
BY

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A RESEARCH DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF MASTER OF PEACE AND CONFLICT STUDIES, DEPARTMENT OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES OF MAKERERE UNIVERSITY

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DECEMBER, 2011
DECLARATION

I, Mugisha Emmanuel, declare that this study is my own work and has never been submitted for a degree or any award in any University.

Signature

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Signature

DATE
DEDICATION

I dedicate this piece of work to my parents Mr. and Mrs. Bideri Francis for the parental care they have given me since my childhood.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Compiling this work has not been an easy task; it has been as a result of combined efforts and assistance from a number of individuals and institutions. Therefore, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to all those who rendered any kind of assistance.

I am grateful to my Supervisor Dr. William Wagaba whose intellectual and academic guidance enabled me to organize sense out of this study.

My sincere thanks too goes to government ministries, departments, the management of all Civil Society Organizations investigated during this study for the attention rendered to me during data collection and also for availing me the necessary information that enriched this work.

Lastly, I wish to acknowledge my sister Kaligirwa Mary for her positive advice from time to time during my course of study. I treasure her so much and may the Almighty enable her live longer to enjoy the fruits of my education.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION ................................................................................................. i
DEDICATION .................................................................................................. ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT .................................................................................. iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS .................................................................................. iv
LIST OF TABLES ............................................................................................ vi
LIST OF FIGURES .......................................................................................... vii
ABSTRACT ...................................................................................................... viii
ACRONYMS .................................................................................................... ix

CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY
1.0 Introduction ............................................................................................... 1
1.1 Background to the study ........................................................................... 2
1.2. Statement of the problem ....................................................................... 4
1.3 The scope of study ................................................................................... 5
1.4 Definition of key terms ........................................................................... 5
1.5 Objectives of the study ............................................................................ 7
1.6 Justification of the study ......................................................................... 7
1.7 Research questions .................................................................................. 8
1.8 Ethical considerations ............................................................................. 8

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW ............................................................ 11
2.0 Introduction .............................................................................................. 11
2.1 The History of Rwandan Conflict ........................................................... 11
2.2 The concept of Civil Society .................................................................. 14
2.3 The Evolution of Civil Society Organizations in Rwanda ....................... 16
2.4 Theoretical Approaches to Peace building: Different Schools of Thought ......................................................... 20
2.5 Approaches to Peace Building in post war societies ............................... 24
2.6 The role of civil society in post war peace building process ................... 30
Conclusion .................................................................................................... 43

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY ................................................. 44
3.0 Introduction .............................................................................................. 44
3.1 Research design ....................................................................................... 44
3.2 Area of study ........................................................................................... 44
3.3 Study population ..................................................................................... 45
3.5 Research Instruments ............................................................................. 45
3.5.1 Interview guides ................................................................................ 46
3.5.2 Personal observation ......................................................................... 47
3.45.3 Questionnaire .................................................................................... 47
3.5.4 Documentary review ......................................................................... 48
3.6. Data quality control ............................................................................ 48
3.7 Data analysis and management .............................................................. 48
3.8 Limitations of the study ......................................................................... 49
Conclusion .................................................................................................... 50
CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATION ............ 51
4.0 Introduction ........................................................................... 51
4.1 Background information and characteristics of the respondents .......... 51
4.2 Background and characteristics of organizations .................................. 53
4.3.1 Socio-economic rehabilitation ................................................. 58
4.3.2 Encouraging unity and reconciliation ............................................. 60
4.3.3 Dialogue for peace .................................................................. 63
4.3.4 Research and documentation of conflict in Rwanda ......................... 64
4.3.5 Capacity building .................................................................... 65
4.3.6 Psycho- social rehabilitation ..................................................... 66
4.3.7 Democratization and good governance ......................................... 67
4.3.8 Lobbying and spearheading advocacy for justice ............................. 69
4.3.9 Building a culture of peace ....................................................... 71
4.4 The State-Civil Society Relationship in the peace building process in the post genocide Rwanda .......................................................... 72
4.5.1 Suspicion .............................................................................. 76
4.5.2 Restrictive operating legal environment ....................................... 77
4.5.3 Persistent ethnic and genocide ideologies ..................................... 78
4.5.4 Lack of financial and human resource capacity ............................. 79
4.5.5 High levels of poverty ............................................................. 80
4.5.6 Lack of common vision and unity ............................................... 81
4.5.7 Persistent cases of trauma among genocide survivors ..................... 82
4.5.8 Lack of civic culture among Rwandans ....................................... 83
4.5.9 Illiteracy .............................................................................. 84
4.5.10 Lack of accountability practices ................................................. 85

Conclusion .................................................................................... 86

