed] different forms of insecurity ranging from assassinations to intimidation not mentioning poisoning, blows and injuries, NURC Report, (2007:41)

Learning from Rwanda's traditional justice system: Gacaca and South Africa's TRC processes, their open citizen participation and public testimonies nature and how the processes exposed witnesses to insecurity, Karen Brounéus, made an insightful recommendation: "security should be included into the truth, justice and reconciliation equation," (2005:11). In fact, "recent research indicates that if security is not provided, the process of reconciliation may risk to backlash in violence or in suppression of truth," (Karen Brounéus argues, 2005:4). He notes further, centrality of security becomes even more apparent in immediately in the transition from open conflicts to recovery, reconstruction phase as well as the period leading to reconciliation. Karen Brounéus (ibid) the post-conflict state is often quite weak, thus tensions may easily arise between reconciliation needs, development and politics

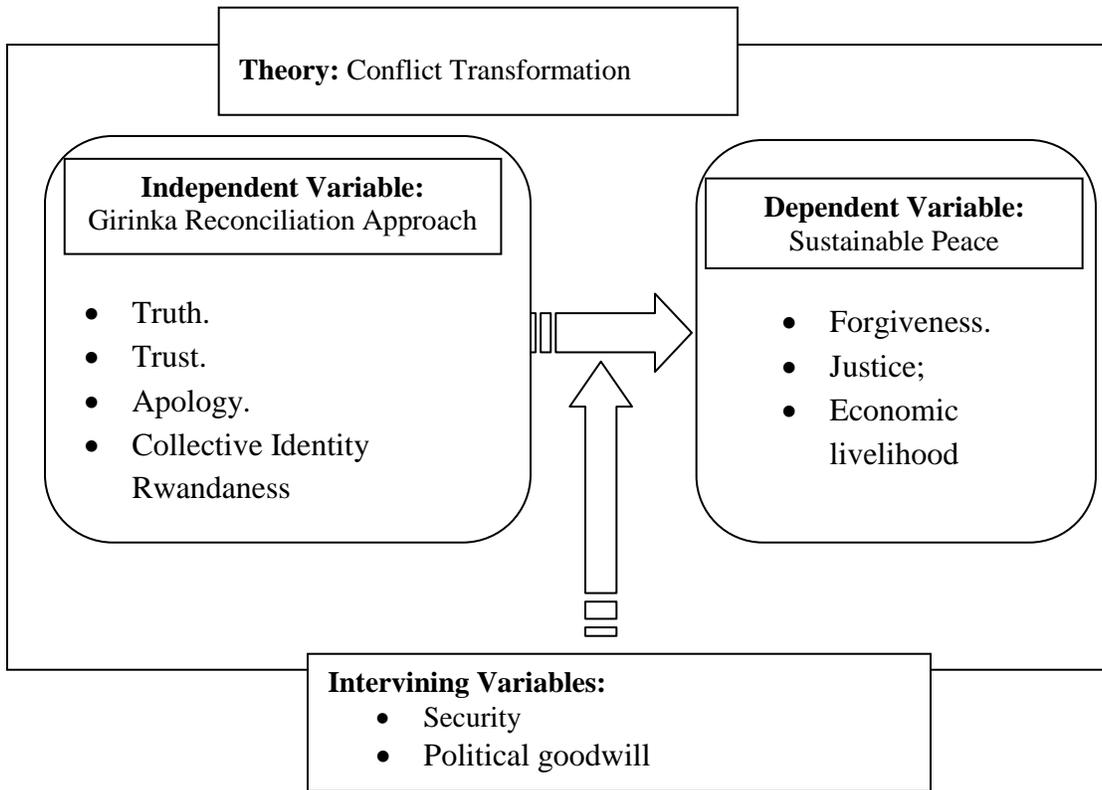


Figure 2.1: Theoretical Model

Source: Researcher (2018)

2.6. Chapter summary

Reviewed literature revealed that reconciliation is scholarly defined differently. Noteworthy, it was established that reconciliation is both a goal—something to be achieved, and a challenging process especially after extreme genocidal violence. This chapter covered thematic prerequisites of reconciliation, thematic pillars of sustainable peace, challenges and opportunities of unconventional homegrown approaches. The thematic prerequisites of reconciliation reviewed include; truth, trust, apology, collective identity/Rwandaness while the thematic pillars of sustainable peace include: forgiveness, justice and economic livelihood improvement. Each concepts herein are defined. Though scholars agreed on two types of peace—negative and

positive peace, definitional agreement on what sustainable peace is remains elusive and inconclusive. African and Rwandan conceptions of peace are also presented. The literature analyzed a range of homegrown solutions (approaches) to peace in Africa such as Ubuntu (South Africa), Mato Oput (Acholi, Uganda), Abashinganahe (Burundi) and Rwanda's Gacaca traditional courts, Girinka Reconciliation Approach and many others. Basing on the view emanating from the reviewed literature that neither reconciliation nor sustainable peace cannot thrive in a state of insecurity, thus security was identified as an intervening variable. Rwandans place greater value on cultural values, indigenous resources and approaches. Specifically, we underscored the centrality of cow-giving reconciliatory approach (Girinka) in Kamonyi District of Rwanda and how it influences sustainable peace. The chapter also covered the challenges and opportunities of unconventional approaches. The theory underpinning the study is also discussed in this chapter. Theory choice was informed by its relevance to central part of the study: transformation of relationships of former genocide perpetrators and survivors in Kamonyi District of Rwanda.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0. Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodology for the research. The chapter is structured as thus: Research design, study area, study population, sampling strategies and sample size, data collection instruments, validity and reliability. The chapter also includes: methods of data analysis and presentation, limitations of the study, ethical considerations and chapter summary.

3.1. Research Design

The study used to descriptive survey design. According to Mugenda, (2008), descriptive design is applied when collecting information about people's attitudes, opinions and habits. Findings, chapter four and five, (qualitative and quantitative) demonstrated the level of transformed attitudes, behaviors and relations between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. The transformed elements—attitudes, relations, behaviours are considered as key areas Jean Paul Lederach (1997) recommended as pathways to realizing reconciliation in former divided societies. The usefulness of the descriptive study design was realized from its capacity to enable us to obtain qualitative and quantitative data showing the level of influence Girinka reconciliation approach has on sustainable peace in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. It was also helpful in determining a variety of topics such as Rwandaness, truth, trust, apology, forgiveness, and economic livelihood improvement among others. The researcher applied descriptive survey design in translating study objective two into empirical evidence. It was suitable for this objective because it sought to establish attitudes, relationships, behaviours, truths, apologies, trust between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators.

Most important, the design was helpful in determining changes at four inter-interdependent dimensions—personal, relational (inter-ethnic), structural and cultural as suggested by Jean Paul Lederach, (1997). However, key points need to be noted: to determine the level of behavioural changes because of Girinka, the researcher asked respondents questions that triggered forth quantitative and qualitative responses. Also, it is important to acknowledge that whereas some responses are rated quantitatively, change in human behavior sometimes cannot be determined by numbers because of its intangibility nature. These issues are clarified further in chapter six on measurability change in behavior. To actualize study objective one and three, the researcher applied explanatory research design based on its capacity to generate explanations centered on nature of Girinka practices in Rwanda: pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Rwanda as well as the challenges and opportunities of Girinka.

Table 3.1. Summary of the research design

SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES	RESEARCH DESIGN	RATIONALE
1. To examine the nature of Girinka reconciliation mechanism in Rwanda;	Explanatory survey design	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To draw explanations for certain Girinka practices and significances of cows in Rwanda: pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial period; • To provide explanatory basis for the revival of Girinka in the post genocide Rwanda
2. To assess the contribution of Girinka Reconciliation approach on Sustainable peace in Kamonyi District of Rwanda;	Descriptive survey design	To describe quantitatively and qualitatively the effects Girinka has caused after its revival in 2006
3. To examine the challenges and opportunities of Girinka Reconciliation Approach in Komonyi District of Rwanda	Explanatory survey design	To explain challenges faced and identified opportunities that can be leveraged to maximize Girinka's impacts moving forward

Source: Researcher (2018).

3.2. Study Area

The study was conducted in Kamonyi District, Southern Province of Rwanda. According to Development Plan of Kamonyi District (2013), this is one of the eight Districts making the Southern Province. It is located in the central region of the country. It is composed of 12 Sectors, 59 Cells and 317 Villages (Imidugudu) with a population of 342,792 inhabitants on a total surface area of 655.5 km² and 72,000 households (EICV 2, 2011). Thus, its average density is 523 inhabitants/Km². The education system in Kamonyi District includes 59 nursery schools, 90 primary schools and 50 secondary schools. The District Development Plan further noted that Kamonyi District envisages to ensure good governance through social justice, durable peace, and sustainable socio-economic development based on modernization of urban infrastructures in order to open agro pastoral opportunities.

Kamonyi district was purposively selected because of three considerations—first its hesitance to endorse the genocidal plan, secondly its later active implementation of the plan and thirdly, the district's embrace of Girinka practice to promote reconciliation between genocide survivors and perpetrators. In his doctoral research, Theogene Bangwanubusa titled 'Understanding the Polarization of Responses to Genocidal Violence in Rwanda,' (2009) confirms the first two considerations. He argues, there are leaders of some prefectures (current use is Province in Rwanda, counties for Kenya's case) who either successfully or half-way mobilized for non-violence and interfered with the genocidal project. He cited Prefecture of Gitarama (where Kamonyi was part) under Uwizeye Fidèle and former Burgomaster of Mugina examples of such people.

Mugina's first resistance to embrace genocidal project led to exodus of many Tutsi into this under the illusion that the commune would be peaceful hence exposing them to unprecedented and intensified killings afterwards. Put in other words, Mugina commune (which is under Kamonyi district after administrative reforms and restructuring) constitutes cases of places in Rwanda that surrendered to pressure of violence after demonstrable hesitancy and resistance. "Some leaders could be subjected to either death or summary dismissal in case of strong resistance," (Theogene Bangwanubusa, 2009:9). However, Strauss (2006) noted, violence took time to start in Musambira, another key sector the study focuses on. In Musambira for instance, Strauss stressed "closer inspection shows that while the shift to widespread genocidal violence took longer to materialize...the dynamics of violence were similar to what occurred elsewhere,"(2006:79). The removal and death of Mugina's Burgomaster exposed Tutsi to intensified killings. Consequently, Kamonyi District has Genocide Memorial Centre houses over 30,000 victims of genocide.

According to Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer, (2015) 52.5% people in Kamonyi district confirming that there are citizens still viewing themselves and others in ethnic lines.

Similarly, the citizen opinions on "there are Rwandans who still sow divisions and genocide ideology in others," Kamonyi District still was neither among the highest nor the lowest with 42.1% who agreed with the statement,Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer, (2015:38).

Though 42.1% is not worth lauding, compared to Musanze district (78.9%) the highest, and Rubavu district (77.3%) second among 30 districts which affirmed "that there are Rwandans who still sow divisions and genocide ideology in others," Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer,(2015:38). Kamonyi's statistical score (42.1%) compared to Musanze (78.9%) and

Rutsiro, the lowest with 27.2%, also calls for empirical verifications and research interests. While the issues raised above are not key focus areas for the study, there are key barriers to achieving sustainable reconciliation not only in Kamonyi District, but Rwanda as a whole. Though Kamonyi scored relatively low compared to Musanze district on sowing of ethnic divisions and genocide ideology, the foregoing affirmations—that there are people in Kamonyi District still sowing divisions and genocide ideology raises not only research interests but genuine concerns regardless of its comparative stand with other districts.

Out of 12 Sectors of Kamonyi District, this study covered on 7 Sectors, namely, Musambira, Gacurambwenge, Nyarubaka, Rukoma, Mugina and Nyamiyaga and Rugarika (see the map below). All these sectors witnessed intensification of genocidal violence. For this reason, there are genocide survivors and perpetrators and most importantly, they are beneficiaries of Girinka programme.

It is important to note two important points—the first one centers on use of former genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors as a special social category throughout this thesis. The researcher considered Genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators as a major study population and as a special social category for this study because of two factors: Rwanda's past—the genocide against Tutsi—and post genocide process of restoring deeply fractured relationship—reconciliation. However, one key point needs to be noted: the two groups do not live on separate hills and do not have socially (marked) distinctive features. The other point centers on reference of the genocide against Tutsi throughout this thesis. Whereas in question was undeniably targeting Tutsi, references such as the Rwanda genocide, the Rwandan genocide, 1994 genocide are not only misleading, they can unknowingly or deliberately feed into genocide

denial. The officially accepted term in Rwanda is the genocide against Tutsi. This researcher refers to this terminology henceforth.

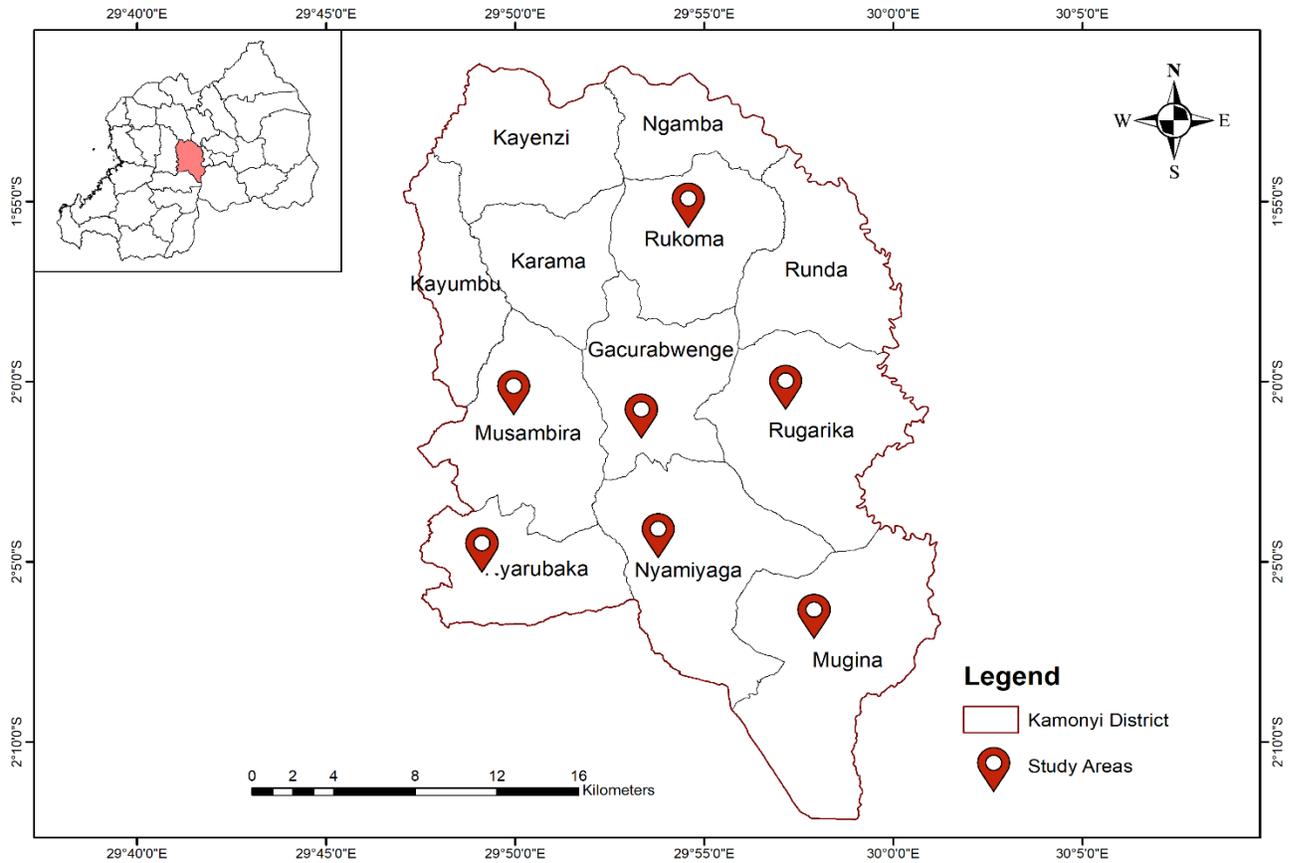


Figure 3.1: Map of Rwanda showing Kamonyi District

Source: Researcher (2018)

3.3. Study Population

The study population for this study are former genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors in Kamonyi District, Rwanda. These are two principal respondents for the study. Any study focusing on reconciliation and sustainable peace in Kamonyi District has to consider these two special social categories based on their specific demographic characteristic—genocide perpetration and genocide victimization. The remaining population study category comprised of

(14) : Executive members of Kamonyi District, Executive Director of Christian Action for Reconciliation and Social Assistance (CARSA), Executive Secretary for National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, Senior Members of Rwanda Academy of Language and Culture, Director of Girinka Program from Rwanda Agriculture Board, Author and Senior Member of Rwanda Elders Advisory Council, Senior of Rwanda Catholic Church and Author on Rwanda's History. Out of 14 people the researcher planned to interview through SSI, 10 responded favourably. This category of the study population was purposively considered based on its specific roles, knowledge and expertise in issues of reconciliation processes, Girinka and Rwanda's history.

3.4. Sampling Techniques and Sample Size

To determine reconciliation process, State and non-state actors (RAB and CARSA) involving in Girinka program paired a genocide survivor and former genocide perpetrator as a guiding principle for receiving a cow. Through this mechanism, each pair—a genocide survivor and former genocide perpetrator receive a cow from either CARSA or RAB. The latter is a government agency for coordination of Girinka in Rwanda while the former is a community based peacebuilding Non-Governmental Organization that has spearheaded Girinka in Kamonyi District. Whereas CARSA initiates the cow-giving, the revolving process between cow-givers and cow-receivers is respected because of cultural and relational enriching aspects in Rwanda.

This criterion was deemed effective as the two groups share and co-own the cow despite their varying experience of genocide against Tutsi. In view of the above, guided by pairing principle the researcher applied cluster sampling technique to 300 respondents to determine who should be given the questionnaire while the remaining 14 were sampled purposively based on earlier noted

roles and knowledge. Cluster sampling technique was done as per respondent's age, marital status, and education to get 314 respondents. That is to say, $150 \times 2 = 300$ respondents from principal study respondents and 14 from secondary study population category.

It is important to underscore the following: while the earlier reports on genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi enriched the researcher's knowledge of the sample, its quantitative figure did not inform the total sample size of the study. However, it enriched the clustering process in terms of age, gender, marital status, education levels and so forth.

3.4.1. Determining the sample size

According to the National Consensus of Genocide Survivors done by the National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda (2008), Kamonyi has 12,980 genocide survivors (female: 7,890, Male: 5090). Similarly, the Report for the former National Service of Gacaca Courts, termed "Report on the Activities of the Gacaca Courts" (2012) puts the total of former Genocide Perpetrators in Kamonyi as 57,816 (female:1,787 and male:56,029). Important to note is also is that the number of males who participated in genocide outweighs for females. Numerically, male actively participated in genocide than female counterparts. As shall be elaborated in Chapter four, male respondents were 63.3% while female respondents were 36.7% as per quantitative findings. While gender factor was considered in selecting the sample size, the overriding sample selection criterion was pairing—a criterion that guided the cow-giving process in Kamonyi District.

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The principle of pairing genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators was deemed effective for selection of people population to be sampled and sample size as the two groups share and co-own the cow despite their varying experience of genocide against Tutsi. In view of the above, guided by pairing principle the researcher applied cluster sampling technique to 300 respondents to determine who should be given the questionnaire while the remaining 14 were sampled purposively based on earlier noted roles and knowledge. Cluster sampling technique was done as per respondent's age, marital status, and education to get 314 respondents. That is to say, $150 \times 2 = 300$ respondents from principal study respondents and 14 from secondary study population category.

It is important to note the following: while the earlier reports on genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi enriched the researcher's knowledge of the sample, its quantitative figure did not inform the total sample size of the study. However, it enriched the clustering process in terms of age, gender, marital status, education levels and so forth.

3.5. Data Collection Techniques and Procedure

To get data, the researcher collected primary data from the targeted study area. However, secondary data was collected to provide supplementary support to the collected literature. Examples of secondary data studied include books, reports, journal articles, online materials and newspaper material and articles several thematic areas such as Girinka Reconciliatory Approach

in the pre-colonial Rwanda and this influenced building sustainable peace. The data collection tools were used per the study category based on its envisaged capacity to generate reliable, and valid and verifiable research findings (read the next section). In total, three data collection tools were used: Semi-Structured Interview, Content Analysis and Questionnaire.

3.5.1. Semi-Structured Interviews

Semi-Structure Interview Technique (SSI) is designed for interviewing the elite (Bangwanubusa, 2009). This technique is largely applied to people who are accustomed to efficient use of their time (Bernard, 2000). SSI is recommended for this study for three major reasons: Firstly, this data collection technique, according to Bernard (2000) was applied to respondents, specifically the elites whose time tends to be scarce. According to Bangwanubusa, SSI technique is appropriate to busy people susceptible to abstraction. According to Bangwanubusa (2009), SSI is used to situations where the time for collecting data from any single respondent is constrained. In this case, it provides the respondents with opportunity to summarize their views. The third rationale for opting this technique was from Bernard it provides the researcher with "full control of what you want from the interview but it leaves you and your respondent to follow new leads," (Bernard 2000:191). According to Bangwanubusa (2009), the SSI technique provides the interviewer with latitude to explore in his own way matters relating to his research.

Guided by the foregoing views, the researcher administered SSI to collect data from the leaders of institutions—National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC), Kamonyi District, Christian Action for Reconciliation and Social Assistance (CARSA), Rwanda Academy of Language and Culture (RALC), Director of Girinka Program from Rwanda Agriculture Board,

Rwanda Elders Advisory Council (REAC) and retired Senior of Rwanda Catholic Church and Author on Rwanda's History. Realities on ground reflected scholarly viewed stated earlier—time was one the major constraining factor especially for this category. Most of them being of advanced age, getting responses from them required patience. The rationale for applying SSI was based on the respondent's role in promoting Girinka reconciliation approach and peacebuilding, their expertise and knowledge of Rwanda's history and culture. In view of this, at least 10 out of 14 respondents were subjected to SSI.

1.5.2. Questionnaires

Rea & Parker (2014) defined a questionnaire as is a research instrument consisting of a series of questions and other prompts for the purpose of gathering information from respondents. Choosing the use of Questionnaires was based on what Judith Nasimiyu Mandillah (2017) qualified as practical and provision of space to collect large amount of information from a large group of people. The results obtained from questionnaire were quantified and analyzed scientifically. In view of the foregoing statement, specifically, factor of larger group of people raised by Judith Nasimiyu, this technique was applied to genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators (300) of Kamonyi District. To maximize the quality of Questionnaire, the researcher submitted the Questionnaire to Rwanda Governance Board (RGB) for internal review and approval before provision of research permit to the researcher. RGB is the custodian of all research on homegrown solutions in Rwanda. Given the fact this category does not use English, the Questionnaire to be administered was subjected to review and translation from English to Kinyarwanda language.

3.5.3 Content Analysis

According Déo Byanafashe and Paul Rutayisire's, 'Rwandan History', "the written documents occupy an important place in Rwanda's historical memory," (2016:13). However, it is important to acknowledge the fact that "written historical documentation only began with the colonial occupation in the last quarter of the nineteenth," (2016:13). Most of the information and knowledge about Rwanda is either in annals of history in colonial master's libraries or silently deposited in heads of very elderly Rwandans (tacit knowledge).

Further, acknowledging that Cow-giving (Girinka) dates back the pre-colonial Rwanda, systematic review of documentary resources, specifically on Girinka practices and how it fostered reconciliation and building peace amongst Rwandans was undertaken. As Rwandan History Publication (2016) stressed written documents, ethnographic and linguistic sources deserve to be given special mention for their historical contribution to Rwanda's post genocide reconciliation processes. An exploratory review of historical documentary/written sources was conducted to determine how Girinka practice nurtured and strengthened the traditionally perceived unbreakable inter-ethnic social bonds and social pacts. Rwandans of all walks of life cited historical narratives relating to deeper social bonds and pacts between Rwandans. Published anecdotal evidence and empirical evidence was reviewed to enrich this research. If this is the case, how would an ethnic based genocide take place? The table below provides a summarized picture of what we discussed earlier.

Table 3.2: Summary of population category, sample size, Sampling technique and Data Collection Techniques.

Population category	Size/Number	Sampling Technique	Sample size	Data Collection technique
Former genocide perpetrators	57,816	Cluster sampling	150	Questionnaire
Genocide survivors	12,980	Cluster sampling	150	
Total number of principal respondents			300	
Others (purposively selected)	14	Purposive	10	
Mayor of Kamonyi District	2	Purposive	1	SSI
Executive Director and one Senior Member of Christinan Action for Reconciliation and Social Assistance (CARSA),	2	Purposive	2	SSI
Executive Secretary for National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC)	1	Purposive	1	SSI
Executive Director and Director of Culture, Academy of Language and Culture	2	Purposive	2	SSI
Senior Member of Rwanda National Council of Elders(Senator)	2	Purposive	1	SSI
Director in Charge of Girinka, Rwanda Agricultural Board	1	Purposive	1	SSI
Senior Members of Rwanda Catholic Church	2	Purposive	1	SSI
Rwanda Elders Advisory Council (REAC)	2	Purposive	1	SSI
Total sampled population for the study			310	

Source: Reseacher (2018)

3.6. Reliability and Validity of Research Instruments

Saunders et al, (2007), defined reliability as the consistency of measurement as frequently assessed using the test–retest reliability method. Further, Saunders *et al.*, continued to argue that reliability is increased by including many similar items at a measure, by testing a diverse sample of individuals and by using uniform testing procedures.

To test reliability of the instrument, the Questionnaire was piloted in Bugesera District of Eastern Region. This is a district where Girinka is applied for the same purpose as Kamonyi and it also suffered intensified genocide. Before administering the Questionnaire in Kinyarwanda was subjected to critical review by a team of 6 research assistants who have been monitoring and conducting research on Girinka and Reconciliation in Kamonyi and Muhanga Districts of Rwanda. The team uncovered unacceptable Kinyarwanda terminologies which were later rectified. For instance, the word—*abacitse k'icumu*—meaning genocide survivors was rectified to *abarokotse jenocide y'akorewe abatutsi muri 1994*(meaning survivors of 1994 genocide against Tutsi).

Further, to ensure the quality of the research tools is maximized, the researcher subjected the Questionnaire to 5 people twice with the view of determining the extent to which some respondents quelled some unclear questions in the questionnaire. Key questions raised included use of genocide perpetrator which was later rectified to read as former genocide perpetrators. The use of former genocide perpetrators was more rehumanizing than genocide perpetrators.

They also provided insightful feedback on timing the process of administering the questionnaire, which eventually led to changing the questionnaire from hardcopy format to smart-phone, Ipad enabled software. Administering the Questionnaire in Ipad enabled software helped in not only

collecting in expedient manner but generating data electronically thus enhancing accuracy, reliability and validity. Noteworthy, the piloting of the questionnaire enriched in determining the relevance of the study variables and sub-variable. For instance, the complexity of Girinka restoring sustainable trust was identified early during the Questionnaire piloting process in Bugesera District. The team upon which the Questionnaire was piloted identified leaving one's child under another person's care permanently for the sake of establishing sustainability of trust was not culturally worthy and the team suggested how to reformulate the statement in a culturally appropriate terms. The reliability and validity of the Semi-Structured Interview was conducted on one person of advanced age purposively picked from Kigali, Rwanda's capital city.

As for James P. Key (1997) specifically in his work, *Research Design in Occupational Education*, he approached reliability of research instrument from the point where the instrument in question yields the same results on repeated trials. He emphasized, in scientific research, accuracy in measuring is of great importance. Noticeable view of James P. Key centers on his argument about precisions and imprecision on values assigned to mental attributes and physical attributes in social sciences. Cognizant of these differences and acknowledging that mental attributes can never be completely precise, he recommended that the imprecision can be too small and ignorable of its minimal implications. He emphasized that in social sciences and humanities, it is very important to that the researcher determines the reliability of the data gathering instruments to be used.

Kothari, (2004) defined validity as ability of a research tool to measure what it is intended to measure. In view of this, the ongoing study considered content validity approach to determine whether or not the chosen variables and sub-variables cover key elements of sustainable reconciliation in Rwanda. To ensure content validity, two critical activities were done: firstly, the

design of the research instruments were informed by the study objectives and research questions. Secondly, the design of the research instruments based on key thematic areas, specifically, the key variables and sub-variables for independent, dependent and intervening variables. Thirdly and most importantly, the research instruments (Questionnaire and Semi-Structured Interviews) were subjected to systematic review and critique by experts and people with relevant knowledge of Girinka practices, reconciliation and Rwandan history as a whole.

3.7. Data Analysis and Presentation

Invariably, empirical analysis preceded the drawing of conclusions and recommendations of the study. In other words, recommendations to inform improvement in policy, scholarly research in Kamonyi District and Rwanda as a whole are drawn in chapter seven. According to Judith Nasimiyu Mandillah (2017) data analysis is the process of assessing obtained data through analytical and logical reasoning. The process of data analysis encompasses gathering, reviewing and then logical analysis to establish conclusions from which recommendations are made (Judith Nasimiyu Mandillah, 2017).

The start point for data analysis tends to attract scholarly debates. Some argue that data analysis starts early enough at the literature review stage. The research agrees with this view. As for Ezechiel Sentama, “data analysis began early—during data collection, where the results of early data analysis guided subsequent data collection,” (2009:10). Quoting Leedy and Ormrod (2001), Sentama further stressed that “data analysis was therefore iterative, recursive and dynamic,” (2009:10). This research was consisted of two data analysis methods: qualitative and quantitative analysis. The empirical data was analyzed qualitatively in the form of texts, themes and ideas from the respondents. This will entail classifying, comparing, combining empirical material

(Rubin and Rubin, 2005) from the research instruments to effectively draw coherent analysis, conclusions and recommendations). Put simply, key qualitative responses from respondents are presented verbatim and for analysis and emphasis. Further, respondent's views were extremely weighty thus required to be put as they in Kinyarwanda and later translated them in English. However, Powell and Renner, (2003) observed that there is no single way of analyzing qualitative data. Quantitative data will also be analyzed using statistics such as frequencies and percentages. The researcher will present data findings in form of frequency tables, and narratives. Noteworthy, in this study the two—qualitative and quantitative data analysis and presentations—shall be mutually reinforcing.

3.8. Limitations of the Study

According to Orodho, (2004) limitation are [foreseeable] aspects of the study which may adversely affect the results of the study and the researcher has no direct control over. Given the sensitivity of the study in pursuit, one likely limitation of the study was that some targeted respondents were unwilling to respond. To overcome this limitation, the researcher used the Christian Action for Reconciliation and Social Assistance (CARSA) to introduce to the targeted respondents for confidence building and familiarization between the researcher and the respondents. All the respondents to the research Questionnaire are beneficiaries of Girinka under CARSA. Therefore administering the Questionnaire with the support of CARSA paved the ground for this research.

Another limitation was linguistic. All Rwandans use Kinyarwanda yet the research instruments had been formulated in English. To respond to this challenge, the Questionnaire and other research instruments were translated from English to Kinyarwanda for ease of understanding.

The researcher had to subject the translated research instruments to reliability and validity test which required review, rectification and matching.

Finally, the research was constrained by time. As a response to this, the Research Assistants were hired, trained for two days to familiarize themselves with research objectives and research sites and set research questions. This team was very instrumental as they reviewed, critiqued and improved the Kinyarwanda version of the Questionnaire before administering to the respondents. Most importantly, these research assistants mastered the research sites and potential respondents. This mastery became an asset for the researcher.

The Month of April tends to be rainy in Rwanda. This made travels deep into villages, Cells and Sectors of Kamonyi District very difficult. This required administering the Questionnaire in the afternoons after rains have subsided. Through established networks with local authorities, mainly Cell leaders, the Research Assistants gathered respondents in one site and administered the questionnaire at once for convenience. The researcher hired two four Wheel Drive cars to enable access to muddy areas.

3.9. Ethical considerations

The topic under study was a sensitive topic considering two major issues; first it was the genocide against Tutsi and its responses (reconciliation). Secondly, one of the research sub-variables touched on the ideologically and socially constructed ethnicity (Tutsi, Hutu and Twa), yet this tends to be a social and legal taboo in the post genocide Rwanda. Ethnicity contributed to identification of those to be slaughtered or spared during the 1994 genocide against Tutsi. In fact, Rwandan constitution forbids use of ethnic labels for the sake of rebuilding Rwandaness/collectiveness. However, given how ethnicity was deeply involved in Rwanda's

upheavals, it is nearly impossible to separate any scholarly oriented discussions of reconciliation between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators without alluding to ethnicity in Rwanda. Stressing this as a critical ethical challenge encountered during the doctoral research on a topic touching on genocide and peace-building, Sentama observed:

In Rwanda, nowadays, it appears politically unacceptable to publicly use ‘ethnic’ labels in reference to people, such as Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa, with the risk of being treated as divisionist—sowing division in the Rwandan community. But this seems controversial, given that while the Rwandan constitution emphasizes Rwandans (instead of ethnic labels), the 1994 genocide is described as the genocide against Tutsi people, (2009:19)

The topic touching on reconciliation between survivors and perpetrators of 1994 genocide against Tutsi needs to be approached with requisite care, sensibilities and research rigor. To effectively undertake such a study, it requires not only a mastery of research protocols and presentation of required administrative papers, but also consider what Bernard (2000:2001) stated as being "responsible for what is done with that information and you must protect people from becoming emotionally burdened for having talked to you." In view of this, the researcher subjected the research tool—the Kinyarwanda questionnaire—to prior review by a team of research assistants who were familiar with the context of the research sites and target respondents. For example, whereas the use of the word “*Uwacitse ku icumu*” was assumed by the researcher to mean a genocide survivor, this was identified as extremely offensive to respondents and was appropriately replaced by *uwarokotse genocide yakorewe Abatutsi* (still meaning a genocide survivor).

Both words operatively mean the same thing, but the former was deemed contextually found inappropriate. Subjecting the questionnaire to systematic peer review, helped to identify, refine

and adjust words which would have been otherwise offensive to respondents. However, this process did not prejudice researcher's intended purpose but instead enhanced the quality of the research tool. To avert potential issues with administrators of the research sites, the researcher obtained a letter from the Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology which enabled the researcher get a Research Permit from Rwanda Governance Board (RGB). The latter is the line Government institution responsible for issuing such Research Permits on Homegrown Initiatives in Rwanda (see copies herewith attached).

3.10. Chapter Summary

The chapter entailed the research designed to be used in collecting data. It also consisted of study population, study area, rationale for choosing this area, sampling technique used and the sample size. The instruments used for data collection were described in detail and how they were tested for validity and reliability. The chapter discussed how data was analyzed. Noteworthy, the two methods of analyzing data—qualitative and quantitative—are herein noted as mutually reinforcing.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE NATURE OF GIRINKA RECONCILIATION APPROACH IN RWANDA

4.0. Introduction

This section presents the demographic findings of the whole research. Determination of the demographic facts related to the study was crucial especially on a scholarly undertaking about Girinka reconciliation approach and how it promotes sustainable peace in post genocide Rwanda. Therefore, the respondent's age, gender, age distribution, marital status, education level, occupation and special categories were critical for the study. Each of this demographic factor has a direct relationship with the genocidal violence that took place in Kamonyi District, Rwanda.

Delving into demographic dynamics of Kamonyi Districts provided an ample understanding of how each demographic category promotes Girinka Reconciliation Approach for realization of Sustainable Peace. The study objective—to understand the nature of Girinka—guided the forthcoming analysis and discussions.

4.1 Demographic Information

Determining the demographic facts about study respondents cannot be overemphasized (at least in view of the research on reconciliation after genocidal violence). The demographic information of the respondents was grouped in terms of gender, age, highest level of education attained, occupation and special social categories of respondents. The latter study related to the Kamonyi's past: genocide against Tutsi and its social consequence: creating social category of genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators.

4.1.1 Gender of the Respondents

Determining the gender of the respondents was vital in many ways. First, as earlier indicated,

there is causal relationship between the genocide against Tutsi and gender based violence. Therefore, it was important to understand gender-based facts about Girinka Reconciliation Approach and peacebuilding in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. The results are presented in Table 4.1.1

Table 4.1: Gender of the respondents

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Male	190	63.3
Female	110	36.7

Source: Researcher (2018)

From the quantitative evidence, figure above, 63.3% (190) were male and 36.7% (110) were female. Empirically, majority respondents were male (63.3%). Whereas respondents confirmed that gender was considered in cow-giving process, the researcher did not establish the number of female recipients of cows compared to males in Kamonyi. Inclusion of 30% of females in any programmatic activity in post genocide Rwanda is a mandatory constitutional requirement. Translating legal and policy requirement into practice has been adhered to by state and non-state actors—planners, policy and programme implementers and local authority monitors and enforcers of government policies, programmes and laws. Translation of policy and legal instruments into practice aside, Rwanda’s post-genocide operative context required female Rwandans to step forward and rebuild a fractured country. Many female Rwandans had lost their husbands, their brothers, uncles and were left with roles that were formerly assigned to male counterparts. Citing Gil (2003) J.Öjendal *et al.*, (2017) affirmed the above statement, noting that:

The role of women in post-conflict Rwanda may have been structurally altered by the genocidal experience and its aftermath...most of them have been compelled to

give up their traditional roles assigned by the patriarchal construction of hierarchies, and started replacing their fathers, brothers, and husbands to ensure the survival of their families and the community. Since then, they have been actors in the reconciliation process (Öjendal *et al.*, (2017:62).

The fact that majority of the respondents are male is instructive given the active role of male in the implementation of the genocidal project in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. However, females also participated in planning and perpetration of the genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda. The viciousness of some female genociders was recorded by Bamboriki Edouard's *My Son, It is A Long Story: Reflections of Genocide Perpetrators* (2017). Whereas male compared to their female counterparts actively participated in the genocide against Tutsi more intensely, the role of females in promoting reconciliation cannot be underestimated. Female's contribution in rebuilding Rwanda after genocide is on record world-over. Rwanda boasts as the country where the number of female parliamentarians outweigh male parliamentarians. Females Rwandans have played a critical role in peacebuilding and peacekeeping missions inside and outside Rwanda. Analyzing gender aspects of peacebuilding in post genocide Rwanda, Öjendal *et al.*, (2017) referred women participation in Gacaca courts in Rwanda and made observed that women played a vital role in rebuilding post genocide Rwanda than they did prior to the genocide against Tutsi. Most reviewed literature confirmed the foregoing view. For instance, quoting Lorentzen (2016:1), Öjendal *et.*, (2017: 62):

Women participated in the general assemblies, they appeared as witnesses, defendants or claimants, but they were also judges, presidents and secretaries of gacaca courts. This has led several observers to argue that the gacaca process contributed to empowering many women in Rwandan society

In his book, *from Genocide to Generosity* (2015) Steward documented transformative stories of incredible women who forgave their tormentors and championed the healing, forgiveness, reconciliation after genocide in rural parts of Rwanda.

In John Steward's book, one notices two interwoven stories—women who have been transformed and transformative stories steered by women themselves. Steward, an Australian who worked with World Vision Rwanda immediately after genocide, acknowledged witnessing women traumatized by genocide recovering and transforming into active citizens:

“While participating in my first healing workshop in Rwanda, I watched a miraculous transformation occur within the emotional mindset of a somber young woman named Drusilla. Over the nine days of the healing workshop, Drusilla had neither smiled nor frowned, and her mouth barely moved when she spoke (John Steward, 2015:xv)

According to Steward, Drusilla, had lived in self-pity, spirit of self-condemnation for having stopped her brother from fleeing the genocide to Burundi, and died the following day. Testimonies of female genocide survivors are laced with harrowing stories of self-denial, anger, hatred and so forth. Drusilla is one of the million survivors of genocide who by sheer luck stumbled on healing workshop of World Vision. To illustrate transformational change, Steward used testimonial revelations of women and females who underwent through healing programmes as pieces of anecdotal evidence. For instance, he cited a lady names Deborah: “An educated woman of profound faith, Mama Deborah became a passionate advocate for forgiveness and reconciliation, taking every opportunity to tell her story,” (John Steward, 2015:91). Female respondents confirmed how Girinka has transformed their livelihoods and triggered positive relations with their former tormentors:

“Myself, I never talked to the man who tormented me. I never even dared greeting him. But today, whenever I go inspect the cow's life, we engage in casual conversations and discuss many issues even those relating to those that happened to us, (a female genocide survivor, Cell Bihembe, Sector Rugarika, Kamonyi District, 17th April 2018).

4.1.2: Distribution of Respondents by Age

The study sought to establish the age bracket of the respondents. The determination of the

respondent's age was guided by the researcher's need to know at what age the respondents were during the 1994 genocide and thus determine reliability and believability of the respondent's responses relating to 1994 genocide—what happened, why and how it happened in Rwanda—such truthful recounting of the past is critical for effective restoration of positive relations and building sustainable peace for the present and future generations in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. Chapter two (2.2.1) and chapter five (5.1) delved into this sub-variable in great detail.

Table 4.2: Respdendent's Age

Age Bracket	Frequency	Percent
24-39 years	21	7.0
40-54 years	88	29.3
55-69 years	163	54.3
Above 70 years	28	9.3

Source: Resarcher (2018)

From the results obtained, majority of the respondents 54.3% (163), specifically, the survivors of genocide against Tutsi and former genocide perpetrators were in the age bracket of 56-69 years. This means, by 1994, this category was between 31 and 45 years of age. Most Rwandans in this age bracket were active members of the Rwandan society. With exceptions of fewer cases of heroic actions, majority in this age bracket amongst former genocide perpetrators actively participated in the genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda. What is worth emphasizing, the Genocide against Tutsi did not spare Tutsi based on age—after all, the intention was to exterminate the entire ethnic group regardless of their age.