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE STUDY ........................................ 87
5.0 Introduction .............................................................................. 87
5.1 The role played by civil society organizations in building sustainable peace in the post genocide Rwanda ...................................................... 87
5.2 Relationship between CSOs and the state in the peace building process ........ 89
5.3 Challenges facing CSOs in the peace building Process in Post genocide Rwanda ... 90
5.4 General Conclusion ................................................................... 91
5.5 Recommendations ..................................................................... 92
REFERENCES ........................................................................... 95
APPENDIX I: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS ...... 102
APPENDIX II: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR LOCAL RESIDENTS/COMMUNITY LEADERS ..................................................................................... 105
APPENDIX III: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS .......... 108
APPENDIX IV: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR RELIGIOUS LEADERS ...................... 110
APPENDIX V: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR INDEPTH-INTERVIEWS .................. 112
APPENDIX VI: MAP OF RWANDA .................................................................. 113
APPENDIX XVII: ADMINISTRATIVE MAP OF KIGALI CITY ......................... 114
APPENDIX XVIII: LIST OF RESPONDENTS .......................................... 115
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Gender composition of respondents ................................................................. 51
Table 2: Age of the respondents ...................................................................................... 52
Table 3: Levels of education ........................................................................................... 52
Table 4: Types of Civil Society Organizations investigated during the study ............ 53
Table 5. CSOs and Period of establishment in Rwanda .................................................. 53
Table 6. International CSOs that were visited for the study ......................................... 54
Table 7. Local CSOs that were studied ............................................................................ 56
Table 8. The role of Civil Society Organizations in peace building in post genocide Rwanda ........................................................................................................... 57
Table 9: State Civil Society Organizations relationship ................................................. 72
Table 10: The challenges facing CSOs in the peace building process ......................... 76
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Conceptual framework .................................................................................. 9
Figure 2. Laderach’s levels of peace building .............................................................. 246
ABSTRACT
The study was about The Role of Civil Society Organizations in Peace Building in the Post Genocide Rwanda (1994-2009) and the area of study was Kigali. The general objective of the study was to evaluate the role of Civil Society Organizations in peace building process in the post genocide Rwanda while the specific objectives included; examining the role of CSOs in the peace process, establishing the state civil society relationship and the challenges facing the peace building process in the post genocide Rwanda. The study was based on the premise that civil society groups have the potential to make significant contributions to peace building in a post conflict. This study mapped out key local and international organizations with projects and programs aiming at contributing to peace building as envisioned in their missions and visions.

This study is comprised of five chapters; chapter one consists of the general introduction, background to the study, statement of the problem, the conceptual framework, scope of the study, key terms, research objectives and questions, Justification of the study and ethical considerations. Chapter two consists of literature review, chapter three outlines the different methods and tools used to collect and analyse data. Chapter four presents and discusses research findings, Chapter five presents Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations of the study.

The study established that there was an active peace movement in Rwanda with efforts to manage all aspects of conflicts. CSOs had created avenues to manage hostilities by spearheading unity and reconciliation, trauma healing, research on genocide, building a culture of peace, economic and social rehabilitation, advocacy for justice. The state-civil society relationship was found to be modest and improving though sometimes characterized by suspicion, lack of proper channels of communication, reliance on ad-hoc or personal contacts. This study also highlights that the government of Rwanda’s inability or unwillingness to allow full civil society participation in governance and advocacy issues will continue to threaten the country’s pursuit of transparency and the fulfillment of national peace building objectives. Thus, the study recommends the need for more rigorous and systematic analysis of CSOs and their role as the country moves through a series of transition, the need for longer-term financial support to CSOs to create better incentives for capacity development, the need to strengthen forums for CSOs-government communication and coordination, as well as an empirical assessment on the various approaches by CSOs to help guide peace building efforts.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACRONYMS</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<tr>
<td>ADL</td>
<td>Rwanda Association for the Defense of Human rights and Civil Liberties</td>
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<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Acquired Immune Deficiency Virus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVEGA</td>
<td>Association des Veuves Genocide Avega-Agahozo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVP</td>
<td>Association of Peace Volunteers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARDHO</td>
<td>Association Rwandaise de Defence des Droits de l’homme et le Développement</td>
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<tr>
<td>A.A.P.A.M</td>
<td>African Association for Public Administration and Management</td>
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<td>APRM</td>
<td>African Pear Review Mechanism</td>
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<tr>
<td>CCM</td>
<td>Center for Conflict Management</td>
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<td>CSOs</td>
<td>Civil Society Organizations</td>
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<td>CBOs</td>
<td>Community Based Organizations</td>
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<td>CLADHO</td>
<td>Collectif des Ligues et Associations de Defense des Droits de l’homme</td>
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<tr>
<td>CRS</td>
<td>Catholic Relief Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>Democratic Republic of Congo</td>
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<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>FDLR</td>
<td>Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda</td>
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<tr>
<td>GTZ</td>
<td>German Agency for Technical Cooperation</td>
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<tr>
<td>INGOs</td>
<td>International Nongovernmental Organizations</td>
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<tr>
<td>LIPRODHOR</td>
<td>League for the Protection of Human rights in Rwanda.</td>
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<tr>
<td>MINALOC</td>
<td>Ministry of Local Government</td>
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<td>NUR</td>
<td>National Unity and Reconciliation Commission</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Nongovernmental Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>NDI</td>
<td>National Development Institute</td>
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<td>NPA</td>
<td>Norwegian People’s Aid</td>
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<td>ICRC</td>
<td>International Committee of the Red Cross</td>
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<td>IPA</td>
<td>International Peace Academy</td>
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<td>ICTR</td>
<td>International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda.</td>
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<tr>
<td>IRDP</td>
<td>Institute of Research and Dialogue for Peace</td>
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<tr>
<td>RPF</td>
<td>Rwanda Patriotic Front</td>
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<td>USAID</td>
<td>United States Agency for International Development</td>
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CHAPTER ONE
GENERAL INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

Years of perpetual conflict have adversely affected the way in which political, socio-economic, and cultural components of society have developed. Indeed, armed conflict negatively affects all aspects of society: not only does it destroy buildings and societies, but it also leaves surviving individuals and communities with deep wounds that can last a lifetime.

The experiences from Rwanda and other parts of the world have shown that armed conflict drastically affects the lives of all individuals in a society: it changes individuals’ beliefs and actions, and shifts the balance of power in society at the local and state level. Further, it weakens state actors’ abilities to govern; disrupts security, creates a sense of lawlessness; suppresses basic human rights and limits activities of civil society which erodes trust and destroys communal feelings which existed previously.

Many efforts have been employed around the world to prevent conflicts and build peace following a conflict. Some interventions have proven quite successful, while others have not. Notably, civil society involvement is one of the most important actors in determining whether a post-conflict peace building initiative will be successful. Efforts put forth by local government officials or the international community likely will be unsuccessful if civil involvement is absent. This is because civil society is important in holding governments accountable for their actions, strengthens public policies, and develops the community following a conflict.