Considering the above demographic revelation, this is the most crucial category in as far as promoting reconciliation and building sustainable peace in Kamonyi District. Two major reasons stand out: First, they have knowledge of Rwanda's history, specifically the genesis and evolution of genocide against Tutsi. Arguably if they make conscious decision of sincerely recounting the past through healing truth, for instance, by utilizing Girinka-enabled truth-telling platforms, prioritizing *NdumunyaRwanda* over ethnic divisions, forgiveness over vengeance, this category can effectively influence the present and the future of Kamonyi by promoting efforts of building sustainable peace.

Linked on the above, this category has fresh memories of the past hence they are (supposedly) assumed to have drawn valuable lessons from malfeasances of the past to inform process for the realization of sustainable peace in Kamonyi District through fostered unity, reconciliation and peaceful co-existence.

The second reason resides in the impacts they can contribute in influencing young generations to desist destructive ideologies, discriminative policies, negative worldviews such as ethnic stereotyping, othering among others. Most people in age bracket (55 and 69 years) are either parents or grand-parents (if all other factors are held constant). The role of parents in inculcating positive social values—conviviality, civility, tranquility and so forth for the greater societal harmony and peace cannot be overemphasized. The foregoing view is supported by Rwanda National Policy on Unity and Reconciliation (2007) emphasizing: “To inculcate the culture of peace, beginning with the family set up,” (p.13). Noteworthy, in retrospective, parents played a crucial role in planting the culture of hate in pre-genocide Rwanda as a whole and Kamonyi in particular.

At least 29.3% (88) of the respondents were in age bracket of 40-54 years whereas 9.3 % (28) were above 70 years while 7.0% (21) were in the age bracket 24-39 years. Also, of interest is 29.3% (88) who are in the age bracket of 40-54 years. By 1994, this category was aged between 16 and 30 years. This category exhibit two sides—destructive and constructive depending on their orientation and socio-economic status. This research emphasizes the constructive orientation.

State and non-state actors, specifically peacebuilders have noted the destructive nature of uneducated and unproductive youths. As cited by Bangwanubusa Theogene, (2009), Rwanda's President Paul Kagame in the Inaugural Lecture at Nigeria War College, remarked: "the uneducated and unemployed youth, without income and with no bright future, are potential candidates for inciting and practicing violence," (p.21). This view has a wider scholarship support. As per Rwanda's definition of youth, the above quantitative figure (29.3%) (88) of the respondents were youth in 1994. Although this study does not cover the role of the youth in the 1994 genocide, it is worth noting that this category played a significant role in the implementation of the genocide project. Also, the researcher was not interested in determining how youth drive Girinka Reconciliation Approach in Kamonyi because this category would have scanty knowledge of Rwanda's past: genocide. Worth emphasis however, youth in Kamonyi District and entire post genocide Rwandan society exhibit potential for driving Girinka reconciliation approach forward. This is widely supported by Never Again Rwanda, a non-government peacebuilding organization focusing on youth after 1994 genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda.

4.1.3. Respondent's Marital Status

The marital status of respondents is critical especially in the context of promoting recovery from genocidal violence and forging ahead through Girinka Reconciliation Approach and Sustainable Peace. Understanding the marital status of the respondents is vital based on Rwanda's genocidal history where gender based violence was highly pronounced. There was a causal relationship between gender based violence and genocidal violence in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. This view is strongly corroborated by collections of testimonies of genocide perpetrators in Edourd Bamboriki's Book (2017) and a host of others.

In fact, rape was used as a genocidal weapon to emotionally dehumanize and disfigure female Tutsi during the genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda. Literature on genocide studies concur with the foregoing view—the causal relationship between rape as a gender-based violence and genocide. Conversely, the researcher sought to establish how Girinka enables inter-marriage between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District. Inter-marriage between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators (in view of the vicious of genocidal violence) can be one of the major pointers of the level of restored social relationships in post genocide Kamonyi District of Rwanda. Has cow-sharing enabled inter-marriages between genocide survivors and former genocide survivors? To note, the higher the rate of inter-marriages between former adversaries, the higher the inter-ethnic connections and the greater the potentialities for building a united post genocide Kamonyi District and Rwanda as a whole.

Table 4.3: Marital Status

Marital Status	Frequency	Percent
Single	11	3.7
Married	181	60.3
Divorced	12	4.0
Widow/wer	84	28.0
Married with genocide survivor/former genocide perpetrator	12	4.0

Source: Resarcher (2018)

Majority 60.3% (181) of our respondents are married, according to the research findings. This empirical finding is in tandem with National Census which revealed that majority Rwandans (86.5%) are married (National Institute of Statistics, 2014:20). However, this study did not test whether married couples are more predisposed to promoting Girinka reconciliation and sustainable peace in Kamonyi District or not. Also, quantitative evidence revealed, 28% (84) of the respondents were widow/er. Whereas the researcher did not ask whether 28% (84) were genocide widow/ers, responses of losing a wife or a husband during the genocide featured constantly in the questionnaire qualitative part. However, it is a general known fact in Kamonyi and Rwanda that genocide claimed many men compared to females and this was part of the genocidal intent. This intent to exterminate an intire Tutsi gains scholarly support if viewed from the definitional perspective of genocide as outlined in the Genocide Convention of 1948.

Further, 4 % (12) of the respondents were divorced, 4% (12) were either married with genocide survivor or a former genocide perpetrator and single respondents were 3.7% (11). From the

above figures, four points are worthy of noting. First, 4% (12) of the respondents—former genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors in Kamonyi District of Rwanda confirmed they are intermarried. This empirical revelation is instructive given the earlier noted viciousness of genocide, gender-based genocidal violence and the weight associated with transcending such genocidal past. According to National Reconciliation Barometer—a document which states the level of reconciliation in Rwanda, “5.7% of Rwandans, fairly agreed that they can marry or be married by somebody with whom they do not share the same social category—like ethnicity, region and religion,” (2015:106).

Kubera Girinka, ubu dutahirana ubukwe. Mbere cyaraziraga—rwose byari byarashyutse. Rwose byari kirazira. English translation: Because of Girinka, we attend other’s wedding functions. Before, it was unfindable. It was completely forbidden (a respondent, Masaka Cell, Sector Rugarika, 16th April 2018).

These revelations, are also scholarly intriguing in view of Linda Melvin’s recall: “those who died in the massacres were killed in the most atrocious and cruel circumstances by the local population,” (2000:17). Responses indicative of transformative process from the past characterized by loneliness, bitterness, sadness and erratic emotional outbursts to cooperative and mutual understanding between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators were outstandingly high. This is in line with John Lederach’s Conflict Transformation Theory (1997).

Whereas 4%(12) appears to be statistically insignificant, in view of the earlier noted viciousness of genocide (see Linda Melven, 2000:17) and complexities associated with genocidal recovery, this percentage (4%) is not merely a statistical figure but a reflection of resilience of the two categories, foundational steps towards sustainable peace through Girinka Reconciliation Approach in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. However, stories of healed genocide survivors

confirmed the complexity and difficulty of moving toward their former genocide tormentors through truth-seeking, forgiveness, trust among other challenging undertakings. Generated qualitative evidence in form of verbatim quotations in the chapters ahead highlight the heaviness associated with such processes.

4.1.4. Education Levels

The education level was considered as a key factor because of its influence on choices people make during extreme situations like desisting genocide or positively responding to post-genocide reconciliation and peacebuilding processes. There is untested general census in Rwanda that minimal or lack of analytical skills exposed ordinary masses to manipulative planners of genocide hence actively engaging unsuspecting citizens in the the implementation of genocide project in Kamonyi District. This study did not seek to test the foregoing view.

Table 4.4. Education Levels

Level of education	Frequency	Percent
No school	77	25.7
Primary	190	63.3
Post primary Vocational training	27	9.0
Secondary	5	1.7
College education/University Degree	1	0.3

Source: Researcher (2018)

The findings of the study indicate that 63.3% (190) of the respondents had primary education, 25.7% (77) of the respondents had not attended any school, 9.0% (27) had post primary training, 1.7% (5) had secondary education while the remaining 0.3%(1) had college/ university degree.

Over 89% of respondents (primary schooled and non-schooled combined) in Kamonyi District had lowest capacity to analyze and resist manipulations from Rwandan political elites in 1994 genocide against Tutsis in Rwanda. Only 0.3% (1) had college/University education.

In hindsight, political elites planned the genocide against Tutsi and mobilized non-elite masses to implement the genocidal project. In Bangwanubusa's reasoning, such peasant farmers hardly possessed power to challenge those in power (2009:29). The analysis of Bhavnani and Backer (2000) as cited by Bangwanubusa (2009) are illustrative of how low analytical skills exacerbated by low education facilitated manipulations of unsuspecting peasants:

A common feature of all [genocidal] massacres is that they were preceded by political meetings during which a 'sensitization' process was carried out. These seemed to have been designed to put the local peasants 'in the mood' [...] These meetings were always presided over and attended by the local authorities with whom the peasants were familiar; but they also usually featured the presence of an 'important person' who would come from Kigali to lend the event an aura of added respectability and official sanction (see Bangwanubusa, 2009:29).

Whereas the researcher does not condone keeping citizens uneducated, drawing from active participation in genocide in Kamonyi District, arguably, it can be easier to re-orient masses in Kamonyi District and many other parts of Rwanda to promote reconciliation and peacebuilding processes. It is important to note that re-orientation the researcher means does not endorse idea of keeping the masses non-educated, vulnerable and gullible to manipulations by the politicians.

4.1.5. Respondent's Occupation

The respondent's occupation can influence the reconciliation and peacebuilding process in the post-genocide Kamonyi District. It is argued that genocide was planned, popularized through mass media by elites and effectively implemented by peasants. Reviewed literature indicated that successful reconciliation that can lead to sustainable peace should be supported by

understood and owned by people at the grassroots.

Table 4.5: Occupation

Occupation	Frequency	Percent
Farmer	289	96.3
Other	11	3.7

Source: Researcher (2018)

A staggering 96.3% (289) of the respondents were farmers while the remaining 3.7 % (11) were involved in other occupations. Being a farmer in the operative context of pre-genocide rural Rwanda meant low analytical skills, being uneducated, and higher levels of susceptibility to political manipulations of gullible citizens. The researcher intentionally preferred to use the term farmers as opposed to peasants. The former is more empowering whereas the latter is not only pejorative, but disempowering. Unknowingly, the label—peasant, is mostly used instead of farmers despite its demeaning characterization ascribed to Africans by colonialists.

Whereas we used the term farmers, operatively, most rural farmers in Kamonyi and Rwanda as a whole, are people with lower levels—education, incomes, foods and so forth. Considering the foregoing view, facts from literature corroborate the statistical (empirical) revelations above—there was closer relationship between low analytical capacity and farmer’s exposure to genocidal campaigns. In fact, majority perpetrators of genocide were poor farmers in Kamonyi and many Districts of Rwanda. Zorbas (2004:17) as cited by Bangwanubusa (2009) corroborated this view: During those 100 days in 1994, Tutsi and moderate Hutu were murdered mostly by their Hutu peasant neighbors and families,” (p.21). The writer pointed out that the genocide against Tutsi was made possible by the “overwhelming receptivity and yes-

response” of ordinary farmers (Bangwanubusa, 2009:23).

However, the writer does not indicate with specific clarity why the ‘yes–response’ was so pronounced in Rwanda in 1990s yet other African societies had poor peasants and never meted out genocidal violence to whomever they perceived as their enemies. Was the yes-attitude alluded to by the above researcher a geographical preserve of only Rwanda in 1990s? Arguably, the researcher can use the same line of reasoning to note that the success of any post genocide peacebuilding and development processes should be effectively understood and supported by farmers at the grassroots. In the context of Kamonyi, there is greater ownership of Girinka and the prior-preparatory encounter meetings (similar to the earlier cited ‘sensitizations’) were foundational steps to the process to Girinka Reconciliation Approach. For methodological effectiveness, the study categories the respondents to include special social categories (read the next section). This category is critical to Rwanda’s peacebuilding efforts.

4.1.6. Special Social Categories

This study is largely centered on two major categories referred to in this study as special social categories—the genocide survivor and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District. The two categories are also recipients of cows under Girinka programme. According to Ngabo Gasana, the National Coordinator of Girinka Programme in Rwanda Agricultural Board (RAB), giving cows to genocide survivors and former genocide survivors in Kamonyi District was a special case—piloting the fourth objective of the programme—Girinka.

Particularly, in Kamonyi District, cows are given to the genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators through the pairing process—meaning, a pair comprised of a genocide survivor and former genocide perpetrator was given one cow by the Government or a non-state

actor (CARSA), a non-profit organization to kick start the revolving process of cow-giving between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators. The Executive Director of CARSA, a community based Non-Governmental Organization which conducted the pre-preparatory encounter meetings observed that the pairing criterion was intentional as it ensured the paired people—genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators—not only collectively owned the cow, but consciously considered taking care of the received cow as a shared responsibility. The two categories fit into the earlier stated research objectives.

Table 4.6: Special social categories due to genocide against Tutsi

Social category	Frequency	Percent
Former genocide perpetrator	150	50
Survivor of 1994 genocide against Tutsi	150	50

Source: Researcher (2018)

At least 50% (150) were genocide survivors and 50% (150) former genocide perpetrators. The rationale for equalizing the response rate between the two special social categories due to genocide against Tutsi was informed by the earlier stated pairing criterion while giving cows to the two categories. One respondent remarked:

Mbere uwahemutse yabonaga uwakitse ku icumu agakwira imiswaro. Aariko ubu, turahura mukaramukanya, yewe tukanatebya. Translation in English: Before, when a former genocide perpetrator would see a genocide survivor coming, he would run away. But these days, we meet and even share jokes (A respondent, Cell Mugina, Sector Mugina, Kamonyi District, 20th April 2018).

Poking jokes between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators reveals the extent of friendliness between the two categories. As the citation above indicates, such shared sense of humour was unfindable after 1994 genocide against Tutsi.

4.2. Nature and Practices of Girinka in Rwanda

This section acts as the foundational basis for the proceeding chapters—chapter five, six and seven. The analysis under this section is based on the specific research objective one. Semi-Structured Interview guided the generation of findings under this objective. The section entailed an overview of Girinka in pre-colonial, colonial and post colonial periods in Rwanda. “These are most significant periods,” in Rwanda, NURC Report on History of Rwanda (2016:18) stressed.

In view of the above, it was important to note—some of the Girinka practices featured in each of the three important historical periods—pre-colonial, colonial and post colonial Rwanda, however, with varying significances. The value of Girinka during colonial period compared to pre-colonial one had been significantly altered and debased. In view of the foregoing, the researcher posed the following questions: Why Girinka and significance of cows considerably waned during colonial period? Empirical evidence observed, it was the colonizer’s intention to debase such culturally rooted practices, not only in Rwanda, but in most of colonized African societies. This question was partially answered by NURC Report on History of Rwanda (2016): “These periods—pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial—are covered by the historiography that is deeply controversial encompassing many unanswered questions,” (NURC, 2016: 17). Phillip Gouveritch, put it plainly, “Rwandan history is dangerous,” (1998:48). Based on the reviewed literature, the researcher concurred with Gouveritch’s affirmative remark above.

Against this background, why then Girinka re-emerged strongly after 1994 genocide as one of the homegrown solutions in Rwanda? Basing on the generated evidence—from reviewed literature and empirical findings—the researcher used two approaches in responding to the foregoing central question. Firstly, revisiting the nature and practices of Girinka in Rwanda’s pasts—pre-colonial and colonial periods to establish its unique value-adding practices in far as reconciliation and sustainable peace are concerned, notwithstanding the recorded controversy surrounding Rwanda’s recorded history (NURC, 2016:17). The second approach was contextualizing value-adding Girinka practices to Kamonyi’s post genocide reconciliation and peacebuilding processes. The researcher observed—as a peacepath, the present Girinka draws its origin and preminence from Rwanda’s pre-colonial period.

Justifying the revival of Rwanda’s homegrown solutions after genocide, the Executive Secretary of Rwanda National Unity and Reconciliation Commission confirmed the above: *Umuryango udusubira ibukuru ngo uzimure, urazimira*—translated in English as—“families and societies which do not revisit their past, perish,” (Fideli Ndayisaba, Executive Secretary, NURC, Field Data). This proverbial statement emphasized the centrality of basing post genocide interventions: Girinka Reconciliation Approach and a host of others, on resourceful cultural resources for peace from the past. It also reinforces the researcher’s central argument that culturally inspired homegrown approaches embody context-relevant peacebuilding values than classical peacebuilding approaches especially in post-genocide settings. Rwanda is one of the few African countries which revitalized historical and cultural resources for peace and economic recovery after the 1994 genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda.

Noteworthy, incisive discussions about Rwanda’s history, does not miss cows. Cows embodied significant socio-economic and political value in Rwanda’s history. It was therefore imperative

to establish the origin of cows from interviewed respondents. There are two schools of thought about the origin of cows in Rwanda, according to research findings generated from SSI. These are—historical and mystical school of thought. A mystical origin of something, refers to:

“A sophisticated intellectual way of explaining the origin or the existence of an important event, object or anything in the society to draw meaning out of it. People resort to mythical explanations for lack of better options. The biblical creation of man is an example of mystical origin of humanity,” (Priest Bernard Muzungu, stated, SSI, Kamonyi District, 1st May, 2018.)

Muzungu is a renowned priest, author, and scholar with indepth knowledge of Rwanda’s past. His scholarly work (doctoral studies in philosophy and theology) and publication of a series of books on Rwanda provided him with unique position to make analytically and philosophically grounded views on Rwanda’s past. For instance, his views such as the logical separation of mystical and historical explanations about the origin of cows confirmed his sound philosophical interrogation of Rwanda’s past, specifically, the origin of certain things and events. He observed, every natural phenomenon draws its origin from mystical explanation or factually-testable historical basis.

To this end, Muzungu emphasized, the origin of cows in Rwanda has two explanations—historical and mystical—whereas the latter is important, it lacks scientific and historical explanation in far as the origin of cows in Rwanda was concerned. Thus, attribution of origin of cows to King’s daughter, Nyirarucyaba at it appeared in literature, chapter two, was disqualified by proponents of historical school of thought, Muzungu inclusive. “Mystical explanation about the origin of cows is not a historical fact in Rwanda,” (Muzungu, SSI, Kamonyi District, 1st May, 2018).

The historical school of thought advanced by most learned elderly Rwandans attributed the origin of cows to Rwanda's creation by King Gihanga—the founder of Rwanda. This version is confirmed by recorded history in the reviewed literature, specifically by Rutayisire and Byanafashe's *Rwanda History* (2016). Besides Alex Kagame, the foregoing two authors key writers of Rwanda's history after 1994 genocide against Tutsi.

The proponents of the historical school of thought stressed three critical things—first, is creation of Rwanda by Gihanga, second the royal drum—associated with royal leadership ethos, and third, is the cows. Cows being the integral part of Kingdom could have been the plausible basis for linking it with Tutsi and ethnization of cows by post colonial political elites.

Howevermuch, the researcher established the origin of cows to be in Rwanda's Kingdom as attested by generated empirical evidence, there was no scientifically proven fact establishing the linkage between cows and Tutsi. Linking cows to Tutsi was a political strategy rather than a scientific fact. However, the two categories—learned and unlearned elderly Rwandans concurred with the view that all cows belonged to one man—*Umwami*—meaning Rwanda's King, and cows were a source of power, popularity and prosperity inside and outside the King's palace.

Whereas mystical origin of cows was identified to be deeply rooted in the psyche of many unlearned elderly Rwandans, learned Rwandan elders prefer the historical explanation because it is scientifically testable and traceable in most history resources—museums, books and tacit knowledge of few existing elderly Rwandans. The mystical explanations lacked documentary evidence rendering it to be scientifically unbelievable and undeterminable.

Nonetheless, two critical points need to be further recorded: First, much of Rwanda's history pre-dating pre-colonial times, for example, stories about legendary heroism, unimaginable victories,

King's expansion wars, taboos, values and vices are retold in intricate mystical terms. Secondly, mystical stories about Rwanda's pre-colonial times were deeply rooted in the belief systems of many unlearned elderly Rwandans and the researcher identified irreconcilable gap in terms of what is believed by unlearned elderly and researchable tacit knowledge in the minds of learned elderly Rwandans. Recognizing the two, the researcher's main focus was on the recorded and believable historical recounts about cows and Girinka practices in pre-colonial Rwanda as opposed to mystical and unrecorded stories.

Undeniably, much of Rwanda's socio-cultural values and practices that would be harnessed for building reconciliation, sustainable peace and development efforts by current generations was perceptibly rendered powerless and useless by 'civilizing colonialists' during the colonial era. One reviewed literature affirmed the foregoing view: "Missionaries and colonial authors [in Rwanda] were known for their ability to reconstruct and influence events, instead of reconstituting them" (History of Rwanda, NURC, 2016:17). This considered, it was therefore hard to determine the exact timelines and precision about the origin of cows and cow-giving amongst Rwandans.

Devaluing Rwanda's major events, cultural resources, valuable beliefs, systems were some of the colonial strategies of covertly disempowering the King. One respondent noted that mechanics of curtailing King's prosperity and popurity (power) did not always mean use of confrontational routes but underground decampaigns at every gained opportunity to access ordinary Banyarwanda and emerging elites by Missionaries and later colonialists. Some of the post genocide authors pointed out that writings of early missionaries contained virulent divisive messages of Joseph Arthur de Gobineau (1816-1882), Huston Stewart Chamberlin (1855-1927), George Vacher de Lapouge (1854-1882), Charles Darwin (1809-1882) among others to

Rwandans. Reviewed literature for instance IRDP Report (2006) and a host of others contained support evidence for the foregoing assertions.

4.2.1. Girinka Practices and Significances of Cows in Pre-Colonial Rwanda.

This section entails Girinka practices and significances of cows in pre-colonial Rwanda. Detailed knowledge of how Girinka practices were conducted in pre-colonial Rwanda and the socio-economic and cultural value of cows provided firmer foundation for the subsequent discussions. Cow for Friendship, Cow for Peace, Service for Cow and others constitute some of the Girinka practices in the forthcoming discussions. It was important to note—the romanticized recitals of the past among the nostalgic members of the respondents were treated as anecdotal evidence upon which empirical evidence was discerned, analyzed before confirming it.

4.2.1.1. Girinka Practices in Pre-colonial Rwanda.

One of the most pronounced Girinka practice in pre-colonial Rwanda was Cow for Friendship—*Inka y'Ubucuti*. None of the respondents did recall the origin of this practice, however. All elderly respondents emphasized that this practice was deeply rooted in Rwanda ancient times. Cow for Friendship meant actualizing blossoming friendship between two friends, families or clans and it served to externalize and cement friendships/relationship.

The process of giving and receiving *Inka y'Ubucuti* started by expressive promise to gift a cow, but the verbal expression to give a cow by a Rwandan to another carried deeper and stronger considerations and time-tested friendship between them. A social party involving families of the receiving and giving persons and their invited friends, neighbors would be organized.

Whereas the cow-recipient was required to bring forth pots of local brew to the party to celebrate cow-receiving party as a sign of gratitude, the cow-giver prepared local brew to complement the

former's efforts and resources. The party would be animated by oratory recitations, idioms, praises for cows and cultural dances. Wise men of the hill utilized such opportunities to impart culturally prized values such as humanism (*Ubuntu*), *Ubutwali* (Heroism), *Ubunyangamugayo* (integrity). The act of gifting a cow conveyed the giver's Ubuntu, a highly revered human value in Rwanda. In some instance, Girinka bears certain Ubuntu features. Whereas both are homegrown features and emphasize positive relationships, the two differ in scope and depth. By scope, Girinka is a Rwandan peacebuilding approach whereas Ubuntu is a philosophical approach to peacebuilding amongst African Bantu. Determining similarities and dissimilarities of the two approaches stretched the scope of this study.

In cow giving occasions under Cow for Peace, youngsters were required to learn and emulate from such commendable societal values and emulate moving forward for posterity. According to Senator Antoine Mugesera, "he who gave a cow to another was a person of reference in the society. The receiver of cow made oath of allegiance to his cow-giver—his master." By allegiance, the cow-received pledged never to disappoint his cow-giver (his master) for eternity. The cow acted as a seal of friendship, unbreakable bond and mutual respect. Citing the name of his cow-giver was expected to be the highest sign of commitment by the cow-receiver, and expression of utmost sincerity. For instance:

Whenever situations demanded to test the cow-receiver's sincerity, sometimes he would be asked to recite the oath of allegiance which required reciting the name of his cow-giver. Your master's name would not be mentioned anyhow. No one breached such oath of allegiance, (Senator Musegera Antoine, Member of Rwanda Elders Advisory Council, SSI, 6th May 2018, Rwanda).

Such culturally-centered practices die with the passage of time. How did the Cow for Friendship endure the test of time? From the foregoing views, it appeared as if the Cow for Friendship was a one-way-route (linear). According to Modest Nzanzabanganwa, from Rwanda Academy of

Languages and Culture, the family of the cow recipient carried the responsibility of reciprocating such honorable practice. He observed:

The receiving family was culturally obliged to reciprocate within a reasonable but undefined period of time in more or less similar fashion. In case the receiver of the cow died before reciprocating—returning good honor (*Kwitura* in Kinyarwanda), the surviving widow or the son carried forward the culturally binding responsibility to the family of the deceased. The act of cow-giving signified unbreakable relational bond between the cow-giver and the receiver for eternity. In situation of extreme happiness, the latter always said out loud his cow-giver's name—*kwirahira*—(loosely meaning, publically swearing out the giver's name)—as a sign of highest honor, (SSI, 30th April 2018, Rwanda).

The Cow for Friendship practice affirmed John Paul Lederach's theoretical framework which largely proposed improvement of relations between groups of people as pathways to building reconciled, peaceful communities and societies after violent behaviours. It further revealed the theoretical and empirical connections specifically through how it strengthened relationships, positive and reciprocal behaviours between the cow-giver and the cow-receiver in the pre-colonial Rwanda.

Whereas most literature about cows during colonial times tended to depict cows in ethnical prism, for instance, the cow's Tutsification effect, respondents noted cow-giving (Girinka) practice—Cow for Friendship transcended family-inscribed biases, inter-clan differences, and ethnic stereotypes but instead cemented friendship inter-connections and relationships. Being practiced at inter-personal and between groups rather than higher levels can be attributed to its survival of colonial uprooting. However, there were many cases when Umwami gifted herds of cows to his subjects.

The most controversial Girinka Practice identified through administered SSI was Service for Cows—*Inka y'Ubuhake*. This practice involved client and patron entering into a form of

contractual and reciprocal socio-economic relationship. In essence, Service for Cow (*Inka y'ubuhake*) involved the client—the cow-seeker through provision of menial service—and the cow-giver through receipt of service—the master.

“Myself I witnessed this practice in 1950s. You would be seated outside your glass-hatched house in the evening, and someone appears carrying a full pot of very delicious alcohol, accompanied by his friends. After sharing alcohol, the host would ask his guest to state the objective of his impromptu visit. He would stand up, ask to be considered as a client, be mentored and eventually be given a cow. The host would either accept instantly or ask the requestor for time to think about it. Eventually, he clarified certain menial services to the client that would enable him get a cow. This initiated a lifelong positive relationship between the client and the master (Senator Musegera Antoine, Member of Rwanda Elders Advisory Council, SSI, 6th May 2018, Rwanda).

All respondents qualified such arrangement as today’s employee and employer relationship even though the cow to pre-colonial Rwandans carried weightier socio-economic value than today’s money. Comparing cows in pre-colonial Rwanda with modern monetary value was repeated by all respondents. Reviewed literature indicated two diverging schools of thought about Service for Cow (*Ubuhake*). One schools of thought from reviewed literature qualified this practice to have been subjugating and exploitative and the other noted it as a mutually supportive socio-economic relationship between the cow-seeker (service-provider) and the cow-giver. Rwanda’s *Ubuhake* fits into what Francis (2008) qualified as Patron-clientilism—meaning:

“ A patronage network that binds both patron and the client together in a system of exchange in which the relationship is mutually beneficial—offering general or specific support and assistance, but at the same time the power, control and authority lie with the patron, (2008:10).

In line with Francis’s definition above, the cause of contention about *Ubuhake* in pre-colonial Rwanda mainly centered on concentrating decision-making power, authority and control on the

patron. Given that there was no any other mode of transaction in pre-colonial Rwanda and the cows carried weightier socio-economic value, this relational transaction between patrons and clients/subjects was susceptible to positive and negative interpretations.

Whereas most respondents affirmed their support to Service for Cows and largely emphasized its positives than negatives, the researcher established four major points worth noting: first, *Guhaka* (the verb from the noun *Ubuhake*) carries a demeaning message in today's operative *Kinyarwanda* (Rwanda's local language)—loosely meaning in English putting someone under subjugation. Secondly, *Guhaka* (Service for Cow) practice was banned by the King in 1952. The ban of *Ubuhake* by the King is a proof of how unbecoming the practice was in the operating context of Rwanda of 1950s.

Thirdly, whereas Patron-Client relationship was reciprocal, mutually supportive and based on voluntary will of each party, the researcher does not utterly dismiss the line of thinking qualifying the practice exploitative. Fourth, such master-subject relationship in pre-colonial eras without determinable and recorded (terms of reference) was largely prone to deadly social conflicts.

Importantly, the Service for Cow (*Ubuhake*) embodied conviviality between the master and client. It deepened friendship and closer relationships between the master and client. Put simply, *Ubuhake* reflect love-hate relationships between the master and client. This noted, it carried two sides: conviviality and controversy. Lastly and most important, reviewed literature revealed the transactional, socio-economic and cultural value and power attached to cows in pre-colonial Rwanda.

Undeniably, besides being highly valued, cows were scarce resources in pre-colonial Rwanda. Managing such scarce (socio-economic and cultural and transactional) resources predisposed pre-colonial Rwandan society to not only conflict fragility but even greater relation-based conflict vulnerability. How resource-haves (cow-owners) and resource-have-nots (cow-seekers) pre-vented or resolved or transformed such conflict fragility and vulnerability in pre-colonial Rwanda formed the researcher's interests demonstrably reflected by research objective one—to understand the the nature of Girinka practices in pre-colonial through post-colonial Rwanda.

From the above empirical revelations, specifically about the two established Girinka practices—Cow for Friendship and Service for Cows, the researcher noted two major points worthy of emphasis. First, the former—Cow for Friendship pointedly uncovered cows as sources and resources for cementing relations and transforming formerly negative attitudes, behaviours and perceptions to positive reconciliation outcomes: sustainable peace. This was emphasized by John Paul Lederach's Conflict Transformation Theory (2004). Expounding John Paul Lederach's Conflict Transformation Theory, Erin McCandles, (2007) underlined, the theory seeks to transform negative energy and violence into positive social change. The Service for Cow practice unveiled two major points— the exposure of masters-subject relationships to conflict vulnerability especially in situations when commitments were dishonored by former (masters) to the latter(subjects). Its vulnerability ignored, Service for Cow entailed integral features of a good peacepath (relational mutuality, relational reciprocity, social solidarity, and complementarity). Harnessed effectively, these peacepaths acted as solid foundations for building reconciliation that would otherwise birthed sustainable peace in pre-colonial Rwanda.

The third Girinka practice in pre-colonial Rwanda was Cow for Life and Cow for Solace (*Inka y'inkura Cyobo*). Qualitative findings about life and death in pre-colonial Rwanda revealed how

the two concepts were not deeply interwoven, but equally celebrated through cows and Girinka practice—Cow for Life and Cow for Solace. According to Senator Mugesera Antoine, author, member of Rwanda Elderly Advisory Council, Cow(s) for Life practice meant gifting a cow or cows to a mother after delivering (preferably) a baby boy. “It signified celebrating family expansion, continuity of humanity” (Antoine Mugesera, field data, 6th May 2018, Bibare, Kimironko, Rwanda). In the operative Kinyarwanda, gifting mothers after delivery meant—*Guhemba*, equivalent meaning—gifting in English. Why *Guhemba* under Cow for Life practice was gender biased—for instance, focused on only mothers, not fathers or preference of a baby boy to a girl was not established by the researcher.

The Cow for Life would be given during a child naming ceremony involving family members, friends and neighbors and an array of cultural rituals and a beehive of social activities characterized the celebratory social event. Child naming was an elaborate, highly revered cultural practice among Rwandans. Rwanda’s much publicized Annual Gorilla Naming Ceremony in Kinigi derives its origin and significance from this practice.

The Cow for Solace was to console the son after burying his father. Interviewed elders clarified how *Inka y’inkura Cyobo* was given; the oldest son would get into the tomb where his father would be buried to signify the end of his father’s life and the boy would instantly come out of the tomb to mean the deceased is not dead, he is still with the living. According to Muzungu, such elaborate ritualized stories surrounding Cow for Life and Cow for Solace constituted mystical explanations of life and death by Rwandans in pre-colonial Rwanda. However, cultural-sensitive Rwandans still carry out Cow for Life and Cow for Solace practices.

Whereas respondents emphasized such practices meant social celebrations—coming together of friends to celebrate life and death, how social gathering translated into reconciliation and sustaining social peace emerged as one of the empirical gaps Respondents concurred with the view that responding to a beleaved person—death, and celebrating gained life—birth, was culturally binding in pre-colonial Rwanda. Arguably, the quality of some social celebrations can be determined by the number (quantity) of people, scientifically linking this to improved social relations, transformed behaviours, structures between people in pre-colonial Rwanda was not determinable.

The scholarly inviting Girinka practice in pre-colonial Rwanda was *Girinka Cow for Peace—Inka y'Icyiru*. Through administered SSIs, Rwandan elderly respondents conversant with Rwanda's history referred to this Girinka practice as *Cow for Peace (Inka y'Icyiru)* while genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District referred to it as *Cow for Reconciliation—Inka y'Ubwiyunge*. *Inka* means cow, *Ubwiyunge* means reconciliation in English. Whereas *Inka y'Icyiru* carried deeper Kinyarwanda meaning—breaking continuity of enmity, the operative use of the concepts: the *Cow for Reconciliation* and *Cow for Peace*, remained the same.

Earlier on, the researcher observed that Cow for Peace was scholarly intriguing. It was worthwhile to establish reasons for such foregoing statement: First, the reviewed literature emphasized that the pre-colonial Rwanda did not witness mass murders comparable to the genocide against Tutsi of 1994. Elderly respondents confirmed the foregoing assertion, except one who who clarified further:

“The genocide against Tutsi was indescribable and unfindable in pre-colonial Rwanda. However, bitter intrigues leading to even deaths were common especially

within the top leadership levels—King’s palace. However, such rivalries and associated deaths were power-centered, clan-based and never spread to the hills of ordinary Rwandans like the Genocide against Tutsi in 1994. Nothing of such horrible magnitude. Yes, some rivalries at lower levels could be triggered by minor malfeasances in any pre-colonial society, for instance, forceful taking of one’s wife, properties and failure to resolve such issues resulted into enduring interpersonal enmity or inter-clan rivalries, deaths and revengeful retaliations, (Nzanzabaganwa Modest, SSI, 30th April 2018, Rwanda)

Empirical findings revealed that though there were no ethnic-based exterminations, grievances and rivalries were part and parcel of evolving human society, pre-colonial Rwanda inclusive. Causes of such rivalries were based on power-centered intrigues, inappropriate behaviours such stealing one’s cows, adultery, murders within families or clans. Compelled by conflict fatigue or consequences of such emotional burdens or relational breakdown, members of family or the society either carrying emotional burdens of the conflict or a concerned clan member would seek the wisemen’s contribution in ending such inter-generational enmity without knowable, tangible cause. One respondent explained it skillfully:

“There could be inter-generational enmity between families. It used to be hard to specifically explain the historical genesis of the conflict. For instance, a person would kill a person from another family or clan, and the revenge would be committed and this went on between families or clans...Suddenly, a person from one of the families would emerge and question the continuity of such inter-generational transference of enmity and revenge between families and clans. He would ask wise men of the hill to meet and review the cause and propose the way forward. After listening to two families, the wise men would analyze the case over a local beer and they would ask the offender to give inka y’icyiru (Cow for Peace). Once the Cow for Peace would be charged by wise men and given by the offender, it marked the end of intergenerational enmity, (SSI, 30th April 2018, Rwanda).

A meeting which one respondent likened to Gacaca Sessions comprised of members of the two warring sides, moderators—socially renown wiseman—peacebuilders and their terms of reference centered on revisiting and systematically review the origin of inter-generational enmity; its causes, its generational damages and determine a culturally-acceptable—

reconciliatory solution the two families or clans. Respondents asserted that to steer such peacebuilding processes demanded sophisticated skills, ingenuity, integrity and stoic leadership.

After delving into causes of the conflict, peacebuilders established the offending and offended parties, causes and reasons for terminating and restoring fractured relationships by requiring the offender to give the offender *Inka y'Icyiru* (Cow(s) for Peace), local brew, among others. Cow(s) for Peace meant breaking such generational enmity and future vengeance. The outcome of such meetings remained final judgment respected by conflict parties. The cessation of historical and generational enmity involved celebrations—sharing of local brew, handshake and hugging, recommitting to renew positive relations by members of the offended and the offender.

The pre-colonial Rwanda placed greater value on integrity and outstanding achievement. Consistent exhibition of these values attracted societal admiration and recognition. Either the King or the private citizens gave a cow or herds of cows to the person with greatest content of such virtues. This would be called a Cow(s) for Integrity or Cows for outstanding performance. The herd of cows comprised of heifers, bulls, calves and so forth. Whereas *Kuramira* equated to empowering someone economically, according to Nsazabaganwa, this cultural practice was also called *Kuramira*.

It was culturally forbidden for someone to exhibit such desirable societal virtues, values and remained at the lowest socio-economic ladder. This was the rationale for giving him such herd of cows by an organized some wealthy wise men of the hill. Such practice encouraged promotion of integrity, selfless service, hard-work, innovations for emulation by the members of the larger society (Nsazabaganwa Modest, 30th April, , Rwanda).

The above arranged however differed from the King's giving of cows to an ordinary Rwandan without a determinable and concrete criterion. Some respondents suggested admiration by the

King would earn some special gifts such as cows among others like falling out of King's favour attracted graver treatment such as repossession of given cows and other valuable gifts. Whereas all cows belonged to the King and the Kingdom, the criterion of gifting cows to his subjects was not ethnically-guided, after all, in the eyes of the King of Rwanda, there was no Tutsi or Hutu or Twas, but Rwandans—his subjects.

The earlier discussed Cow for Peace or Cow for Reconciliation entailed value-adding elements state and non-state peacebuilders can reinvigorate for successful reconciliation and peacebuilding. For instance, the researcher established that Girinka practice: Cow for Peace's principal purpose was termination of conflict escalation and inter-generational violence in form of vengeance. Specifically, it promoted improvement of relations, removal of them vs. us negative attitudinal walls, destructive perceptions between offenders and the offended.

According to John Paul Lederach's Conflict Transformation Theory, these are central ingredients of reconciliation upon which the foundation for sustainable peace can be built. As shall be seen the forthcoming sections(chapter five), the Cow for Reconciliation—a preferred reference of Girinka by genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District has contributed in transforming formerly genocidal behaviours to benevolent, reciprocal positive behaviours, negative attitudes to positive ones through determinable, measurable and concrete actions such as building houses for needy genocide survivors.

4.2.1.2. Significances of Cows in Pre-Colonial Rwanda

This section focuses specifically on some of the remarkable significances of cow-giving practices in the pre-colonial Rwanda. The determination of significance of cows in pre-colonial

period partially guided the researcher to establish the nature of, and what powered Girinka. These significances are socio-cultural and economic in nature. An understanding of the significances of cows in pre-colonial Rwanda paved the way for establishing the rationale for re-introduction of Girinka in post genocide Rwanda. Are there traceable reconciliatory elements within these forthcoming cow's significances?

The established significances of cows in pre-colonial Rwanda were socio-cultural and economic. For instance, Fideli Ndayisaba, the Executive Secretary for National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC) observed:

In Rwandan culture, there were/are three strategies of breaking vengeance between families and clans, first—is bride-giving, second is cow-giving and third is making a social-pact [social-pact in Rwandan culture meant sucking your friend's blood and vice-versa," (Ndayisaba Fideli, the Executive Secretary, National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, SSI, 2nd May 2018, Rwanda).

Reference to blood sucking practice, this practice has been outlawed because of health-related risks. In pre-colonial Rwanda, blood sucking signified a seal of unbreakable relational pact bonds between two friends. NURC Executive Secretary further stressed culturally, it is strictly forbidden for two families which gave each other cows and brides to entertain and sustain enmity.

Even if there could have been relationally severing cases in the past, once you inter-married and gave each other cows, that marked the end of enmity and kick off of deeper friendship and mutual respect, (Ndayisaba Fideli, the Executive Secretary, National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, SSI, 2nd May 2018, Rwanda).

Cows acted as dowries in pre-colonial Rwanda. In line with NURC Executive Secretary, cows came twice in the three stated strategies of breaking vengeance in pre-colonial Rwanda. Put in otherwords, the cultural centrality of cows and cow-giving was prevention of culture of violence.

Though it was laced with tensions in the later years, the Service for Cow practice reinforced the value of mutual support and social solidarity between masters and subjects in pre-colonial Rwanda. Reviewed literature revealed that it was culturally forbidden for a subject of the master to be poverty-stricken, culturally uninformed and unfit for cultural practices. It was established from the literature that under Service for Cow—*Ubuhake Girinka* practice—Masters had the responsibility inculcating acceptable cultural values, good behavioural practices besides giving cows to their subjects. The more the subject excelled in displaying mastered cultural values and practices learned from the Master attracted cows in form of gifts under *Cow for Friendship* arrangement.

To many Rwandans, especially those who witnessed *Ubuhake*, it becomes extremely hard to separate *Ubuhake* (Service for Cows) and Cows for Friendships because in most cases, the two practices would be promoted concurrently. After all, Fideli Ndayisaba, NURC Executive Secretary, contended: “*Ubuhake* was by and large based on friendship between the master and the subject.” The above observation was reinforced by many respondents who revealed that history has a record of well-behaved subjects who even inherited cows of their masters and carried forward their Master’s roles and responsibility upon death.

Cow for Solace and Cow for Life practice unveiled the cow’s cultural preminence on matters of life and death in pre-colonial Rwanda. In the previous discussions, it was established that cows were at the centre of ritualized celebration of baby-born boys and death of fathers. During the administered SSI, Antoine Mugesera further revealed, “the Cow for Life signified celebrating family expansion, continuity of humanity”(Antoine Mugesera, field data, May, 11th 2018, Remera, Kigali). In other words, cows culturally carried weightier value in the eyes of Rwandans when viewed through three major events of human’s life: marriage, birth and death.

This significance noted, getting cows to matter in pre-colonial Rwanda was not easy undertaking. Empirical evidence indicated getting cows to attain socio-cultural and economic significance sometimes required expending half of one's adult life—working for it under Service for Cow (*Ubuhake*) or struggling to impress the Umwami for a cow.

The presented Cow for Friendship and the Cow for Peace exemplified cow's socio-cultural approach of deepening friendship and revealed the reconciliatory dimension of Girinka practice. “If one gave you a cow, culturally, it signified exceptional, unbreakable socio-cultural pact between the giver and the receiver. This extended beyond the giver and the receiver to include the families and the clans of the two friends,” (Field data, SSI, 30th April 2018, Rukiri II, Remera, Rwanda). All respondents under SSI concurred with the foregoing statement. The Cow for Peace, for instance revealed how the culture of giving and receiving cows promoted the cessation of inter-generational social conflicts, improved relations and enhanced peacebuilding process between families and clans in pre-colonial Rwanda.

“Possessing herds of cow carried the highest socio-economic prestige, a cow acted as cultural symbol and ownership of cows was not a preserve for one specific ethnic group. The criteria of possessing a cow or cows in pre-colonial Rwanda mainly started with King's admiration and he thereafter awarded [gifted] you a cow. This itself meant social elevation and being a person of reference in the the society (Antoine Mugesera, May, 11th 2018, Rwanda).

Whoever gained King's favors and received cows gained enormous socio-economic and political influence in the pre-colonial Rwandan society. As noted in the foregoing discussions, cows equated to prosperity. Reviewed literature and empirical findings confirmed that the number of cows determined one's popularity, prosperity and power in pre-colonial Rwanda. Although the reviewed literature revealed the causal nexus between

prosperity and peace(Internanational Alert Report (2015), empirical findings did not reveal anything confirming the foregoing view. However, findings from reviewed literature relating to Africa’s concept of peace advanced “material prosperity” as critical pathway to peace, (Hansen, 1988:7). In fact, Emmanuel Hansen argued:

The concept of peace most African can defend and justify makes it possible for the majority of people on this planet to enjoy physical security, a modicum of material prosperity, the satisfaction of basic needs of human existence, emotional well-being, political efficacy and psychic harmony, (1988:3).

It also emerged that giving and receiving cows was vertical and horizontal, meaning—from a King to an ordinary Rwandan upon earning King’s favor or through Service for Cow Practice (vertical), or between poor Rwandans themselves (horizontal). Emphasizing how cows were a source of prosperity, Nsazabaganwa Modest stated:

Cows or herds of cows were indicators of wealth. It reflected prosperity. Cows were everything. For lack of better comparison, I would consider cows in pre-colonial Rwanda as money and how it solves most of today’s problems. Cows acted as dowry. To be a prosperous farmer, you needed cows for fertilizers. Cows brought forth friends. Cows acted as a security—transferrable for land, pasture. A cow acted as a transaction (Ntazabaganwa Modest, SSI, 30th April 2018, Rwanda).

All respondents under SSIs regarded cows as Rwanda’s chief economic capital. Similarly, they all compared cows with money of Rwanda’s modern times. However, all respondents concurred with the view that cow’s economic value in pre-colonial Rwanda was greater than today’s monetary value. Though cows remained King’s major resources, owning cows either directly from the Rwandan King or through other means, came with highest societal respect and honor. It meant to be “*Umukire*” (the wealthy one).

“Cows were mobile economic capital. In the driest spells, crops would dry up while the herdsmen would move with their cows to better, greener places. Cows gave man-

power—giving someone brought services in return to the cow-giver [*Service for Cow*]. Cows were wealth; indeed the greatest source of prosperity back then. With cows, a person would solve many problems (Senator Musegera Antoine, Member of Rwanda Elders Advisory Council, SSI, 6th May 2018, Rwanda).

Cow-giving to the neediest members of society—*kuremera*—by the chief or any kind member of society reflected moving the destitute members of society from economic vulnerability to economic status that can enable them live with dignity. Whereas Service for Cow (Ubugake) was recorded to have two extreme positions—negative and positive—analyzing the roles and responsibilities of the Master towards the client/subject (the worker for cow) revealed the former’s responsibility of economically empowering the latter. This brought forth another practice called Cows for Economic Empowerment known in Kinyarwanda as *Kuremera* (loosely translated in English to mean to empower someone economically). *Kuremera* involved also giving cows to the neediest member(s) of the pre-colonial society.

According to RGB’s Report, Assessment of the Impact of the Homegrown Initiatives (2014), the original purpose of Girinka was guided by unwritten rule, “no Rwandan child was ever to lack daily milk again while others had plenty” (RGB, 2014:46). This rule added credence to the historical justification of *Kuremera* as a Girinka practice. Quoting IFAD (2011:104), RGB Report further revealed, “Rwandans have given cattle to one another, or milk to those in need (2014:46). Through such practices, scores of people moved from destitution to relatively better economic status. According to respondents, for instance, NURC Executive Secretary, Fideli Ndayisaba, the National Coordinator of Girinkain Rwanda, under Rwanda Agriculture Board, Gasana Ngabo, the same rationale informed the reintroduction of Girinka by Rwanda’s President, Paul Kagame in 2006.

The foregoing discussions revealed socio-economic and cultural significances of cows in pre-colonial Rwanda. It was noted, cows were chief sources of prosperity, prestige, popularity. The principal owner of all cows as *Umwami*—Rwanda's King. In other words, the King welded much power from socio-economic and cultural resources: cows. Possessing such power, prosperity and popularity definitely ran counter to the cardinal objectives of colonialists. Cutting completely or partially reducing King's power and popularity among Rwandans would propel the colonization projects. Otherwise, one respondent noted, it would have been extremely hard to penetrate Rwandan society in such state of affairs. Respondents who studied Rwanda's history revealed that like in many parts of Africa under monarchy system, effective colonization of Rwanda required first and foremost curtailing Mwami's source of popularity, prosperity and power derived from then-existent socio-cultural and economic values, practices and resources.

4.2.2. Girinka Practices and Significance of Cows in Colonial Rwanda.

Respondents observed, the missionaries's plan which was later shared by colonialists, was about eradicating Rwanda's cultural values, systems and resources. This was not fully achieved. To substantiate this view, respondents noted that whereas some Girinka practices were banned and others continued under colonial Rwanda. From onset, respondents noted, Rwanda's rich cultural values and resources used to be sources of King's power were the first victims of colonization. For purposes of brevity, the researcher cited a handful of the Girinka practices. What is worth noting, the more Girinka practices waned, the more the significance of cows considerably reduced.

4.2.2.1. Girinka Practices in Colonial Rwanda.

As there were diverging views on Service for Cows, empirical findings about reasons for its abolition in 1952 by Rwanda's Umwami considerably varied. One school of thought stated that Ubuhake had outlived its lifespan, hence the banning the Girinka practice during the active time of colonialism. The foregoing view was contested by Nsazebaganwa Modest and a score of other elderly respondents who likened the Service for Cow to modern day employer-employee relationship:

It was reward based on performance. You worked and got paid. Don't you? Today, you get money in return, under Ubuhake arrangement, the subject, the equivalent of the employee got back the cow. After all, the cow was the mode of exchange then. Ubuhake would not have been abolished in 1952 if it was not the colonizer's divide and rule policy, (Nsazebaganwa Modest, April 2018, Rwanda).

As earlier noted, Cow for Service by 1950s had started to be conflictual, its popularity was increasingly wearing away amongst subjects. Two people are blamed for fanning the fires against Service for the Cow—the colonialists and political elites who qualified the practice as self-serving, and exploitative. NURC Executive Secretary, Fideli Ndayisaba, observed: “Ubuhake was good and useful in its own time. It was only spoilt by colonialists and political propagandists,” (Field data, 2nd May, 2018, Rwanda).

While colonialism was blamed for weakening many cultural values, the decision for abolition of *Ubuhake* was singularly King's decision. The proponents of anti-colonialism argued that by 1950s, Rwanda's King was merely serving a symbolic role, major decisions were being made by Belgians.

Despite colonial despise of certain Rwandan-based cultural systems, values and practices, Girinka practices such as Cow for Empowerment—*Kuremera*, Cow for Life, Cow for Peace, and so forth remained practiced between people at lower levels as opposed to national levels. Under monarchical regime, some of the Girinka practices were institutionalized and systematically celebrated by all Rwandans but they gradually waned away with advent of colonialism. The Report, the History of Rwanda (2016) under the sub-theme: colonial period in Rwanda, confirmed the foregoing view: “The missionaries introduced their colonial perception of the conquered Rwandan people,” (NURC, 2016:18). Henceforth, Girinka practices were either undermined or sidelined in favour of colonial practices. Whereas gifting of cows under Cow for Friendship, Cow for Solace, Cow for Life survived the cultural manslaughter, others, such as Service for Cow and Cows for Economic Empowerment—*Kuremera* completely disappeared.

4.2.2.2. Significance of Cows in Colonial Rwanda.

As earlier stressed, the significance of cows waned as colonialism deepened its influence on Rwanda’s socio-economic and political landscape. NURC Executive Secretary, reasoned: “The entry point of colonialists was to first destroy what principally unified Rwandans—culture and cultural practices such as Girinka,” (Fideli Ndayisaba, Field data, April 2018, Remera).

In the foregoing analysis, we stressed—despite the fact colonial despised cows throughout the colonial period, the socio-economic significance of what Antoine Mugesera referred to as “mobile capital” thrived (Antoine Mugesera, SSI, 6th May 2018, Bibare, Kimironko, Kigali, Rwanda). NURC Executive Secretary, Fidele Ndayisaba, concurred with the foregoing view by citing three cultural significance of cows which were to a big extent shakened but continually characterized Rwandans even during colonial times:

“There were three renowned strategies of breaking intergenerational enemy: first was through intermarriage, secondly, was through cow-gifting, the third one was sealing

friendship through a blood pact. Before colonialists spoiled these values, marrying from the other side automatically unified even former enemies, once one gifted the other a cow through Ubugake, it meant initiation of a deeper, longer term friendship and mutual respect. This resulted into peace (Fideli Ndayisaba, Field data, 2nd May 2018, Rwanda).

Cows ceased to be viewed as resources to be highly valued by all Rwandans, but as socio-economic and political tool used by the King and his Kingdom against ordinary Rwandans. Colonialists and the political elites that emerged immediately after after 1950s contributed in forming such perceptions. Hence, the demise of the Kingdom went down with culturally respected breed of cows known as *Inyambo*.

The total collapse of cow's transactional value was precipitated by introduction of embryonic capitalism, specifically the time coin-based and paper-based (notes) economy was introduced by colonialists. The earlier noted cultural (and cow) enthusiasts amongst respondents commendably concurred with the view—the introduction of money in Rwanda was economically impactful. Simply put, the colonial period shattered the transactional value of bovine capital and ushered in monetary capital.

Despite unprecedented banalization of cows by colonialists and political elites in 1950s through 1970s, cows would be sold for cash to meet basic human needs. According to Antoine Mugesera, cows being mobile capital, provided pastoralists (cattle owners) with greater survival opportunities than crop agriculturalists during prolonged dry seasons. In such periods, a poor cow-owner moved to greener places enabling him survive for more days as opposed to a crop agriculturalist.

Whereas reviewed literature revealed arbitrary ethnicization of cows by colonialists and the subsequent political propagandists, the researcher established that ethnicization of cows

(Tutsification of cows) did not prevent the postoral-agrocultural symbiotic relationships to develop. After all, each category's occupational choice advanced the other's livelihood through demand-supply of livestock products (milk, manure) and agricultural crops for consumption.

Empirical evidence relating to ethnicization of cows suggested by missionaries and colonialists established that cow ownership was not an ethnic indication, but rather a socio-cultural status symbol of Rwandans through pre-colonial, colonial and post colonial era. Literature about this view was divided—one side specifically writers in the post colonial Rwanda suggested Tutsi-cow connections. The other part of the divide including the ones the researcher interviewed strongly regarded such a view as distortive and distractive. One respondent put it clearly as thus:

Ethnicity as most people know it was not the right sense of it in the pre-colonial, colonial and post colonial Rwanda. Not all. If you had less than 2 cows, you would be qualified as a Hutu, having more than 20 cows qualified you a Tutsi. If you gave me a cow, I would be your master regardless of whether you are a Hutu or a Tutsi. Cows were not ethnically dividing (SSI, 30th April 2018, Rwanda).

Whether Tutsis had special fondness for cows or not, was scholarly immaterial, specifically for this study. However, historical facts needed noting—during the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, there were cases of Genocidal masterminds who called for slaughter of Tutsi and their cows making uninformed genocide perpetrators to interpret Tutsi and cows as— inseparable living things to be slaughtered en mass. Whether the slaughtering of Tutsi's cows constituted a genocidal intent was empirically not tested by the researcher. It stretched beyond the scope of the study. Plausibly, poverty could provide some scientific clues about the relationship between Tutsi mass murders and mass slaughtering of Tutsi's cows.

Post genocide Rwanda revived Girinka as one of the homegrown approaches for achieving among other objectives—social cohesion and reconciliation of Rwandans. In the proceeding section, the central focus shall be—essentially, why post genocide Rwanda revived Girinka?

4.2.3. Practices of Girinka and Significance of Cows in Post Colonial Rwanda

The proceeding two sections are guided by an understanding of Girinka practices and significances of cows in pre-genocide and post genocide periods of Rwanda. These two periods are critical and definitive in far as Rwanda's reconciliation and peacebuilding processes. The first part (4.2.3.1) focused on establishing whether or not, the earlier established Girinka practices and significances of cows thrived under the two Republics—the 1st and 2nd Republic, and why? The second section (4.2.3.2) delved into the justifications for revitalization of Girinka in post genocide Rwanda. Some of the reasons for reintroduction of Girinka are covered in chapter five in form of descriptive (quantitative) and qualitative evidence.

Literature relating to Girinka practices during the first and second Republic was found to be scanty. The researcher also established a bizzare reticence and restraints on matters relating to how Girinka was practiced during the first and second Republic. Bodily reactions on questions relating to how pre-genocide governments valued cows confirmed nervousness, and at one point, a respondent reminded the interviewer about the interviewee's right to no response to questions because of sensibilities, controversies associated with them—for instance, ethnicity, politics of cows in Rwanda. Expressed reticence, restraints confirmed what an ordinary farmer from Gisiza, former Gisenyi recounted to researchers in IRDP Report (2008:35):

Before, we had no conflict here. People had cows; a Mutusi could be a Muhutu's cattle-keeper, or vice versa...No illiterate Rwandan has ever caused these conflicts. Only elite caused these problems. Why? Greed! (IRDP Report, Time for Peace, 2008:35).

Faced with more or less by the same sensibilities (ethical challenge), a Rwandan doctoral research on Peacebuilding in Post-Genocide Rwanda, Sentama observed in his PhD Thesis:

The study had to deal with an ethical issue concerned with use of ethnic labels in post-genocide Rwanda. In Rwanda, nowadays, it appears politically unacceptable to publicly use ethnic labels in reference to people [...] The risk of being treated as a devisionist—sowing divisions in Rwandan community, (Sentama, 2009:19).

Whereas the respondent's non-commentary response to questions relating how the first and second Republics promoted Girinka and embraced the significance of cows seemingly appeared unwarrantable, Rwanda's constitution forbids invoking ethnically-based controversies. Despite the researcher's promise to adhere to research protocol and ethics, he was reminded about sensibilities associated with the research topic under study, the fragility of the study population—genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators by state and non-state actors.

There was a young man of your age who came to me soliciting my ideas on historical topics concerning Rwanda. I received him, we discussed at length. His questions revealed to me that he was on the very wrong side of known historical facts. He told me he intended to publish a book. What worried me most was, if he dares publishing the book containing the extreme ethnic views he had, he might be accused of promoting ethnicity (respondent, Field data, May, 2018).

4.2.3.1. Disappearance of Girinka and Significance of Cows in Post-Colonial Rwanda.

Whereas there was no respondent who pointed out any policy which rendered Girinka practices and the cow's socio-cultural value invisible in the post-independence period, their insignificance was incontestable. Practices such as *Kuremera*, *ubuhake* and many more were not only mocked, they were associated with Rwanda's past: the monarchy, aristocracy, and the cow's Tutsification effect on a section of Rwandans.

Noteworthy, reviewed literature about Rwanda's history recorded the genesis of Tutsification of cows in 1935—the introduction of identity cards on a formerly united people—Rwandans. The

ethnicity-based identity card were used to separate between who should be spared or slaughtered in the 1994 genocide against Tutsi.

As a reminder, the researcher established a school of thought linking what a Dutch News Agency—Deutsche Presse Agentur—referred to as the central role of cows in “Rwanda’s troubled history,” (Deutsche Presse Agentur, 31st March, 2009). In acknowledging the two schools about cows established from the reviewed literature, the researcher referred to this: the horrible and honorable history of cows in Rwanda in chapter two. James Stair, the author of the Feature: Rwanda Cattle-Herd Becomes Symbol of Recovery After Genocide, claimed:

“Before the genocide [against Tutsi], Rwanda’s national herd stood up at around one million. It was almost completely made up of Ankole cows, the traditional Rwandan breed,” (Deutsche Presse Agentur, 31st March, 2009).

The author made revelations which corroborated the earlier established respondent’s sensibilities about the politics of cows, ethnicism and post genocide legal and policy instruments constraining controversies centered on such sensitive topics:

“Concurrent to the human tragedy, 90 percent of the country’s cattle were slaughtered—largely for food in a collapsed infrastructure but also as part of an attempt to eradicate the Tutsi cow-rearing culture,” (Deutsche Presse Agentur, 31st March, 2009).

Nonetheless, gifting of cows, paying dowry using cows continued amongst Rwandans though was not in a manner comparable to pre-colonial era where Girinka practices and cow’s socio-economic value were both state-driven and people-centered. Throughout the pre-genocide period, cows and cow-centered practices—Girinka—retreated to acting a backstage role—as dowries, a sellable domestic animal like any other (goats, pigs, camels) whose prices would be determined by prevailing forces of demand and supply than anything else. Such a reference, according to Pierre Bettez Grevel in the *Le Droit de Vache* (1962), for instance, would have been

disapprovingly criticized in the past as a major cultural faux pas (especially during pre-colonial period Rwanda). He emphasized that, cows were not regarded by pre-colonial Rwandans as animals, but an institution, a sign of wealth like gold. In consideration of valuable resources in the past, and great present innovations, moving forward, Senator Antoine Mugesera recommended a resounding policy option: “mix,” (Senator Antoine Mugesera, author and a member of the Rwanda Elders Council, read the full citation in the forthcoming section, 2.2.3.2).

4.2.3.2. Girinka as a Homegrown Practice in Post Genocide Rwanda

Respondents commended Rwanda’s revitalization of Rwanda’s past socio-cultural practices, values, systems as a firmer foundation for peaceful and prosperous future. Rwanda’s National Culture and Heritage Policy, as articulated by the The Independent Magazine, (2018), Rwanda’s culture is a set of integrated patterns of knowledge, belief systems, behaviour and customs and art manifested in the ways of life of Rwandans, (see Rwanda: Where Culture Preserves National Heritage, The Independent Magazine, June 2018). Underlining the importance of revisiting Rwanda’s past, one respondent observed:

“The past presents great lessons that informs our present homegrown solutions. Current and future innovators need to borrow from the past. I recommend a mix, not one single prescription, (6th May 2018, Rwanda, Senator Antoine Mugesera, author and a member of the Rwanda Elders Council)

The revelation from the above respondent was corroborated by views of the Minister of Sports and Culture in an interview ran in the Independent Magazine, June 2018. Illustratively, the Minister remarked:

Rwanda’s policy-making to legal provisions and countryside campaigns [...] have been put in place or reviewed to better fit in the country’s transformational orientation. Cultural values, Kinyarwanda language, Made in Rwanda policy, NdimunyaRwanda, Agaciro, Ubudehe, Umuganda, Gacaca [...] are among the key

initiatives that have been undertaken with the aim of promoting the Rwandan culture as the base for our sustainable development(The Interview, Independent, June 2018)

However, Mugesera's view differed with many elderly who fondly reminisce about Rwanda's past with irretrievable mystical wonders about good old days and recommend present crop of state and non-state actors to base their policy decisions, programmatic interventions in areas of peacebuilding on a wealthy of knowledge, resources and values from the past.

Jacques Nzabonimpa, Director of Culture, Research and Protection and Promotion Unit, Rwanda Academy of Language and Culture (RALC) contended: Culture has been useful in resolving the economic, political, judicial and social post genocide effects in the quest for unity, reconciliation and development," (Interview in the Independent Magazine, June 2018). He observed further, "All this was achieved through homegrown solutions," (Interview, the Independent, June 2018).

Moved by Rwanda's revival of homegrown cultural approaches, practices and mechanisms for stitching post genocide society, John Steward, a peacebuilding practice in most rural parts of Rwanda remarked:

Cultural approaches provided mechanisms to find causes, solutions using their own understanding and means to reach common interests, at their own pace, progressively building on the small gains in peace. Such approaches are self-sustainable in the way they use inexhaustible human resources of skills, commitment and time and draw on the existing wisdom transmitted across the memories of generations (John Steward, 2015:83-84)

Homegrown proponents mainly drivers of post genocide reconciliation agenda emphasized that the resilience and strength of a people and a nation is drawn from its valuable past. While there is emerging scholarly literature evidence pointing glaring gaps in externally conceived development approaches such as Structural Adjustment Programmes, development aid (Okerere & Agupasi, 2015) and a host of others, the reasons for grounding Rwanda's post genocide

peacebuilding policies, strategies and practices abound. While some members of this category's recitals of the past seemed factually accurate, others, cited inter-clan rivalries and inter-generational cycles of violence.

4.3. Chapter summary

This chapter presents findings generated through administration of SSI in Kamonyi. The chapter was guided by the objective—to examine the nature of Girinka in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. Respondents were drawn from Rwanda National Council of Elders, Rwanda Elders Advisory Council, Academy of Languages and Culture, National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, Rwanda Girinka Programme and other elders with insights and knowledge about Rwanda's history. The respondent's view captures the rationale of revisiting Rwanda's past, to understand the cow-giving practice in pre-colonial Rwanda, specifically in Kamonyi District: *Umuryango udusubira ibukuru ngo uzimure, urazimira*—loosely meaning—families and societies which do not revisit their past perish. Empirical findings revealed that cows were sources of prosperity, culturally-revered values and boosters of social prestige in Kamonyi District and Rwanda as a whole. Cow for Friendship—*Inka y'Ubuciti* (C4F), Service for Cows—*Inka y'Ubuhake*, Cow for Life, Cow for Integrity and Cow for Peace, constituted some of the cow-giving practices in pre-colonial Rwanda. The latter's overall purpose was to break generational enmity and potential for future vengeance and that is why it was called *Inka y'icyiru*. The cessation of historical and generational enmity involved sharing of local brew, seeking for forgiveness and cow-giving practice. The chapter also entailed significance of cows and cow-giving in pre-colonial Kamonyi District and Rwanda as a whole. The Cow for Peace exemplifies cow's cultural approach of deepening friendship and reconciliatory dimension of Cow-giving practice, while the Cow4Life and Cow for Solace underpinned cow's cultural pre-eminence on matters of life and deaths in

pre-colonial Rwanda. For instance, giving cow to a son who has buried his father culturally signified continuity of humanity. To illustrate the economic significance of cows, all interviewed respondents equated cows with sources of wealth and cow-giving practices as enabling destitute members of pre-colonial society to live with dignity and decency. Senator Antoine Mugesera, aged 76 years, Member of Rwanda Elders Advisory Council summarized the economic significance of cows as thus, “Cows were mobile economic capital [...] Cows gave manpower—giving someone brought services in return to the cow-giver [*Service for Cow*]. Cows were wealth; indeed the greatest source of prosperity back then (SSI, 6th May 2018)

CHAPTER FIVE

THE CONTRIBUTION OF GIRINKA RECONCILIATION APPROACH ON SUSTANAIBLE PEACE IN KAMONYI DISTRICT

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents findings on the contributions of Girinka Reconciliation Approach on Sustainable peace in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. The researcher sought to determine how the Girinka Reconciliation Approach influences the realization of sustainable peace in Kamonyi. The chapter covers the following themes: The influence of Girinka on attitudes, relations, behaviours of former genocide and genocide survivors. It also includes Girinka's influence on the following themes: truths, apology, trust, and collective identity/Rwandaness. Other themes the chapter covers include: Girinka and forgiveness, Girinka and economic livelihood improvement, Girinka-based restorative justice and sustainable peace. The chapter ends with chapter summary.

5.1. Girinka's Influence on Attitudes, Relations and Behaviours

John Paul Lederach (1996) recommends transformation of attitudes, relations and behaviours as prerequisites for successful reconciliation and sustainable peace in former divided societies. According to Cheyanne Church and Mark M. Rogers, “[sustainable] peace comes through transformative change of a critical mass of individuals, their consciousness, attitudes, behaviours and skills” (2006:14). In view of the above, it is critical to determine how Girinka qualifies or disqualifies Jean Paul Lederach's Conflict Transformation claims and insightful observations of Cheyanne and Mark M. Rogers. Are there noticeable harmony between theoretical propositions and empirical findings? Empirical evidence from the Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer—an

instrument that determines the state of reconciliation in Rwanda considers Girinka as one of the strategies, specifically, the “pass-on of a cow’ principle helped to build social relationships destroyed during the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi,” (2015:114). The proceeding Girinka contributes to transformation of attitudes in Kamonyi District of Rwanda.

5.1.1. Girinka and the *Them vs. Us* Attitudes

Attitude is defined by IEP Positive Peace Report (2015) as norms, beliefs, preferences and relationships within society (p.13). The report further notes, attitudes influences how people and groups cooperate in the society. This study sought to determine how such cooperation happens after dreadful genocidal violence in Kamonyi District. The definitional understanding of what attitude is provided an entry point for presentation of empirical evidence of how Girinka contributed in building bridges and breaking *Them vs. Us* walls in the post genocide Kamonyi District of Rwanda. The table below shows the rate of responses based on the testable statement: Girinka contributed in removing "**us vs. them**" attitude(s) between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators?

Table: 5.1. Girinka and the *Them vs. Us* Attitudes

Percentage (%)						
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total %	Total Frequency
0.3%	6.0%	10.7%	55.7%	27.3%	100	300
(1)	(18)	(32)	(167)	(82)		

Source: Researcher (2018)

According to empirical findings, 55.7 % (167) confirmed that Girinka in Kamonyi District contributes in removing *Them vs. Us* attitudes between genocide survivors and former genocide

perpetrators and 27.3%(82) respondents strongly agreed. Summed together (agree and strongly agree), 83% (249) of former genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors confirmed that Girinka removes negative '*Us vs. Them*' attitudes between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. Respondents who are very knowledgeable of the Cow-giving practices in both pre-colonial, colonial and post colonial Rwanda also recognized the contribution of cow-giving in creating positive relations between former enemies. One of the major [negative] outcomes of genocidal violence in Kamonyi District was an elevated wall of *Them vs. Us* between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators. Has Girinka enabled the removal of *Them vs. Us Ethnic Wall* in Kamonyi District? Has it enabled the two special social categories to empathetically listen to each other's concerns, validate each other's fears without making biased judgement or reacting violent? The realization of these attitudinal milestones can act as giant foundational steps towards sustainable peace in Komonyi District.

Reviewed literature revealed that '*Them vs. Us*' in form of ethnic divisions facilitated the effective planning and implementation of the genocide against Tutsi in 1994. Immediately after the genocide against Tutsi, the, ethnic based *Them vs. Us* was sharply visible. Quoting Ericson (2001) and Staub (2000) Sentama (2009) pointed out that reconciliation in this context should principally focus on "alteration of negative conflict attitudes through enhancing trust, and understanding, and challenging misperceptions and distrust, among other negative relational aspects," (p.32).

He stressed further, enhancement of positive attitudes should be followed by positive actions (2009:32). The latter—positive actions— will be discussed in the proceeding section. Given how cows are highly prized amongst Rwandans, the researcher concurs that the home-grown

Girinka acts as the readily available local resource with greater capacity to reduce if not total removal of formerly rooted ethnic-based *Them vs. Us attitudes* which characterized pre-genocide and periods immediately after genocide against Tutsi in 1994.

“Kagame’s programme like Gira inka (own a cow) and other programmes are good because they do not discriminate against anybody” Bemeriki Valerie, aged 63, a genocide perpetrator [still] serving prison her sentence is infamously renown for her divisive, virulent genocidal messages through media, (Bamporiki Edouard, 2017:120). Noting, the genocide perpetrator’s (Bemeriki) evaluative remarks instructive given her central role in the preparation and implementation of genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda. Also worth noting is, the reviewed literature confirmed that like pre-genocide Rwanda, immediately after 1994 genocide against Tutsi, inter-ethnic tensions was astoundingly high. Ethnic division was part of pre-genocide government policy and practice.

Respondents—former genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors stressed that the cow they shared with genocide survivors has acted as a connecting bridge (*ikiraro*) between the two categories. A former genocide perpetrator remarked more concretely:

Girinka removed the walls. Before, receiving the cow, I never dared reaching in the home of the person I caused pains to [during the genocide against Tutsi in 1994], but these days, I visit freely whenever I am taking cow feeds and this results into exchange of casual conversations and deeper bonding (a genocide perpetrator, Murehe Cell, Rukoma Sector, Kamonyi District, 11th April 2018).

The above statements were frequently stated by both genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in the responses generated from administered Questionnaire in Sectors in Kamonyi District. Elders with knowledge of Rwanda’s pre-colonial traditional practices confirmed that cows acted as social bridge between families, clans and significantly halted inter-generational pass-on of violence. The IEP Report (2015) considers attitudes, as one of the positive peace

factors—implying one of the factors which create and sustain peaceful societies (p.81). Other two positive peace factors according to IEP Report include— institutions and structures. These two were however not studied by this researcher. The centrality of attitude enables us to understand the level of acceptability of the others amongst genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District. Accepting the right of the other to live unharmed is the foundational basis for changing attitudes from negative to positive relationships.

5.1.2. Girinka and Social Relations

Cheyenne Church and Mark M. Rogers (2006) observed that “Strong relationships are a necessary ingredient for peacebuilding,” (p.14). This study argued, positive relationships are an integral elements of reconciling communities after gruesome genocidal violence and the ultimate outcome of such continued process is sustainable peace. In view of the above scholarly claims by Cheyanne Church and Mark M. Rogers (2006) to what extent is empirical evidence confirming it?

Out of 300 respondents—former genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors, at least 89.6% (210.4) confirmed that the revolving process of cow-giving between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators leads to strong inter-ethnic bonding. Respondents made references of a cow as *igihango* (meaning, a relational pact). Reference of cows as a relational pact used to be a common feature of blossoming friendship in the pre-colonial and colonial times in Rwanda. Therefore, such reference further confirmed the reverence of cows even in modern Rwanda.

Similarly, many respondents referred to the shared cows as a *Ikiraro* loosely translated as a connecting relational bridge between genocide survivor and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District.

Though the two categories laudably likened Girinka as a unifying factor, former genocide perpetrator considered Girinka as a liberating force in Kamonyi District. However, genocide survivors used expressions such as off-loading emotional burdens while former genocide perpetrators referred cows to liberators from genocide burdens. To illustrate the state of affairs before the retrodution of Girinka, respondents used terms such as fear, mistrust, mental burdens (fatigue).To indicate the state of affairs after introduction of Girinka, terms such as love, mutual support, mutual understanding, release of mental burdens, liberation, trust, were constantly mentioned by both genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators to illustrate the present state of relations.

“Today, we drink milk together from the cow we share. Formerly, I could never even drink water from their homes,” (a respondent from Mugina Cell, Mugina Sector, 20th April 2018 remarked a laughingly). Culturally, the sharing of water in rural Rwanda carries deeper meaning—failure to share water can be an indicator of failing relations while sharing of basics such as water, salt and soap are reflectors of a socially blossoming relations in many rural parts of Rwanda. Respondents, especially genocide perpetrators acknowledged that meeting survivors through Girinka was miraculous—for instance, a respondent from Cell Mpushi, Sector Musambira on 18th April 2018, testified—“having managed to even talk to her and listen to my concerns, fears and pleas was a miracle for me.”

The process of receiving, taking care of the cow (cleaning the cow-shed, feeding of cows and its calves, and provision of water) and mutual enjoyment of cow products strongly reinforced social contacts, enhances communications between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District hence cementing positive relations between the two categories.

Specific cases indicative of established social relations are recited. For instance, one genocide survivor stressed:

Girinka improved our social ties, mutual social support. There was a former genocide perpetrator whose role against our people was unknown to us. Because of established relations under Girinka, he once brought to us reconciliation drinks—a crate of beer and ubushera(local brew)—as part of foundational steps towards apology seeking. He late came and apologized, and I forgave him (a genocide survivor, Cell Mugina, Sector Mugina, Kamonyi District, 20th April 2018).

Sharing of local brew in atmosphere of mutual respect, mutual acceptance and non-violent rhetorical exchanges can be an indication of good relational processes in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. Most rural Rwandans consider sharing of local brew as symbolic acts of solidarity, unity and expression of achieved milestone. It is no surprise that sharing of local brew constituted key social activities after committing genocidal acts in rural parts of Rwanda in 1994 genocide. One of the perpetrator's comments captured the quality of social relations, and for purposes of maintaining meaning of the responses, it is worth-while to keep the Kinyarwanda version and thereafter translate in English:

Inka imaze kubyara abo nahemukiye dusangira amata nki kimenyetso cy'urukundo. Ibi binyereka ko nta kunyishisha bafite ndese ko ntacyo babasha kunyinga. Umuntu mwasangiye amata ntacyo yaguhisha. Translation in English: When the cow we were given calved, I shared milk with the people I betrayed as a sign of deep social relationship (love). This was very reassuring that they don't fear me. The person you have drunk milk together can't hide anything from you (A genocide perpetrator, Cell Rukambura, Sector Musambira, 18th April 2018).

To sum up, findings—both quantitative and qualitative—revealed that Girinka influences positive social relations between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators. Sharing of cow product specifically milk, mutual support such as sharing of basic necessities, for instance salt, water and so forth are practical cases of improved social

relations. As pieces of evidence for the above, two remarks will act conclude the above analysis:

Gugana inka ni igihango, inka yatumye tubana neza. Translation in English: Cow-giving and receiving between us is a social pact. The cow influenced our social relations, (a genocide perpetrator, Cell Murehe, Sector Rukoma, Kamonyi District, 11th April 2018).

As a reminder, NURC Executive Secretary, Fideli Ndayisaba outlined giving and receiving a cow as one of the strategies of sealing social pacts between clans, groups and communities in the pre-colonial Rwanda. He cited inter-marriage between former adversaries another strategy of sealing social pacts between families, communities and groups. Many elderly Rwandans emphasized that treacherous and murderous acts between inter-married families was strictly forbidden. A genocide survivor equally observed:

Ubu dutahirana ubukwe mbere ya Girinka cyaraziraga. Ubu dutizanya udukoresho bya hato na hato. Translation in English: These days, we invite each other for weddings. Before Girinka, this was like a taboo. Now days, we mutually share basic things. After genocide against Tutsi, these had completely disappeared, (a genocide survivor, Masaka Cell, Rugarika Sector, Kamonyi District, 16th April 2018)

In fact, responses from the Questionnaire Administration, revealed that former genocide perpetrators qualified Girinka in Kamonyi as Godsend for narrowing social relational gaps inflexibly polarized by the genocide against Tutsis in Rwanda. The process of receiving, taking care of the cow (cleaning the cow-shed, feeding the cows and its calves, and provision of water) as well as mutual enjoyment of cow products strongly reinforced social contacts, enhances communications between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District hence cementing positive relations between the two categories.

Girinka's contribution toward cementing inter-ethnic bonding in Kamonyi District is a commendable lesson worthy learning and replicating by other Districts in Rwanda striving to

achieve harmonious inter-ethnic bonding, accelerated reconciliation and sustainable peace. Beyond Kamonyi District, there are scores of people, genocide perpetrators who underscored the contribution of Girinka in bridging relational gaps between genocide survivors and genocide perpetrators or their relatives.

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5.1.3. Girinka and Behaviours

To establish how Girinka influences change in behavior, the researcher formulated the following statement: The received cow enabled us to plan and work together for our own

survival and the survival of our cow. Reviewed literature revealed that joint planning and implementation of activities to realize a shared objective, improves behavioural aspects of former enemies. This view informed the formulation of the foregoing statement. The table below presents the quantitative findings in response to the question which: The Cow we received enabled us to plan and work together for our own survival and the survival of our cow. The respondents were asked approve or disapproved based on strongly agree, agree, neutral disagree, strongly disagree.

Table: 5.2. Girinka and Positive Behaviours

Percentage (%)						
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total (%)	Total Frequency
2.0%	4.0%	9.3%	52.0%	32.7%	100	300
(6)	(12)	(28)	(156)	(98)		

Source: Researcher (2018)

Empirical findings showed that 52% (156) of respondents agreed, 32.7% (98) strongly agreed, 4% (12) disagreed and 2% (6) strongly disagreed with the statement that Girinka enabled joint planning and working together for genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District. Totalling agreed and strongly agreed resulted into 84.7% (254) of rate of confirmation. The empirical revelation was in tandem with the earlier stated view that joint planning and implementation of activities improves behaviours of former conflict parties. It was established that common survival and survival of the cow—improved behavioural aspects of former genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors in Kamonyi District.

This empirical evidence, (84.7%) is conformity with the theoretical perspective of John Paul Lederach, which emphasises that “conflict transformation requires deliberate interventions to minimize the destructive effects of social conflicts and maximize its potentialities for personal growth at physical, emotional and spiritual levels” (John Paul Lederach, 1997: 82). Transformation of genocidal violence to non-violent behaviours necessitate time, well-thought-out strategies, great human ingenuity and commitment from both genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators, state and non-state actors. Citing Adam Curle, Jean Paul Ledearch (1997) referred to this process as moving the two categories from “unpeaceful to peaceful relationships,” (p.64). Changing deeply rooted old habits—actions—was however noted not to be a simple undertaking, especially, in Rwanda where genocide was systematically planned, implemented in the most vicious manner.

Reviewed scholarly literature, for instance, Brounéus (2007) firmly accentuated the same view, noting that though former enemies must continue living harmoniously side by side, transforming genocidal attitudes and behaviours to collegial ones hardly comes fast and easily. The unending genocide ideology and violent acts aimed at causing terror to genocide survivors in some rural parts of Rwanda 24 years after the genocide against Tutsi attest to the foregoing statement.

In their impressive work which stressed the complexity and centrality of measuring change in fragile and post-conflict societies, Vanessa Corlazzoli and Jonathan White (2003) referred to measuring behaviours, relations, perceptions as “measuring unmeasurable,” (same research title). They also cited intangibility of change in behaviour, relations, and attitudes as critical challenges for peacebuilding scholars and practitioners in post conflict societies. The following citation of the two authors is illustrative:

“Intangible change is compounded with the complexity of the causal mechanisms that bring about change. It is difficult to measure how changes in values and perceptions manifest themselves, (directly or indirectly, intended or unintended) as behaviour change at the individual, group-, and/or societal-levels. How these changes interact with other elements of societal systems, for instance institutional reform or electoral outcomes, is even harder to measure (2003:9).

The foregoing view resonates with the caution from monitoring and evaluation specialists emphasizing the need “to recognize that, it is better to monitor and evaluate how interventions and actions contribute to an increase in peace or a decrease in violence,” (Vanessa Corlazzoli and Jonathan White, 2003:10).