This study explores roles, approaches and practices for CSOs in peace building. It offers a framework for understanding the concepts of civil society, its relationship with the state, the complexities of civil society operating environment and then suggests approaches to enhancing Civil Society Organizations’ contribution to the peace building process in Rwanda based on the research findings.

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1 Derek Summerfield, (1996), The Impact of War and Atrocity on Civilian Populations: Basic Principles for NGO Interventions and a Critique of Psychosocial Trauma Projects, Overseas Development Institute.
1.1 Background to the study

Rwanda is a country that has experienced one of the most traumatizing events in modern history. Since independence in 1962, Rwanda has had various conflicts, deeply rooted in ethnic divisions while successive regimes have instilled hatred, fear, injustice and prejudice in the population, a situation that later resulted into the 1994 genocide.

At the end of the genocide under a new government of National Unity, Rwanda experienced a significant rise in CSOs. The start of peace building that was marked by a comprehensive national reconciliation process required the involvement of all the stakeholders ranging from the local and international NGOs, donors and the international community, with an intention of putting the country back on truck and build new social structures to heal the wounds left behind by genocide.

Civil society’s role in conflict-affected countries is now widely acknowledged, including at the global level. The latest and most prominent indication is the UN Security Council statement (September 2005) highlighting the comparative advantage of civil society in facilitating dialogue and providing community leadership (UN 2005). The important role of Civil Society relates to its potential to influence leaders, form public opinion and to represent the views of the populace outside the political arena.

In the years leading up to the 1994 genocide, the fact that Rwanda was a deeply divided society along ethnic, regional and social class lines, seemed to evade the majority of international development commentators. Given the scale of the error in judgement, it is now incumbent on all actors to reflect critically upon assumptions and practices that would re-orient the country towards a more responsible promotion of true democracy and civil participation. Alongside an increasing role of modern forms of civil society, there is clear evidence of the increasing influence and importance of civic networks as an organizing principle of social and political life in Rwanda.
The post-genocide Rwanda has been characterized by widespread rhetoric of participation and involvement of local communities in development projects. What is problematic is the claim that structures recreated by NGOs always do not represent the voices of the vulnerable groups of the population. This does not lead to a higher benefit for the population or even its empowerment but accompanies a process of further impoverishment as the poor can barely afford basic education and health.

It has been argued that the real currency of civil society is not organisational structures but influence and commitment in the form of symbolically powerful public opinion. Uvin argues that it is perfectly possible for civil society organisations, whether grassroots organisations or intermediary ones, to have goals and values that are exclusionary, antidemocratic regressive or racist. The fact that organisations claim to have developmental goals does not render them immune to particularistic interests or racist values, nor does it mean that they automatically contribute to peace building.

The Post-1994, several of the above inherent weaknesses in the local CSOs community remain. The density, for example, of women's NGOs, coalitions and associations currently active in Rwanda may lead one to believe that the issue of gender is at the cutting edge of Rwandan development politics. Development programmes for women focus almost exclusively on agriculture, micro-credit and income generation projects. This golden opportunity for dialogue between the women's movement and the state on fundamental issues of women's participation does not appear to have been seized upon.

However, the above analysis does not mean that civil society has no potential to make many positive contributions to peace building and conflict mitigation. This can only be done if there is a level of independence, as an actor in its own right. Civil society and other actors need to more strategically identify the objectives and demonstrate the relevance of the approaches to peace building. Without greater clarity on objectives and intended impacts, and without addressing institutional constraints and distortions, activities run the risk of being well-intentioned but unlikely to achieve sustainable results.

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3 Ibid: 56
The purpose of this study was to develop an analytical framework to better understand the functions of civil society in post genocide peace building by proposing to move toward a functional perspective, centered on the roles that different actors can play in conflict situations. Such a functional perspective would enable all actors to better analyze existing and potential forms of civil society engagement in peace building. In particular, it would help clarify policy and programming objectives, select civil society partners, and help to set outcome indicators to improve monitoring and evaluation of the peace building process.

1.2. Statement of the problem

The 1994 genocide in Rwanda led to a gross damage of all spheres of nation building leading to tension and ethnic hatred which ended up dividing the society. In the emergency phase after the genocide, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) were formed to deal with the reintegration of ex-combatants refugee crisis, relief, including economic and social rehabilitation.

In order to mitigate the causes and effects of the genocide, both Rwandan government and the International community through Gacaca strategy and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda sought to bring justice to the perpetrators and establish a reconciliation process as a pillar of peace building. This involved CSOs in programmes such as establishing the truth, dialogue and dealing with other effects of genocide. Although some achievements have been made, the contribution CSOs to the peace building process still remains limited with no well developed approaches to address the underlying causes of conflicts in Rwanda. Most CSOs, lack country wide and balanced political or ethnic representation, often linked to political establishment while International organizations tend to serve interests of their home countries.

On the basis of the above, this study investigated the contribution of the CSOs to the peace building process, the state civil society relationship, and the challenges facing the peace building process.
1.3 The scope of study
The study focused on the role of Civil Society Organizations in peace building in the post genocide Rwanda. The study covered a period between 1994 and 2009. It also delved into the interplay between the local and international organizations in the peace building process.

The study was conducted in Kigali covering the four divisions (Districts) respectively. The organizations studied were selected purposively based on their missions, visions, objectives and their level of involvement and commitment to promoting human rights, socio-economic aspects, psychosocial and trauma healing, which are the true attributes of a post conflict peace building process. The post genocide period was selected because it is when the conflict in Rwanda that drew international attention ended and the peace building process started.

1.4 Definition of key terms
Conflict A confrontation between one or more parties aspiring towards incompatible or competitive means or ends.

Genocide A deliberate extermination of national, ethnic, racial, religious group in whole or in part, by the state or other authority.

Conflict Transformation A holistic and multifaceted process of engaging with conflict to reduce violence and to protect and promote social justice and sustainable peace.

Conflict Management Actions taken to respond to crisis that has crossed the threshold into large-scale violence, to prevent that violence from escalating and to bring it to a conclusion.

Democracy It is a participatory process of governance promoted and founded on Human rights.

International Organizations Private organizations that pursue activities to relieve suffering, promote the interest of the poor, protect the suffering, provide social services or undertake community development in more than one country.
**Gender** Refers to the social attributes and opportunities associated with being male and female and the relationships between women and men and girls and boys, as well as the relations between women and those between men.

**Culture of peace** An integral approach to preventing violence and violent conflicts, and an alternative to the culture of war and violence based on education for peace, the promotion of sustainable economic and social development, respect for human rights, equality between women and men, democratic participation, tolerance, the free flow of information and disarmament.

**Civil Society** A collective entity existing independently of the state. A 'public space' between citizen and government, between economy and state, composed of nongovernmental organisations, social movements and professional and voluntary associations, which structures society and creates networks of influence and pressure groups, which if necessary, are able to resist the holders of state power.

**Civil Society Organizations (CSOs)** Often used in reference to all interest groups intermediating between the state and citizens. The term ‘depicts a broad range of organizations, such as community groups, women groups, foundation, faith-based organizations, registered charitable organizations, independent media, professional association, Human Rights associations, think tanks, independent educational organizations and social movements.

**Civic engagement** Refers to the participation of private actors in the public sphere, conducted through direct and indirect CSO and citizen interactions with government, business community and external agencies to influence decision making or pursue common goals.

**Human rights** The universal, equitable and indispensable claims of civil and political liberties which are largely recognized internationally for individuals as enshrined by the UN general Assembly in the Universal Declaration of Human rights of 10th December 1948.

**Sustainable Peace** A situation characterized by the absence of physical violence, the elimination of unacceptable political, economic and cultural forms of discrimination, a high level of internal
and external legitimacy or support; self-sustainability and prosperity to enhance the constructive transformation of conflict

**Insecurity** A state of fear, uncertainty and lack of safety for life and property

**Security** a situation where individuals, groups or communities live in harmony without political, social and economic threats to life and property

**War** An armed conflict between sovereign states or between factions within a state prosecuted by force and having the purpose of compelling the defeated side to the will of the victor.

**Peace building** A long term dynamic process that entails disbanding the root causes of a conflict by promoting socio-political and economic transformation. Allowing the core areas of mediation, reconciliation and unity in diversity to prevail. Peace building hinges on social sanctity and political tranquility.

1.5 Objectives of the study

**General objective**
To evaluate the role of Civil Society Organizations in peace building process in the post genocide Rwanda.

**Specific objectives**
(i) To examine the role played by CSOs in the process of building sustainable peace in Rwanda
(ii) To establish the relationship that exists between Civil Society Organizations and the government of Rwanda in peace building process.
(iii) To establish the challenges facing Civil Society Organizations in a bid to build sustainable peace in post genocide Rwanda.

1.6 Justification of the study

Rebuilding peace requires a commitment from a wide range of actors. The State cannot do everything alone, and that is why other initiatives both private and public are necessary to back Government efforts. It was within this framework that the researcher decided to carry out a study that seeks to proffer the contribution of CSOs in peace building.
The study was carried out at a time Rwandan government was struggling to change its history through encouraging academicians and scholars to embark on research and documentation of peace building activities in the country. Thus, the findings are such relevant in the sense that it will help expand the existing knowledge that will even help the generation to come.

The study will also contribute to the theory and practice of peace building from the traditional ways as most of the knowledge is based on different situations. Besides it will bring into play the interplay between local and international organizations in building sustainable peace in the country.

Furthermore, it will help policy makers to design appropriate policies to cope with the challenges of post conflict resolution in Rwanda. It provides actors involved in rebuilding the country with a source of information likely to help them deal successfully with the challenges faced in the peace building process. Through the findings of the research, international partners will better understand the challenges of Rwandan civil society in order to plan for more effective interventions.

1.7 Research questions
(i) What is the role played by Civil Society Organizations in peace building in post genocide Rwanda?
(ii) What is the relationship that exists between the state and the CSOs in the peace building process?
(iii) What are the challenges facing CSOs in the peace building process in post genocide Rwanda?

1.8 Ethical considerations
The researcher observed the ethical norms of conducting research. For instance, inquiries that touch the private lives of respondents were avoided as they elicit cooperative tendencies. The questions were framed appropriately in order to generate clear responses. An introductory letter from Makerere University was availed to the relevant offices to elicit their cooperation in the study.
1.9 Figure 1. Conceptual framework

This study took an analytical approach. Instead of mapping the number of CSOs and their activities, the analysis sought to understand CSO dynamics through the lenses of the operating environment. It examined the factors affecting the work of CSOs as well as the relations between the state and CSOs. The figure below illustrates how the conceptualization of CSOs dynamics in the operating environment can influence its work at different levels.

The above framework shows the relationship between both independent and dependent variables and how they shape an enabling environment for civil society organizations to play their role. The extent to which civil society organizations is able to fulfill its functions depends on a range of factors which define the enabling environment in which it must operate.

**Key aspects of enabling environment (Independent) include**

The legal and regulatory frameworks. This includes aspects such as laws guaranteeing basic rights of association, expression, information, participation and regulations.

The political and institutional settings include peace and stability, respect for political rights, and governance institutions.
Socio-cultural aspects. These encompass societal values, and attitudes, trust and tolerance, levels of literacy, and economic factors such as poverty and inequality. It also includes the nature and dynamics of civil society relations with other societal actors particularly the state.

**Key internal factors; dependent variables include**

Institutional capacities. These include knowledge, skills, structures, systems as well as resources possessed or accessed by the civil society organizations.

Political values. This includes commitment, democracy, transparency, accountability, nonviolence as well as extent to which Civil Society Organizations represent and answer to their constituencies.