While there is no empirical evidence pointing to how Girinka negatively influences behaviours of genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators, the two authors emphasized a shift from attribution of achieved behavioural change in post conflict societies to one key factor or actor to contribution. Reason? Vanessa Corlazzoli and Jonathan White, (2003) defined **attribution** as “when it is possible to demonstrate—[beyond reasonable doubt—] a direct causal link between an intervention and its impact,” (p.10). Considering peacebuilding context, for instance, Rwanda’s post genocide case, “many things are often happening at the same time—multiple actors and programmes may be working in the same area [...] conflict environments may rapidly evolve or devolve, programmes may have more than one causal strand,” (Vanessa Corlazzoli and Jonathan White, 2003:10). The call for shifting from attribution to contribution as advocated by Vanessa Corlazzoli and Jonathan White, enables sharing of achieved gains in terms of behavioural, relational, cultural and perceptions of former advisories. In view of this, Girinka reconciliation approach stands as one of the contributing factors of sustainable peace in Kamonyi District. Analysis of other contributing factors goes beyond the aim of this study.

Notwithstanding the complexities associated with changing genocidal behaviours advanced by the scholarly literature, quantitative empirical evidence showed a rather different behavioural landscape in Kamonyi District. Both former genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors attested to adoption of socially acceptable behaviours in Kamonyi District. To verify the authenticity of these revelations, the researcher triangulated claims of former genocide perpetrators with views of genocide survivors. For instance, the respondent from Muginca Cell, Mugina Sector remarked:

“After the cow-giving ceremony, the wife of the man who killed my people came and profusely apologized. She even testified that they looted things from our homes. Later on, she would render a helping hand in my farming activities.”

Joint actions such as farming, cutting glass for the cow, milking the cow, building houses for genocide survivors consisted of key indicators of a shift from “past adversarial behaviours to cooperative actions,” (Cheyanne Church and Mark M. Rogers,2006:3). The above is put into practical evidence by a genocide survivor from Masaka Cell, Rugarika Sector of Kamonyi District during the administration of questionnaire on 16th April 2018:

There is someone who apologized for his genocide responsibility to me. Thereafter, he ordered his children to always come and carry out home errands for me such as cutting cow glass, fetch water, collect firewood (A genocide survivor, Nyarubuye Cell, Rugarika Sector, date 16th April 2018)

Cases such as a genocide perpetrator milking the cow while the genocide survivor holding the calf, ploughing the land jointly, weeding gardens, harvesting together and building houses actualize the behavioural change from adversarial to cooperative partnerships, Cheyanne Church and Mark M. Rogers, (2006). There are practical evidences indicative of collective planning and cooperative actions between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators.

5.2. Girinka and Truth Revelations

Information about what happened, how it happened, who did what and the whereabouts of unburied genocide victims constitute integral parts of truth in far as Rwanda's post-genocide context is concerned. Likewise, truth about the past human wrongs such as genocidal violence significantly impacts on reconciliation and sustainable peace in Kamonyi District. In view of the foregoing view, knowing the extent *Girinka* enabled truth revelations about key aspects such as whereabouts of unburied genocide victims, causes of genocide, genocide prevention and so forth formed part of this research.

5.2.1. Truths about unburied genocide victims

24 years after genocide against Tutsi, survivors are still yearning for the truths relating to the whereabouts of people who were killed and have never been humanely buried. Yet, giving a decent burial is a humanely dignifying cultural practice the living Rwandans still owe to the genocide victims (the dead). Uncovering the whereabouts of the genocide victims remains one of the critical challenges to not only genocide survivors but the entire human community in the post genocide Rwanda. The ugliest part of the genocide against Tutsi was genocide survivors cannot trace the locations for the genocide victims. Compared to other genocide, the genocide against Tutsi did not have marked killing spots. Whereas, the post genocide leadership considers exhuming and giving genocide victims a culturally befitting burial as one of the key priorities, the hardest question remained—what can be done to enable revelation of truths about the whereabouts of genocide victims in the post genocide? This question is not only concerning some specific districts leaving others. Given the intensification of genocide in Kamonyi, it was worth-while to establish how *Girinka* contributed to knowing the whereabouts of unburied genocide victims. The testable statement appeared as thus: *Girinka* contributed to knowing

whereabouts of unburied genocide victims. The table below presents the rate of responses based on Don't know, Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.

Table 5.3 Girinka influencing revelation of unburied genocide victims.

Percentage (%)							
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Don't know	Total (%)	Total Frequency
0.7% (2)	15.7% (47)	18.7% (56)	55.3% (166)	3.7% (11)	6.0% (18)	100	300

Source: Researcher (2018)

Findings indicated that 55.3% (166) of respondents (Genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators) agreed with the view that Girinka contributed to knowing the whereabouts of unburied genocide victims in Kamonyi District. A total of 59% (177) of respondents (agreed and strongly agreed) revealed that Girinka contributed to knowing the whereabouts of unburied genocide victims in Kamonyi District. However, 15.7%(47) disagreed with the foregoing statement.

Referring to Cambodian genocidal violence and post genocide processes, John D. & Jaya Ramji-Nogales (2012) qualified truth as learning information relating to victim's suffering and the fate of their lost loved ones. It is on this basis that knowing the whereabouts of unburied victims gains prominence. To Rwandans providing a befitting burial is part of highly valued cultural practices. Nonetheless, finding the whereabouts of genocide victims or getting information leads is still a major challenge for genocide survivors. Literature pointed out that some truths revealed during *Gacaca* sessions helped in healing, forgiveness and reconciliation processes in Rwanda. Sentama (2009) stressed there is proximate nexus between sincere truth and non-repetition of genocidal behaviours by former genocide perpetrators.

The person I share the cow with showed me where my people were killed and buried during the genocide against Tutsi. He also told us the names of looters of our properties. This was mainly triggered by encounter meetings prior to giving and receiving of the cows. The cow catalysed the process of telling the truth and the process of taking of the cow enabled revelation of details, (A genocide survivor, Murehe Cell, Rukoma Sector, Kamonyi District, 11th April 2018).

Some scholars, for instance, Naqvi (2006) have even observed that accessing truthful information is right for genocide survivors. However, there are still cases of uncounted truth relating to the whereabouts of genocide victims. Plausibly, this accounts for 16.4% of respondents—(disagreed and strongly disagreed) who differed with the earlier statement. Identification of the whereabouts of unburied genocide victims is not only a major challenge for Kamonyi District, it is a national reconciliation and peacebuilding challenge in the post genocide Rwanda.

Compared to other quantitative evidence for other sub-variables under this research, noticeably, Girinka has marginal influence (59%) on truth revelation, specifically the whereabouts of unburied genocide victims in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. Respondents, especially from genocide perpetrators who testified during Gacaca sessions and again revealed information under Girinka arrangement attributed the reluctance to reveal information about the whereabouts of unburied bodies of genocide victims to fear of retributive justice, fear of re-traumatizing genocide survivors. A former genocide perpetrator from Ruvumu Cell, Musambira Sector testified to the researcher as thus: “The genocide we committed was awful. After realizing its dreadful nature, incessant fear consumes your entire life. Those who committed the crime are fearing the genocide survivors,” (respondent, Ruvumu Cell, Musambira Sector, 18th April 2018). Whether genocide survivors confirmed that repentant former genocide perpetrators showed

extreme fears the first time they revealed truth, the subsequent act of apologizing and responding with forgiveness released them from what some respondents referred to as mental prison.

In the earlier literature review, Erin Daly and Jeremy (2007) alluded to the problematics associated with truth vs. justice dichotomy, noting that, sometimes, revelation of truth, can be deeply injurious to genocide survivors, hence summoning what the two authors termed as—“the clamour for justice” (p.140). Whereas a good score of scholars emphasize the healing value in truths, they equally acknowledged the re-traumatizing effect of truth to its seekers—genocide survivors and eventually provoking the desire for retributive justice. From the above empirical revelation, it is important to note the following: first, the researcher did not establish whether there were cases of re-traumatizing truths triggered by Girinka however, many respondents (genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators) underscored that the first encounter meetings between the two parties to discuss their issues together were painful. Also, crucially, the above dichotomy—truth vs. justice—is not tenable to the overall research objective—to establish how Girinka Reconciliation Approach contributes to the realization of sustainable peace in Kamonyi District.

5.2.2. Girinka and Truth about Causes of Genocide

Scholars, reconciliation and peacebuilding practitioners have discussed the causes of the genocide against Tutsi varyingly. *Gacaca* sessions, the ongoing *NdumunyaRwanda* and genocide commemoration forums have provided platforms for revisiting the genocide against Tutsi; its causes, evolution among others. However, there are some Rwandans who still lack truths about the causes of genocide. Failure to know what caused the genocide can act as a barrier against effective Girinka based reconciliation and sustainable peace in Kamonyi District. This researcher asked respondents to affirm whether or not Cow given/received contributed to revelation of

truths about the causes of the genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda in Kamonyi District, Rwanda. The testable statement was formulated as: Girinka contributed to knowing the truth about causes of genocide against Tutsi. Respondents responded in form of I don't know, Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree and Strongly Disagree as demonstrated in the table below.

Table: 5.4. Girinka and Truth about Causes of Genocide in Kamonyi

Percentage (%)							
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Don't know	Total (%)	Total Frequency
0.3%	9.0%	19.7%	54.7%	14.0%	2.3%	100	300
(1)	(27)	(59)	(164)	(42)	(7)		

Source: Researcher (2018)

The findings indicated that 54.7%(164) of the respondents confirmed that Cow for Peace shared by genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators contributed to knowing the truth about the causes of the genocide in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. At least 14.0%(42) strongly agreed with the same statement. This implies, a total of 68.7%(206) of both genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators found Cow to have contributed to knowing the truth about the causes of genocide. Only 9%(27) disagreed with the foregoing statement. Respondents attested that the process of caring for the cows provided opportunities for regular social contacts such as meetings, culturally binding greetings and discussions about the cow's welfare, its feeding patterns and so forth. The more genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District intensified contacts and communication through the Girinka, the more the two categories gained confidence in the other's intentions and actions hence consolidating reconciliation.

The Rwanda Reconciliation Barometers (2015) revealed that 91.2% of Rwandans agreed with the assumptions that "causes of the genocide against Tutsi were frankly discussed and commonly

understood in Rwanda” (RRB, 2015:28) .According to RRB of 2010, at least 87% of Rwandans agreed that in sixteen years following the genocide, most of the major issues related to genocide causes and its consequences had been frankly discussed and understood (see RRB, 2015:28). A shared sense of the past, specifically, the causes of genocide, collective stitching of the violence free future will be much easier. A citation in RRB (2016) resonates with foregoing assertion, “Understanding the past is important because when one does not know where s/he comes from, she can’t know where s/he is going, (RRB, 2015:29). Simply put, as a shared resource, *Girinka* significantly contributed in providing safe-space for truthful information exchanges about the causes of genocide against Tutsis of Rwanda between the genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District.

5.2.3. *Girinka* and Truth about People’s Roles in the Genocide against Tutsi.

Knowing who did what in the genocide against Tutsi is a lingering challenge for not only justice but reconciliation and building sustainable peace after gruesome violence, genocide included. There is ample evidence from literature indicating that home-grown approaches enable revelation of truths related perpetrator’s actions during violence times. *Gacaca* is on record for enabling the disclosure of even bitter truths about people’s behaviours during the genocide against Tutsis in Rwanda. Likewise, *Girinka* Reconciliation Approach provides unique opportunities for knowing such information between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators based on how the approach brings the two categories together, bridging communicational and relational gaps and building confidence between two former protagonists. The preceding table presents findings relating to how *Girinka* enabled the revelation of truths about people’s roles in the genocide against Tutsi in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. Revealed truth through communications triggered by *Girinka* are not normally used against by person who

revealed it. The respondents scored the statement: Girinka contributed to knowing the whole truth about people’s roles in the genocide against Tutsi in Kamonyi District using Don’t know, Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree and Strongly Disagree. The table below presents the findings.

Table 5.5. Girinka and Truth about People’s Roles in the Genocide against Tutsi.

Percentage (%)							
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Don’t Know	Total (%)	Total Frequency
0.3% (1)	7.7% (23)	18.0% (54)	59.7% (179)	11.0% (33)	3.3% (10)	100	300

Source: Researcher (2018)

To ascertain whether truths about people’s actions would be revealed through Girinka, contributed a question was asked—“*Girinka contributed to knowing the whole truth about people’s role in the genocide.*” In response, 59.7% (179) agreed with the foregoing statement, 11%(33) strongly agreed and only 7.7%(23) disagreed with it. Agreed and strongly agreed responses to the statement stood at 70.7 %(212). One genocide survivor, shared information about a former genocide perpetrator who revealed his role in the 1994 genocide: “He said he killed my wife during the genocide against Tutsi. He came forward to apologize carrying local brew. He came with his wife,” (a genocide survivor, Cell Nyamiyaga, Sector Mukinga, Kamonyi District, 21st April 2018). A former genocide perpetrator said: “Through Girinka enabled free space—pre-Girinka encounter Meetings—I was able to fully understand the enormity of the crime of genocide I committed ...” (respondent, Cell Mukinga, Sector Nyamiyaga, Kamonyi District, and 21st April 2018).

Responses from genocide perpetrators indicated how meeting fellow genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors enabled them realize the heaviness of genocide burdens and shared desire of

off-loading genocide-related baggage—genocide perpetrators carried trauma caused by what they did during the genocide against Tutsi and the failure to release truths of what happened while genocide survivors carried trauma from what was done to them and failure to get truths about what happened and why it happened.

However, there were a good number of both genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators who stressed that whereas the revelation of one's role is possible, pointing out other's role is extremely hard because of fear of reprisals. Self-convictions to own-up, confessing personal responsibility in the genocide was largely influenced by pre-Girinka encounter meetings which acted as catalysts for critical self-reflection. Noteworthy, the pre-Girinka encounter meetings was part of the pre-conditions for receipt of cows by both genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi. A noted: "Girinka initiated dialogue between us. Through casual conversations, he was able to tell us what he did in the genocide, how he was arrested, detained and stories about his life in prison. From the repeated stories he keeps sharing, you realize truth therein," (A genocide survivor, Cell Ngoma, Nyamiyaga Sector, Kamonyi District, 19th April 2018).

5.2.4. Girinka and Prevention of Genocide against Tutsi in Kamonyi

Translating the globally cited *Never Again* ideal into reality has been largely rhetorical than practical in view of genocidal violence since the Holocaust of Jews. At global level, several genocide prevention attempts have been tried and borne minimal outcomes and impacts. In Rwanda, both conventional and unconventional strategies are integral part of the Genocide Prevention processes. Empirical findings by RRB (2015) revealed "84.1% Rwandans strongly indicated that genocide can never happen again in Rwanda," (p.41). The Executive Secretary for National Unity and Reconciliation Commission Jean Ndayisaba cited National Reconciliation as

one of the strategies for genocide prevention in Rwanda. Further down to Kamonyi District, at least 95.9% of respondents confirmed that “they prefer to die instead of engaging in divisions and/or genocide,” (RRB, 2015:37). Emphatically, the Executive Secretary noted Kamonyi’s Girinka programme acts as one of the home-grown approaches for promoting reconciliation hence paving the way for realization of sustainable peace. In view of the above, the researcher asked respondents to rate how Girinka can contribute to genocide prevention in Kamonyi District. The table below shows their responses.

Table 5.6. Girinka and Prevention of Genocide against Tutsi in Kamonyi

Percentage (%)						
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total (%)	Total Frequency
0% (0)	3.7% (11)	13.3% (40)	54.3% (163)	28.7% (86)	100	300

Source: Researcher (2018)

As the table above shows, 54.3% (163) respondents agreed with the view that Girinka can contribute to genocide prevention, 28.7% (86) strongly agreed and 3.7%(11) disagreed. Agreed and strongly agreed responses summed up, 83% (249) of genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District indicated that Girinka contributes to genocide prevention. Central to this statistical figures is answering the question of how. Both genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators testified how the Girinka influences mutual understanding, strengthens social ties, enables opening up communication lines, and removes suspicions and negative ethnic stereotypes in Kamonyi Districts. In earlier sections, empirical evidence showed rate of inter-marriage between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District. If the foregoing and emerging empirical evidence—statistical and verbal claims of genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators—are incontestable

facts, undeniably, the much-admired Cow meaningfully contributes to genocide prevention in Kamonyi District.

5.2.5. Girinka and Truth for Healing

Reviewed literature provided two sides of truths. First, is the power to heal inner-wounds of not only genocide survivors, but even the healing of the perpetrators. Secondly, the power of truths to re-traumatize genocide survivors if it is inappropriately delivered, Erin Daly and Jeremy (2007). The latter has been part and parcel of Rwanda’s post genocide processes. For this study, the researcher was interested in the former. The empirical findings in the table below provides statistical findings related to healing of inner wounds through Girinka triggered truth.

Table 5.7. Girinka and Truth Revelation for Healing

Percentage (%)						
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total (%)	Total Frequency
0%(0)	3.7%	13.3%	54.3%	28.7%	100	150
	(6)	(20)	(82)	(43)		

Source: Researcher (2018)

Asked whether Girinka triggered truths which contributed to healing of inner-wounds caused by genocide, 54.3%(82) genocide survivors agreed with the statement and 28.7%(43) strongly agreed. Summed up, 83%(125) of genocide survivors strongly agreed and agreed. Guided by the above statistical facts, there is noticeable harmony between empirical evidence and the reviewed scholarly literature, specifically relating to truth and healing. Centrally, there is proximate linkage between healing, reconciliation and sustainable peace in Kamonyi District. To demonstrate a psychological shift from the past to the present, one respondent said: “For myself, I never talked to the person who killed my people even not greeting him. But, these days, I don’t

have any problems in my heart” (a genocide survivor, Cell Bihembe, Sector Rugarika, 17th April 2018).

Many respondents cited routine contact/meetings, informal discussions, and working together while taking care of the cows, joint works in farms and so forth, as opportunities for revelation of non-injurious truths by genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District. Genocide survivors pointed out the ways former genocide perpetrators extend helping hand to genocide survivors through managing domestic errands, building genocide widows are indicative of change in attitudes and practices.

5.3. Girinka and Apology

One of the hardest hurdles after genocidal violence is getting genuine apologies from former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District. Yet, according to many peacebuilding scholars, there cannot be meaningful reconciliation and sustainable peace without apology. Similarly, genuine apology from former genocide perpetrators constituted one of the expectations of genocide survivors after 1994 genocide against Tutsis in Kamonyi and Rwanda as a whole. Reviewed literature pointed out that apology involves the former genocide perpetrator taking responsibility of the pains inflicted onto the genocide survivors regardless of risks associated with taking such decision, (Carl Schneider, 2007 & Alison Dundes Renteln 2008).

Assessing how apology and forgiveness contribute to reconciliation in Rwanda, 70.8% and 88.3% the Rwanda Reconciliation Barometers(2010 and (2015) respectively confirmed so with above statistical revelations. In view of the above, we formulated the statement: Girinka facilitated former genocide perpetrators to plead for apology in Kamonyi District and we asked

respondents to rate it using Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree and Strongly Disagree scores. The table below presents the findings.

Table: 5.8. Girinka facilitated former genocide perpetrators to plead for apology

Percentage (%)						
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total (%)	Total Frequency
0% (0)	5.3% (16)	7.0% (21)	57.3% (172)	29.7% (89)	100	300

Source: Researcher (2018)

In view of the empirical findings in Kamonyi District indicated that, 57.3% (172) respondents agreed that Girinka facilitated former genocide perpetrators to plead for apology to the genocide survivors, 29.7%(89) strongly agreed while 5.3%(16) disagreed. Summed up, 87% (261) of respondents confirmed that Girinka facilitated former genocide perpetrators to make apology to genocide survivors. The Executive Director of CARSA, the local Non Governmental Organization that has been at the forefront of giving cows under Girinka arrangement cited many examples of survivors and former genocide perpetrators not only freely exchanging cows, but developing deeper relations and promoting forgiveness instead of apology. Such have happened, according to CARSA’s authorities as a result of continual interactions, for instance, when former genocide perpetrators come twice in the home of the genocide survivors to milk the cow.

The cow has enabled former genocide perpetrators to go beyond acknowledging their crimes but to seek forgiveness and understand the deepness of the consequences of the crimes they committed. This is a result of former genocide perpetrators coming twice to the home of the genocide survivor to milk the cow given. After milking the cow, definitely, they share milk, (Executive Director, CARSA, SSIs, May 2018, Kigali, Rwanda).

Girinka Reconciliation Approach facilitated former genocide perpetrators to verbally express their apologies and escorting their words with concrete actions in Kamonyi District of Rwanda.

This is in agreement with Janna Thompson's central argument in the *Age of Apology* (2008) emphasizing both genuine expressive regrets and reparative actions by the apologizer to the offended. What makes Janna Thompson's view slightly problematic is, he did not specify how much should be expressively said in form of apology and how much reparative works to be done—quantitatively, qualitatively and for how long. Failure to determine how much expressive apology and reparative actions constitutes risks to be attacked as enslavement of former genocide perpetrators by genocide survivors.

The following sub-section provides elements of that constitute apology. Provision of element of apology responds to the noticed divergences on definition of apology. Some of these elements of apology included—sincere admission of guilty, taking responsibility, expression of commitment for non-repetition of crimes by the former genocide perpetrator, among others.

5.3.1. Girinka and Admission of Guilt

Former genocide perpetrator's admission of their genocidal actions is critical for genocide survivors to accept the genuineness of apology from the apologizer. Making such attempts marks a self-liberating journey for healing, reconciliation and building of sustainable peace in any post genocide society. The researcher sought to understand how Girinka facilitated admission of guilt by former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District as the following table presents. The testable statement was formulated as thus: Girinka has helped genocide perpetrators to admit guilt for the crimes they committed in Kamonyi District.

Table: 5.9. Girinka and Admission of Guilt in Kamonyi District

Percentage (%)						
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total (%)	Total Frequency
0%	7.0%	12.0%	55.3%	25.3%	100	150
(0)	(11)	(18)	(83)	(38)		

Source: Researcher (2018)

As per the table above, 55.3% (83) of genocide survivors confirmed that Girinka facilitated the admission of guilt while 25.3%(38) strongly agreed. At least 12.0% (18) were neutral/undecided and 7.0%(11) disagreed. Considering the agreed and strongly agreed response rate, a total of 86.6 %(121) of genocide survivors confirmed that Girinka facilitated the admission of guilt by former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District. “The person who killed my relatives came forward and apologized to me and my mother. This was bit stressful but the cow we share facilitated meeting, building trust in him,” (Kidahwe Cell, Nyamiyaga Sector, 19th April 2018). As a reminder, admission of guilt is one of the major elements of genuine apology seeking.

5.3.2. Girinka and Taking Responsibility for the Harm Done

Accepting to take responsibility and commitment to repetition of genocidal violence is an integral element of genuine apology. It is a risky-undertaking endeavour, however, especially, owning up awful responsibility such as genocidal violence and its associated consequences to victims and genocide survivors. Whereas committing to not repeat certain offences can be easy, taking responsibility for killing and causing indescribable pains and destruction, is one of the hardest endeavours of post genocide apology-seeking processes. Owning up of even lesser offences are not the easiest of human activities. Nonetheless, it is a central pre-condition for any genuine apology. In this study, genuine apology constituted integral part of reconciliation which eventually leads to sustainable peace in Kamonyi District. The table below entails the statistical

empirical evidence relating to how Girinka facilitated taking responsibility for the genocidal harm done and committing to not repeat it.

Table: 5.10. Girinka and Taking Responsibility for the Harm Done

Percentage (%)						
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total (%)	Total Frequency
0%(0)	3.0%	9.3%	49.7%	34.3%	100	150
	(5)	(14)	(75)	(52)		

Source: Researcher (2018)

As the table above indicates, 49.7% (75) of genocide survivors in Kamonyi District agreed with the view that Girinka facilitated taking responsibility and committing to non-repetition of similar genocidal violence acts. In view of the foregoing statement, 34.3% (52) strongly agreed, 9.3% (14) chose to remain neutral while 3.0 % (5) disagreed. Agreed and strongly agreed combined makes 84% (127) of respondents confirming that Girinka facilitated former genocide perpetrators to take responsibility and promised no repeat of genocidal violence in Kamonyi District. Recounting how some of the former genocide perpetrator’s admission of guilt, one respondent revealed:

A group of former genocide perpetrators came and pleaded for forgiveness through sincere apologies. They confessed that at the peak of the genocide against Tutsi, they looted my house’s roof tiles and thereafter returned them. They later roofed and rehabilitated my house, (A genocide survivor, Nyarubuye Cell, Rugaruka Sector, 16th April 2018).

Noting the earlier noted fact that 87.5% of Rwandans confirmed that Girinka contributes to reconciliation as per Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer (2015) findings, it is worth-while to argue that if apology constitutes reconciliation, Girinka’s role in bettering reconciliation is scientifically incontestable. However, this section largely focused on a much smaller component

of apology—taking responsibility and committing to non-repetition of genocidal violence acts in Kamonyi District. This requires further analysis before drawing conclusions.

5.3.3. Girinka and Recognition of Harm Done and Its Consequences

Scholars on apology note that as long as the perpetrator has not recognized the harm he caused to the victims and survivors and longer term consequences thereof, apology plea from him needs to be treated with reservations and hesitations. As such, complete and sincere apology plea should state perpetrator’s perceived or actual genocidal acts, naming the harm done and their proportional consequences to the genocide survivors and victims. Guided by scholarly arguments, the researcher asked respondents—genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators to rate the extent at which Girinka facilitated former genocide perpetrator to recognize the harm done and its consequences. The scores were graded as Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, and Strongly Disagree.

Table: 5.11. Girinka facilitated the former genocide perpetrator’s recognition of harm done and its consequences

Percentage (%)						
Strongly Disagree (%)	Disagree (%)	Neutral (%)	Agree (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Total (%)	Total Frequency
2.6% (8)	4.0% (12)	7.7% (23)	49.0% (147)	36.7% (110)	100	300

Source: Researcher (2018)

At least 49.0%(147) of the respondents they agreed, 36.7%(110) strongly agreed 4.0%(12) disagreed and 7.7%(23) kept a neutral position. A positive view can be got from the summation of agreed and strongly response: 85.7 %(257). Failure to realize one’s responsibility in causing harm to another is recipe for repetition of the committed crimes. Former genocide perpetrators mainly the repentant ones confirmed that deliberate refusal to recognize harm committed to

genocide survivors is not only painful, it reverses reconciliation processes in Kamonyi District. Nonetheless, in the earlier discussions, there were cases of genocide perpetrators providing support to the survivors of genocide in managing home errands exemplify recognition of harm done. Houses of the widows of genocide destroyed during the genocide have been rehabilitated under this arrangement. The following statement is a testament of the recognition of harm done to genocide survivors by former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District:

In the first place, I had the responsibility in the genocide against Tutsi. The cow-giving acted as an eye-opener for me because I was able to see the consequences of my [genocidal] actions. Now, I can reassure genocide survivors that I cannot repeat it. I compare the life of genocide to Jesus on the cross. We were responsible for all this....(a former genocide perpetrator, Cell Murehe, Sector Rukoma, Kamonyi District, 11th April 2018).

Views from the Semi-Structured Interviews with respondents from National Girinka Coordinator, CARSA Executive Director and NURC Executive Secretary noted that self-driven reparative actions by former genocide perpetrators to genocide survivors translate verbal apologies into actions in Kamonyi District. Referring to reparative actions by former genocide perpetrators, one respondent said: “He came forward and apologized. He provided support through actions such as giving me fertilizers, supporting me in my farming activities. This expressed commitment for improved relationships,” Kivumu Cell, Musambira Sector, Kamonyi District, 18th April 2018).

5.4. Girinka and Collective Identity/Rwandaness

The 1994 Genocide against Tutsi was a direct product of ethnic divides in Rwanda. Studies about the contribution of ethnicity in Rwanda confirmed this assertion. Ethnicity was outlawed in the post genocide Rwanda after considering how harmful it can be when used by manipulative elites. Referring to bettering relationships, Cheyanne Church and M. Rogers (2006) underlined, it is

imperative to move formerly divided people “from different ethnicities to a common nationality as a path towards reconciliation and sustainable peace (p.18). Like *Girinka, NdumunyaRwanda*, embodies unique opportunities for achieving a shared Rwandan society after a shattered one by 1994 genocide against Tutsi.

Testimonies of genocide perpetrators gathered by Bamboriki (2017) affirmed this foregoing view. Repentant genocide prisoners and former genocide perpetrators recommended that there is a need to devise mechanisms for undoing Tutsi-Hutu and Twa ethnic divides for reconciliation and peacebuilding to take root after the 1994 genocide against Tutsi. One resident of Rukoma, Kamonyi District, emphasized:

There is a close relationship between national identity and reconciliation because when people feel that they share nationality [*Rwandaness*], it makes them understand that what can bring consequences to one can also impact the other since they share the same nation, (RRB, 2015:48)

In his seminal work, Oliver Ramsbotham (2017) stressed two schools of thought on identity reconstruction after violence. Central to this study was his emphasis that after deadly ethnic-based violence:

“What is required is nothing less than an eventual redefinition of self/other identity constructs themselves, so that a sense of ‘we’ replaces the us/them’ split or—at least identities based on a view of ‘them’ as the enemy and’ us’ as the embattled victims begin to dissolve,” (Oliver Ramsbotham et al., 2017:289).

In view of this, the researcher asked genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District whether *Girinka* contributes to formation of collective identity or *Rwandaness*. According to NURC Report—*Ndi Umunyarwanda* Program: Perceptions, Results and Challenges (2017), “*Ndi Umunyarwanda* made it possible for us to know that what unites us is far authentic and important that what divides us. Rwandans are “graduating” from more divisive

identities to a more inclusive one,” (p.45). In view of this, the research sought to determine how Girinka reinforces *NdumunyaRwanda/Rwandaness* between the two categories—genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District of Rwanda.

Table: 5.12. Girinka and *NdumunyaRwanda/Rwandaness*

Percentage (%)						
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total (%)	Total Frequency
0%	3.0%	7.0%	50.7%	39.3%	0	300
(0)	(10)	(21)	(142)	(118)		

Source: Researcher (2018)

According to the empirical findings, at least 50.7% (142) of respondents, specifically, the former genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors confirmed that Girinka reinforces *NdumunyaRwanda*/collective identity in Kamonyi District, 39.3 % (118) Strongly agreed and only 3.0%(10) disagreed. Whereas the NURC Report above states that Rwandans have realized—what unites them is greater or what NURC referred to as “far authentic” than what divides them, (p.45), the report did not highlight some of the unique unifying factors of Rwandans. Knowledge of these unifying factors would enable harnessing them to consolidate reconciliation processes that will ultimately lead to sustainable peace in Rwanda. Arguably, the researcher considers Girinka as one of these unique unifying factors for Rwanda. Empirical evidence emerging from Kamonyi District—specifically, the total sum of 90% (260) respondents agreed and strongly agreed with the statement—Girinka reinforces *NdumunyaRwanda*.

There two valuable lessons that can be drawn from the above 90% (260) record of respondents confirming that, Girinka reinforces *NdumunyaRwanda* in Kamonyi District. First, this re-

affirmed the earlier presented views both from literature findings relating to the considerable approval and cultural respect to cows in Rwanda. Whereas this 90% of respondents are from Kamonyi District, this confirmation is widely generalizable and applicable to most parts of Rwanda. Another worthy important point to note is, *NdumunyaRwanda* forums exhibit greater and unique opportunities for revealing more truths, trigger apologies, forgiveness and healing for both genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in the whole post genocide Rwanda. Given the already discussed socio-economic and cultural significances of cows to Rwanda, the foregoing empirical revelation provided valuable basis to recommend to reconciliation and peacebuilding actors to draw best practices from Kamonyi for scalability and replicability to other districts of Rwanda.

Considering the sensitivities and transformational impacts of *NdumunyaRwanda*, its success rests on depoliticizing its process and its outcomes, good will of both state and non-state actors, ample resources in terms of human, logistical and budgets. Further, *NdumunyaRwanda's* effective implementation and success needs selfless champions exhibiting higher integrity like the one that exemplified *Gacaca's Inyangamugayo* (wo/men of integrity). However, more nuanced elements need further analysis before more conclusions and recommendations.

5.4.1. Girinka-based *NdumunyaRwanda* and Reduction of ethnic divides in Kamonyi District

Ethnic divisions essentially contributed to what Paloutzian & Kalayjian, (2009:4) referred to as “episodic violence, and structural violence.” The foregoing descriptions on the forms of violence suggested by Paloutzian & Kalayjian, characterized the path towards the genocide against Tutsi in Kamonyi District and Rwanda as a whole. For instance, one’s ethnic identity determined how long a section of Rwandans would live, his prospects to enjoy prosperity or poverty, peace or

living in a permanent state of fear of state-instigated violence in pre-genocide Kamonyi. The objectives of *NdumunyaRwanda* programme in the NURC Report (2017) strongly emphasize eradication of ethnic divisions and promoting unity and reconciliation of Rwandans. Similarly, eradication of ethnic identity forms part of Rwanda’s unity and reconciliation agenda after 1994 against Tutsi. The table below presents empirical findings of how Girinka-based *NdumunyaRwanda* reduces ethnic divides in Kamonyi District. The testable statement was: Girinka-based *NdumunyaRwanda* reduces ethnic divides in Kamonyi District and the responses were rated based on **strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree and strongly disagree.**

Table: 5.13. Girinka-based *NdumunyaRwanda* and Reduction of Ethnic Divides

Percentage (%)						
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total (%)	Total
0%	4.0%	6.0%	55.7%	33.3%	100	300
(0)	(12)	(18)	(167)	(100)		

Source: Researcher (2018)

Results indicated that 55.7% (167) of respondents from Kamonyi District agreed that Girinka-based *NdumunyaRwanda/Rwandaness* reduces ethnic divides, while 33.3%(100) strongly agreed and only 4.0%(12) disagreed. Respondents agreed and strongly agreeing with the statement that Girinka-based *NdumunyaRwanda* strategy reduces ethnic divides stood at 89%(267). From this, we can deduce Girinka-based *NdumunyaRwanda* significantly fast-tracks the removal of ethnic divides in Kamonyi District. This study finding (89%) (267) is in line with objectives of *NdumunyaRwanda* (NURC, 2017), specifically, objective one—“to help Rwandans to transcend divisive ethnic identities,” (p.26). In Kamonyi District, Girinka contributes in actualizing the

above objective by making ethnic identities weaker as evidenced by the forthcoming remark and many more that would not be considered because of space:

These days, because of Girinka, we no longer see themselves as Hutus and Tutsis. We see ourselves as Rwandans than ethnic divisions, (A genocide perpetrator, Cell Gahinga, Gacurambwenge Sector, Kamonyi District, 13th April 2018).

5.4.2. Girinka-based *NdumunyaRwanda* and Sustainable Peace

This peacebuilding goal is drawn from the devastating outcome of ethnic divisions—destroyed *Rwandanness* and the fabric of Rwandans. Most historians argue that peace exited from Rwanda once Rwandans embraced divisive ethnic policy in early 1930s. Reviewed literature confirmed this view. For instance, the study conducted on Cattle, Identity, and genocide in the African Great Lakes Region, Andrew Reid (internet source) observed that:

“Much has been made of the difference in physical appearance between Tutsi and Hutu, but, faced by their practical inability to distinguish between the two, the Belgians authorities [colonialists] conducted a census that issued identity cards that defined Tutsi as those who possessed 10 or more cattle and Hutu those who had fewer. The resultant identity documents have been used ever since to define ethnicity...and indeed, these identities were used at roadblocks in 1994 to determine who was spared and who was murdered (Internet source: [articles/10.5334/ai.0412/galley/197/download/](#), August, 2018).

Basing on the destructive nature of ethnic division, the researcher argues that Girinka reconciliation approach encompasses greater opportunities for realizing a peaceful, secure and a safer future for Kamonyi people. Both strategies—Girinka and *NdumunyaRwanda* are not only mutually supportive, they are inclusive, transformative in many ways. The reviewed literature uncovered two major facts—first, the two strategies bind Rwandans together as opposed to dividing them. Secondly, both are listed as post genocide home-grown solutions in Rwanda. This research was focused on how Girinka-based *NdumunyaRwanda* influences the realization of sustainable peace in Kamonyi District. The table below and subsequent analysis and inferences

show extent at which Girinka-based *NdumunyaRwanda* influences the realization of Sustainable Peace in Kamonyi District. The scoring was based on Strong Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly Disagreed.

Table: 5.14. Girinka-based *NdumunyaRwanda* and Sustainable Peace

Percentage (%)						
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total (%)	Total Freq.
0%	1.7%	20.3%	54.7%	23.0%	100	300
(0)	(5)	(61)	(164)	(69)		

Source: Researcher (2018)

At least 54.7%(164) of respondents agree that Girinka-based *NdumunyaRwanda* influences the realization of the Sustainable Peace in Kamonyi District whereas 23.0%(69) strongly agreed and 20.3%(61) kept neutral position (undecided). Agreed and strongly agreed responses summed up together revealed that 77.7%(233) of respondents in Kamonyi District confirmed that *Girinka-NdumunyaRwanda* influences the realization of Sustainable Peace in Kamonyi District of Rwanda.

The two empirical revelations specifically on how Girinka-based *NdumunyaRwanda* reduces ethnic divides and equally how it influences the realization of Sustainable Peace in Kamonyi District is in conformity with the observation made by NURC Report (2017): “compared to the expected effects of *Ndi-Umunyarwanda*, it appears that the program is likely to produce some better outcomes in some areas than in others,” (p.42). The most important areas to be effected by *NdimunyaRwanda* more than others in Rwanda, and Kamonyi District in particular, included: “reduction of ethnicity, reconciliation and open debates on forgiveness in Rwanda,” (NURC Report, 2017:42). Whereas this study concurred with the above observations in the NURC

Report, specifically, revelations from empirical findings indicated that Girinka-based *NdimunyaRwanda* disposes more valuable potentialities: the revelation of important truths, triggering apology pleas, building trust—as integral prerequisites of reconciliation in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. One respondent put the above views into proper perspective. To capture the respondent’s views as there, it is worth-while to write them as verbatimly expressed:

Ukuntu mbibona, iyo nicaye nkibuka ubukana bwa jenocide yabaye hano birandenga. Ntekereza ko iyo bitaza kunyura muri nzira, ntiyari kumbohokera ngo ambwize ukuri. Guca bugufi no kwemera kugondeka tugafatanya ku kwita ku nka twembi byatumye mwizera. Niyo twicaye duhuza urugwiro maze akatubwira uruhare rwe—loosely translated in English as—Myself, this is how I see it. When I recall the viciousness of the genocide in this area, it passes my imagination. I think if it was not because of this [Girinka] strategy, he would not have opened up to tell me the truth. He was humble and accepted joint responsibility of taking care of this cow. Whenever we are seated, upon gained trust from us, he narrates stories relating to his role in the genocide (A genocide survivor, Bugoba Cell, Rukoma Sector, 11th April 2018)

The above citation embodied what the researcher considered as integral prerequisites of Girinka reconciliation approach—truth, trust, elements of apology (acknowledgement of one’s genocidal roles), and so forth. Emphatically, based on the above revelations, the foregoing and forthcoming empirical evidences, the researcher can infer, the cumulative effects of the integral prerequisites of reconciliation influence the realization of Sustainable Peace in Kamonyi District.

NURC Report (2017) indicated, “*NdimunyaRwanda*, being a free space, people are more disposed to participat[ing] and share their stories, both victims [genocide suspects] and those who caused harm or their relatives in a more sincere atmosphere,” (p.42). Whereas *NdimunyaRwanda* provides free space for revelation of truth for genocide survivors, former genocide perpetrators and all Rwandans, this study did not investigate how this specific integral

prerequisite—*NdumunyaRwanda*—triggered the truth relating to genocide against Tutsi in Kamonyi District. The potentiality of *NdumunyaRwanda* to reveal truth was scantily uncovered by this study focused on Girinka in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. However, this was not the overall objective of the study. Therefore, the researcher argues that the quality and quantity of truth related to genocide against Tutsi elicited by the ongoing *NdumunyaRwanda* needs to be scientifically studied in the future as an independent study.

5.5. Girinka Influencing Trust-building

Ramsbotham et al., (2017) made a key observation— after “too much has happened and too many relations have been severed...and too much traumas endured [...] to reach the transformative levels of bridging differences and restoring trust requires a capacity for innovation and creative renewal (p.289). Central to this research was the home-grown solution— Girinka—as an innovative reconciliatory approach embodying capacities for restoration of trust between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators. After all, Bamboriki Edouard (2017) and many other post genocide writers cited “lack of trust, as one of the grave consequences of the genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda. Other consequences the author cited include: a deep sense of shame, embarrassment, sorrow, disgrace, anger and hatred, sickness, diseases. Some of these consequences were confirmed by respondents, and they sought apologies and forgiveness as strategies for offloading burdens associated with afore-stated consequences.

Peacebuilding scholars have likened trust as a social glue that binds inter-personal, group and social relations tightly together. In this study, it is part of the integral prerequisites of Girinka Reconciliation Approach in Kamonyi District. The researcher pre-supposed that Girinka created trust between former genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. However, trust is of many levels—trust in someone he will take one’s property and

return it, but cannot trust you to hide you when he is being hunted by perceived or actual enemies. Scholarly literature presented trust as a risk-taking endeavour involving a wide range of human spheres—social, psychological, emotional, and relational and many others. Entwined this way, trust is so complex and it is pertinent to establish how Girinka has restored it between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. In this section, the researcher asked hard questions and respondents did not only provide responses, they further enriched the research findings with cultural insights relating to asked questions. The proceeding table and subsequent analysis present the findings. The table presents findings showing how Girinka created trust between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators. The scoring was based on Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree and Strongly Agree.