Power relations. This means extent to which there is power sharing, coordination, and collaboration within and between civil society organizations.

The conceptual frame work shows that, external factors interact with intervening factors to determine the nature of civil society that exists. And that the civil society that exists can have the capacity to influence the environment depending on its characteristics and relationships across a wider network. This means that, the ability for the civil society organizations to be accepted as key players in peace building depends on the legal framework within the state, stability, trust, tolerance and levels of literacy that determine the association life of the people.

**Conclusion**

This chapter presented the background to the study, statement of the problem, and the conceptual framework indicating the enabling environment for CSOs to contribute to peace building activities. It indicated that various factors determine the participation of CSOs. The state civil society relationships, the nature of civil society are taken as important principle explanatory framework for the study.
CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction
Civil Society Organizations are known for their key role in democratization and building sustainable peace in all countries coming out of war. The purpose of this section is to review relevant literature related to the research topic. This information was obtained from several publications including textbooks, Reports, Journals and the Internet.

2.1 The History of Rwandan Conflict
Any conflict has a history intimately linked to that of the country where it is prepared. The conflict of Rwanda coincides with the arrival of missionaries and colonizers in the great lakes region. The starting point was the theory developed by the colonialists and missionaries on the origins of Rwandans, which demonstrated the fundamental differences between the three groups, Twa, Tutsi and Hutu. The theory characterized those groups as ethnic, confirmed that the Twa were indigenous people who are related to Pygmoides found in the Central Africa. Hutus, related to Bantu, allegedly came from Chad between the 7th and 10th century and Tutsis with a Hamitic origin are said to have settled later towards the 10th and 14th century. Hutus, farmers, outnumbering the other groups, are reported to be the first landowners. Tutsis, cattle breeders, allegedly dominated Hutus and Twa after adopting their language, their culture and are reported to have sneaked into their tribes.

To justify the theory of origins of different groups that populated Rwanda, the colonialists put an emphasis on morphological and natural differences between Rwandan people. They pretend that Tutsis constitute a race close to white people, presented them as a superior race from the morphological and intellectual point of view. As Louis de Lacger, noted Tutsis were described as intelligent and fit to rule. As a consequence, Hutu were classified second-class-citizens with only limited access to the new colonial social and economic resources, primary education and an almost complete exclusion from higher administrative positions. This led to a growing feeling of inferiority and resentment against both colonial and Tutsi supremacy amongst Hutu which

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5 DE LACGER Louis (1939:51), Le Ruanda, Kabgayi, (s.l.,)
eventually culminated in the Social Revolution of 1959 which overthrew the Tutsi leadership, leading to the first massacres of Tutsi and their mass exodus.

Whereas the colonialists viewed Rwandans as people who are different based on ethnic lines, some authors of Rwanda’s history do not agree to this. According to Jan Vansina, the three groups are allegedly social classes and not ethnic groups while clans are alliances and not groups of descent.

The misrepresentation of Rwandan society was the first defining moment of the country’s conflict, a building block upon which all others would stand and, eventually ravage the country’s population. It served the purposes of the colonizers to recognize the King and the Tutsi rulers surrounding him and to assign to them significant—if always subservient—political power and administrative duties.

Until the end of the colonial period, Rwandan society resembled a steep, clearly defined pyramid. At the very top of the hierarchy were the whites, known locally as Bazungu; a tiny cluster of Belgian administrators; and Catholic missionaries whose power and control were undisputed. Below them were their chosen intermediaries, a very small group of Tutsi drawn mainly from two clans who monopolized most of the opportunities provided by indirect rule. Wherever the Belgians gave this group the latitude to exert control, they did so stringently, almost always leaving animosity behind in their wake.

The Hutu elite exploited the Hermitic theory around 1957 and managed to rally many Hutus in cycles of massacres of Tutsis considered as invaders. Political leaders of the second Republic used the same arguments to encourage the Hutu perpetrate the genocide in 1994. In almost every way, the events of the years 1959 to 1962 constituted a tragic series of wasted opportunities for Rwanda.

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Paul Kagame however, stated that it is not reference to Hutu/Tutsi terminologies that forms the basis of the problem of ethnicity in Rwanda, rather, the distortions and prejudices that for decades were associated with these terms for political ends. He adds that distortions and prejudices were introduced by colonialists, sustained by the post colonial regimes, and used to foment the 1994 genocide. He refutes the argument that genocide squarely rests on the liberation war launched by RPF, which deliberately ignores the central cause of that liberation war; the fact that Rwandan refugees had remained stateless for over 30 years and their plight ignored by the world.

Kevin Kelly asserts that, the colonial legacy of divide and rule; the resultant ethnicisation of politics in the country; the significant debt burden and its effects on Rwanda's struggling economy; the persistent levels of poverty and the pressures on limited land resources; the greed, insecurity and internal power struggles of domestic despotic elites; the manipulation of state media; the threat of foreign invasion; and the interference of Western powers—all of these factors and causal influences attributed some responsibility for the unfolding of events in 1994. The centralized state in Rwandan society and the extremely hierarchical structures of power ensured the obedience, complicity and participation of a pliable public, who were seemingly powerless in the face of such thorough state sanctioned violence. This hegemonic state control of every aspect of social life and the lack of an effective alternative in the form of civil society guaranteed that once the genocide started, it would be completed with unthinking obedience and deathly Precision.

According to Malvern the 1990 conflict that led to genocide in Rwanda was a result of failure to draw up a nation building and developmental agenda on the part of the post-colonial Rwanda. During the first and second Republic, sectarian preoccupation flourished and entrenched ethnic division concentrating power in the hands of extremist elements amongst Rwandans. The Politics in Rwanda had been characterized by exclusion and discrimination, regionalism, non-respect for rights, lack of the political will to eradicate impunity and establishment of a culture of

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democracy. Indeed, at no time in the country’s history has there been any meaningful engagement with mechanisms to create a harmonious society and in the few instances where efforts were made; were unilateral, imposed, and not victim centered.

Given these conflicting views on the history of conflicts in Rwanda, the Government of National Unity following the war and the 1994 genocide started grappling with the issues of how to promote genuine peace and reconciliation and make the transition to a genuinely democratic political system\textsuperscript{11}. The creation of a National Unity and Reconciliati\textsuperscript{11}on Commission (NURC) in 1999 marked an important step towards implementation of this goal. Although confronted by numerous challenges, the government has tried to reassure the rest of the country to get committed to eradicating ethnic discrimination the “culture of impunity” that precipitated the 1994 genocide.

\textbf{2.2 The concept of Civil Society}

The concept of civil society remains elusive, complex and contested. According to Selgman, civil society is the arena of un-coerced collective action around shared interests, purposes and values, a public sphere where citizens and voluntary organizations freely engage\textsuperscript{12}.

The term Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) is often used in reference to all interest groups intermediating between the state and citizens. The term ‘depicts a broad range of organizations, such as community groups, women groups, foundation, faith-based organizations, registered charitable organizations, independent media, professional association, Human Rights associations, think tanks, independent educational organizations and social movements\textsuperscript{13}.

In regard to the above civil society denotes the presence of an assortment of intermediary groupings that operate in the social and political space between the primary units of society and the state.\textsuperscript{14} It may also be viewed as ‘public sphere where citizens and voluntary organizations freely engage and it is distinct from the state, the family and the market. It is, however, linked

\textsuperscript{11} Civil society in Rwanda: Assessment and options. A report submitted to USAID/Rwanda by ARD, Inc
through various forms of cooperation with those spheres, and boundaries may sometimes be difficult to distinguish’.

Michael Lund identified civil society as ‘a set of interest often quite disparate, which cut across a society’s main identity groups’. For Lund, ‘these interests are expected to be in principle more or less independent of the state, political parties and other principal movements within the society’.

While Lund portrayed civil society as independent the experience all over the world and in Rwanda in particular contradicts his argument. The situation is that, for CSOs to operate there is need for state approval and that the operating environment is determined by the state.

Cohen provides simple, yet comprehensive definition of civil society. She defines civil society as ‘citizens, local and international NGOs and social movements that function within society’.

Cohen’s definition is relevant by including international NGOs since they are dominant in post-conflict societies.

The vast majority of writing in this area conceives of civil society as being either indigenous to the conflict zone, or external in the form of international non-governmental organizations (INGOS). International Organizations also being part of the international aid architecture in various capacities; as channels or recipients of official donor assistance, and by virtue of their role as watchdogs of the public good could be considered part of the civil society.

Lund adds that NGOs are considered part of civil society ‘only if they act together with citizens, corporate and autonomous institutions to engender the peaceful pursuit of a variety of societal interest, and do so in ways that counterbalance any particular partisan force that seek to dominate it.

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16 Ibid.


The above definitions reflect general understanding of what constitutes civil society in Rwanda. The varying definitions of civil society demonstrate that the concept is “fuzzy and malleable enough to fit a wide variety of interest and agendas”. For the purpose of this study civil society is viewed as all non-state actors (excluding political parties) who play intermediate role between citizens and the state by influencing government actions. In this study, the term civil society and civil society organizations (CSOs) were used interchangeably and included NGOs. The concern here was the ways in which civil society can increase the legitimacy of peace processes by getting involved in laying such structures and spaces that would heal the wound of genocide in Rwanda.

2.3 The Evolution of Civil Society Organizations in Rwanda

For several centuries before the advent of colonial rule, a Tutsi monarchy controlled large areas of Rwanda. During this period, Rwandan society was organized along very hierarchical lines and based on diverse forms of clientelist relationships. There existed structures of ethnic and kinship groups such as families, clans and lineages, as well as councils of elders and age groups. This means that traditionally, Rwandans lived in communities characterized by strong patterns of social ties and relations where people could come together to promote mutual interests, express ideas and participate in the governance of their communities.

Following Germany’s defeat in World War I, Rwanda came under the control of Belgium. The German and Belgian colonial rulers both maintained the pre-colonial monarchy and privileged status of the Tutsi ruling elite vis-à-vis the Hutu and Twa peoples. Until the 1950s, Belgian colonial rule was characterized by: highly authoritarian and centralized administrative structures; the Catholic Church emerged as a “state within a state” whose power and influence rivalled that of the colonial administration; while civil society and associational life outside of religious institutions remained absent.

During the 1950s, Rwanda experienced three major developments that led to a radical shift in power relationships within the country; elements within the Catholic Church decided to reverse the patterns of discrimination, which had previously favored the Tutsi elite to promote the

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upward mobility of the Hutu majority. The emergence of a wide range of economic, social, cultural, and religious associations throughout the country organized around ethnic lines and the growing demands for self-government and independence pressured the Belgians to open up the political system by permitting Rwandans to participate in nonpartisan local elections and then to organize political parties in 1959.

Although reflecting a certain measure of democratization, these developments exacerbated ethnic divisions, rivalries, and conflict. Civil society associations became highly politicized and provided a broad organizational base for ethnically based political parties. The Hutu political parties equated majority rule with Hutu rule and portrayed themselves as social revolutionaries seeking to throw off the yoke of Tutsi oppression. Hence, the density of associational life did little to contribute to the development of a democratic society.

Mukamunana and Brynard argue that three important phases trace the historic emergence of civil society in Rwanda: The first phase was witnessed in the early 1980s under the second Republic with the banner of development in rural. The second phase encompasses human rights organizations such as; LIPRODHO, ARDHO, AVP, CLADHO and ADL that emerged in the early 1990s during the short lived political liberalization to fight for civil liberties and social justice though little was achieved due to the divisions in the country at the time.