Table: 5.15. Girinka created trust between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators

Percentage (%)						
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total (%)	Total Freq.
0%	3.3%	10.3%	52.0%	34.0%	100	300
(0)	(10)	(31)	(156)	(102)		

Source: Researcher (2018).

Respondents, 52.0%(156) agreed, 34.0%(102) strongly agreed that Girinka created trust between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators. A total of 86 %(258) of former genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors confirmed that Girinka created trust between them (greed and strongly agreed). Some authors qualified trust in such post-genocide context as risk-undertaking involving constant calculations of genocide perpetrator’s intentions, motivations and

actions. Considering how weighty trust is, it was imperative to test the meaning of trust by asking harder questions to both former genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors. Noteworthy, some of the questions, were extremely hard and carried deeper cultural meaningful and risked to be viewed as unbecoming in Rwanda's cultural context. For instance, in Rwanda culture, one respondent said, no living parent is allowed to relinquish full child caring responsibilities to another person so easily. Yet, to test the quality and level of trust, the researcher asked respondents to respond to this question.

5.5.1. Leaving one's child to a former Genocide Perpetrator

For most parents, a child is the most precious gift there is in human life. The strangest part of genocide against Tutsi was, even mothers disowned and killed their own children on the basis of ethnicity. In Bamporiki's book: *Reflections of Genocide Perpetrators* (2017), there are harrowing testimonies of mothers who killed their children. One of them, is Mujawariya Immaculée, who killed her children fathered by a Tutsi. Referring to testimonies of genocide mothers, Bamboriki acknowledged:

“When a woman turns to evil, she does it so completely. When she sets off on a path to wickedness, there can be no stopping her. If she turns her back to motherhood, she may die without ever claiming that revered status (2017:96).

Paradoxically, in most African contexts, Rwanda inclusive and Kamonyi in particular, child caring role is largely associated with mothers. Whereas child-mother intimate relationship remains unquestionable, how mothers turned into murderers of their own children during the 1994 genocide against Tutsi remains equally unfathomable to most peacebuilding scholars and practitioners. The researcher cannot claim to have answers to this post genocide puzzle. However, it forms part of complexities of genocidal violence meted out against Tutsi in Rwanda.

In view of above, a child’s safety and security are among the topmost priorities of nearly all parents (at least among mentally stable ones) in the post genocide Rwanda and Kamonyi District. The cited behaviour of Mujawariya Immaculēe (Bamboriki, 2017:97) is an indicator of how trust was severely fractured by genocide. Therefore, leaving your child under the care of a former genocide perpetrator can be one of the ultimate tests of trust. Cheyanne Church and Mark M. Rogers (2006) remarked: “In order to monitor a change in the level of trust between groups, one might look at child care practice to see if adults from one group are permitted to care for the children from another group, (p.44). Young children are always assumed to be too weak and vulnerable to harmful agents including actual or perceived adversaries. In view of this, we formulated the proceeding statement as a litmus test aimed at gauging the level of trust between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District. The respondents were asked to rate the statement: Girinka has created trust to the extent that I can even leave my child under the care of a former genocide perpetrator/survivor without fear. By care, the researcher meant temporal child care which is a usual practice amongst families with trustful relationships in rural parts of Rwanda. The testable statement was: Girinka has created trust to the extent that I can even leave my child with the former genocide perpetrator/survivor without fear. The responses were Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.

Table.5.16.Leaving one’s child to a former Genocide Perpetrator

Percentage (%)						
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total (%)	Total
2.0%	2.0%	12.0%	45.3%	20.0%	100	150
(3)	(3)	(18)	(68)	(30)		

Source: Researcher (2018)

Respondents (genocide survivors), 45.3%(68) agreed, while 20.0%(30) strongly agreed, 12.0%(18) chose to be neutral (undecided) to the statement. Summing up agreed and strongly agreed responses indicated that 65.3 %(98) of genocide survivors confirming that they can leave their children as a measure of quality trust they have for former genocide perpetrators.

Noteworthy, all respondents (genocide survivors) stressed the following: first, trusting the former genocide perpetrators took a lot of time and soul-searching. Secondly, respondents emphasized that Girinka spearheaded by CARSA significantly contributed to creating trust between genocide survivors and former and former genocide perpetrators. Thirdly, they underscored the preparatory encounter meetings between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators to have been transformative and foundational steps for the next stages. Genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators confirmed that although the first days of the preparatory encounter meetings were extremely stressful, they triggered what was unexpected—renewal of social interactivity, mutual solidarity, intra-personal tranquillity and conviviality—all these are bedrocks of trust.

Fourthly, sustainable trust did not get approval of both genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators. To indicate this, many respondents especially from genocide survivors noted that sustainable trust cannot be guaranteed because of existing cases of genocide ideology, reluctance to give information about uncovered genocide victims among others. However, these are not only found in Kamonyi District since they appeared as key barriers of national reconciliation in most of the reports produced by Rwanda's National Unity and Reconciliation Commission. Whereas there is laudable progress towards trust between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators, its sustainability raised many questions amongst genocide survivors. One respondent said:

Ikizere kirambye kuboneka bifata igihe kinini. Niyo mpamvu bitaragerwaho. Imitima ikinangiye iba ikomyi. Ikizere kirambye gisaba imitima imenetse—meaning—realizing sustainable trust takes long time. Unrepentant hearts act as a barrier for it. In my view, sustainable trust is a product of healed hearts as opposed to hard and unrepentant hearts (A genocide perpetrator, Gihira Cell, Gacurabwenge Sector, Kamonyi District, 13th April 2018).

Referring to complexity of achieving sustainable trust, many respondents recited a proverb in Kinyarwanda—*umunzidutsi wakare cyane ntiyageze ku mutima wa muntu*—translated in English as—the earliest man has never reached the farthest organ of man—his heart. Such references were made whenever the researcher asked respondents to comment on embracing sustainable trust after 1994 genocide against Tutsi in Kamonyi District. In Kinyarwanda, such references are always used to call for cautionary trusting as opposed to embracing uncontrolled sustainable trust.

“Up to now, there are people who have not known bodies of their people. Whereas we can work, freely exchange, eat and share together, sustainable trust is a heavy one to demand from us. Full trusting of someone who killed is not easy,” (A genocide survivor, Gahinga Cell, Gacurambwenge Sector, Kamonyi District, 13th April 2018)

All genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators emphasized that whereas Girinka consolidated restoration of positive relationships, neither quality social meetings nor trust-building process would have been achieved if there were no prior-preparations of the two categories through capacity-building forums and encounter forums. In fact, many respondents noted that had they received the cow before prior-preparatory meetings, other than slaughtering the cow or letting the cow die of starvation, nothing else would have happened. Prior sensitization of recipients of cows emerged strongly as a critical success factor for Girinka in Kamonyi District. Admittedly, this emerged as one of the unintended outcomes of the research as the researcher had not foreseen its importance before conducting the research. Also, in the foreseen discussions, literature revealed that the success of genocide was dependent on prior

sensitization of peasant citizens sometimes “requiring the presence of an ‘important person’ from Kigali to lend the event an aura of added respectability” (Bangwanubusa, 2009:29). While the importance of prior sensitization was uncovered, the researcher did not quantitatively determine the extent it influences Girinka’s success in Kamonyi District.

5.5.2. Trust and meeting basic human needs

In order to test the quality of trust, the researcher asked respondents to rate the following statement: “I chose to trust former genocide perpetrator or genocide survivor to meet basic human needs—shelter, food, water, sense of belong.” Meeting basic human is usually a major concern for most rural based former genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors in Kamonyi District. The researcher’s motivation for asking this question was to determine the extent the two categories equated trust with basic human needs. The higher the rate (responses)—agreeing and strongly agreeing—the lower the quality of trust between the former genocide perpetrators and genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District. Reviewed literature indicated that trust is such a precious human value that it cannot be downgraded to meeting basic human needs. This researcher emphasizes, trust is earned after a long process of investment of truth, dialogue and sincere acknowledgement of one’s genocidal acts. This makes trust a complex, but an essential outcome of changed attitudes, behaviours and relations of the two categories—genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators. Ultimately, the foregoing positive changes, if sustained for a longer period can lead to the realization of sustainable peace in post-conflict societies. The testable statement was: I chose to trust genocide perpetrators/genocide survivors to meet common life basic needs (shelter, food, water, sense of belonging). The responses were guided Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree and Strongly Disagree.

Table: 5.17. Trust and Basic Human Needs

Percentage (%)						
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total (%)	Total
16.7%	24.0%	8.7%	40.0%	5.3%	100	150
(25)	(36)	(13)	(60)	(8)		

Source: Researcher (2018)

The findings revealed that only 40.0%(60) of the respondents agreed with the statement, 5.3%(8) strongly agreed. At least 40.0% (60) agreed while 24.0 %(36) disagreed. Added together, (agreed and strongly agreed responses), 45.3%(68) confirmed the statement while 40.7% disqualified the statement. Considering the response gaps above, arguably, trust can hardly develop because of meeting basic human needs but trusting involves deeper, intricate and interwoven arrays of human realm—social, psychological and relational. Whereas trust has been defined by some business oriented scholars as a deterministic calculations of costs and benefits of social undertaking, this analysis does not properly apply to sustainable trust, especially in the context of gruesome genocidal violence but can effectively apply in context of less intensified forms of violence. However, the empirical revelations in the table above (40%) indicated that some genocide survivors chose to trust former genocide perpetrators to meet basic human needs in the post genocide Rwanda. Given the fact that the life of genocide survivors after 1994 genocide has been deeply despicable, calculus trust (self-induced trust) could have been adopted for survival.

5.5.3. Trust and Social Contacts

Genocidal violence took place in the open hills of Rwanda. It affected the quality of social contacts between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District.

Scholarly discourse on the relationship between trust and social contacts remains inconclusive, however. Trust is a major determinant of quality social contacts between perceived or actual former conflict parties. Whereas former genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors do not fall within the conflict party characterization, determining the integral effect of trust on social contacts between genocide survivor and former genocide perpetrators is imperative. The testable statement was I chose to trust genocide perpetrators to have social company (contacts). The responses were Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree and Strongly Disagree (see the table below).

Table: 5.18. Trusting for Social Company (Contacts)

Percentage (%)						
Strongly Disagree (%)	Disagree (%)	Neutral (%)	Agree (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Total (%)	Total Freq.
9.7%	31.0%	13.0%	42.3%	3.7%	100	150
(15)	(47)	(20)	(63)	(6)		

Source: Researcher (2018)

At least 42.3%(63) of respondents agree that they chose to trust to have social company (contacts), 3.7% (6) strongly agreed, 31.0% (47) agreed 9.7% (15) strongly agreed and 13.0% (20) remained neutral (undecided). Having observed that *Girinka* significantly improves social contacts, it is worthy to note that social relations are enhanced by the quality of trust between former genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors in Kamonyi District. D. Daly and J. Sarkins (2007) observed when victims and perpetrators of violence participate in other's activities such as making quilts, trading in markets, building schools, there higher the prospects of reconciliation, because, participants in such activities learn to trust the other. Related to the above, genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators of Kamonyi District, the key activities bringing them together are centered around their own lives, but to a large extent, they

are about taking care of the shared cow and benefits from the cow. The reason for improved relationships between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators, viewed from the perspective of D. Daly and J. Sarkins is because the two categories (genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in the context of Kamonyi District) “ share a commitment to the success of the joint enterprise,” (2007:188). The joint enterprise in Kamonyi District is the cow the two categories share.

However, the research findings as reflected by the table above did not support the foregoing view. Most genocide survivors stated that having too much trust in former genocide perpetrators after 1994 genocide against Tutsi is not easy considering the time scale between 1994 and to date (2018) vis-à-vis the gravity of genocide. Reviewed literature supported the foregoing view, noting the viciousness of the genocide, human nature’s latent potential to repeat violence and unhealed wounds of genocide survivors (see Lina Melvin, 2000:17, Waller, 2002:12) as cited by Bangwanubusa (2009:21). The above hesitance on too much trust can be validly supported, after all, those that unleashed genocidal violence against genocide survivors were not aliens, but their close neighbours, intimate friends from the same hills and villages or what Zorbas referred to as “peasant neighbours and families,” (in Bangwanubusa, 2009:21).

5.5.4. Girinka-based trust-building and Reduction of Fear

Fear of the ‘other’ is a psychological symptom and outcome of distrustful relationship especially after dreadful genocidal violence like the one that befell on Tutsis of Kamonyi District and Rwanda as a whole. Considering the available literature evidence that trust involves continuous calculus process of costs and benefits and risk-taking nature of trusting, the researcher asked both genocide survivors and former perpetrators to rate the veracity of the following statement

“Girinka built trust between us such that we can live together in the same house without fear of intentional harm.” The responses were Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree and Strongly Disagree (see the table).

Table 5.19: Girinka built trust between us such that we can live together in the same house without fear of intentional harm

Percentage (%)						
Strongly Disagree (%)	Disagree (%)	Neutral (%)	Agree (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Total (%)	Total
1.0%	9.7%	8.7%	47.7%	32.3%	100	300
(3)	(29)	(26)	(143)	(97)		

Source: Researcher (2018)

Respondents rate the earlier statement as follows: 47.7%(143) agreed, 32.3%(97) strongly agreed, 9.7%(29) and 1.0%(3) strongly disagreed whereas 8.7%(26) were neutral (undecided). Summing together respondent’s responses—agreed and strongly—gave 80%(240) sided with the statement reading as **Girinka built trust between us such that we can live together in the same house without fear of intentional harm**. Analysing this empirical finding (80%) vis-à-vis the one touching on trust and social contact, one fact emerges—trust does not simply come by on itself, it requires purposeful engagement of impactful catalyts to influence desired positive outcomes. Secondly, from the findings, it emerged that improved Girinka-based social contacts have proportional positive effects on trust between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators.

Given the presented findings, specifically, on trust, it worth-while to make the following inferences: First, research findings except one on trusting to meet basic human needs revealed laudable appreciation of Girinka as an influencer of harmonious relations between former genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors through trust. However, trust alone cannot

influence peaceful (harmonious) relationships between former genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors, but a combination of other complementary integral prerequisites of Girinka reconciliation. Secondly, there is noticeable gap between trust and sustainable trust as evidenced by cautionary responses from respondents. The earlier stated Kinyarwanda proverb translated in English as—“the earliest man has never reached the man’s heart” is indicative of a long journey towards sustainable trust between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators. Scientific determination of trust and sustainable trust can be challenging, however, some of the sub-variables of trust above (two adult people—genocide survivor and former genocide perpetrator—leaving together in the same house without fear of intentional harm vs. a genocide survivor leaving his child under care of a former genocide perpetrator) sheds some nuances between the two.

Also, variance in evidence between sustainable trust and other findings, for instance on Girinka influencing attitudinal, relational and behavioural changes underpinned the fact that realization of sustainable trust is not easy, more so, after unprecedented genocidal violence like the one unleashed on the Tutsis of Rwanda. The variance further confirms the earlier stated observation from literature that [sustainable] trust is a complex social investment and a risk-taking endeavour. This reasons gains its relevance in the context of deeply severed trust like genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda. It is therefore not surprising that despite the high rate approval of attitudinal, relational and behavioural changes of the study categories—genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators by respondents—responses on sustainable trust indicated cold reservations and call for caution (refer to the Kinyarwanda proverb).

Noteworthy, whereas the researcher established Girinka’s influence on influencing integral prerequisites of reconciliation, he did not establish the following: how the two study categories

laudably approved nearly all sub-variables amidst expressed cautionary reservations on sustainable trust. Can there be cordial relations, change from adversarial to cooperative behaviours and mutual understanding between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators amidst such expressed reservations on sustainable trust? Although these questions are scientifically intriguing, they remained unanswered by the researcher. However, they are reflective of the complexity of [sustainable] trust. As earlier emphasized, regaining trust, after subjecting it to consistent abuse takes greater resources—time, ingenuity and incremental risk-taking efforts by the trust-seeker.

Findings from the reviewed literature revealed that peacebuilders—state and non-state actors, scholars and practitioners should seek to restore trust between former enemies for sustainable peace to take root. Among peacebuilding scholars advocating the centrality of trust to sustainable peace is Ramzi Suleiman (2016). In fact, he qualifies it as critical for longer term harmonious and an inherent part of social interactions. Archbishop Emeritus, Desmond Tutu, one of the non-state peacebuilding actors in post-Apartheid South Africa also acknowledged the centrality of trust, he however observed rebuilding it after dreadful violence is “a supremely a difficult challenge,” (David Bloomfield, 2003:Foreword). This view holds credence not only in Kamonyi District but in the larger post genocide society.

5.6. Girinka based Reconciliation and Sustainable Peace in Kamonyi District

Empirical findings for sub-variables such as truth, apology, trust, *NdumunyaRwanda/Rwandaness* confirmed that Girinka Reconciliation influences the Sustainable Peace. Considering the fact that reviewed literature revealed divergences; some scholars presented reconciliation as a strategy to sustainable peace while others considered reconciliation a stand-alone variable which needs special focus and prioritization in post

genocide context. The post genocide Rwanda advances the former proposition as reflected by the responses from Fideli Ndayisaba, the Executive Secretary of National Unity and Reconciliation Commission and many other respondents with specialist knowledge of Rwanda’s post genocide reconciliation and peacebuilding processes. Scholars diverging positions analysed and validly considered, the researcher argues that analysed findings of what the researcher considered as integral prerequisites of reconciliation confirmed that Girinka Reconciliation Approach influences Sustainable Peace in Kamonyi Districts.

The researcher further argues that if similar research instruments and analysis are applied to other districts with higher success of Girinka, the analysis would lead to closer to the same findings and conclusions. Nonetheless, it was important to ask respondents to qualify or disqualify the view that the view that Girinka Reconciliation influences the realization of Sustainable Peace in Kamonyi District. The table below presents the statistical findings in form of Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree and Strongly Disagree (see the table below).

Table: 5.20. Girinka based Reconciliation and Sustainable Peace in Kamonyi District

Percentage (%)						
Strongly Disagree (%)	Disagree (%)	Neutral (%)	Agree (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Total (%)	Total Freq.
0%	1.7%	20.3%	54.7%	23.0%	100	300
(0)	(5)	(61)	(164)	(69)		

Source: Researcher (2018)

The empirical findings from genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators revealed that 54.7%(164) agreed, 23.0%(69) strongly agreed, 20.3%(61) were neutral (undecided) and 1.7%(5) disagreed with the view that Girinka based reconciliation influences the realization of Sustainable Peace in Kamonyi District. Overall, agreed and strongly agreed responses combined

indicated that 77.7%(233) of respondents confirmed that Girinka Reconciliation influences the realization of Sustainable Peace in Kamonyi District. The presented and analysed findings on what this researcher considered as thematic prerequisites of reconciliation—truth, apology, trust, *NdunyaRwanda/Rwandanness* in Rwanda, and how Girinka influenced each of these integral prerequisites also confirmed the foregoing empirical revelation. Importantly, the empirical findings relating to how Girinka influences each of the integral reconciliation prerequisites provided solid basis and empirical support base for the empirical finding that 77.7% of respondents confirmed that Girinka based Reconciliation influences the Sustainable Peace in Kamonyi District.

5.6.1. Girinka-based friendship

Friendship can be a means to, and outcome of peaceful relationships between people in any society. According to Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer, “divisions in the past, and, particularly, the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, destroyed conviviality and friendship among Rwandans,” (2015:106). Unfriendliness coupled with other factors can led to genocidal violence in Rwanda. The same reconciliation measurement tool noted, 97% of Rwandans (93.4% strongly agree and 3.6% fairly agree) that they have friends among people with whom they do not share the same social category (like ethnic, religious and regional). However, the RRB (2015) did not specify what caused or motivated such higher rate of friendship between Rwandans regardless of their ethnic, religious and regional affiliations.

In view of above empirical national findings, it is important to determine Girinka acted as friendship guarantor in Kamonyi District. Noteworthy, findings from Semi-Structured Interview administered to people with knowledge of Rwanda’s pre-colonial history revealed that *Inka y’Ubucuti* (Friendship Cow or Cow for Friendship) was deeply rooted in Rwanda’s socio-

cultural relations and practices (see chap.4). Further, whereas respondents observed that materialism, specifically money exerts greater influence on the quality of friendships in Rwanda, *Inka y'Ubucuti*—Cow for Friendship (C4F) still exists and determines great friendship in modern Rwanda. The researcher tested the statement: The cow I passed on to the other acted as friendship guarantor so I feel safe and the responses were as follows: Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree and Strongly Disagree (see the table below).

Table: 5.21. Girinka-based friendship

Percentage (%)						
Strongly Disagree (%)	Disagree (%)	Neutral (%)	Agree (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Total (%)	Total
0.3%	2.0%	5.3%	42.7%	40.7%	100	300
(1)	(6)	(16)	(128)	(122)		

Source: Researcher (2018)

At least 83.4% (250) of respondents—genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District disclosed (agreed and strongly agreed) that the passing on of the cow to the other acted as friendship guarantor. Only 2.0 %(6) disagreed, 0.3%(1) strongly disagreed and 5.3%(16) were neutral (undecided). A study focused on restoration of interpersonal relationship between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators through a coffee cooperative conducted in Southern Province of Rwanda in 2009 (the Province where Kamonyi District is found), a respondent confirmed deep conviviality between the two categories. Noteworthy, the current research studied the same categories. One respondent noted:

I swear by the truth of God: I swear by the hand...God above! We even marry each other. We live convivially, and we rescue each other...I swear. If I love survivors whom I hated before coming into cooperative, what do you want me to tell? This cooperative changed our mind-set. We are now friends of people whom we hated: people who hated us and also afraid of us (Sentama, 2009: 104)

Considering the reverence of cows in Rwanda since pre-colonial times to modern times, uncontestably, the revolving process of cows between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators cements friendship among them in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. Cow-giving and receiving remains a key indicator of deepening friendships, conviviality in Kamonyi District and other parts of Rwanda. Deepened friendship between social categories—genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators mirrors laudable strides in restoration of relationships ultimately transcending into Sustainable Peace. After all, where friendship deeply exists, enmity exits.

5.6.2. Girinka and Reciliation After Genocide in Kamonyi.

Kamonyi residents underwent through horrific successive periods of ethnic discriminations, divisions and successive ethnic based killings. According to the National Policy on Unity and Reconciliation (2007) divisions, discrimination of all kinds, persecutions, killings, exile of some Rwandans and wars; all culminated in the genocide against Tutsi (p.7). Komonyi was not exempted. The foregoing statement required us to gauge the level at which former genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors attribute Girinka contribution to their reconciliation. The researcher asked respondents to assess the statement: Girinka contributes to reconciliation between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators using: Undecided, Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree and Strongly Disagree (see the table below).

Table: 5.22. Girinka and Reciliation of Genocide Survivors and Former Genocide Perpetrators

Total							
Strongly Disagree (%)	Disagree (%)	Neutral (%)	Agree (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Undecided (%)	Total (%)	Total
0% (0)	2.7% (8.1)	6.3% (19)	51.3% (154)	39.7% (119)	0% (0)	100	300

Source: Researcher (2018)

According to empirical findings, at least 51.3%(154) respondents concurred with the view that cow-giving (Girinka) contributes to reconciliation between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District. Similarly, 39.7%(119) genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators strongly agreed with the same assertion.

Overall, 91%(273) of the respondents confirmed that Girinka contributes to restoration of relationships between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. Empirical findings from Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer (2015) revealed, 87.7% of Rwandans [confirmed] that Girinka contributed to national reconciliation in Rwanda. There is no significance variance between national findings (87.7%) and empirical evidence on the contribution of Girinka on reconciliation in Kamonyi District (91%). However, this researcher focuses on how Girinka Reconciliation Approach influences Sustainable Peace. There is concurrence between literature and empirical findings on contribution of home-grown solutions, for instance, Girinka in promoting reconciliation and sustainable peace in post genocide Rwanda. Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer stressed, “Rwandan culture favours social cohesion hence reconciliation, (2015:112).

5.7. Girinka Reconciliation and Sustainable Peace in Kamonyi District

The foregoing analysis revealed astounding level of realized Girinka based reconciliation in Kamonyi District. In the forthcoming analysis, the researcher gauges how Girinka Reconciliation contributes to realization of Sustainable Peace through tested variables—forgiveness, economic livelihood improvement and locally improvised restorative justice. In other words, these sub-variables are considered as additional influencers of Sustainable Peace in Kamonyi District. Noteworthy, security was also tested as an intervening variable for the two variables—

independent: Girinka Reconciliation Approach and dependent variable: Sustainable Peace in Kamonyi District.

5.7.1. Girinka and Forgiveness

Reviewed scholarly literature indicated how forgiveness is a key component for the realization of reconciliation and sustainable peace in post conflict societies. However, forgiveness after grave violation of rights and extreme human suffering is not always an easy undertaking. Forgiveness entails several elements—self-awareness and acceptance, expression of grief, desisting desires for vengeance, seeing the perpetrator in a freshly new light or what scholars of forgiveness consider as re-humanization of perpetrators. In view of above, the researcher sought to determine how *Girinka* influenced each of the elements of forgiveness. Empirical findings of each elements provided a bigger view of *Girinka* influences forgiveness in *Kamonyi* District. In view of this, the researcher asked respondents to rate the statement: Girinka triggered me to forgive those who harmed us, using Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree and Strongly Disagree (see the table below).

Table: 5.23. Girinka triggered me to forgive those who harmed me

Percentage (%)						
Strongly Disagree (%)	Disagree (%)	Neutral (%)	Agree (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Total (%)	Total
0%	2.0%	10.7%	64.7%	22.7%	100	150
(0)	(3)	(16)	(97)	(34)		

Source: Researcher (2018)

Respondents (specifically genocide survivors) agreed that 64.7%(97), 22.7%(34) strongly agreed, 10.7%(16) were neutral (undecided) and 2.0%(3)disagreed with the statement: **“Girinka triggered me to forgive those who harmed us.”** Whereas who ‘harmed us’ is relative, it is

generally used by genocide survivors to refer to genocide perpetrators. At least 87.4%(131) of respondents confirmed that Girinka triggered forgiveness of former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District. Literature breaks down forgiveness into many elements: self-awareness and self-acceptance, expression of guilt, release of bitterness, among others. Literature stated, failure to assess the degree of each element would lead to making partial conclusions. In view of the foregoing, the researcher asked respondents to rate each element.

5.7.1.1. Self-awareness and self-acceptance

Knowing how wounded one is and accepting one's inner-wounds strongly emerged as some of the elements of forgiveness from scholars of forgiveness after deadly violence. However, literature pointed out that whereas some survivors can claim self-awareness and self-acceptance, self-control in front of one hard-core heartless perpetrator is not for every survivor. Given how sophisticated the psychological dimension of humans, no scholars can satisfactorily determine with scientific precision the extent of survivor's self-control especially when exposed to their former deep-wounding tormentors.

Yet, self-awareness and self-acceptance are scholarly considered as the integral elements of full forgiveness, Sulman A. Giddo (2009). Full forgiveness (Giddo, 2009) or what David Gaertner (2011) considered as emotional forgiveness, is the highest level of forgiveness by survivors of violence. Explaining what full forgiveness is about Giddo, (2009) observed, the survivor of violence forgives the perpetrator to the extent that s/he can fully control his bodily responses or reactions upon hearing or seeing the perpetrator. In the case of Kamonyi District, Cow for Peace has rendered this view relevant as evidenced by how both genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators live side by side, increasing inter-marriage cases, co-share responsibilities of caring for the cow and so forth. The table below presents the level of self-awareness and self-

acceptance among genocide survivors in Kamonyi District. The researchr tested the statement Getting a cow from a former genocide perpetrator enabled me to know myself and accept my inner-wounds, using Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree and Strongly Agree.

Table 5.24. Girinka: self-awareness and Accepting One’s inner-wounds

Percentage (%)						
Strongly Disagree (%)	Disagree (%)	Neutral (%)	Agree (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Total (%)	Total
0%	6.0%	10.0%	52.0%	25.3%	100	150
(0)	(9)	(15)	(78)	(38)		

Source: Researcher (2018)

Genocide survivors, 52.0%(78) agreed, 25.3%(38) strongly agreed, 10.0%(15) remained neutral and 6.0%(9) disagreed with the statement that getting a cow from a genocide perpetrator enabled me know myself and accept my inner-wounds. Agreed and strongly agreed responses totalled to 77.3%(116). Although the Girinka in Kamonyi District is overwhelmingly applauded by both genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators as well as Girinka programme implementers and decision-makers, Girinka’s success is attributed to preparatory encounter meetings between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators.

5.7.1.2. Girinka and Expression of Grief

Giddo (2009) cited mourning and acceptance of harm and loss as critical elements of genuine forgiveness. Others noted that after such gruesome violence – genocide - survivors are yearning for opportunities and free spaces they can channel their deep-seated grief, bitterness and resentment. In circumstances where one’s dear ones were completely decimated as some cases in Kamonyi confirmed, survivors hardly trust anyone except very few ones from those they share emotional burdens. Considering this, the researcher sought to establish how the cow given under cow-giving practice acted as a channel and created space for releasing grief by genocide

survivors. Literature pointed expression of grief as one of the major elements of forgiveness. In view of the foregoing view, the researcher asked genocide survivors (150) to rate the following statement—the given cow acted as a channel through which I met the former genocide perpetrator to express my grief and bitterness. The following table presents the level of response to the foregoing statement and the respondents were required to rate using Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.

Table 5.25. Cow as a channel for expression of grief

Percentage (%)						
Strongly Disagree (%)	Disagree (%)	Neutral (%)	Agree (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Total (%)	Total
0%	4.0%	13.3%	58.0%	24.7%	100	150
(0)	(6)	(20)	(87)	(37)		

Source: Researcher (2018)

Findings from genocide survivors indicated that 58.0%(87) agreed with the statement, 24.7%(37)strongly agreed, 13.3%(20)were neutral, 4.0%(6) disagreed. The total of respondents (genocide survivors) agreeing and strongly agreeing with the statement stood at 82.7 %(124). Whereas reviewed literature entailed cases of genocide survivors who chose to forgive their perpetrators before even physically meeting them, worth noting, these cases remain astoundingly low in post genocide Rwanda. There were some respondents who cited that Gacaca sessions had paved the ground for forgiveness. However, some Gacaca sessions were structured, guided by ground rules which would at times limit free flow of explosive expressions by genocide survivors. The preparatory encounter meetings spearheaded by CARSA was laudably praised to have triggered such emotional explosive expressions. The provided cow provided

communicational and free spaces for such explosive expression of grief and bitterness by genocide survivors.

Both interviewed respondents however cited the preparatory encounter meetings to have been emotionally dreadful but later proved to be positively impactful to them. First encounters between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators required identification of psychological and emotional burdens each special social category carried, exteriorization and ritual-like detachment from emotional burdens through burning of identified psychological and emotional burdens. Whereas respondents praised burden identification and exteriorization sessions steered by CARSA organization, the researcher did not scientifically test how sessions of burning emotional and psychological burdens contribute to relief and sustained release emotional loads occasioned by genocide against Tutsi in Kamonyi District. It is however worth noting that Girinka has acted as a communicational channel through which genocide survivors expressed to their grief former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District.

5.7.1.3. Girinka and Release of bitterness and Removal of Desire for vengeance

Carrying out revenge tends to be the most plausible human behavior especially after enduring gruesome genocidal violence. Whereas literature pointed out that genocidal violence can be one of the unforgivable crimes (see J.Coicaud & Jibecke Jönsson 2009), there are a lot of other scholars who observed that living unforgiving life denies the genocide survivor to live a happier and healthier life (Giddo, 2009). In fact, nearly all scholars concurred with the foregoing view. Crucially, testimonies gathered from literature underlined that those who were deeply hurt find forgiving extremely complex. For instance, reviewed literature revealed that it took Raymond F. Paloutzian his entire adult life come to terms with two complex human realities: forgive or not to forgive his former tormentor(2009). Importantly, literature stressed that releasing bitterness

enables forgiveness and reduces the desire for carrying out vengeance after dreadful violence. Although this point somehow relates to the former, the noteworthy point is the relationship between the cow, release of bitterness and prevention of retaliatory revenge by genocide survivors. Establishing how cow enabled the release of bitterness and desisting the desire for vengeance was scholarly inviting especially in post genocide Kamonyi District of Rwanda. The researcher tested the statement: Getting a cow from a former genocide perpetrator enabled me to release inner bitterness and desire for vengeance by asking respondents to confirm using Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree and Strongly Disagree.

Table 5.26. Cow enabling release of bitterness and Disisting Vengeance Desires

Percentage (%)						
Strongly Disagree (%)	Disagree (%)	Neutral (%)	Agree (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Total (%)	Total
0%	6.7%	13.3%	44.0%	29.3%	100	150
(0)	(10)	(20)	(66)	(44)		

Source: Researcher (2018)

As empirical findings above revealed, 44.0%(66) respondents agreed while v strongly agreed, 13.3%(20) were neutral. Combined response rates for agreed and strongly agreed stood at 73.3%(110). A former genocide perpetrator remarked: “He told me he had forgiven me just for the sake of ‘mental peace’ but the cow I received from him cleared all that and he confessed to me that it[cow] erased bitterness and anger he had for me,” (former genocide perpetrator, Nyamiyaga Sector, Kabashumba Cell, 21st April 2018). This view is supported by Desmond Tutu (1999) who noted: “forgiveness gives people [the forgiver] resilience, enabling them to survive,” (p.31). He further observed, “to forgive is indeed the best form of self-interest since anger, resentment and revenge are corrosive,” (p.31).

One major fact needs greater emphasis, 73% of strongly agree and agree responses affirming that getting a cow from a former genocide perpetrator enabled me release inner bitterness and desist from carrying vengeance from genocide survivors summed up the David Gaertner's definition of "decision-based forgiveness: cognitive letting go of resentment and bitterness and need for vengeance," (2011:8). He however observed, such undertaking is "is an act of will, a choice to let go, and it is not always the end of emotional pain and hurt," (2011:8).

5.7.1.4 Girinka and re-humanization of perpetrators

Unhealed survivors of extreme violence tend to see perpetrators through lenses of their past dreadful (genocidal) actions. Put other way, unhealed survivors present perceptions of perpetrator are formed by their past genocidal violence. Yet, Giddo (2009) and a host of many others scholars of forgiveness emphasized, full forgiveness—total forgiveness—requires the survivor to see the perpetrator in new light—in a new shape, inside-out. The writer stretches it farther by noting that such forgiveness enables the survivor to control his emotional and bodily reaction upon encountering his former tormentor. Contextually, rehumanization of the perpetrator is the extent by which the genocide survivor considers his/her former tormentor as a human being who can be trusted and as such, s/he relate with him/her like other. Such change is evidenced by intermarriages among other .The earlier observed empirical evidence and forthcoming ones for instance, intermarriage levels (4%, 12) and 80% confirmation rate by genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators that Girinka built trust between them such that they can live together in the same without fear of intentional harmand many others, pointed to Giddo's assertion.

Raymond F. Poloutzian (2009) stressed forgiveness of such kind requires “creating a new personality identity,” (p.79). Literature cited such self-recreation as the hardest element of forgiveness and this research concurred with the foregoing view. According to Raymond F. Poloutzian (2009): such undertaking cannot be is not “an easy a gamble, but a rare and saintly,” (p.79).

Some scholars referred to this process as re-humanization of former violence perpetrators by the survivor (David Gaertner, 2011, Fow, 1996, McCullough, 2000). This is the stage that markedly demonstrates the ripeness for forgiveness, healing, reconciliation and firmer foundation for sustainable peace. In view of this scholarly-grounded prescription, the researcher sought to test its empirical veracity in Kamonyi District and asked the genocide survivors to rate this statement: The cow made me see the perpetrator's unseen positive part (humanity) and the respondents were to rate the statement using Strong Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly Disagree. The table below presents the findings.

Table: 5.27. Girinka and re-humanization of perpetrators

Percentage (%)						
Strongly Disagree (%)	Disagree (%)	Neutral (%)	Agree (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Total (%)	Total
0%	4.7%	10.7%	52.0%	32.7%	100	150
(0)	(7)	(16)	(78)	(49)		

Source: Researcher (2018)

Empirical findings indicated that 52.0%(78) agreed, 32.7%(49) strongly agreed and 10.7%(16) were neutral with the statement that Cow for Peace made genocide survivors see perpetrator’s unseen positive part or what scholars referred as re-humanization of the former genocide perpetrator. 84% (110) of respondents confirmed that as a result of Girinka, genocide survivors

were able to see the positive side of the former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. Considering the severity of genocidal violence, such change of worldview demonstrates a major step made towards reconciliation and restoration of new relationships between the two categories.

Respondents were also asked to rate the following statement—“getting a cow from a former genocide perpetrator and genocide survivor enabled me to be more benevolent and sympathetic to perpetrators/survivors.” Responses to this were as follows: agree 50%, strongly agreed 21.5%, undecided 5.3%, disagree 12.7% and strongly disagree 10.7%. Respondents who agreed and strongly agreed with the foregoing statement combined totalled to 71.5%. The observed positive communications, active interactions and reciprocity between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District affirmed the above quantitative empirical evidence.

5.7.1.5. Girinka and triggering of confessions

Confessions of one’s past wrongs paves the ground for forgiveness, healing for both genocide survivor and former genocide perpetrators. In abide to understand how Girinka enabled confessions, we asked respondents to rate how Girinka enabled the genocide perpetrators to confess their genocide deeds and show of remorse. The researcher asked respondents to rate the following statement: The cow enabled the perpetrators to confess their deeds and show of remorse hence contributing to healing using Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree and Strongly Agree (The table below presents the findings).

Table: 5.28. Cow enabling former genocide perpetrators to confess their deeds

Percentage (%)						
Strongly Disagree (%)	Disagree (%)	Neutral (%)	Agree (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Total (%)	Total
0%	3.3%	24.0%	47.3%	21.7%	100	150
(0)	(5)	(36)	(71)	(33)		

Source: Researcher (2018)

At least 47.3% of respondents agreed, 21.7%(33) strongly agreed, 3.3%(5) disagreed while 24.0%(36) remained neutral (undecided). Agreed and strongly agreed summed up, gave 69%(104) of respondents. Confession of perpetrator’s genocidal acts was cited by scholars as a powerful ingredient of forgiveness. Asked how cows enabled confessions by former genocide perpetrators, Genocide survivors disclosed that became a strong cord socially tying both genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators together. For instance, the more the two categories spent time together, fed the cow together, or when the perpetrator (in most cases a male) would be milking the cow and the genocide survivor (a female) is supporting the perpetrator to milk by holding the calf, sometimes the perpetrator break and express sympathies and remorse to the genocide survivor.

Successful confessions have been cited by genocide survivors as a firm stepping stone for knowing the truths, forgiveness and healing. Through genuine confessions, a perpetrator unlocks himself, releases unknown information, for instance, who did what, where, how, his role and so forth. According to genocide survivors, this deep confession process has been helpful in uncovering the whereabouts of genocide perpetrators and unloading guilt burdens from genocide perpetrators even before being forgiven by genocide survivors. There is no sharp disagreement between empirical evidence and scholarly literature on view that effective confessions trigger healing for both former genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors. How perpetrator’s

confessions catalysed forgiveness was put into evidence by one genocide survivor : “When the perpetrator comes to you and asks for forgiveness, this constitutes a good step s/he has made, which promotes reconciliation, and you [find yourself] not escaping forgiving him,” in NURC’s RRB (2015:89).

The Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer (2010) noted that “80.4% of Rwandans held that genocide perpetrators expressed remorse and requested for forgiveness” (p.88). While the Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer (2015) indicated that “93.9% Rwandans contended that genocide perpetrators apologized for their genocidal acts” (RRB, 2015:88). To stress the causal relationship between apology and forgiveness further, for instance, one citizen, a teacher from Kirambo Teacher Training College, Burera District, Rwanda told RRB team,

“I must say, none can reconcile with somebody who does not acknowledge his/her guilt. This means that the great role is on the perpetrators. When someone comes to you and apologizes, and requests for forgiveness, this means that s/he has acknowledged the guilt; therefore you cannot deny him/her forgiveness” (RRB, 2015:89).

Whereas perpetrator’s confessions have been cited as critical for healing, reviewed literature emphasized that healing from deep traumas takes time, investment of concerted efforts and resources. Assessment of how genocide survivors have healed stretched beyond the scope of this study. Similarly, there is ample evidence pointing to the economic improvement as central to restoration of good relations, promoting societal harmony and even achieving individual, household and the larger societal prosperity. The following section delves into this.

5.7.1.6. Girinka and Economic Livelihood Improvement

There is strong evidence base showing the causal relationship between reduced poverty, increased prosperity and higher peace prospects. Whereas the degree at which peace propels

prosperity cannot be determined with precise scientific/statistical accuracy, the unprecedented speed at which Rwanda realized economic milestones after 1994 genocide was astonishing. Factors that propelled Rwanda's economic milestones have been cited by different people in varying ways. Learning from Rwanda's case, specifically, her recovery from genocidal violence, the researcher concurred: there is a strong link between peace and prosperity, and vice versa. This view and the forthcoming ones need to be informed by Rwanda's socio-economic state immediately after 1994 genocide against Tutsi—at almost at the bottom (zero) base in all socio-economic indicators. Using Rwanda's Dambisa, illustrated the economic costs of conflicts, noting that the country (Rwanda) “suffered 63 percent drop in GDP per capita as a result of its 1990 conflict,” (Dambisa, 2018:36). Paul Collier and Hoeffler, whom Dambisa cited, are renowned analysts of the economic costs of conflicts and their consequences on peacebuilding processes in post conflict societies and economies.