According to Paris, in the early 1980s and 1990s Rwanda had an extremely high density of NGOs. Peter Uvin in his excellent treatise on the role of the international development enterprise in the Rwandan genocide describes the idyllic portrayal of Rwanda by the international development community prior to 1994. He reports that by the beginning of the 1990s, Rwanda had one of Africa's highest densities of NGOs. There was approximately one farmers' organization per 35 households, one cooperative per 350 households, and one development NGO per 3,500 households. Thus, according to all the accepted wisdom of the day, Rwandan civil society was thriving. Within a short period of time however, all manifestations of civil society crumbled as the countryside erupted into a frenzy of murder and mayhem.

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Univ identified five components of Civil Society Organizations that operated in Rwanda before the 1994 genocide\textsuperscript{23}: Cooperatives, Peasant Associations, Tontines and Informal Associations, Foreign and Local NGOs and Churches. However, it is important to note that many of the Rwandan structures of civil society pre-1994 were in fact hastily created institutions, externally driven and lacking in both the motivation (commitment) and objective political space to become agents of social change. The reasons for this in particular were that the threat of insurgency and invasion exacerbated ethnic distrust and suspicion.

In hindsight, one can postulate that civil society was weak or non-existent at the time of the genocide and that not enough was being done to ensure good governance and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms of the individual vis-à-vis the state. Even in such a short space of time however, it is too easy to over-simplify the analysis, or worse, to assume that the genocide happened in a barbaric primitive place unexposed to international norms, standards and commonly-shared values.

Mukamunana and Brynard added that the third group of CSOs is made up of associations and organizations created after the 1994 genocide; their principal aim was to channel the emergency aid to the Rwanda population, and to address the consequences of the genocide and civil war. They include Ibuka, Avega-Agahozo, Benishyaka and Rwanda Women Network (RWN), some of which were dedicated to protect the rights of genocide survivors which shaped their social-political conditions, identity and the scope of their intervention.

Today, in Rwanda there are about 2,000 registered local NGOs; CSOs are organized into 15 umbrella organizations representing 703 organizations\textsuperscript{24}. The INGOs also have a network with about 60 members. This indicates that NGOs/CSOs in Rwanda fall under three broad categories\textsuperscript{25}: Umbrella organizations bringing together like-minded NGOs and operating mostly at national level in policy and capacity building work; Individual organizations registered in respective home districts, and with the Ministry of Local Government and the Ministry of Justice.

\textsuperscript{24}Oxfam in Rwanda (2008:8). Strategic Direction for 2008-2013
\textsuperscript{25}USAID/Rwanda (2001). Civil Society in Rwanda: Assessment and options. A report submitted by ARD
working mostly in service delivery and Local Associations and community based organizations often registered only with the district or not at all and operating at sub-district level around specific target group needs.

Since 1994, civil society in Rwanda has continued to emerge with various professional associations. The present Rwandan civil society involves mainly local and international NGOs and different charities affiliated to different religious organizations. The challenge remains that many associations and cooperatives and other social groups do not regard themselves as part of civil society.

The available literature indicates that, Post genocide civil society is regarded as being more complex and having more components than the five categories listed above. It also includes media, trade unions, women and youth groups, human rights organizations and some aspects of the private sector. On the other hand, while this study recognizes the involvement of international NGOs in Rwanda’s associational life, the assessment does not consider international NGOs to be a component of Rwandan domestic civil society.

Two points need to be underscored in this very brief and cursory history of the evolution of civil society in Rwanda. First, the historical overview provides support for two theories of social movements: political opportunity structure, and resource mobilization. The Political Opportunity structure theory emphasizes the opening of political opportunities in explanations of the rise of social movements and social struggle. Resource mobilization theories, on the other hand, explain the rise of social formations through a focus on resources and their availability to different social groups. The explanatory variables emphasized by both theories, then, are crucial for understanding the emergence of Rwandan civil society.
2.4 Theoretical Approaches to Peace building: Different Schools of Thought

According to Paffenholz and Spurk four schools of thought can be distinguished within peace research\textsuperscript{26}. These schools use different terminologies and have different conceptual understandings, approaches and actors. The history of these schools of thought is closely linked to the history and evolution of the field of peace building. However, these different schools have had different influences on peace building and practices.

As Paffenholz notes, all these schools of thought present different approaches to mediation between conflicting parties, whether between or within states. She adds that whereas for many decades mediation had been the main and dominant approach to peace building, the mid-1990s became clear that peace building required additional approaches that would expedite the process due to dynamics in conflict settings. These schools of thought include the following;

The Conflict Management School This is the oldest school of thought, closely linked to the institutionalization of peace building in international law. Its approach is to end wars through different diplomatic initiatives. Paffenholz advances that the main focus of this school of thought is on the short-term management of the armed conflict while the peace builders within its logic are external diplomats from bilateral or multilateral organizations\textsuperscript{27} whose aim is to identify and bring to the negotiating table leaders of the conflict parties. Recent examples include the Sudan peace accord.

The conflict management school also employees Power mediation as a special form of conflict management and provides a possibility of applying external power, financial carrots and/or military sticks, on the parties. Examples include the 1995 US mediated peace treaty for Bosnia, when the US linked reconstruction support to a peace agreement, and threatened the bombing of Bosnia-Serb artillery in case no agreement was reached. Another example is Haiti, when former US President Jimmy Carter mediated an agreement while American troops were ready to intervene.

The Conflict Management School has been criticized because mediators tend to concentrate solely on the top leadership of the conflicting parties\textsuperscript{28}, lack of neutrality in internal conflicts, and the approach overlooks deep causes of conflicts and thus cannot guarantee long-term stability of the peace agreement. In addition, Conflict Management approaches have recently moved beyond an exclusive concern with securing a peace agreement and now also focus on the conditions for successful implementation of post-conflict peace building which this school does not talk about.