Tony Karbo and Catherine Nelson (2010) suggested that re-orienting former conflict parties from warfare to welfare is a path to sustainable peacebuilding. Using the foregoing argument, engaging former genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors into joint economic activities, seizing available economic opportunities significantly contribute to poverty reduction, re-oriented their destructive *Them vs. Us* mind-set to a shared sense of we-ness/Rwandanness.

Established evidence from the previous sections revealed that the realization of such relational and mental shift—new reorientation—of former genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors is not only a monumental change for achieving economic prosperity, but a foundational milestone building for building a prosperous peace in the future of post genocide Kamonyi District of Rwanda. In view of the evidence from the reviewed literature, it was worthwhile to ask respondents their perspectives about Girinka's economic benefits or what we referred to as

Girinka and economic livelihood improvement. To emphasize (remind), the interest was to establish the interface between Girinka’s social—reconciliatory—dimension (Girinka’s fourth objective) and improvement of respondent’s economic livelihood in Kamonyi District. The researcher tested the following statement: **Girinka and Economic Livelihood Improvement—(meeting basic human needs: milk/food, paying school, pay medical bills and the respondents were to rate it using Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree and Strongly Diagree.**

Table: 5.29. Girinka and Economic Livelihood Improvement—(meeting basic human needs: milk/food, paying school, pay medical bills.

Percentage (%)						
Strongly Disagree (%)	Disagree (%)	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total (%)	Total Frequeny.
1.0%	4.3%	7.7%	48.3%	38.7%	100	300
(3)	(13)	(23)	(145)	(116)		

Source: Researcher (2018)

Out of 300 respondents, 48.3% (145) agreed, 38.7 % (116) strongly agreed, 4.3% (13) disagreed, 1.0%(3) strongly disagreed with the statement: **the received cow improved my economic wellbeing (meeting basic human needs: milk/food, paying school, pay medical bills.** Only 7.7% (23) remained neutral (undecided). A total of 87% (261) of respondents—genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators) in Kamonyi District—observed that Girinka improved their economic wellbeing.

Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer, also emphasizes part of the motivations for reintroduction of Girinka by Paul Kagame, President of the Republic of Rwanda in 2006 was “ in response to the alarmingly high rate of childhood malnutrition, and as a way to accelerate poverty reduction,” (2015:114). National Coordinator of Girinka programme in RAB and NURC Executive

Secretary, confirmed that Kagame's reintroduction of Girinka was to achieve two interwoven objectives: economic livelihood improvement—economic prosperity—and realizing peace through improved social cohesion and reconciliation by recipients of cows in Rwanda. Research respondents—Genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District commended the decision of reviving Girinka in post genocide Rwanda based on their own achieved socio-economic milestones. Citing several case-studies from Europe, Asia, Latin America, Dambisa Moyo's latest book: *Edge of Chaos* (2018) stated: "it is clear that economic and political decisions are the primary drivers that accelerate or decelerate economic success," (2018:37). Viewed that way, Girinka is both a socio-economic and political decision with greater potential to accelerate Rwanda's socio-economic growth if lessons from Kamonyi piloting process are not only learned but effectively translated into practical interventions in many parts of Rwanda.

International Alert has done ample research confirming the causal nexus between prosperity and peace: "Conflicts, violence and peace both shape and are shaped by the economy. Economic development in conflict-affected countries must take into account of this and, where possible, be designed to strengthen peace," (2015:5). Dambisa's *Edge of Chaos* (2018) provided an in-depth analysis of economic growth at macro levels and she knowledgeably narrowed it to basic micro levels. "Economic growth is about satisfying the most basic of individual human needs," (p.4). She posited, "Growth offers the individual an opportunity to improve their own livelihood. For example, a worker who earns a bonus or extra income, can use that money to obtain better health care, education, transportation, and food," (Dambisa, 2018:5). Rwanda Governance Board (2014) conducted research *Assessment of the Impact of Homegrown Initiatives*, including

Girinka’s economic impact. The report highlighted how Girinka impacted socio-economic livelihood of cow recipients in post genocide Rwanda.

Table: 5.30 Parameters of household on socio-economic status before and after Girinka

xx	Parameters of Household socio-economic Status BEFORE Girinka	Status %	Parameters of Household socio-economic Status AFTER Girinka	Status %
1	Households living in their own houses	88.5 %	Households living in their own houses	96.6%
2	Households who never afforded means per day	31.4 %	Households who afforded eating more than 3 meals a day	55.6
3	Households with limited capacity to pay primary school fees	17.2 %	Household limited capacity to pay primary school fees	70.4%
4	Household limited capacity to pay secondary school fees	8.5 %	Household limited capacity to pay secondary school fees	63.4%
5	Households without capacity to meet health costs of one of their members upon falling sick	45.7 %	Households without capacity to meet health costs of one of their members upon falling sick	6.5%

Source: Researcher (2018)

According to RGB (2014) at least 38.7% got income from sell of manure, 33.5% from sell of milk, cross-breed rearing 26%. Overall, 87.5% (385) of Girinka recipients, according to findings from RGB (2014) confirmed increased income. In Kamonyi District, 87% (261) respondents confirmed that Girinka improved their economic wellbeing. Considering that besides being genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators, recipients of cows under Girinka according to National Coordinator of *Girinka* were extremely poor people selected by their own neighbours under *Ubudehe* programme. *Ubudehe* is Rwanda’s homegrown approach of mutual help or mutual assistance used in determining poverty levels in Rwanda, RGB, (2014). *Ubudehe* responded to existing variance in definition of poverty amongst scholars, development planners and policy-makers. According to the National Coordinator of Girinka, the recipients of cows are in the

first and second poverty levels as per *Ubudehe* poverty categorization. People in the first poverty category are those in abject poverty (*umutindi nyakujya*) while those in *Budehe*'s second category are the very poor (*umutindi*), RGB(2014:14).

5.7.2.1. Girinka and Peaceful Prosperity in Kamonyi District.

In the earlier analysis, the researcher alluded to the view that, improved economic livelihood—wellbeing—breeds peace. In pursuit of the same line of argument, scholars, for instance, Martha Mutisi (2010) have coined development-peace nexus, implying that the two concepts are interwoven and mutually reinforcing. However, there are noticeable exceptions, considering the case of Libya and occurrence of both intrapersonal and inter-personal conflicts in developed societies. International Alert referred to the interplay of peace and development as “Peace through Prosperity” sometimes referring to it as ‘peaceful prosperity’ (International Alert, 2015:9).

However, the development translating into sustainable peace thesis has been overly criticized by Dambisa Moyo's *Dead Aid* (2009) William Easterly's *The White Man Burden* (2006) Mary Anderson's *Do No Harm Approach* (1999), who observed some development interventions, for instance, cases of foreign aid interventions in developing societies which have caused more societal harm than good, polarized the rich-poor gaps among other ills. This noted, there are home-grown economic improvement strategies—locally improvised resources and capacities that can accelerate economic development for peace in Rwanda. In Rwanda, *Girinka*, for instance, significantly influences economic livelihood improvement in rural parts of Rwanda. Equally important, *Girinka* is a typical example of the economic livelihood improvement for sustainable peace (see preceding table). After all, the 4th objective of *Girinka* is centred on restoration of

fractured social cohesion and reconciliation in Rwanda along with objectives touching on economic livelihood improvement. Considering this, the researcher asked genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators to rate how cow-giving—the pass on of a cow to the other principle—guarantees peace through improved economic livelihood for the afore-mentioned categories. The researcher tested the following statement: *Girinka’s* passing on of the cow to the other guarantees peace through improved economic livelihood, by asking respondents to rate it using: Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree and Strongly Disagree.

Table 5.31: *Girinka’s* passing on of the cow to the other guarantees peace through improved economic livelihood.

Percentage (%)						
Strongly Disagree (%)	Disagree (%)	Neutral (%)	Agree (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Total (%)	Total Freq
0%	1.0%	7.0%	53.7%	38.3%	100	300
(0)	(3)	(21)	(161)	(115)		

Source: Researcher (2018).

A total of 92% (276) of respondents (agree and strongly agreed) confirmed that *Girinka’s* pass on of cow to the other—genocide survivor or former genocide perpetrator, guarantees peace through improved economic livelihood in Kamonyi District. Only 7.0%(21) remained neutral (undecided) and 1% (3) disagreed with the statement. This empirical revelation (92%) of respondents affirming that *Girinka’s* pass on of the Cow guarantees peace through improved economic livelihood in Kamonyi District confirmed what International Alert earlier highlighted as “Peace through Prosperity” (International Alert, 2015:9). Importantly, International Alert, an international peacebuilding organization observed that, the more communities and countries get what it considered as “peace factors”, [in place]—meaning “job creation, business opportunities

expansion, high income generation, fair access to safe and decent livelihoods and better provision of services by governments,” the higher the peace prospects for the same communities and countries (2015:9).

5.7.2.2. Girinka-based Restorative Justice and Sustainable Peace

To many Rwanda, Gacaca—the traditional restorative justice— sparked off and accelerated the journey of restoring home-grown solutions to realize immediate, short-term and long-term development and peacebuilding objectives in post genocide Rwanda. However, scholarly reservations on Rwanda’s revival of home-grown solutions have been raised, even among peacebuilding scholars and practitioners. There is ample literature base urging for caution when applying home-grown approach to multi-faceted peacebuilding challenges. Nonetheless, the researcher asked both genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators to rate the following statement—Like Gacaca justice, Girinka can promote sustainable peace more effectively than other classical peacebuilding methods in Kamonyi District. The table below presents the empirical findings and the analysis followed subsequently. The researcher tested the following statement: Like Gacaca justice, Girinka can promote sustainable peace more effectively than other classical peacebuilding methods in Kamonyi District(see the table below)

Table. 5.32. Like Gacaca justice, Girinka can promote sustainable peace more effectively than other classical peacebuilding methods in Kamonyi District

Percentage (%)						
Strongly Disagree (%)	Disagree (%)	Neutral (%)	Agree (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Total (%)	Total Freq.
0%	1%	5.7%	54.3%	39.0%	100	300
(0)	(3)	(17)	(163)	(117)		

Source: Researcher (2018)

A total of 93.3% (280) (agreed, 54.3% and strongly agreed 39%, 117) confirmed that like Gacaca justice, Girinka can promote sustainable peace more effectively than other classical peacebuilding methods in Kamonyi District. Only 5.7% (17) were neutral and 1% (3) disagreed. Empirical findings from Semi-Structured Interviews, reinforce the foregoing statistical revelation (93.3%), specifically how cows influenced the amending of formerly severed relationships through quasi courts steered by wise men. For instance, respondents, specifically elders with knowledge of Rwanda's pre-colonial epoch cited Inka y'Icyiru—Cow for Peace (Cow 4Peace)—meaning cows charged from the perpetrator to the survivor or offended purposely to break generational enmity and potential for future vengeance. The wise-men used to charge the offender cows to repair harm, restore fractured friendships and build harmonious relationships. This elucidates Girinka's power to promote peace more effectively than resorting to classical judicial systems. One respondent reminisced:

[...] After listening [analysing] the causes of the conflict and thoughtfully ponder upon the gravity of the case usually over potent local brew, wise men would ask the offender to give Inka y'icyiru (Cow for Peace). Once Cow for Peace would be charged and given, it marked the end of inter-generational enmity, (SSI, 30th April Rukiri, , Rwanda)

It can be noted that application of Cow 4Peace to administer justice to the aggrieved acted as practical evidence of Girinka-based justice. This process fits what Sentama (2009) advanced as key values of restorative justice—encounter, amends and integration (p.48). By encounter, what Sentama meant “creating opportunities for both victims [genocide survivors as per Rwanda's operative term] and offenders [former genocide perpetrators], and community members, who want to meet and discuss the crime and its aftermath,” (2009:48). This is in line with the empirical findings about the nature delivering justice under Cow for Peace arrangement in pre-colonial Rwanda (see the quote above) and reinforced by the statistical empirical revelation,

(93.3%), in the table above. Whereas Sentama noted that by encounter, survivors and offenders, and community members got opportunity to meet, discuss the crime and its aftermath, he did not indicate the outcomes from such discussions/meetings. This is the gap Girinka-based justice filled especially when wise-men brought together the two parties and a few community members to review the case; its merit and demerits and finally make impartial judgement—charging the offender the cow(s) for Peace.

However, neither the literature nor the empirical findings did not specify whether the gravity of the case attracted more number(s) of cows and the criterion for determining such. Findings from Kamonyi District revealed that Girinka indicated that whereas Girinka has economic objectives (thus revealing out the economic/monetary value), the socio-cultural value of cow-giving and receiving is emphasized than the quantity of cows. Elders interviewed to determine the nature of Girinka in pre-colonial Rwanda strongly agreed with this foregoing fact.

Noteworthy, the guiding principle for such practices differed from retributive justice and exhibited principles of restorative justice: reparative, transformative, corrective, relational and problem-solving as discussed by André L. Brown et.al. (2009). Details about differences of retributive and restorative justice, see forms of justice, Chapter two, p.96-98.

Considering empirical facts from literature and Semi-Structured Interviews, it was worthwhile to rate the extent Girinka enables genocide survivors and former genocide resolve their disputes.

5.7.3. Girinka and Resolution of Disputes through Traditional Justice Methods

After genocide, Kamonyi and other parts of Rwanda] faced great numbers of people clamouring for justice hence causing unprecedented backlog of cases in classical courts in Rwanda. Partly, this led to reintroduction of Gacaca. Reviewed more critically, classical court approach presented

more demerits—for instance, its win-loss nature exposed risks of fracturing the social fabric of Rwandan society deeper. Despite having endured the genocide that utterly shattered the social fabric, reviewed literature attested that before colonialism, Rwandans enjoyed social conviviality, preferred resolving emerging disputes through locally agreeable dispute resolution mechanisms such as Gacaca (traditional justice steered by men of integrity) and Abunzi (local mediators or conciliators).

After genocide against Tutsi, this mode of locally improvised dispute resolution mechanism was reintroduced and is regaining emphasis than opposed to the lengthy and costly court processes. In consideration of the foregoing process, the researcher asked the respondents to rate the statement: **Restored friendship through Girinka influences us to resolve our disputes via available traditional dispute resolution committees than resorting to classical courts.** As a reminder, this research found out that at least 83.4% of respondents—genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District disclosed (agreed and strongly agreed) that the passing on of the cow to the other acted as a friendship guarantor. The following statement: Restored friendship through Girinka influences us to resolve our disputes via traditional dispute resolution committees than resorting to classical courts was tested (see responses in the table below).

Table: 5.33. Girinka and Resolution of Disputes through Traditional Methods

Percentage (%)						
Strongly Disagree (%)	Disagree (%)	Neutral (%)	Agree (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Total (%)	Total
0% (0)	1.3% (40)	5.7% (17)	53.3% (160)	39.7% (119)	100	300

Source: Researcher (2018)

At least 93% (279) of respondents (agreed plus strongly agreed responses) revealed that restored friendship because of Girinka influences genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators to resolve their emerging disputes via available traditional dispute resolution committees than resorting to classical courts. Given the fact that such traditional mechanisms such as Ubumzi Committee emphasize mutual understanding, preservation of good relations, harmonious existence, the disputants are more predisposed to maintaining good neighbourly relations, friendship than a win-loss approach of classical courts. The latter is always more predisposed to fracturing social positive fabric and harmonious relations than the traditional judicial mechanism. After all, Sentama (2009) and as many other scholars asserted, restorative justice, “puts emphasis on restoring relationships between parties in a conflict, instead of inflicting punishment,(p.48). Benefits of restorative, traditional justice mechanisms are extensively stressed in chapter two. What is worthy of emphasis is that justice timely and effectively delivered leads to realization of sustainable peace after deadly violence like genocide. Considering that 93% of genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District restored friendship because of Girinka influence them to use locally available disputes resolution mechanisms than resorting to classical justice model is a good indication of laudable progress towards the realization of sustainable peace in Kamonyi District. Reviewed literature emphasized the centrality of restorative justice to the realization of sustainable peace in post conflict societies.

5.8. Chapter summary

Chapter five has established that Girinka contributed in transforming attitudes, behaviors and relationships of genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators of Kamonyi District. The cows given helped in removing *them vs. us* walls between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators. Such relational walls were inflexibly widened by the 1994 genocide

against Tutsi in Kamonyi District. The process of receiving, taking care of the cow (cleaning the cow-shed, feeding of cows and its calves, and provision of water) and mutual enjoyment of cow products strongly reinforced social contacts, enhances communications between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District.

A total of 68.7% (206) of both genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators confirmed that cow given under Girinka in Kamonyi District contributed to knowing the truth about the causes of genocide. However, Girinka had marginal influence (59%) on truth revelation, specifically, the whereabouts of unburied genocide victims in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. Fear of retributive justice and fearing to re-traumatize genocide survivors was cited as key constraining factors for revealing such bitter truths. Reviewed literature confirmed this as a national challenge. A significant number of respondents, 83% (249) in Kamonyi District indicated that Girinka contributes to genocide prevention while 87% (261) of respondents revealed that Girinka facilitated former genocide perpetrators to make apology to genocide survivors. Most importantly, 90% (260) respondents confirmed that, Girinka reinforces *NdumunyaRwanda* that is creating collective identity in Kamonyi District. This revelation is critical in terms of peacebuilding considering how the policy of ethnic divides had been popularized in Kamonyi District. At least 77.7% (233) of respondents confirmed that *Girinka-based NdumunyaRwanda* influences the realization of sustainable peace in Kamonyi District of Rwanda.

It was established that Girinka created trust between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators by 86% (258) agreed and strongly agreed approval rate. Still under trust, 65.3% (98) of genocide survivors confirming that they can leave their children under the care of a former genocide perpetrator. By care, the researcher meant temporal child care which is a usual practice

amongst families with trustful relationships in rural parts of Rwanda. However, sustainable trust did not get approval of both genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators. Two reasons were cited: leaving one's child under permanent care of another person you are not biologically related was noted as culturally unacceptable. The researcher did not establish the veracity of this view. Secondly, both genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators noted leaving one child under permanent care of one of the two categories invokes deeper, stronger (sustainable) trust which is, according to all respondents, too early to determine.

A total of 91% (273) of the respondents confirmed that Girinka contributes to restoration of relationships between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District of Rwanda while 77.7 % (233) of respondents confirmed that Girinka Reconciliation influences the realization of Sustainable Peace in Kamonyi District. There is no significance variance between national findings (87.7%) indicating the contribution of Girinka to national reconciliation, NURC's Report (2015) and empirical evidence on the contribution of Girinka on reconciliation in Kamonyi District (91%).

Reviewed literature revealed re-humanizing the perpetrator—seeing him/her in new light—is a firm step towards forgiveness. 84% (110) of respondents confirmed that as a result of Girinka, genocide survivors were able to see the positive side of the former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. This revelation manifested a major step made towards reconciliation especially if one is related to the viciousness of genocidal violence in Kamonyi District. At least 87.4 % (131) of respondents confirmed that Girinka triggered forgiveness of former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District. 82.7 % (124) of respondents (genocide

survivors) confirmed that the cow they share with former genocide perpetrators acted as a channel of communications hence enabling them to forgive their former tormentors.

The key feature of Girinka in Kamonyi District is pass-on of the cow's heifer to the other—genocide survivor to the former genocide perpetrator, vice versa. This revolving process creates nurtures friendships and acts as peace through improved economic livelihoods. A total of 92% (276) of respondents (agree and strongly agreed) confirmed that giving and receiving cows between the two categories under Girinka guarantees peace through improved economic livelihood in Kamonyi District. This empirical revelation is in tandem with suggestions from major international peacebuilding institutions such as International Alert advocating for socio-economic livelihood improvement as a pathway to peace.

Finally, and noteworthy, a total of 93.3% (280) confirmed that like Gacaca justice, Girinka can promote sustainable peace more effectively than other classical/conventional peacebuilding methods in Kamonyi District. This revelation was strongly emphasized by scholars who advocate for revitalization and application of African cultural resources and values and institutions to build sustainable peace. Nearly all these scholars identified cross-cutting features of unconventional approaches in form of strengths: they focus on restoration of relationships between the perpetrators and survivors, community participation in the reconciliation processes, prioritize longer term societal harmony than short-term fixes and dialogic interactions. All reviewed unconventional approaches in Africa: *gacaca courts* (small courts) in Rwanda, *Kotgla* in Botswana, *Mato oput* Acholi Uganda, *bashingantahe* in Burundi, *gadaa oromo* in Ethiopia and others share the foregoing features/values. Girinka has some of the above valuable conflict transformation features.

CHAPTER SIX

CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF GIRINKA RECONCILIATION APPROACH IN KAMONYI DISTRICT OF RWANDA

6.0 Introduction

The chapter entails a discussion on challenges and opportunities of Girinka Reconciliation Approach in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. Guided by objective three, the researcher aimed at establishing challenges encountered during the implementation of Girinka Reconciliation Approach and lessons learned for future improvement of policy, programmes and practices in Kamonyi District and Rwanda as a whole. In view of the necessity of drawing lessons for policy improvement, it was imperative to present opportunities that can be seized by state and non-state peacebuilders, policy-makers, development planners, Girinka implementers, programme monitors in Kamonyi, Rwanda and other post conflict societies in Africa and beyond. The generation of empirical—quantitative and qualitative—evidence was guided by the administered questionnaire and Semi-Structured Interview instruments. The rationale for seeking to establish the challenges of Girinka Reconciliation Approach emerged from the reviewed literature which emphasized for cautionary revival of homegrown solutions for sustainable peace and development policy-makers, scholars and practitioners.

6.1. Challenges of Girinka Reconciliation Approach

The Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer (2015) outlined the following as critical challenges of national reconciliation—ethnic based stereotypes, genocide ideology, unhealed wounds from divisive past and genocide. Whereas the genocide ideology did not constitute any of the research questions of the two research instruments—Questionnaire and Semi-Structured Interview—preset for generating empirical data, it was mentioned as one of the major disruptive factors of

Girinka-based reconciliation and peacebuilding process in Kamonyi District. It established however that such cases are frequent as they usually emerged during the month of April—start off the annual commemorative season of the 1994 genocide against Tutsi.

6.1.1. Cognitive Challenge—limited knowledge of Girinka Reconciliatory Approach.

Evidence generated from the reviewed literature confirmed the scantiness of knowledge about homegrown approach and how they contribute in restoring fractured relationships and building peace. Where these approaches have worked, they have raised more scepticisms among peacebuilding scholars and practitioners in and outside Rwanda. The researcher assumed that lack of knowledge nurtures sceptical mind—hence the rationale for testing how knowledgeable the genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators are in far as Girinka Reconciliation Approach and how it promotes sustainable peace in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. Earlier on, the researcher observed that Africa’s homegrown solutions have attracted minimal scholarship interests hence failing to make it in major scholarly reviewed journals because of such scepticisms. The researcher asked the following statement to the respondents: Limited knowledge of Girinka Reconciliation Approach in Promoting Sustainable Peace

Table.6.1. Limited knowledge of Girinka Reconciliation Approach in Promoting Sustainable

	Percentage (%)					Total %	Total Freq.
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree			
3.7%	21.7%	18.0%	49.3%	7.3%	100	300	
(11)	(65)	(54)	(148)	(22)			

Source: Researcher (2018)

At least 49.3% of respondents concurred, 7.3% strongly agreed with the view that limited knowledge of Girinka Reconciliatory Approach in Promoting Sustainable Peace in Kamonyi District. Summed up together (agreed and strongly agreed), 56.6% confirmed the foregoing statement. A research on *NdumunyaRwanda* (2017) noted some concerns and even fear about the program—“double language (*indimi ebyeri*) of some politicians, misinterpretations”, among others (p.51). There were cold reservations relating to the true motives of such a programme in the post genocide Rwanda. In fact, NURC Research (2017) revealed that “writings and speeches of some Rwandans, particularly those in Diaspora (political opponents and activists) frequently portray[ed] *Ndi Umunyarwanda* as a political tool to extend genocide responsibility to all the Hutu,” (p.51).

Worth to note, most political activists outside Rwanda usually construct meanings from many of post genocide interventions including home grown solutions through ethnical prisms. Whether this political behaviour is informed by Rwanda’s past ethno-based politics, or not, this was not empirically tested and hence it cannot be confirmed by the researcher. However, the researcher observed one key fact—Kamonyi’s genocidal past has a greater influence on some of the present and future policy choices, practices and relationships. This view is generalizable to the whole of post genocide Rwanda. Reviewed literature confirmed this assertion.

The earlier analysis specifically relating to the fears, reservations and concerns of *NdumunyaRwanda* led the researcher to make similar inferences on Girinka. Though quantitative findings indicated a smaller percentage, 25.4% of respondents responded otherwise (disagreed and strongly disagreed), there were respondents in Semi Structured Interviews who confirmed that in some places of Rwanda, Girinka was also perceived through ethnic lenses. This was no surprising revelation given the established linkages between cows and ethnism in Rwanda’s past.

Despite the noted challenges, genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators disclosed that beneficiaries of Girinka under CARSA Programme in Kimonyi District were the luckiest because they had enough time to be informed and internalized Girinka’s reconciliatory approach through preparatory encounter meetings, constant follow up visits and refresher trainings.

6.1.2. Psychological Challenge—Fear of the intentions of Girinka programme.

The operating context after genocide are more characterized by suspicion and mistrust between genocide survivors or former genocide perpetrators or both towards an interventions focused on them. Well-intentioned peacebuilding programmes and projects are potentially feared by both genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators. Questions like what are the programme’s/project’s intentions and why does it focus on us arise? According to IDEA (2003), “one of the biggest obstacles to reconciliation is that because of the violence of the past, their relations [former genocide perpetrators and genocide perpetrators in this case] are based on antagonism, distrust, disrespect, quite possibly, hurt and hatred,” (p.11). This researcher sought to determine how fear of the Girinka programme hinders Girinka reconciliatory processes in Kamonyi District. The following statement was rated: Fear of the intentions of Girinka hinders Girinka Reconciliatory Process.

Table.6.2. Fear of the intentions of Girinka programme hinders Girinka Reconciliatory Process.

Percentage (%)						
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total (%)	Total Frequency
26.3% (79)	43.7% (131)	7.7% (23)	21.3% (64)	1.0% (3)	100	300

Source: Researcher (2018)

Empirical findings indicated that 43.7 % (131) of genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators disagreed with the statement: **Fear of the intentions of Girinka programme hinders Girinka Reconciliatory Process**, 26.3% (79) strongly disagreed. Added together, 70% (210) of the respondents disagreed with the foregoing statement. 21.3% agreed with the statement and only 1% strongly agreed. Whereas there have been criticisms likening Girinka as a post genocide mechanism of Tutsifying all Rwandans, empirical findings, 70%, dispelled this view. If there is, it is likely to be peddled by genocide deniers from outside the Rwanda. In reference to prevalence of genocide as a major challenge against *NdumunyaRwanda*, two forms of education emerged strongly from the study conducted by NURC in 2007. Findings from the foregoing research uncovered “*uburozi bwo kw’ishyiga*”—loosely meaning family-based poisonous education and “*uburezi bwo kw’ishyiga*”—family-based positive education (see NURC, 2017:51). Family-based education in rural parts of Rwanda are influential and foundational to one’s adult life. It is important to therefore emphasize the centrality of transforming families for greater reconciliation outcomes. Children growing up in families that promote ethnic stereotypes and use violence to achieve ends are more susceptible to become violators of human rights and promoters of violence in their adult life. Conversely, families that promote principles of mutual understanding, cooperation, truthful and trustful relationships to their children contribute to societal harmony and peace.

6.1.3. Desire for quick impacts yet reconciliation takes time

Achieving reconciliation entailed getting many multifaceted factors right—truths, trust, forging collective identity (*NdumunyaRwanda/Rwandaness*), apology, healing and so on and so forth. Realizing these amidst other pressing priorities takes time. Precise determination of changes in human attitudes, relations and behaviours remains as an area in social science with critical

challenges. Whereas these issues are testable (with smaller margin of errors), overtime, other intervening variables can alter the research subjects, the researcher's biases and so forth. In fact, for comparison's sake, measuring human attitudes, relations and behaviours can be likened to shooting a moving target. A genocide survivor's statement cited in Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer (2015) is illustrative of time factor:

Many of us genocide 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 (RRB, 2015:117).

The principal goal of reconciliation in post genocide society is causing a shift in trust, tolerance, justice, acknowledgement (apology) among others, Vanessa Corlazzoli and Jonathan Whilte (2003). Guided by the earlier reviewed literature, we can summarize the concept of reconciliation as changing negative attitudes, behaviors and perceptions between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators to positive ones. The two authors made an illustrative indication of how expecting change so soon after extreme violence can be unfathomable:

The changes in knowledge, attitudes, behaviors, and perception of the other—a complex issue—all of which are inherently long-term processes—in a short period of time. They may also seek to cause ripple effects in complicated causal-relationships and ultimately transform cultures, norms and environment to decrease the likelihood of violent conflicts. However, these changes rarely manifest within immediate timeframe of the [post conflict] programme, (Vanessa Corlazzoli and Jonathan Whilte, 2003:9)

In view of the above literature evidence, the researcher asked genocide survivors and former perpetrators to rate the veracity of this statement: the desire for quick impacts yet reconciliation takes time is a challenge for Girinka Reconciliation Approach. The table below presents the findings.

Table: 6.3.The desire for quick impacts.

Percentage (%)						
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total (%)	Total Frequency
16.0%	41.0%	15.7%	25.0%	2.3%	100	300
(48)	(123)	(47)	(75)	(7)		

Source: Researcher (2018)

Empirical evidence revealed that 57% respondents (disagreed and strongly disagreed) did not support the statement: the desire for quick impacts yet reconciliation takes time is a challenge for Girinka Reconciliation Approach. Only 27.3% (agreed and strongly) of respondents concurred with the foregoing statement. Some members of respondents targeted because of its established knowledge of Rwanda's operative context disagreed with the statement.

Most scholars pointed that the desire for quick fix by peacebuilding practitioners and state actors acts as one of the major challenges of reconciliation processes. Respondents disagreeing with the statement exposed a strong mismatch between literature evidence and empirical evidence. The most plausible explanation for this disparity can be inferred from the noted narrow understanding of the concept of reconciliation by respondents. Asked how they define reconciliation, some views of respondents rather indicated co-existence than the wider concept of reconciliation. Examples of such narrow definitions could be inferred from terms respondents used in reference to how far they are reconciling—*gusurarana*, (mutual visitations), *gusuhuzanya* (mutual greetings), and *gufashanya* (mutual support. Living without confrontations between the genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators does not necessarily translate into reconciliation. It is rather temporal co-existence. Similar confusions were also noticed in some of the reviewed

literature resources. Reconciliation entails a longer term process of change while co-existence tends to be temporal living together with your perceived or actual adversary.

Whereas these terms are indicative of impressive steps towards reconciliation, mutual greetings and mutual support—*guhana amazi nu muriro*—meaning neighbourly sharing of water and fire do not guarantee acknowledgement of inflicted pains, building trustful relationships especially in Rwanda where such duties are culturally inscribed as a societal values for everybody.

Importantly, both genocide survivors and former genocide acknowledged some key facts worth noting—the first encounter meetings—(*amahugurwa*) between genocide survivors and former perpetrators were extremely painful in the short-term but as time went by, the encounter meetings triggered what most genocide survivors qualified as unexpected bursting by former genocide perpetrators into tears, uncoordinated pleading for forgiveness and eventual expressions of repentant attitudes towards genocide survivors. Whereas the empirical evidence indicated that the desire for quick reconciliation impacts does not act as a challenge, the researcher subscribes to evidence from literature. The forthcoming remark from IDEA (2003) will not only be conclusive on this section, but reflective of the operating context of the most post-genocide societies:

Experience suggests that a rushed approach, as regularly advocated by national and international peacemakers and facilitators, will almost certainly be counterproductive. In the immediate aftermath of a civil war or of an inhuman regime, victims are too preoccupied with their own distress to develop trust and empathy in a hurry. In addition, coming to terms with human injustice is a deeply personal process. It touches the cognitive and the emotional, the rational and the non-rational in human beings (p.32).

6.1.4. Costs of Keeping the Cow for Reconciliation

Genocide altered the economic livelihoods of both genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District and many other parts of Rwanda. Considering the socio-economic status of most genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators, it was established that majority (96.3% see respondent's occupation under demographic information, chapter four) were subsistence farmers, arguably, managing exotic breeds of cows can be economically costly especially in many rural parts of Rwanda. A research titled *Government Programs in Transforming Lives of Rwanda: A Case Study of Girinka Munyarwanda Program in Gicumbi District* (2006), Ndisanze Onesme, from the University of Rwanda, uncovered that 32.1% of the respondents in Gicumbi District agreed that they had the problem of insufficient forage mainly during dry season, 19.6% of Girinka beneficiaries claimed they had faced the challenge of livestock diseases while 16.1% had the challenge of poor cattle breeds.

The research conducted by Rwanda Governance Board (2014) the following as challenges of Girinka recipients: limited access to veterinary drugs (53.8% of consulted recipients), having a proper cowshed, access to veterinary services (36.6%), cow feeding (30.6%), access to water for the cows (25.2%), limited knowledge in livestock management (22.9%) and low milk prices (21.8%). In view of the findings above, the researcher sought to test whether the management of the cow by genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District is costly. Thus, the respondents were asked to rate the following statement—Keeping the Cow for Reconciliation is costly and the responses were rated as Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree and Strongly Disagree. Noteworthy, the formulation of the foregoing statement was informed by claims from commentators in and outside Rwanda that the economic costs of

managing cows given under Girinka outweigh economic benefits. The researcher did not delve into details of the latter part of the commentator’s claims—the economic costs vs. economic benefits of Girinka programme in Kamonyi or Rwanda. In fact, this research focused on social dimension of Girinka program.

Table 6.4. Costs of keeping the Cow for Reconciliation

Percentage (%)						
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total (%)	Total Frequency
28.0% (84)	42.3% (127)	8.7% (26)	16.0% (48)	5% (15)	100	300

Source: Researcher (2018)

At least 70.3% (disagree plus strongly disagree) of respondents—genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District dispelled the view that managing the cow given under Girinka is costly. Only 30% of which 16% agreed and 5% strongly agreed respectively.

From above empirical evidence, the researcher established the following: first, the 30% confirmation response establishes the closer correlation between most of the revelations in RGB’s generatated evidence on challenges of managing cows (2014):access to veterinary services (36.6%), cow feeding (30.6%), access to water for the cows (25.2%), (see tables below). However RGB’s findings covered the whole country. Secondly, there was a noticeable gap between what is empirically revealed (70.3%) in Kamonyi District and what is sometimes claimed by some political commentators that—managing cows given under Girinka is costly. Plausibly, the variance can be explained by (commentator’s) perceptions and reality on the ground. The latter was validated by empirical findings above (also see the table below). Thirdly, as established in chapter five, specifically under Girinka and economic benefits, from RGB

findings (2014) and empirical findings that economic benefits of Girinka enable recipients from meeting basic human needs and these benefits outweigh the costs. However, the research did not delve into comprehensive economic costs-benefit analysis of Girinka. The tables below show the linkages between national (RGB's 2014) findings and empirical findings (2018) from Kamonyi District specifically under challenges of managing cows.

Table 6.5. Challenges of Girinka in Rwanda

Challenges of Girinka in Rwanda	
Challenges	Percentage
Limited access to veterinary drugs	53.8%
Access to veterinary services	36.6%
Cow feeding	30.6%
Access to water for the cow	25.2%
Limited knowledge in livestock management	22.9%
Low milk prices	21.8%

Source: RGB, 2014

	Percentage (%)					Total (%)	Total Frequency
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree		
Managing the Cow for reconciliation is costly	28.0% (84)	42.3% (127)	8.7% (26)	16.0% (48)	5% (15)	100	300

Source: Researcher (2018)

Figures from the two tables above illustrate the correlation between RGB's (2014) findings and the empirical findings of the study. Whereas 70% of the respondents (recipients) of cows disagreed with the statement that managing cows for reconciliation is costly, the remaining 30% affirmed the statement. There is closer to all rates in RGB's findings (2014) except one: limited access to veterinary drugs (53.8%).

6.1.5. Difficulty in measuring attitudinal, behavioural and relational changes

Scholars of peacebuilding have noted that measuring change in human attitudes, behaviours and relations can be difficult over time especially after gruesome genocidal violence like the one that befell Tutsi of Rwanda. Difficulty of measuring attitudes, behaviours and relations of former genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors can affect the sustainability of peace. Measuring reconciliation is rendered more complex by how testable issues are intricately interwoven thus making scientific precisions extremely difficult. Earlier, the researcher observed that precise determination of changes in human attitudes, relations and behaviours tends to be extremely challenging, especially in societies formerly fractured by genocidal violence.

In fact, for comparison's sake, measuring human attitudes, relations and behaviours can be likened to shooting a moving target. Vanessa Corlazzoli and Jonathan White (2003) considers peace, conflict, security and justice and their integral components—knowledge, attitudes, behaviors, perceptions as unmeasurable—in fact, this ran under the title: “measuring unmeasurable,” (2003:1). Conversely, the literature from the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP) emphasized that peace is not only determinable, it is achievable and measurable,” (2015:81). However, the IEP Report (2015) acknowledged that “attitudes, institutions and structures—positive peace factors— are complex, multi-dimensional, non-linear in their progress, hard to observe and multi-causal,” (2015:84). This is the point of convergence between Vanessa Corlazzoli and Jonathan White (2003) and the Institute for Economics and Peace (2015).

Vanessa Corlazzoli and Jonathan White (2003) based their views on three important aspects— first, they argued that “the environments in which these interventions occur are complex,” (p.9).

For purposes of drawing clarity of the term environment, we can refer to immediate post genocide environment which was characterized by multiple actors—state and non-state actors—who acted with varying interventions and mandates all directed to the same people—genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Rwanda. In such context, Vanessa Corlazzoli and Jonathan White reasoned, issues of attributing the achieved changes from violent attitudes, behaviors, and relations between multiple actors arise. In recognition of this challenge, the two authors preferred the use of “contribution” as opposed to “attribution,” (2003:10). Summing up the point of post genocide environmental challenge how the measuring of peace, security, relations, behaviors and attitudes is very hard, he observed that the foregoing issues could be overcome if resources—human, financial, knowledge and skills were readily available. They remarked, “Data collection is constrained both by access to individuals, communities, regions, and propriety of culture and context, including trauma, (Vanessa Corlazzoli and Jonathan White, 2003:9). In view of the above, the research tested the following statement: Measuring attitudinal, behavioural and relational changes is a challenge for implementation of Girinka Reconciliation approach and the responses were rated as Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree and Strongly Disagree.

Table: 6.6. Difficulty in measuring Attitudes, Behavioural and Relational changes

Percentage (%)						
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total (%)	Total Frequency
14.7% (44)	41.7% (125)	13.6% (41)	24.3% (73)	5.7% (17)	100	300

Source: Researcher (2018)

Respondents (disagreed and strongly disagreed) totalled to 56.4%(169) while agreed and strongly agreed was at 30 % (90) and those who remained neutral were 13.6%(41). In view of the above, it is noticeable that the statement was invalidly confirmed by respondents. Going by what respondents confirmed, it is noted that attitudes, behaviours and relations are measurable. If they are measurable, how they influence the realization of peace is also determinable. In is in tandem with what was earlier emphasized by Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP): “Peace is determinable, measurable and achievable. Without such it is not possible to know what policies work and what programmes need to be implemented, when, how and where,” (2015:81).

Whereas the empirical evidence indicated that 56.4%(169) of respondents—disagreed and strongly disagreed—measuring attitudinal, behavioral and relational changes is a challenge for implementation of Girinka Reconciliation approach, the point raised by Vanessa Corlazzoli and Jonathan White, (2003) about the intangibility of reconciliation, peace, justice and their integral cousins (attitudes, behaviours, perceptions and relations), needs serious consideration especially in the context of post genocide Kamonyi District. This call is supported by the forthcoming statement: “The theories of change that underpin peace & conflict and security & justice programmes seek results that are rarely tangible, countable, or knowable by the beneficiaries or population at large, (Vanessa Corlazzoli and Jonathan White, 2003:9). Arguably, this stand point is supported by 30% who agreed that measuring attitudinal, behavioural and relational changes is a challenge for implementation of Girinka Reconciliation approach. As earlier noted, the researcher sought to establish some of the opportunities that can be seized for improvement of Girinka. Owing to the fact that the reconciliatory objective of Girinka is being piloted in Kamonyi District, the following points can guide the scaling up of the programme and other peacebuilding interventions in Rwanda and beyond.

6.2. Opportunities for Improvement of Girinka Reconciliation Approach

This section was informed by objective three. It encompasses security, political goodwill, state and non-state actor's support for Girinka and presence of culture of cows in the EAC partner states.

These opportunities were generated from literature, empirical and anecdotal evidence of respondents. As opportunities, they must be effectively seized peacebuilders—policy-makers and practitioners in Kamonyi District and Rwanda to maximize conflict transformation outcomes and impacts. Security, given its unique central role in enabling the realization of reconciliation and sustainable peace deserved special focus by the researcher. Hence, the Questionnaire was administered to former genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors to test the validity of scholarly acclaimed centrality of security. The generated quantitative findings were corroborated by evidence from Semi-Structured Interview and reviewed literature. For the rest, the researcher used Semi-Structured Interview.

6.2.1. Security

Security has been scholarly defined differently, making the concept contestable. Literature presented security as a complex state driven architecture. In some East African Community Partner States, for instance, in Kenya and Uganda, security management is gradually evolving from the hands of state actors to private security operators. Whether this is the most effective strategy of managing security or not, stretched beyond the researcher's interests. However, the post genocide operative context required prioritizing security like all other basic human needs: food, shelter, education, housing and others would followed. The about prioritizing security over other basic human needs can be met by scholarly critiques, but to most genocide survivors and

former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District, acquiring physical security was not only central but a pre-conditional for two principal research categories to even anticipate engaging in reconciliation processes.

Janis Grobbelaar and Jama M. Chalib, (2003) observed: “security is the condition of not feeling threatened, and the process through which resources are organized to remedy vulnerabilities,” (p.7). The researcher’s preference is the basic and operative definition: security—“as freedom from fear,” (see Busan as cited by Janis Grobbelaar and Jama M. Chalib, 2003:7). In view of the foregoing definition, there cannot be reconciliation and sustainable peace in a state where former genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors are in state of fear—perceived or real. One former genocide survivor commented:

If there was no security, I can confess to you, we would have slaughtered the cow and shared its meat pieces amongst ourselves. None of us would have cared to see its unifying value. These conditional preparatory meetings between us [genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators] conducted by CARSA helped in preparing our minds, but they also spared the cow from being slaughtered (Field data, Kamonyi District, April 2018).

Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer (2015) contended that security at all aspects—physical, structural, and psychological determines the quality of reconciliation. For instance, the Barometer further stressed, “the general hypothesis is that if citizens feel well, secure and protected, they will be more willing to commit themselves to national reconciliation processes,”(p.69). Whereas Janis Grobbelaar and Jama M. Chalib reasoned that security can be purchased from marketplace—private security, he equally observed that the primary responsibility of providing and building security lies with the state—“external and internal social security,” (2003:7). The earlier cited sense of vulnerability and the need for survival places security in focus in Kamonyi District especially after 1994 genocide against Tutsi because of the

following reasons. Principally, because of the traumatic experiences resulting from the gruesome genocidal violence: severe victimization or perpetration, genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators potentially feel existential security threats Ervin Staub *et. al.*, (2005). The existential threat—perceptual or real for the Genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators can be linked to their special socio-demographic status: genocide survivors, while for the former genocide perpetrators. The former’s role of perpetrating genocide continually exposes him to unhealing perceptual fears and perceptual insecurity.

This research considered security as an intervening variable for Girinka Reconciliation Approach and Sustainable Peace. NURC Report (2007): “Security is certainly the prior condition to be fulfilled before thinking about any reconciliation process. It would make no sense to undertake any reconciliation programme in a context such as house is still set on fire, (p.29). Put in other words, security acted as the moderator for the two variables—Girinka Reconciliation and Sustainable Peace. To determine this, the researcher asked respondents to rate the indispensability of security vis-à-vis the two variables. In view of this, respondents were asked to rate the veracity of the statement: Without security, reconciliation between genocide survivors and genocide perpetrators would remain a dream using Strong Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree and Strongly Disagree.

Table. 6.7. Without security, reconciliation between genocide survivors and genocide perpetrators would remain a dream

Percentage (%)						
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total (%)	Total Frequency
0% (0)	6.9% (21)	2.7% (8)	50.0% (150)	40.7% (122)	100	300

Source: Researcher (2018)

At least 90.7% (272) of respondents (agreed plus strongly agreed) confirmed the assertion that **without security, reconciliation between genocide survivors and genocide perpetrators would remain a dream**. Only, 6.9 % (21) disagreed with the statement and 2.7%(8) remained undecided (neutral). Security scored higher (90.7%) than most other sub-variables under Girinka Reconciliation Approach and Sustainable Peace in Kamonyi District. This higher score is telling: it underlines the foundational importance and its moderating influence of the two major variables: independent and dependent variables. The empirical quantitative evidence generated from this research (90.7%) responses of former genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors rating security as a key foundation for reconciliation and sustainable peace in Kamonyi District is not farther from the national citizen rating of security as the table below demonstrated.

Table. 6.8. State of Security in Rwanda

Security rating: RRB (2010)	%	Security rating: RRB (2015)	%
Overall, Rwanda's national security	94.3%	Overall, Rwanda's national security	96.8 %
Personal physical security	86%	Personal physical security	95.4 %
Economic security	70.3%	Economic security	88.2 %

Source: NURC, (2015)

90.7%

→ **Security score in Kamonyi**
Source: Researcher (2018)

Rwanda Reconciliation Barometers (2010 and 2015) respectively emphasized the importance of security in achieving national reconciliation and sustainable peace in Rwanda after the 1994 genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda. Citing the state of security in Rwanda, the two reconciliation instruments rated security as follows: 94.3% (RRB, 2010) and 96.8% (RRB, 2015) respectively. The two Reconciliation Barometers underscored security as a key determinant of national

reconciliation and sustainable peace in post genocide Rwanda. One respondent of RRB (2015) stressed it better:

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 there is security, they put their efforts together [...] Security is a crucial pillar of reconciliation. People reconcile themselves when they are secure and in harmony. Reconciliation cannot take place without security,” (A member of Dutabarane Co-operative, Rutsiro District, RRB, 2015:70).

Testimonies of both genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators also brought into practical evidence the importance of security especially before giving and receiving of cows under Girinka. Despite staying in the same neighborhoods, before Girinka, cases of one category running away from other other were recited to have been common in Kamonyi District. Whereas genocide survivors could feel existential threats from former genocide perpetrators especially during annual genocide commemorative seasons (April through July), the latter category expressed similar fears especially during the same period. Both categories however lauded existent security actors and operatives in Kamonyi District to quell any emerging or potential security threats.

This revelation therefore validated the earlier observation that while genocide survivors experience existential security threats—perceptual or real—relating to their past genocidal victimization, former genocide perpetrator’s past genocidal roles entangled them into existential security threats during the genocide commemorative period. Thus, the two special social categories applauded Girinka to have contributed in erasing both perceptual threats through reduced contacts, increased communications, enhanced trusts and revelation of the other’s state of mind during the commemorative period.

6.2.2. Political will/Political Commitment

Political will, specifically, lack of it, has been widely cited for the failure to translate good intentions into actions, peacebuilding objectives into outcomes, impacts and signed peace agreements into implementations. In Rwanda, lack of political will was blamed for failure to prevent or stop the genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda. Lack of political will has been blamed for making never again an empty slogan, Solomon (2010). Never Again is one of the guiding principles of the National Unity and Reconciliation Policy (2007).

In this section, the researcher sought to demonstrate how political will has been one of the key drivers of Rwanda's homegrown solutions, including Girinka Reconciliation Approach not only in Kamonyi District but Rwanda as a whole.

Political will has been variously interpreted, however. To avoid misinterpretations of the concept, an operative definition is provided. Reviewed literature revealed that the reasons for lack of political will lie in its intangibility, immeasurability and confusing usability of the concept. In view of the foregoing, the researcher endeavored to bring out existing tangible, observable and measurable indicators of political will for Girinka Reconciliation Approach (see figure).

Citing Brinkerhoff (2000:242), Carmen Malena (2009:24) prioritized the former's definition of political will citing its operational character: "the commitment of political leaders and bureaucrats to undertake actions to achieve a set of objectives and to sustain the costs of those actions over time." This definition acted as a guide for determining whether there is or there isn't identifiable commitment by Rwandan leaders and bureaucrats demonstrable through actions to

achieve Girinka objectives and sustain costs associated with such undertaking in the post genocide Rwanda.

“There is political will. Since its establishment, the national union government demonstrated its commitment in erecting a Rwandan national reconciled with itself [...] the first government just formed at the eve of 1994 Tutsi genocide reflects the unconcealed determination. Various subsequent programmes directly display the determination of the leadership in place to construct the unity of the Rwandan people,” noted NURC Report (2007:28).

The same report indicated that the creation of NURC as one of the indicators of the political will to build unity and reconciliation of Rwandans after 1994 genocide against Tutsi in post genocide Rwanda. The Senate Report(2006), specifically on its section, Consolidating Achievements or Building up on Opportunities, cited institutions such as National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, National Commission for Human Rights, Ombudsman, and so forth as strategies for managing the consequences of Genocide and social conflicts, democratic governance and socio-economic development(p.278). The report underlined one major point illustrative of political will: “These opportunities lie not only in the actions of the leadership, but in the actions of the population itself,” (Senate Report, 2006:278). The report underlined three wills cited as critical for formation of a nation after 1994 genocide against Tutsi, of interest to this study is the one closer to the earlier definition of political will: “tangible signs of leadership,” (Senate Report, 2006:278). The above was found to be confirmed by the statement of President Kagame in the National blueprint, Vision 2020: “The Rwanda we seek is the one that is united [...],” (Republic of Rwanda,)

According to RGB, the custodian of Homegrown initiatives (HGIs) “these policies [referring to HGIs] are a direct response to economic and social challenges and a reflection of political goodwill to fulfill the development vision of Rwanda. The most extensive and transformative

HGIs include, Umuganda, Gacaca, Ubunzi, Imihigo, Ubudehe, Itorero, Ingando, Umushyikirano, Umwiherero and Girinka,” (2014:xviii). According to Senate Report, observed, “ Although Rwanda came sharply into the highlight of African continent with the 1994 genocide, it also showed ingenuity in conflict management and resolution through its policies of National Unity and econciliation and its traditional participatory and innovative systems of justice, known as Gacaca,” (Senate Report, 2006:279).

There are several institutions and policies in the post genocide Rwanda indicative of political goodwill. In terms of policies, Rwanda’s vision 2020 stresses that, “the Rwanda we want is one that is united,” Republic of Rwanda (Vision 2020: 3). Similarly, Vision 2020 considers Rwanda’s cultural values as critical ingredients of Rwanda’s prosperity and unity, Republic of Rwanda (Vision 2020: 16). The National Policy on Unity and Reconciliation equally emphasizes putting existing Rwandan cultural values at the centre of Rwanda’s growth, national unity and reconciliation, (National Policy on Unity and Reconciliation Policy, 2007:12).

The National Strategy for Transformation (2017-2024) also highlights promotion of Rwandan culture as a foundation for peace, unity, security of all Rwandans. The objectives of Gacaca reflects Rwanda’s resolve to promote cultural resources and values in responding to post-genocide justice, reconciliation and peace challenges. Rwanda’s unconventional approaches to peacebuilding and development have been extensively discussed in the chapter two. What is worthy of note is a mention of institutions mandated to promote such approaches. National Unity and Reconciliation Commission works with several institutions such as Rwanda

Governance Board, Rwanda Agricultural Board to coordinate a host of culturally-inspired unity and reconciliation programmes, initiatives and approaches such as Girinka, Umuganda, Ingando, Itorero, and Ndumunya Rwanda among others.

Whereas the foregoing highlight the political goodwill to use Rwanda's homegrown solutions to respond to post-genocide consequences, Girinka inclusive, it needs to be noted that existence of institutional and policy indicators necessarily reflects political goodwill. What is critical is translating the political goodwill into concrete, measurable and observable actions on ground. The presented contributions of Girinka (chapter five), Gacaca Courts (chapter two) are indicators of the foregoing statement. Nonetheless, Brinkerhoff (2007) and Brinkerhoff and Crosby (2002) provided an elaborative checklists for determining whether there is or there isn't political will. They cited: Government initiatives—government takes initiative from decision-makers to talk and implement policies indicative of political will; choice of policies, programmes based on their own assessments of the likely benefits to be obtained from such pursuits; mobilization of stakeholders—the extent at which decision-makers reach out to members of society society and private sector to realize the envisioned changes, allocation of resources—the extent the country decision-makers reveal their policy preferences publicly and assign resources to achieve the announced policy and programme objectives; learning and adaptation—political will is demonstrated when country actors establish a process of tracking changes brought about by the homegrown solutions. According to Brinkerhoff (2007) and Brinkerhoff and Crosby (2002), learning can also apply to country policy-makers observing homegrown policies, practices and programmes from other countries and selectively adopt them for their own use

6.2.3. Internal and external Support for Girinka as a Homegrown Solution

Girinka approach has attracted support from both state and non-state actors inside and outside Rwanda. As experience of aid (humanitarian and development) has shown, external support is never eternal and it is laced with context-insensitive issues in most African settings. Thus, the present external support for Girinka as one of the homegrown solutions needs to be maximally leveraged to spread further and consolidate achieved reconciliation and peacebuilding milestones in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. The forthcoming revelations and discussions exemplified the unwavering support for Girinka in Kamonyi District and Rwanda as a whole.

According to Gasana Ngabo, the national coordinator of Girinka, over 316,000 cows have been given countrywide by the government of Rwanda, civil society organizations and private sector. Over 11 Civil Society Organizations, according to National Coordinator of Girinka gifted cows to poor rural Rwandans through *Girinka*. He remarked:

This Girinka approach is continually attracting interests of different actors—scholars, private sector and civil society actors. For instance, recently, private citizens of Ireland learned about Rwanda’s cultural practice of giving cows [Girinka], they picked interests, organized themselves in form of Non-governmental Organization called *Musada*—a *Swahili* word for support. They came to Rwanda and gifted over 100 high quality cows to rural poor citizens in Rwamagana, Kayonza District of Rwanda (Girinka National Coordinator, Field data, May 2018).

The revered cow-giving practice—Girinka revived after genocide against Tutsi has also attracted high level state actors from outside Rwanda. For instance, in May 2018, Ethiopian Prime Minister, Dr. Abiy Ahmed gifted Rwanda’s President a cow and a calf (Igihe, May, 26th 2018). Whereas this practice symbolized strategic and diplomatic relations between two countries, the cow-giving and cow-receiving between the two heads of State revealed what the Ethiopian Prime Minister described as “a great symbol of the culture both countries share” (Igihe, May 2018).

The Indian Prime Minister, Narendra Mohi, gifted 200 cows to poor Rwandan of Rweru, Bugesera District, Eastern Province of Rwanda to support Rwanda's Girinka (India Today, July, 24th 2018). India and Rwanda are continents apart from each other, however, the visit and gifting of cows to Rwandans by the Prime Minister of India exposed the intrinsic value of cows and how cow culture can cement relations between the two countries and their peoples. Prabhaskar K Dutta's PM in Africa: Why Cow is the best Gift in Rwanda, added credence to the foregoing perspective: "Cow has been a cultural and utility animal in India for ages. It is considered even as unit of wealth during Rig Vedic days," (India Today, 24th July 2018). This view reflects what was presented in chapter four, specifically about Rwanda's historical and cultural significance of cows.

In April 2016, Rwanda's President gifted 5 cows to Tanzanian President, John Pombe Magufuli and the act, according to Gerald Mbanda, symbolized stronger relationships of the two presidents, African cultural diplomacy (The Standard, 25th April 2018). Mbanda observed that:

The two presidents come from the cow culture people and the act of giving and receiving cow meant that two presidents made a peace pact based on African tradition, symbolizing a new relationship that binds the two leaders not to involve in any form of intrigue against each other, but to be defined by peaceful relations and comradeship (Gerald Mbanda, The Standard, 25th April 2016).

As one of the many other homegrown solutions, Rwanda's Girinka has not only attracted support from private citizens, civil society actors and high level state actors alone. As an emerging peacebuilding and development approach, homegrown solutions are increasingly getting scholar's support. For instance, Patricia Agupasi (2016), Dambisa Moyo's Dead Aid (2009), William Easterly's The White man Burden (2006) and many others referred to in chapter two of this thesis, are arguing that Africa's needs to catch the rest of the continents by leveraging homegrown solutions. Such scholarly-backed proposition is unique opportunity for positioning

Kamonyi's success stories about Girinka Reconciliation homegrown approach at regional and international platforms for increased voice and visibility. This will render vibrancy to Africa's renaissance, Africa solutions, and self-reliance impetus.

In her seminal working paper; Homegrown Development Initiatives and Practices in Africa, Patricia Agupasi revisited Rwanda's genocide against Tutsi of 1994 and she henceforth stressed the role of homegrown solutions in making what she qualified as Rwanda's "remarkable transformation," (2016:16). Citing Rwanda's *Agaciro* (self-reliance), also a homegrown development approach, Agupasi cited President Kagame's relentless policy position: "reducing aid dependence, embracing self-reliance", because "no country can depend on development aid forever and such dependency dehumanizes us and robs of our dignity," (Agupasi, 2016:17). All post-genocide peacebuilding and development interventions, Girinka inclusive, are premised on the foregoing policy orientation—revitalizing available local and traditional resources to reduce poverty, promote social cohesion, peace and other socio-economic milestone achievements.

6.2.4. Reverence of Cows in the EAC Region

Whereas Rwanda has been the fore-runner of cow-giving practice, the cultural reverence of cows is not a preserve for Rwandans only. East African Community (EAC) Partner States have communities who treasure cows more or less like Rwandans as the forthcoming revelations are yet to attest. In the foregoing discussions the researcher cited Gerald Mbanda's reference of Presidents; Paul Kagame, John Pombe Magufuli, Rwanda and Tanzania respectively as "two presidents coming from the cow culture people," (Genald Mbanda, The Standard, 25th April 2016). The referred cow culture people are from EAC Partner States and there ample cow-centered cultural practice worth emulation and replication amongst EAC peoples. Such

endeavors of emulating and replicating cultural good practices are supported by the EAC Development Strategy (2016-2022) which reiterated the need for accelerating the implementation of the Common Market Protocol (p.61).

In fact, the title of Mbanda's article underlined cow, the essence and significance of the Africa culture in fostering good relations in the East Africa Region. The reviewed literature underscored the significance of centering reconciliation and peacebuilding approaches on locally available resources—socio-cultural and other assets. Empirical evidence (see chapter four and five) from Kamonyi District did not only establish the significance of Girinka as a homegrown peacepath, it reemphasized the revival of some of the pre-colonial cultural Girinka practices for the sustainability of what has been achieved. Whereas cultures in the EAC communities are not wholly homogenous, cow culture people in the EAC region share closer cultural values, belief systems and practices centered on cows. The New Times' article: *Rwandans and their attachment to cows*, the author, Peterson Tumwebaze observed:

Rwandans are sometimes called cousins to the Masaai of Kenya and Tanzania because of their obsession and love for cattle. To win a Masaai woman, a man should be sure of parting with at least thirty cows. They rate dowry according to the girls' complexion and education level. If a girl has a lighter complexion and is a graduate, an average of 38 cows is asked for dowry (Peterson Tumwebaze, *The NewTimes*, 20th June 2009)

The culture of revering cows can be traced in Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Republic of Uganda, Tanzania, Kenya, Ethiopia, South Sudan and beyond. Whereas residents of Kamonyi District can showcase lessons learned from how they have harnessed Girinka Reconciliation Approach to influence Sustainable Peace, other cow culture people in the EAC region can share learning opportunities with Rwandans about cow-centered cultural practices, values and belief systems. There is unanimity amongst scholars that EAC or Africa has abundant

rich socio-cultural resources: unconventional value systems, local capacities, and experiential knowledge. Recognizant of that, the Report of the Panel of the Wise, recommended African Union member States to “allow for opportunities to invoke traditional mechanisms of reconciliation and/or justice, to the extent that they are aligned with the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights, International Peace Institute, (2013:29).

However, the exhibition and exchange of these African cultural resources amongst Africans is decimamally at low level. Yet, one of the major determinant of Africa’s anticipated economic growth, sustainable peace and sustainable development, according to Dambisa (2018) is culture. She observed, culture itself has been posited as a factor in the rise or decline of nations (2018:37). Citing a German economist, Dambisa, stretched the cultural centrality to prosperity and peace further, “cultural norms, social conventions and religious beliefs are the reasons for the differences between in economic development,” (2018:37). Championing culture to realize peacebuilding objectives can be problematic because of nationalistic interests common in most of EAC Partner States. The AU Panel of the Wise, the East African Community and Regional Ecomic Committees RECs) can contribute in this endeavor.

6.3. Chapter summary

The chapter entailed summary of challenges and opportunities of Girinka Reconciliation Approach in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. Guided by objective three, the researcher aimed at establishing challenges encountered during the implementation of Girinka Reconciliation Approach and lessons learned for future improvement of policy, programmes and practices in Kamonyi District and Rwanda as a whole.

Limited knowledge of Girinka was confirmed as a challenge at 56.6%, only 27.3% (agreed and strongly) of respondents concurred with the statement the desire for quick impacts yet reconciliation takes time is a challenge for Girinka Reconciliation. Whereas the above attracted lower approvals by respondents, most scholars pointed that the desire for quick fix by peacebuilding practitioners and state actors acts as one of the major challenges of reconciliation processes. Respondents disagreeing with the statement revealed a mismatch between literature evidence and empirical evidence.

At least 70.3% (disagree plus strongly disagree) of respondents—genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District dispelled the view that keeping the cow given under Girinka is costly. Similarly, 56.4%(169) of respondents—disagreed and strongly disagreed with the statement that measuring attitudinal, behavioral and relational changes is a challenge for implementation of Girinka Reconciliation approach.

At least 90.7% (272) of respondents (agreed plus strongly agreed) confirmed the assertion that without security, reconciliation between genocide survivors and genocide perpetrators would remain a dream. In view of the above, security emerged as the key opportunity the coordinators and implementers of Girinka in Kamonyi District should effectively utilize to consolidate achieved gains. Citing the state of security in Rwanda, the Rwanda Reconciliation Barometers (2010) and (2015) of National Unity and Reconciliation Commission rated security as a key instrument of national reconciliation as follows: 94.3% and 96.8% respectively. Therefore, the empirical findings from this research is not farther than national findings. Other opportunities respondents emphasized included: political goodwill, Internal and external Support for Girinka as a Homegrown Solution, reverence of cows by some communities in the EAC region. The cow

culture by other communities in East African Community Partner States provides opportunities for learning, emulation and replication by Girinka implementing agencies in Rwanda,

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.0. Introduction

The overall objective of this research was to assess how Rwanda's homegrown Girinka reconciliation approach influences sustainable peace in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. The research was guided by three specific objectives, namely; 1) to examine the nature of Girinka reconciliation approach in Rwanda; 2) to establish the contributions of Girinka reconciliation approach on sustainable peace in Kamonyi District of Rwanda; 3) to examine the challenges and opportunities of Girinka reconciliation approach in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. The following part of this draft thesis entail: summary of research findings (per specific objectives), conclusion and recommendatins.

7.1. Summary of Research findings

The findings under this section are organized per objective and themes which guided the study. It includes, the nature of Girinka Reconciliation Approach in Rwanda, the contribution of Girinka Reconciliation Approach on Sustainable Peace in Komonyi District, challenges and opportunities of Girinka Reconciliation Approach.

7.1.1. The nature of Girinka Reconciliation approach in Rwanda

The first objective examined the nature of Girinka reconciliation approach in Rwanda. Rwanda has four major historical periods: pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial and post-genocide. Whereas the researcher established that Rwanda's history is tainted with controversies, it was imperative to review it to understand why Girinka was reintroduced in 2006; 12 years after 1994

genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda. One respondent summarized this necessity, notwithstanding controversies therein: *umunyarwango udasubiye ibikuru ngo izimure, urazimira*—meaning in English: families and societies which do not revisit their past, perish (field data, Kigali, May 2018).

Linked to the above, empirical evidence revealed, as a peace path, the present Girinka draws its origin and prominence from Rwanda's pre-colonial period. Whereas it was established that cows played a central role in pre-colonial Rwanda, the precise determination of their origin in terms of time was not also established. Empirical findings, however, revealed two schools of thought about cow's origin in Rwanda: mystical and historical. The latter lies in traceable documents, the former lies in people's heads as—undocumented tacit knowledge. Each school of thought is powerful in its own right.

To understand the nature of Girinka, certain practices of Girinka and significances of cows were uncovered by the researcher. These included: the Cow for Friendship—*Inka y'Ubucuti*, the Service for Cow—*Ubuhake*, Cow for Life (*Inka y'Uguhamba*), Cow for Solace (*Inka y'Inkura Cyobo*), Cow for Peace—*Inka y'Icyiru*, Cow for Integrity—*Inka y'Inyangamugayo* and Cows for outstanding performance (*Inka y'Ukuremera*). Three from the foregoing Girinka practices—Cow for Friendship and Cow for Peace, embodied elements for restoration of fractured relationships. The Service for Cow had two-sided features: relational improvements and tensional escalations. The tensional part occurred when the parties—masters and client/subjects, did not effectively fulfill their obligations and commitments.

Service for Cows was amenable to tensions because of two facts—cows were scarce resources sought by all Rwandans, secondly, the practice was not based on written contracts. Yet, it

entailed elaborate responsibilities for each party such as provision of menial service to the master by the client (subject) and giving cow to the service-provider upon delivery. However, before its abolition in 1952, Service for Cow had registered elements of peacebuilding: relational mutuality, relational reciprocity, social solidarity, and complementarity.

Furthermore, empirical findings revealed that cows carried deeper socio-cultural and economic significances. The cow's socio-cultural significances can be summarized as thus: breaking escalations of social conflicts into repetitive vengeance (Cow for Peace); promoting positive relations, friendships and mutual understanding (Cow for Friendship) and transactional value (cows acted as mode of exchange). All respondents concurred with the view that the cow's economic values in pre-colonial Rwanda was greater than today's monetary value.

Through Cow for Economic Empowerment Practice—*Kuremera*, the neediest members of the pre-colonial Rwandan society accessed such economic resources—cows—as a way of moving such categories of Rwandans from destitution to relatively better economic levels. This practice, was guided by the unwritten rule: “No Rwandan child was ever to lack dairy milk while others had plenty,” RGB, (2014:46). Respondents confirmed this foregoing view, emphasizing the influence of this unwritten rule from pre-colonial Rwanda's history to President Kagame's reintroduction of Girinka in 2006. Girinka's first three objectives (see chapter two and also towards the end of this section) added credence to the respondent's affirmations. Overall, Girinka seeks to improve the livelihoods of poor Rwandans in rural communities of Rwanda.

It was established, under monarchial regime, some of the Girinka practices were institutionalized and systematically celebrated by all Rwandans, but they gradually retreated to lower community levels with the coming of colonialism. The Report, the History of Rwanda (2016) stressed, “The

missionaries introduced their colonial perception of the conquered Rwandan people,” NURC, (2016:18). Empirical evidence showed that whereas gifting of cows under Cow for Friendship, Cow for Solace, Cow for Life, Cow as Dowry (*Inkwano*), survived the colonialist’s cultural manslaughter, others, such as Service for Cow (*Ubuhake*) and Cows for Economic Empowerment—*Kuremera* completely disappeared during the colonial period. NURC Executive Secretary, reasoned: “The entry point of colonialists was to first destroy what principally unified Rwandans—culture and cultural practices such as Girinka,” (Fideli Ndayisaba, Field data, April 2018, Remera Kigali).

Findings revealed the total collapse of cow’s transactional value during colonial era. Such collapse, according to respondents, was precipitated by the introduction of embryonic capitalism, specifically, the coin-based and paper-based money (notes) by colonialists. Whereas the cow-centered practices such as *Ubuhake* (Service for Cows), *Kuremera* (Cow for Empowerment) were completely collapsed during the active years of colonialism in Rwanda, to the disappointment of most elderly Rwandans, all respondents, including cultural sensitive elderly respondents concurred with this view—the introduction of money in Rwanda was economically impactful. Simply put, the colonial period shattered the transactional value of bovine capital and ushered in monetary capital.

From the above, we can underline three major points—first, the disappearance of the significance of cows and some Girinka practices in the post-colonial period (during the first and second Republic), secondly, reinforced attitude and scholarly literature associating cows with the monarch, aristocracy or what some literature referred to as ethnicization of cows especially in the post-independence era up to 1994 genocide against Tutsi. Reviewed literature about Rwanda’s history recorded the genesis of ethnicization/Tutsification of cows in 1935—the introduction of

identity cards on a formerly united people—Rwandans. Whereas ethnic based cards were introduced by Belgian colonialists, ethnic division was institutionalized by two successive regimes—first Republic and the second (1962-1973, 1973-1994). Some scholars argue, the introduction of ethnic based cards marked the genesis of the genocide against Tutsi and the fire were fanned by political elites in the first and second Republics. Undeniably, the ethnicity-based identity cards were used to separate between who could be spared or slaughtered in the 1994 genocide against Tutsi.

Thirdly and lastly, the gifting of cows, for instance, paying dowry using cows—Cow for Dowry (*Inkwano*), continued amongst Rwandans though it was not in a manner comparable to pre-colonial era where Girinka practices and cow's socio-economic value were both state-driven and people-centered. Announcing the giver's name as a sign of respect went down with the demise of cows during colonial and post-colonial periods. Throughout the pre-genocide period, cows and cow-centered practices—Girinka—retreated to acting a backstage role—as dowry, or a sellable domestic animal like any other (goats, pigs, camels) whose prices would be determined by prevailing forces of demand and supply than anything else. Such a reference of cows as animals or comparison of cows with pigs, goats, according to Pierre Bettez Grevel in the *Le Droit de Vache* (1962), for instance, would have been disapprovingly criticized in the past as a major cultural faux pas (especially during pre-colonial period Rwanda). He emphasized that, cows were not regarded by pre-colonial Rwandans as animals, but an institution, a sign of wealth like gold.

Respondents commended Rwanda's revitalization of Rwanda's past socio-cultural practices, values, systems as a firmer foundation for peaceful and prosperous future. Jacques Nzabonimpa, Director of Culture, Research and Protection and Promotion Unit, Rwanda Academy of Language and Culture (RALC) contended: "Culture has been useful in resolving the economic,

political, judicial and social post genocide effects in the quest for unity, reconciliation and development,” (Interview in the Independent Magazine, June 2018). He observed further, “All this [referring to registered positive changes after 1994 genocide against Tutsi] was achieved through homegrown solutions,” (Interview, the Independent, June, 2018).

It was established that the overriding motivations for reintroduction of Girinka after 1994 genocide was to rebuild economic livelihoods, social cohesion and reconciliation. After 1994 genocide, Rwanda’s socio-economic capacities and resources were at low base. According to Ngabo Gasana, the National Coordinator of Girinka in Rwanda, the reintroduction of Girinka in 2006 by President Kagame was to enable poor people improve their livelihoods and restore positive socio-cohesion, relationships and reconciliation. The outlined objectives of Girinka, (see below) as presented by RGB Report (2014:46) attested the foregoing view: To fight malnutrition and more so from children and gravid mothers (the cow provides milk for family consumption as a fight against malnourishment); to Increase crop productivity (the cow produces manure that is used to increase crop production); to Increase household incomes through surplus milk sales; and to promote social harmony/cohesion as the family passes on the first heifer to the next and in the Rwandan culture giving and receiving a cow from someone builds a strong bond of friendship

Worth noting, there was noticeable harmony between empirical evidence, reviewed literature and theoretical perspectives of John Paul Lederach (2004). For instance, key underpinnings of John Paul Lederach’s Conflict Transformation Theory are: changes in attitudes, relations and behaviors from destructive to positives ones. Established findings, for instance, the principal purpose of Cow for Peace, revealed reconciliatory characteristics that are tandem with the theoretical underpinnings, specifically, where the practice focused on termination of conflict escalation and breaking intergenerational violence in form of vengeance. Termination of

conflicts, according to respondents meant altering past negative attitudes, relations and behaviors of conflict parties from violence to conviviality or what respondents referred to as *ubuvandimwe* (brotherhood).

The Cow for Peace (*Inka y'Inkiru*), advanced improvement of relations, removal of *them vs. us* negative attitudinal walls, between the offenders and the offended in pre-colonial Rwanda. The Cow for Friendship (*Inka y'Ubucuti*) practice served similar function—deepening friendship and conviviality between families, communities and clans. Whereas the Service for Cow (*Ubuhake*) had the conflictual dimension, the other positive side of it cemented what John Paul Lederach's Conflict Transformation emphasized: improved relationships through mutuality, reciprocity, complementarity between the cow-giver (master) and cow-receiver (the client). Whereas it was established that this practice was abolished in 1952, its stated features above constituted key elements of a peace-path.

“If one gave you a cow, culturally, it signified exceptional, unbreakable socio-cultural pact between the giver and the receiver. This extended beyond the giver and the receiver to include the families and the clans of the two friends,” (Field data, SSI, 30th April 2018, Rwanda).

Finally, there was noticeable harmony between features of *Girinka* practices especially in colonial Rwanda and key elements in John Paul Lederach's Conflict Transformation Theory (2004). Respondents cited three strategies for building unbreakable bonds between Rwandan communities: first, cow-giving (*Girinka*), second inter-marriage, and third social blood pact. The latter involved two people sucking their blood as a seal of unbreakable friendship. Cows were at the center of all these relationship building. Cows acted as dowry to actualize intermarriage (second strategy) and cows were part and parcel of sealing social pact between two communities (the third strategy). How, could the 1994 genocide against Tutsi occur amidst such relationally

reinforcing *Girinka* practices? Whereas genocide scholars cite erosion of culture as the genesis of the genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda, this researcher did not venture into verifying the veracity of this, after all, it was beyond the research's scope. In the forthcoming sections, we established how *Girinka* contributed in transforming formerly genocidal behaviors to benevolent, reciprocal positive behaviors, negative attitudes to positive ones through determinable, measurable and concrete actions such as building houses for needy genocide survivors.

7.1.2. The Contribution of Girinka Reconciliation Approach on Sustainable Peace in Kamonyi District.

The second objective established the contributions of Girinka reconciliation approach on sustainable peace in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. Accordingly, the study established that Girinka has contributed significantly in removing *Them vs. Us* negative attitudes by 83% (249) out of 300 respondents (genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators) targeted under this study objective. This attestation of removed *Them vs. Us* attitudes between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators was found to be astonishing because of two factors—the viciousness of genocidal violence in Kamonyi District of Rwanda and how far ethnic-based hatred had been popularized before and during the 1994 genocide against Tutsi not only in this District but throughout the 30 districts of Rwanda.

Furthermore, at least 89.6% (210.4) respondents confirmed that the revolving process of cow-giving between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators leads to strong inter-ethnic bonding. Importantly, genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators referred to the given cow as: a standing symbol of *Igihango*—meaning a relational pact between them which was

cited in the previous discussion (chapter four). Others called the cow *Ikiraro*—meaning the connecting relational bridge between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators. Respondent’s references of given cows under Girinka as a relational bridge, relational pact gains practical credence when one takes a retrospective recall of the relational gaps occasioned by 1994 genocide against Tutsi in Kamonyi District of Rwanda and Rwanda as whole.

Empirical findings showed that 52% (156) of respondents agreed, 32.7% (98) strongly agreed, 4% (12) disagreed and 2% (6) strongly disagreed with the statement that Girinka enabled joint planning and working together for genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District. Totaling agreed and strongly agreed resulted into 84.7% (254) of rate of confirmation.

The empirical revelation was in tandem with the earlier stated view that joint planning and implementation of activities improves behaviors of former conflict parties. It was established that common survival for conflict parties and the survival of the cow—improved behavioral aspects of former genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors in Kamonyi District. In other words, this empirical evidence, 84.7% (254) is in conformity with the theoretical perspective of John Paul Lederach, which emphasized that “conflict transformation requires deliberate interventions to minimize the destructive effects of social conflicts and maximize potentialities for personal growth at physical, emotional and spiritual levels” (John Paul Lederach, 1997: 82). Citing Adam Curle, Jean Paul Lederach (1997) referred to this process as moving the two categories from “unpeaceful to peaceful relationships,” (p.64). Changing deeply rooted old habits—actions—was however noted not to be a simple undertaking, especially, in societies which endured gruesome genocidal violence, Kamonyi District, included.

The study established that truth about what happened, how it happened and who did what is critical for preventing similar genocidal violence to happen in the future. Accordingly, 54.3% (163) respondents agreed with the view that Girinka contributed to genocide prevention, 28.7% (86) strongly agreed and 3.7% (11) disagreed. Agreed and strongly agreed responses summed up, 83% (249) of genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District indicated that Girinka contributed to genocide prevention. Central to this statistical figures was answering the question of how. Both genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators testified how the Girinka influenced mutual understanding, strengthens social ties, enabled opening up communication lines, and removed suspicions and negative ethnic stereotypes in Kamonyi Districts. In chapter four (see demographic information of respondents), empirical evidence showed 4% rate of inter-marriage between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District. The foregoing and emerging empirical evidence—statistical and verbal claims of genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators—affirmed Girinka’s contribution to genocide prevention in Kamonyi District. There were many references of Kamonyi’s Girinka as one of the successes of Girinka Reconciliation model by respondents from National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, Rwanda Agricultural Board and many others.

Apology constituted one the integral elements of Girinka Reconciliation approach in Kamonyi District. At least, 57.3% (172) respondents agreed that Girinka facilitated former genocide perpetrators to plead for apology to the genocide survivors, 29.7% (89) strongly agreed while 5.3%(16) disagreed. Summed up, 87% (261) of respondents confirmed that Girinka facilitated former genocide perpetrators to make apology to genocide survivors. Girinka Reconciliation Approach facilitated former genocide perpetrators to verbally express their apologies and escorting their words with concrete actions in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. Assessing how

apology and forgiveness contribute to reconciliation in Rwanda, 70.8% and 88.3% confirmed so in 2010 and 2015 respectively, according to Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer (2015).

The research discovered that one major factor that facilitated the occurrence of genocide against Tutsi was ethnic differentiations. Introduced in 1930s, the ethnic identity cards acted as the separator of who to be slaughtered and to be spared in 1994. One's ethnicity determined one's life or death throughout 1990-1994 war and genocide against Tutsi in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. Henceforth, forging collective identity of Rwandans after the 1994 genocide against Tutsi was a policy priority. Translating policy into practice usually problematic, that was why the researcher sought to establish how Girinka has fostered collective identity/Rwandanness/NdumunyaRwanda in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. A total sum of 90% (260) respondents agreed and strongly agreed with the statement—Girinka reinforces *NdumunyaRwanda*/collective identity.

The above empirical quantitative finding 90% (260) of genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators re-affirmed what was previous stated by NURC Report (2017:45): “*Ndi Umunyarwanda* made it possible for us to know that what unites us is far authentic and important that what divides us. Rwandans are “graduating” from more divisive identities to a more inclusive one.” It was established that *NdumunyaRwanda* forums exhibit greater and unique opportunities for revealing more truths, trigger apologies, forgiveness and healing for both genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Komonyi District and the whole post genocide Rwanda.

In addition, research findings indicated that trust between genocide survivors and former perpetrators is restored. To this end, the researcher tested the level of trust between the two

categories by asking the following question to the respondents: Girinka has created trust to the extent that I can even leave my child with the former genocide perpetrator without fear. Summing up agreed and strongly agreed responses indicated that 65.3% (98) of genocide survivors confirmed that they can leave their children as a measure of quality trust they have for former genocide perpetrators. Similarly, when the two categories were asked: Girinka built trust between us such that we can live together in the same house without fear of intentional harm. Summed up together respondent's responses—agreed and strongly agreed—revealed 80% (240) approval of the statement.

Forgiveness is critical for reconciliation to keep strong roots. Respondents (specifically genocide survivors) agreed that 64.7% (97), 22.7% (34) strongly agreed, 10.7% (16) were neutral (undecided) and 2.0 % (3) disagreed with the statement: “Girinka triggered me to forgive those who harmed us.” Whereas who ‘harmed us’ is relative word, the researcher learned during the reliability and validity testing of the questionnaire that this is a generally used term by genocide survivors in reference to former genocide perpetrators. At least 87.4% (131) of respondents confirmed that Girinka triggered forgiveness of former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District. Literature breaks down forgiveness into many elements: self-awareness and self-acceptance, expression of guilt, release of bitterness, confessions of crimes by the perpetrator, re-humanization of the perpetrator by the survivor, among others. Literature further stated, failure to assess the degree of each element would lead to making partial empirical conclusions. In view of the foregoing, the researcher asked respondents to rate each of the element (see chapter five, section 5.7).

It was established from literature that failure to address economic injustices and inequalities cannot lead to reconciliation and sustainable peace in post conflict societies. Literature further

advanced the nexus between improved economic livelihoods and sustainable peace. The researcher localized this line of argument to reflect its relevance in Kamonyi District by asking 300 respondents to rate the following statement: the received cow improved my economic wellbeing (meeting basic human needs: milk/food, paying school, pay medical bills. At least 48.3% (145) agreed, 38.7 % (116) strongly agreed, 4.3% (13) disagreed, 1.0% (3) strongly disagreed with the statement and 7.7% (23) remained neutral. A total of 87% (261) of respondents—genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators) in Kamonyi District—observed that Girinka improved their economic wellbeing. Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer, also emphasized that part of the motivations for reintroduction of Girinka by Paul Kagame, President of the Republic of Rwanda in 2006 was “in response to the alarmingly high rate of childhood malnutrition, and as a way to accelerate poverty reduction,” (2015:114). National Coordinator of Girinka programme in RAB and NURC Executive Secretary, confirmed that Kagame’s reintroduction of Girinka was to achieve two interwoven objectives: economic livelihood improvement—economic prosperity—and realizing peace through improved social cohesion and reconciliation by recipients of cows in Rwanda.

7.1.3. Challenges and Opportunities of Girinka Reconciliation Approach

The research aimed at establishing challenges encountered during the implementation of Girinka Reconciliation Approach and lessons learned for future improvement of policy, programmes and practices in Kamonyi District and Rwanda as a whole. In view of the necessity of drawing lessons for policy improvement, it was imperative to present opportunities that can be seized by state and non-state peacebuilders, policy-makers, development planners, Girinka implementers, programme monitors in Kamonyi, Rwanda as a whole.

The study of the demographic status of genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators revealed that majority, 96.3% are subsistence farmers. Literature review and empirical findings revealed that the recipients of cows for reconciliation in Kamonyi District were poor people besides being genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators. In consideration of the two, it was imperative to empirically establish the veracity of the statement that managing the cows for reconciliation given under Girinka is costly. A total of 30% confirmed with 16% (48) agreed and 5%, (15) strongly agreed out of 300 respondents. Majority 70% however disagreed with the statement. From the above findings, there was a noticeable gap between what is empirically revealed (70.3%) disagreed rate in Kamonyi District and what is sometimes claimed by some political commentators that—managing cows given under Girinka is costly. Plausibly, the variance can be explained by (commentator's) perceptions and reality on the ground. Noteworthy, these findings reflected Kamonyi District.

Specifically, out of 300 respondents—genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi District of Rwanda, 90.7% (272) confirmed the statement, emphasizing that without security, reconciliation between genocide survivors and genocide perpetrators would remain a dream and sustainable peace cannot be achieved. This higher score is telling: it underlined the foundational importance and the moderating influence of security to the two major variables: independent and dependent variables. Similarly, the prevailing personal physical security (95.4%) and national security (96.8%), RGB, (2015) were established as an opportunity for maximizing and consolidating reconciliation gains peacebuilding practitioners and policy-makers in Kamonyi District of Rwanda.

Reasons for security ou-ranking all studied sub-variables abound: Respondents observed, that security moderated the life of genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators before

Girinka reestablished positive relations, apology, forgiveness, trust among others. It was established that security acted as foundational stone for Girinka as genocide survivors feared former genocide perpetrators because of genocide victimizations perpetrated by genocide perpetrators some of whom stayed in the same villages and on the same hills with genocide survivors in Kamonyi District. Such deep victimization entangled the entire life of genocide survivors, hence bringing forth existential threats—[perceptual or real]. Similarly, former genocide perpetrators, lived fearful life because of their past genocidal roles and inflicting severe pains onto the genocide survivors in Kamonyi District of Rwanda.

Political goodwill emerged as one of the opportunities peacebuilders in Kamonyi District need to leverage to consolidate reconciliation gains. Political goodwill as an opportunity is aptly captured in the citation below:

For instance, “There is political will. Since its establishment, the national union government demonstrated its commitment in erecting a Rwandan national reconciled with itself [...] the first government just formed at the eve of 1994 Tutsi genocide reflects the unconcealed determination. Various subsequent programmes directly display the determination of the leadership in place to construct the unity of the Rwandan people,” noted NURC Report (2007:28).

The reverence of cow as a resource for strengthening friendship also emerged as a key opportunity for enhancement and improvement of Girinka reconciliation approach. For instance, in May 2018, Ethiopian Prime Minister, Dr. Abiy Ahmed gifted Rwanda’s President a cow and a calf (Igihe, May, 26th 2018). The cow-giving and receiving between the two President was aptly captured by the cow-giver: “a great symbol of the culture both countries share” (Igihe, May 2018). Similarly, the Indian Prime Minister, Narendra Mohi, gifted 200 cows to poor Rwandan of Rweru, Bugesera District, Eastern Province of Rwanda to support Rwanda’s Girinka (India Today, July, 24th 2018). The value of cows between tIndia and Rwanda was captured by

Prabhash K Dutta: “Cow has been a cultural and utility animal in India for ages. It is considered even as unit of wealth during Rig Vedic days,”(India Today, 24th July 2018).

Citing Rwanda’s Paul Kagame and Tanzania’s John Pombe Magufuli, Mbanda noted, “two presidents come from the cow culture people,” (Mbanda, The Standard, 25th April 2016). Rwanda’s President gifted Tanzania President a cow as a sign of friendship between the two presidents.

7.2. Conclusion

Overall, this study concluded that Girinka Reconciliation Approach encompasses influencing practices of sustainable peace in Kamonyi District, Rwanda. The established influencing peacebuilding practices include, but not limited to: Cow for Peace (*Inka y’Icyiru*) and Cow for Friendship (*Inka y’Ubucuti*).

Secondary, whereas Girinka was reintroduced in 2006 by the Government of Rwanda as one of the responses to post genocide challenges, this research established that these peacebuilding practices—Cow for Peace and Cow for Friendship—were integral parts of pre-colonial Girinka peacepath in Rwanda. Reintroducing Girinka 12 years after the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, 44 years after Rwanda’s independence was a revival of Rwanda’s culturally backed approach for sustainable peace in Kamonyi District. The 2006 Girinka was not an innovation, but a transformation of what previously existed as cultural resource for cementing conviviality between Rwandans at community level. However, the researcher discovered, the nature of some Girinka practice such as Service for Cow founded on patron-client relationship would sometimes generate tensions between the cow-giver (patron) and the cow-recipient (client). This conclusion was derived from study objective one.

Thirdly, modelled on post genocide operating context, the revitalized Girinka Reconciliation Approach contributes to the addressing *Them vs. Us ethnic* walls erected by Belgian colonialists and polarized by subsequent political elites after independence leading to 1994 genocide against Tutsi in Kamonyi District. The reduction of *Tutsi-Hutu* ethnic divide in Kamonyi District was empirically supported by 83% (249) out of 300 respondents who confirmed the statement. At least 89.6% (210.4) out of 300 respondents affirmed that the revolving process of Girinka between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators leads to strong inter-ethnic bonding. This partial conclusion is in line with objective two of the research.

Further, the research concluded that for sustainability of reconciliation gains and peacebuilding milestones in Kamonyi District, peacebuilders—policy-makers, practitioners, even genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators from this District need to consider security as a key opportunity. This conclusion was derived from 90.7% responses rate of genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators who confirmed that without security, reconciliation and peace processes in Kamonyi District would be a dream. Whereas literature revealed that security has expanded to include other holistic notions, the researcher specifically focused on state-driven national security whose absence respondents confirmed can adversely constrain the realization of reconciliation and building sustainable peace in Kamonyi District. In view of this, security was found to be a critical intervening factor for reconciliation and peacebuilding process in Kamonyi District.

Similarly, it emerged from empirical evidence and literature that measuring changes in human attitudes, behaviours and relationships is extremely difficult especially after gruesome genocidal violence like the one that befell Tutsi of Rwanda. Difficulty of measuring attitudes, behaviours and relations of former genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors can affect the sustainability

of peace as failure to precisely measure such changes makes management of reconciliation processes difficult. Alluding to complexity of measuring human behaviours, some scholars compared such an endeavour as shooting a moving target. Basing on 30 % (90) confirmation rate in this study, the researcher concurred with the foregoing assertion.

7.3. Recommendations

The study made three recommendations drawn from the findings of the study and in tandem with the specific objectives of the study. Firstly, it recommends shifting the reparative (social/reconciliation) component of Girinka from Rwanda Agricultural Board(RAB), Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock to Rwanda's National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC), Ministry of Local Government for effective realization of Girinka objective four, not only in Kamonyi District, but in the remaining 30 Districts of Rwanda. Such change in policy will not be difficult given the alignment of Girinka objective four and NURC's institutional mandate and policy focus in Rwanda. Evidence showed, the economic imperatives of Girinka currently outweigh the (reconciliatory) reparative imperatives.

Secondly, based on realized contributions of Girinka Reconciliation Approach in influencing the realization of sustainable peace milestones in Kamonyi District, the researcher recommends scaling up Kamonyi Girinka reconciliation approach to the remaining 29 Districts of Rwanda building on good practices and lessons learned from Kamonyi District (piloting of objective four). Such policy decision to occur, generated evidence from this research, needs to be considered for effective policy planning, policy implementation and monitoring. The researcher noted, evidence from studies like these ones need to be simplified into plain stories and narratives

not only to be understood by policy-makers, but by their policy advisors and policy-implementers.

Lastly, the study recommends incorporating elaborate and effective psychological preparations of recipients of cows under Girinka's objective four—the reparative (reconciliatory) side to prevent unintended consequence such as cows acting as a conflict trigger (an internal security problem) rather than a reparative and relational improving resource for sustainable peace in Rwanda.

7.4. Suggestion for further research

Drawing from the findings, it emerged strongly that Rwandan knowledge centers—universities and learning institutions need to generate research about homegrown solutions to effectively inform policies for their own increased voice and visibility. In view of this, the study suggests further research should be conducted to establish the existing linkages and similarities between Rwanda's cow culture and other cow cultures in the EAC Partner States and how they can be harnessed as regional resources for Peacebuilding in the EAC Partner States.

Secondly, the study established that without security, Girinka's Reconciliation Approach would have not achieved laudable results in Kamonyi District. Whereas security is pivotal, a research should be conducted to establish how similar local homegrown approaches for peace such as Masai Council of Elders have flourished without the involvement of state security architecture. And if it exists, to what extent? These questions require

Finally, part of the reviewed literature established that measuring changes in attitudes, behaviours and relations is a challenge in peacebuilding because these issues are complex, multi-dimensional, non-linear in their progress and multi-causal (IEP, 2015:84). Empirical findings, 30% affirmed that measuring attitudinal, behavioural and relational changes of genocide

survivors and former genocide perpetrators is a challenge in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. Liked to this, it was established that there are many actors—state, non-state actors—civil society and private sector involved in Girinka interventions in Kamonyi and Rwanda as whole. In view of this, a future study to measure each actor's contributions in changing attitudes, behaviors and relations of cow recipients under Girinka objective four should be carried out.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Proposal Approval Letter, MMU/COR: 509079



MASINDE MULIRO UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (MMUST)

Tel: 056-30870
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E-mail: dps@mmust.ac.ke
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P.O Box 190
Kakamega – 50100
Kenya

Directorate of Postgraduate Studies

Ref: MMU/COR: 509079

Date: 16th May, 2018

Mwumvaneza Mugenzi Willy
CPC/H/11/15
P.O. Box 190-50100
KAKAMEGA

Dear Mr. Mwumvaneza,

RE: APPROVAL OF PROPOSAL

Following communication from the Departmental Graduate Studies Committee and the School Graduate Studies Committee, I am pleased to inform you that the Directorate of Postgraduate Studies Board meeting held on 4th May, 2018 at SPD 314 –MMUST considered and approved your Ph.D proposal entitled: *'The Girinka Reconciliation Approach Influencing Sustainable Peace in Kamonyi District of Rwanda'* and appointed the following as supervisors:

1. Prof Crispinous Iteyo
2. Dr. Edmond Were

You are required to submit through your supervisor(s) progress reports every three months to the Director of Postgraduate Studies. Such reports should be copied to the following: Chairman, School of Disaster Management and Humanitarian Assistance Graduate Studies Committee and Chairman, Chairman, Department of Peace and Conflict Studies & Departmental Graduate Studies Committee. Kindly adhere to research ethics consideration in conducting research.

It is the policy and regulations of the University that you observe a deadline of two years from the date of registration to complete your Masters thesis. Do not hesitate to consult this office in case of any problem encountered in the course of your work.

We wish you the best in your research and hope the study will make original contribution to knowledge.

Yours Sincerely,

Prof. John Obiri
DIRECTOR POSTGRADUATE STUDIES

Appendix 2: Student Request Letter for Research Permit

Mwumvaneza Mugenzi Willy
PhD Candidate (REG:NO CPC/H/11/15
Masindi Muliro University of Science and Technology
E-mail: Mugenziwilly@gmail.com
Tel +250788351289

To the CEO RGB



RE: Research Permit on Girinka in Kamonyi District of Rwanda.

I am a Rwandan national, pursuing PhD in Peace and Conflict Studies from the above stated University since 2015. This letter seeks to request for the Research Permit to conduct Research in Kamonyi District of Rwanda. The research's title is The Girinka Reconciliation Approach Influence Sustainable Peace in Kamonyi District of Rwanda.

As the accompanying methodology attests, the research's scope shall be limited in Kamonyi District only.

Attached:

- Letter from the University addressed to RGB
- The Research objectives
- Methodology
- Questionnaire
- The Study Calendar
- CV of the Researcher;
- Budget

Sir, I affirm my commitment to respect the research protocols and sensitivities involved.

Yours Sincerely,

MWUMVANEZA MUGENZI Willy

Appendix 3: Study Authorization – Ref. 812/RGB/DCEO/NI/2018

<i>Rwanda Governance Board</i>	<i>Urwego rw'Igihugu rw'Imiyoborere</i>  Rwanda Governance Board	<i>Office Rwandais de la Gouvernance</i>
--	---	--

Kigali, ...10.../04/2018
Ref N° : 812/RGB/DCEO/NI/2018

Mwumvaneza Mugenzi Willy
PhD Candidate, Masindi Muliro University
of Science and Technology.
KENYA

Dear Sir,

Re: Your request for Study Authorization

Reference is made to your letter dated on 03rd April 2018 requesting the authorization of conducting research study on “*The Girinka Reconciliation Approach Influence Sustainable Peace in Kamonyi District of Rwanda*”.

After analyzing your proposed study’s research methodology, I’m pleased to inform you that your request for authorization to conduct the aforementioned research is granted from 11th April up to the end of June 2018.

For further engagement on the matter, your focal person is Mr. Innocent Nzamwita, the RGB Principal Researcher in charge of Global Governance and e-Governance. Email: inzamwita@rgb.rw

As part of the authorization requirement, you are kindly therefore requested to share your findings with Rwanda Governance Board at the end of this research study.

Sincerely,



Dr. Usta KAITESI
Deputy CEO



CC:

- Chief Executive Officer, RGB
- Head of Research Department, RGB

Appendix 4: Semi-Structured Interviewed Guide

My name is -----, I am a research assistant for Mr. Willy Mwumvaneza Mugenzi, a Rwandan living in Gatenga (Sector), Kicukiro (District), Kigali City in Rwanda. [I am] I am doing Research on *Girinka Reconciliation Approach Influencing Sustainable Peace in Kamonyi District*, Rwanda leading to attaining PhD in Peace and Conflict Studies at Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology, Kenya.

Thank you so much for agreeing to speak with me for this Interview. Before we start, I should tell the objectives of this study. This study entitled *Girinka Reconciliation Approach Influencing Sustainable Peace in Kamonyi District*, Rwanda is guided by the overall objective: to establish how Girinka reconciliation approach influences sustainable peace in Komonyi District, Rwanda. Its specific objectives are:

- i. Examine the nature of Girinka Reconciliation Approach in Rwanda;
- ii. Assess the contribution of Girinka Reconciliation approach on Sustainable peace in Kamonyi District of Rwanda;
- iii. Examine the challenges and opportunities of Girinka Reconciliation approach in Komonyi District of Rwanda.

Allow me state the following important information

1. **Consent form:** We kindly ask you to fill and sign the consent form. It is a key requirement for this important exercise.
2. **Self-Introduction:** You will introduce yourself for purposes of this assignment.
3. **How the interview will be conducted:** We shall use two tools--camera and radio recorder. These are strictly for recording and capturing information;
4. **Confidentiality:** The records of this study will be kept private. In any sort of report or document we might publish, we will not include any information that will make it possible to identify you.
5. **Compensation:** There will be no payment or other form of compensation for participation in the study. It is our sincere hope that you will still participate.
6. **Contacts and Questions:** You may ask any questions as the interview is running for purposes of better understanding. If you have questions later, you are encouraged to contact:

I would like to remind you that the study is completely voluntary. Also, if you do not want to answer any questions, that is fine.

Thank you. Do you have any questions before we begin?

Theme One: Girinka and reconciliation before, during and after colonialism

1. Question One: Cows and cow-giving practice was deeply rooted in Rwandan culture: how did this contribute to:

a. building friendship between Rwandans?

b. stopping the desire for vengeance between former enemies?

c. building social bonding and peace?

d. reconciling individuals and communities violence or abusive behavior?

Theme Two: Girinka and Reconciliation after 1994 genocide

2. Question Two: Describe how cow-giving practice contributes to reconciliation between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators/
garagaza ukuntu guhana inka hagati yabacitse kw'icumu nabaze bafunzwe kubera gukekwa/ibyaha bya jenocide bifasha ubwiyunge hagati yabo

Theme three: Girinka, Collective Identity/Rwandaness and Sustainable Peace /Girinka na NdimunyaRwanda

Question three: How can the giving and receiving of cows between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators under Girinka will reduce ethnic divides and reinforce collective identity(NdimunyaRwanda) for sustainable peace/
Ni gute guhana inka hagati ya bacitse ku icumu rya jenocide yakorewe abatutsi na bayikoze bizagabanya kwibona mubwoko bigakomeza NdimunyaRwanda?

Theme Four: Girinka, Truth revelation, Reconciliation and Sustainable

Question Four: Describe how the reciprocal cow-giving between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators helps in revealing the truths about the genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda/
nigute ubona ko guhana inka hagati ya bacitse ku icumu na bakoze jenocide bifasha kumenya ukuri kuri jenocide yakorewe abatutsi mu Rwanda.

Theme five: Girinka, Apology, Reconciliation

Question:5. In what ways (3 cases) has the cow-giving practice enabled seeking of apology by former genocide perpetrators from genocide survivors/Ni gute Girinka yafashije gusaba imbabazi (ibintu 3 wibuka) bikoze na bakoze jenocide muri Kamonyi

Theme Six: Girinka, Trust, Reconciliation and sustainable peace

Question Six:

a) Describe how cow-giving practice (Girinka) has created trust between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators /*Garagaza ukuntuguhana inka hagati yabacitse kw'icumu nabaze bafunzwe kubera gukekewaho/ibyaha bya jenocide yaremnye ikizerane hagati yabo*

b) What are some of the challenges of *Girinka* as one of the Home Grown Solutions that can potentially promote reconciliation for sustainable peace in Kamonyi District/ *Ni bihe mbogamizi zishobora kuba zibangamira Girinka kugira ngo ifashe ubwiyunge murambye hagati yaba citse ku icumu nahoze bafunze kubera yo?*

c) Which of the following do you think act as critical challenges of actualizing the objective of *Girinka* touching on social cohesion and reconciliation in Kamonyi

- Limited knowledge of its power to promote reconciliation and sustainable peace/*Ubumenyi buke bw'ukuntu Girinka yageza abanyamonyi kubwiyunge burambye*
- Fear of the *Girinka* programme's intentions (objectives)/*Gutinya icyo Girinka igamije*
- Desire for quick impacts yet reconciliation takes time/*Gushaka umusaruro uvuye mubwiyunje mushingiye kuri Girinka kandi bitwara igihe*
- Managing the cow for reconciliation is costly/ *Kwita ku inka twahawe biganisha ku'ibwiyunge birahenze*
- Apathy from non-Rwandans/*Gushindikanya kwabantu batabanyarwanda kuri Girinka nicyo imariye Aabanyarwanda*
- Benchmarking and Measuring changes (attitudinal, behavior and relational changes) to Systematically predict sustainability of peace/ *Gupima imyitwarire ni imiduka y'ibikorwa by'amuntu biragoranye bityo bikagora kwemeza kubaho kwa mahoro arambye*
- None of the above/*Muribyho ntana kimwe.*

Theme Eight: Girinka Reconciliation Approach, Forgiveness and Sustainable Peace

Question: 8. To forgive the following requirements have met:

- The wounded must release inner bitterness and desire for vengeance/ *uwakomekejwe na jenocide agomba kumba abohotse kubera ubushari bw'imujinya nokumva nifunza kw'ihorera*
- Self-awareness and self-acceptance/*kwimenya, kumenya uburemere bw'ibabaye no kwiyakira*
- To be more benevolent and sympathetic to perpetrators/survivors/*kumva na baha icyo nfitse kandi ndushaho kubumva*

a) In your view, how do you think the cow giving practice favored the realization of the above requirements/ Mu gutekereza kwawe, ni gute Girinka yafashije kugera kuri tuvuze jeru?

b) Briefly describe how the Girinka enabled survivors to forgive genocide perpetrators/mu magambo make garagaza ukuntu Girinka yafashije aba kice ku' icumu kubabarira abakoze yenoside

Theme Nine: Girinka, Sustainable Peace and Sustainable Reconciliation

Question Nine: Brief describe how the cow giving practice amongst genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators restored togetherness and friendship/vuga ukuntu girinka yagaruye ubumwe nu bucuti hagati ya bacitse ku icumu na bahoze bafunze kubera jenocide yakorewe abatutsi

Theme: 10 Girinka, Economic improvement and Sustainable peace

Girinka improved economic wellbeing for genocide survivors and genocide perpetrators (meeting basic human needs: milk/food, school fees, medical care); inka twahawe yanfashije guhindura ubukungu bwanjye (mbona amata, twishyura menerevare y'abana, ubwivuzi)

Theme 10: Security as a Precursor and Moderating Factor of Sustainable Reconciliation

(a) Do you agree the view that "without Security, reconciliation between genocide survivors and genocide perpetrators would remain a dream." Discuss. /Nta mutekano, ubwiyunge hagati y'abacitse ku Icumu rya jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi na bayikoze cyajaka kuba inzozi nsa

b) Cow giving alone cannot deliver sustainable reconciliation without security of people. Discuss. Girinka ntabwo yageza abanyarwanda kubwiyunge hatabayeho umutekano

Those are all of the questions I had to ask you. Do you have any questions to ask or Anything specific you feel you can add?

Thank you for taking the time to participate in this interview

Interviewer(Names):-----

(Signature): -----

Interviewee(Names and Title): -----

Signature: -----

Date :

Venue:

Appendix 5: Research Questionnaire

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE TO GENOCIDE SURVIVORS AND FORMER GENOCIDE PERPETRATORS KAMONYI DISTRICT/ URUTONDE RW'IBIBAZO BY'UBUSHAKASHATSI KU BAROKOTSE JENOCIDE YAKOREWE ABATUTSI NA BAHOZE BAFUNZE KUBERA GUCYEKWAHO CYANGWA IBYAHA BYA JENOSIDE YAKOREWE ABATUTSI.

INTRODUCTION / Kwimenyekanisha:

Hello. My name is _____ and I am a research assistant for Mr. Willy Mwumvaneza Mugenzi, a Rwandan living in Gatenga (Sector), Kicukiro(District), Kigali City in Rwanda]. I am doing Research on *Girinka Reconciliation Approach Influencing Sustainable Peace in Kamonyi District*, Rwanda leading to attaining PhD in Peace and Conflict Studies at Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology, Kenya.

by the overall objective: to establish how Girinka reconciliation approach influences sustainable peace in Komonyi District, Rwanda. Its specific objectives are:

- i. Examine the nature of Girinka Reconciliation Approach in Rwanda;
- ii. Assess the contribution of Girinka Reconciliation approach on Sustainable peace in Kamonyi District of Rwanda;
- iii. Examine the challenges and opportunities of Girinka

All of the information you give us is completely confidential. This information will be combined with that will be provided by other Rwandans. There will be no way to identify your individual answers except where it clearly accepted, so please feel free to tell us what you really think. If you feel uncomfortable, you may decline to answer any question, or end the interview at any time with no negative consequences.

Ttranslated Version: Local language: Kinyarwanda

Muraho?Nitwa _____

ndi umufasha gikorwa w' ubushakashatsi witwa Bwana Willy Mwumvaneza Mugenzi, umunyarwanda utuye mu Renge wa Gatenga, Akarere ka Kicukiro, mu Mujyi wa Kigali, mu Rwanda. Ubushakashatsi bitwa (tugenekereje): Gute Girinka ifasha ubwiyunge murambye mu Rwanda. Ubu bushakashatsi buraganisha kugera amashuri y'ikiciro cya (3) Doctoral. Intego yabwo ni ukumenya ni gute Girinka ifasha kugera ku bw'iyunge buganisha ku mahoro arambye muri, Kamonyi. *Ibyo tunganira ntibizigera bitangazwa kw'izina ryawe, ahubwo bizashyirwa hamwe n'iby'abandi banyarwanda keretse ubwawe ubitwemereye. Bityo rero ntugire impungenge zo kutubwiza ukuri ku byo utekereza. Nihagira ikibazo, ukumva udashaka gusubiza ikibazo icyo aricyo cyose wacyihorera, nanone uramutse wumvise utagishaka gukomeza gusubiza, ntiwitinye nta ngaruka nimwe byakugiraho.*

Signature of the interviewer / Umukono w'ubazwaa :

.....

Interviewer Name (CAPITALS)/ <i>Izina ry'ubaza(MU NYUGUTI NINI)</i>	
Serial Number / <i>Nomero y'urutonde rw'ibibazo</i> -----	Interviewer Number / <i>Nomero y'ubaza</i> -----

District/Kamonyi -----	Code/Umubare w'ibanga -----
Sector/Umurenge -----	Code/Umubare w'ibanga -----

**SECTION / IGICE 0: IDENTIFICATION OF THE RESPONDENT/
IBIRANGA UBAZWA**

0. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION / Irangamimerere y'ubazwa

0.1. Gender/Igitsina

Male/Gabo

Female/Gore

0.2. Age/ Imyaka y'amavuko

Age/Imayaka	18-24 years	
	25-44 years	
	45-54 years	
	55+ years	

0.3 Maritas Status /Irangamimerere?

	Single/Ingaragu	
	Maried/Ndashatse	
	Divorced/Natandukanye n'uwo nashakanye	
	Widow/wer/Ndi umupfakazi	
	Maried with genocide survivor/nashakanye nuwa citse ku icumu rya jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi/nuwahoze afunzwe kubera jenocide yakorewe abatutsi	

0.4 Highest Level of education attained / amashuri yize

Education level	Primary /Amashuri abanza gusa	
	Post Primary Training/Amashuri y'imyuga akurikira abanza	
	Secondary / Amashuri yisumbuye	
	College Education/ University Degree/Kaminuza/amashuri makuru	
	No school/ ntabwo nize	

0.5. Occupation/ akazi

Occupation	Farmer/Umuhinzi mworozu	
	Trader/Umucuruzi	
	Teacher/Mwarimu	
	Others/ibindi	

a. Specific social categories due to genocide against Tutsi/ *Ibyiciro byihariye kubera jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi*

Former genocide perpetrator / uwahoze afunzwe cyangwa uwafunzweho	
Survivor of 1994 genocide against Tutsi / <i>Umucika cumu wa jenocide yakorewe abatutsi</i>	
Recipient of a cow under Girinka / <i>nabonye inka murwego rwa Girinka</i>	

SECTION 1: Questions to Genocide survivors/perpetrators on Girinka and Reconciliation in Kamonyi District/ *Ibibazo Kubacitse Kw'icumu Rya Jenocide Yakorewe Abatutsi Birebana Na Girinka Na Nubwiyunge Muri Kamonyi N'igihugu*

	Strongly agree/<i>Ndabye mera cyane</i>	Agree / <i>Ndaby emera</i>	<i>Neutral/Hagati</i>	Disagree/ <i>Simby emera</i>	Strongly disagree/ <i>Simbyemera namba</i>	Do not know/ <i>Simbizi</i>
a) Cow-giving practice contributes to reconciliation between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators/ <i>Guhan a inka hagati yabacitse kw'icumu nabaze bafunzwe kubera gukekwa/ibyaha bya jenocide bifasha ubwiyunge hagati yabo</i>						
b) The revolving process of cow-giving between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators leads to strong inter-ethnic bonding						
c) Girinka contributed to removing " <i>us vs. them</i> " attitude(s)						

between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators? <i>Girinka a yabafashije gukuraho kw'iyumva nka''twebwe na bariya'' hagati yabacitse ku icumu na bayikoze</i>						
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2. Girinka , Truth, Reconciliation and Sustainable peace(Genocide survivors)

	Strongly agree/Ndabyemera cyane	Agree/Ndabyemera	Neutral / Hagati	Disagree/Simbyemera	Strongly disagree/Simbyemera mba	Do not know/Simbizi
Girinka contributed to knowing the following information/truth/ <i>Girinka ifasha kumenya amakuru kuri:</i>						
a)whereabouts of unburied genocide victims/ <i>Girinka ifasha kumanya aho imibiri yabazize jenocide iri</i>						
b) truth about causes of genocide/ <i>ukuri kubyateye jenocide yakorewe abatutsi</i>						
c) truth about those who still have genocide ideology/ <i>Ukuri kwose kuba gifite ingabitekerezo ya jenocide</i>						
d) whole truth about his/her role in the genocide and how he will not repeat/ <i>ukuri kose kubyo yakoze ni uko tazabyongera ukundi</i>						-
e) Truth told through Girinka helped me heal inner wounds/ <i>Ukuri namenye kubera Girinka kwafashije</i>						

<i>gukira ibikomere narifite</i>						
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e) What particular case do you know made you believe that indeed reciprocal cow-giving between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators helps in revealing the truths about the genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda/ *Nikihe kintu cyakwemeje ko guhana inka hagati ya bacitse ku icumu na bakoze jenocide bifasha kumenya ukuri kuri jenocide yakorewe abatutsi mu Rwanda.*

3) Girinka and Apology, Reconciliation and Sustainable Peace (Genocide Perpetrator)

3.1) Cow giving practice between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators facilitated the following/Huhana inka hagati ya bacitse ku icumu nabahoze bafunze/cyangwa abaketsweho gukora jenocide kugera kuri ibi:	Strongly agree/ Ndabyemer a cyane	Agree/ Ndabye mera	Neutral/ hagati	Disagree/ Simbyeme ra	Strongly disagree/ Simbyemer a na mba	Do not know/ Simbizi
a) Admitting guilt/guhana inka byatunye ababikoze bumva bafite ifunwe						
b) Taking responsibility of harm done and committing to not repeating/kubyemera no kwiyezeza gutanzongera kubikora						
c) Recognizing suffering of harm done and its consequences/kubona ububabare jenocide yasigiye abayikorewe ni ngaruka zayo						
d) seeking to reverse victimization/gusaba gufasha abayikorewe kwi yubaka						-

<i>kugabanya no kwisana kwabayikoze</i>						
3.2). Girinka facilitated seeking of apology. Girinka yafashije jenocide gusaba imbabazi abacitse ku icumu						

3.3. In what ways (3 cases) has the cow-giving(Girinka) enabled seeking of apology by former genocide perpetrators from genocide survivors/Ni gute Girinka yafashije gusaba imbabazi (ibintu 3 wibuka) bikozwe na bakoze jenocide muri Kamonyi

4. Girinka and building of Trust, Reconciliation and Sustainable Peace (survivors and former genocide perpetrators)

	Strongly agree/ Ndabyeme ra cyane	Agree/ Ndabyem era	Neutral/ hagati	Disagree Simbyeme ra	Strongly disagree/ Simbyem era na mba	Do not know /Simbizi
4.1)Cow-giving practice (Girinka) has created trust between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators /Guhana inka hagati yabacitse kw'icumu nabaze bafunzwe kubera gukekwa/ibyaha bya jenocide yaremnye ikizerane hagati yabo						
4.2.Girinka has created trust to the extent that I can even leave my child with the former genocide perpetrator/survivor without fear /Girinka yaremnye ikizerane hagati yacu kuburyo nasingira umunyarwango w'umuntu wafunzwe kubera jenocide cyangwa umucika cumu umwana wanjye ntabwoba	<i>THIS QUESTION SHALL BE ANSWERED BY GENOCIDE SURVIVORS IN KAMONYI DISTRICT</i>					

4.3. I chose to trust genocide perpetrators/genocide survivors because he/she is my neighbour: Nahisemo kwizera abantu bacitse ku icumu/abantu bakoze jenocide kubera:						
4.4. I chose to trust genocide perpetrators/genocide survivors to meet common life basic needs (shelter, food, water, sense of belonging)						
4.5. I chose to trust genocide perpetrators/genocide survivors to have social accompany(contacts)/kugira ngo bone uwo tuvugana						
4.6. I chose to trust genocide perpetrators/genocide survivors because I had no any other option/ ntayandi mahitamo nari nfitte						
4.7. Cow-giving practice (Girinka) built trust between us such that we can live together in the same house without fear of intentional harm/Girinka yubutse kwizerana hagati yabacitse ku' Icumu nabakoze jenocide kuburyo twabana munzu ntabwoba bwo kugirira nabi bingabiriwe						

4.7. Though the cow giving (Girinka) promotes trust-building, there are still barriers to building trusting relationships between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators/ *Ni bwo Girinka ifasha kubaka ikizere hagati yabacitse ku Icumu rya jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi na bahoze bafunze kubera icyi cyaha, hara cyari imbogamizi zokubaka icyizere kirambye. Nizihe*

5. Girinka and Collective Identity/Rwandaness/Girinka na NdimunyaRwanda and Sustainable Peace

What is your opinion about the following statements / <i>Ni gute wumva ibi tekerezo</i>	Strongly agree/<i>Nda byemera cyane</i>	Agree/<i>Ndabyemera</i>	Neutral/<i>Hagati</i>	Disagree/<i>Simbye mera</i>	Strongly disagree/<i>Simbyemera na mba</i>	Do not know/<i>Si mbizi</i>
a) Cow giving practice between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators influences formation of collective identity/Rwandaness / <i>Girinka ifasha kubaka NdimunyaRwanda hagati ya bacitse kw'icumu na bahoze bafunze kubera jenocide</i>						
b) Giving and receiving of cows between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators under Girinka will reduce ethnic divides in Kamonyi/ <i>Guhana inka hagati ya bacitse ku icumu rya jenocide yakorewe abatutsi na bayikoze bizagabanya kwibona mubwoko</i>						
c) To what extent do you think Girinka influences Sustainable Peace in Kamonyi/<i>ni kihe kigereranyo wakemeza ko girinka ifasha mukubaka amahoro arambye muri Kamonyi?</i>	Very high/<i>Rure rule cyane</i>	High/<i>Rurerule</i>	Neutral/<i>Hagati</i>	Very low/<i>Hasi cyane</i>	Low/<i>Has i</i>	I dont know/<i>Si mbizi</i>

d) Briefly describe how the Girinka reduced the relational gaps between genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators in Kamonyi/*mu magambo make garagaza ukuntu Girinka yakuyeho/yagabanyije ibukuta hagati yabacitse ku icumu na bakoze yenoside bahawe inka muri Kamonyi*

6. Girinka, Forgiveness, and Sustainable Peace(Genocide survivors)

Getting a cow from a former genocide perpetrator and genocide survivor enabled me to: / guhabwa inka nu wokoze jenoside byafashije ku:	Strongly agree/ <i>Ndabyemer a cyane</i>	Agree/ <i>Ndaby emera</i>	Neutral <i>/Hagati</i>	Disagree/ <i>Simbyeme ra</i>	Strongly disagree/ <i>Simbyeme ra na mba</i>	Do not know/ <i>Simbizi</i>
a) release inner bitterness and desire for vengeance/ <i>kumva nnyenda bumboka kubera ubushari bw'imujinya nokumva nifunza kw'ihorera</i>						
b) to be self-awareness and self-acceptance/ <i>kwimenya, kumenya uburemere bw'ibabaye no kwiyakira</i>						
c) To be more benevolent and sympathetic to perpetrators/survivors/ <i>kumva na baha icyo nfite kandi ndushaho kubumva</i>						

7. Girinka and Elements of Forgiveness (survivors)

	Strongly agree/ <i>Ndabyemer a cyane</i>	Agree/ <i>Ndabyem era</i>	Neutral/ <i>Hagati</i>	Disagree/ <i>Simbyemera</i>	Strongly disagree/ <i>Simbyemer a na mba</i>	Do not know/ <i>Simbizi</i>
7.1. Girinka triggered me/us to forgive those who harmed us. <i>Guhana inka muri Girinka byabaye imbarutso yokubabarira abaduhohoteye</i>						
7.2. The cow acted as: <i>Inka yabaye:</i>						
a) symbolized love between us; <i>inka yabaye ikimenyetso cy'urukundo hagati yacu</i>						
b) acted as a channel through which I met the perpetrator to express my grief of what happened/ <i>inka yabaye ikiraro kiduhuza kugira ngo fungure nuge agahinda nfite kumutima</i>						
c) made me see the perpetrator's unseen positive part (humanity)/ <i>inka yatumnye menya ko hari ibyaza bafite (ko arabantu)</i>						
d) enabled us plan and work together for the survival of the cow and us/ <i>yatumnye dutegura kandi tugafatanyo mukuyikorera kugira ngo ibeho kandi natwe tubeho</i>						
e) enabled the perpetrators to confess their deeds and emotional show of remorse hence contributing to healing/ <i>byafashije abakoze jenoside kwatura ibyo bakoze no garagaza ko babajwe nibyabaye..ibi byatumnye habaho gukira</i>						

7.3. Briefly describe how the Girinka enabled survivors to forgive genocide perpetrators/mu magambo make garagaza ukuntu Girinka yafashije aba kiceku' icumu kubabarira abakoze yenoside

8. Girinka, Economic Livelihood improvement and sustainable peace

	Strongly agree/ Ndabyemer a cyane	Agree/ Ndabyemera	Neutral /hagati	Disagree/ Simbyemera	Strongly disagree/ Simbyemera na mba	Do not know/ Simbizi
8.1. The cow-giving reconciliation approach contributed to peace in Kamonyi: <i>Girinka yadufashije kumva nfiti amahoro muri nje:</i>						
8.2. a) Received cows provided me with inner peace (psychic harmony/emotional well-being) <i>inka nabonye yafashije kumva nfiti amahoro murinjye (mu mutima)</i>						
b) Received cows improved my economic wellbeing (meeting basic human needs: milk/food, school fees, medical care); <i>inka twahawe yanfashije guhindura ubukungu bwanjye (mbona amata, twishyura menerevare y'abana, ubwivuzi)</i>						
c) the cow I passed on to the other acted as friendship guarantor so I feel safe/<i>Inka natanze yanyubakiye ubucuti</i>						
d) The cow-giving guarantees peace because of improved economic wellbeing of genocide survivors and former genocide perpetrators/<i>Girinka iratanga ikizere ko cyamahoro kubera ubuzima bwabacitse ku Icumu rya jenocide na bayikoze</i>						

9. Restorative Justice and Sustainable Peace

	Strongly agree/Ndabyemera cyane	Agree/Ndabyemera	Neutral /Hagati	Disagree/Simbyemera	Strongly disagree/Simbyemera na mba	Do not know/Simbizi
<p>a) Like Gacaca justice, Girinka can promote sustainable peace more effectively than classical peacebuilding methods in Kamonyi/ Nkuko ubutabera Gacaca yabigaragaje, Girinka yatanga ibisubizo birambye mukubaka amahoro muri Kamonyi</p>						
<p>b) Because of restored friendship through Girinka, we can solve our disputes via Gacaca/traditional dispute resolution methods/Kubera Girinka, ubu ntabwo nafungija mugenzi wanjye ahubwo nakifashisha uburyo gakondo bwogukemura amakimbirane kubera bushoboye.</p>						

10. Girinka, Security as precursor/moderator of Sustainable Reconciliation in Rwanda

	Strongly agree/ <i>Ndabyemera cyane</i>	Agree/ <i>Ndabyemera</i>	Neutral/ <i>Hagati</i>	Disagree/ <i>Simbyemera</i>	Strongly disagree/ <i>Simbyemera na mba</i>	Do not know/ <i>Simbizi</i>
a) Without Security, reconciliation between genocide survivors and genocide perpetrators would remain a dream /<i>Nta mutekano, ubwiyunge hagati y'abacitse ku Icumu rya jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi na bayikoze cyajaka kuba inzozi nsa</i>						
b) Cow giving alone cannot deliver sustainable peace without security of people <i>Girinka ntabwo yageza abanyarwanda kubwiyunge hatabayeho umutekano</i>						
c) A cow acts as a shared security between genocide survivor and perpetrator hence guaranteeing sustainable peace in Kamonyi District/<i>Inka twahawe muri gahunda ya Ngirinka itanga ikizere cya amahoro arambye kubera tuyifata nkikimenyetso cy'umutekano wacu</i>						

11. Challenges and Opportunities of Girinka Reconciliation Approach in Kamonyi District

Girinka Reconciliation Approach for sustainable peace faces these following challenges in Kamonyi: <i>/Ubwiyunge gakondo bushingiye kuri Girinka buhura nizi mbogamizi</i>	Strongly agree/Ndabyemera cyane	Agree/Ndabyemera	Neutral /Hagati	Disagree/Simbyemera	Strongly disagree /Simbyemera na mba	Do not know/Simbizi
a) <i>Limited knowledge of its power to promote reconciliation and sustainable peace/Ubumenyi buke bw'ukuntu Girinka yageza abanyamonyi kubwiyunge burambye</i>						
b) <i>Fear of the Girinka programme's intentions (objectives)/Gutinya icyo Girinka igamije</i>						
c) <i>Desire for quick impacts yet reconciliation takes time/Gushaka umusaruro uvuye mubwiyunje mushingiye kuri Girinka kandi bitwara igihe</i>						
d) <i>Managing the cow for reconciliation is costly/ Kwita ku inka twahawe biganisha ku'ibwiyunge birahenze</i>						
e) <i>Apathy from non-Rwandans/Gushindikanya kwabantu batabanyarwanda kuri Girinka nicyo imariye Aabanyarwanda</i>						
f) <i>Benchmarking and Measuring changes (attitudinal, behavior and relational changes) to Systematically predict sustainability of peace/Gupima imyitwarire ni imiduka y'ibikorwa by'amuntu biragoranye bityo bikagora kwemeza kubaho kwa mahoro arambye</i>						