Previous studies have concentrated on evaluating post-conflict peace building as part of the implementation of peace agreements and have generally not included cases without a negotiated settlement. This is a limited approach as many conflicts ‘end’ as the result of military victory, as in the case of Rwanda which has significant implications for the consideration of transitional justice issues.

**The Conflict Resolution School** The Conflict Resolution School was established in academic research in the 1970s, adopting strategies from socio-psychological conflict resolution at the inter-personal level. In the early Conflict Resolution School, peace builders were mainly Western academic institutions carrying out conflict resolution workshops. The principle of these workshops was to bring individuals from the conflict parties together that were close to or could influence their leaders. More recently, Bush & Folger\textsuperscript{29} have articulated that this approach goes beyond the goal of resolving conflict by identifying means of empowerment and recognition for those parties engaged in conflict resolution. For them, “recognition” includes the ability to listen and the capacity for compassion toward the other parties’ experience. These skills are congruent with the aim of most CSOs’ interventions of helping the parties become better equipped to resolve their own issues.

As the approach evolved, additional participants such as international or local NGOs, as well as individuals and communities entered the field. The common features are that all actors work to address the root causes of conflict with relationship building and long-term resolution-oriented approaches, and they do not represent a government or an international organization. Approaches


and tools used include: dialogue projects between groups or communities, and conflict resolution training to enhance peace building capacity of actors perceived as agents of change.\(^{30}\)

Thus the conflict-resolution theory provides a secure theoretical foundation that accounts for a broader range of virtues and could be paramount in Rwandan situation. This is because the approach looks at solving the underlying causes of conflict and rebuilding destroyed relationships between the parties especially between the top representatives of the conflict parties and within society at large.

However as Bercovitch and Rubin noted, the Conflict Resolution School has been criticized by supporters of the Conflict Management School; the process is too lengthy to be able to stop wars while improving communications and building relationships between conflict parties do not necessarily result in an agreement to end the war.\(^{31}\) Research has also established that, while relationships between groups can be rebuilt, this may not necessarily spill over to other groups or the leadership of the conflict parties. An interesting example comes from the assessment of the Norwegian-funded People to People Peace Program following the Oslo peace agreement between Israel and Palestine in 1994.\(^{32}\) The Program funded many dialogue projects between various Israeli and Palestinian groups, while they improved relations between participants, there was no impact on the peace process at large.

**The Complementary School** This school focuses on the complementarity of the conflict management and resolution schools with three different approaches. The first is Fisher and Keashly’s ‘Contingency model for third party intervention in armed conflicts’\(^{33}\) which aims at identifying the appropriate third party method and the timing of interventions.

Based on quantitative empirical research Bercovitch and Rubin developed an approach similar to the contingency model, but shifting the perspective from approaches to actors. In this approach it

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is not important which mediators are the most effective, but who is more effective at different stages of the conflict. The results are similar to those of Fisher and Keashly, the more the conflict escalates, and the more powerful the third party should be. However, the weakness of this approach is that it does not fully address the issue of coordination or the possibility of simultaneous application of all approaches.

Another strand of this school is the Multi-Track Diplomacy approach by Diamond and McDonald which while recognizing that different approaches and actors are needed to reach peace, it seeks to make a clearer distinction between the different approaches and actors by adopting a ‘track’ concept. Track 1 involves diplomatic peace building initiatives by governments and is in line with the Conflict Management School. Track 2 represents the original conflict resolution school, while the other tracks try to cluster other relevant actors.

The Complementary School has not been subject to a broad critique nor has it resulted in major debates within mainstream research. This is likely due to the evolution of the Conflict Transformation School that absorbed the results of the Complementary school and was taken over by mainstream research and most of all by practitioners.

**The Conflict Transformation School** This approach focuses on the transformation of deep-rooted armed conflicts into peaceful ones based on a different understanding of peace building. It recognizes the existence of irresolvable conflicts, and therefore suggests replacing the term conflict resolution with the term conflict transformation.

Building on the Complementary school, Lederach sees the need to solve the dilemma between short-term conflict management and long-term relationship building and resolution of underlying causes of conflict. His proposal is to build ‘long-term infrastructure’ for peace building by supporting the reconciliation potential of society. In line with the Conflict Resolution School, he sees the need to rebuild destroyed relationships focusing on reconciliation within society and the strengthening of society’s peace building potential. He adds that under this school, third party intervention concentrate on supporting internal actors and coordinating external peace efforts while sensitivity to the local culture and a long-term time frame are necessary.

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According to Laderach top leadership can be accessed by mediation at the level of states (track 1) and the outcome-oriented approach. Mid-level leadership (track 2) can be reached through more resolution-oriented approaches such as problem-solving workshops or peace-commissions with the help of partial insiders (prominent individuals in society). The grassroots level (track 3) however, represents the majority of the population and can be reached by a wide range of peace building approaches, such as local peace commissions, community dialogue projects or trauma healing. Kaldor argues that, this approach combines in country peace building with peace building advocacy at the international level and thereby conceptually links to the debate on global civil society\textsuperscript{35}.

\textbf{Figure 2. Laderach’s levels of peace building}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textbf{Level 1: Top leadership} military/political, religions leaders with high visibility
  \item \textbf{Level 2: Middle-Range leadership} Leaders respected in sectors
    \begin{itemize}
      \item Ethnicity/Religious leaders
      \item Academics/Intellectuals
      \item Humanitarian leaders (NGOs)
    \end{itemize}
  \item \textbf{Level 3: Grass root leadership} Local leaders
    \begin{itemize}
      \item Leaders of indigenous NGOs.
      \item Community developers
      \item Local health officials
      \item Refugee camp leaders
    \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

\textbf{Approaches to peace building}

- Focus on high negotiations emphasizes cease fire led by high visible, single mediator
- Problem solving workshops, training in conflict resolution, peace commissions, insider partial teams
- Local peace commissions, Grassroots training, Prejudice reduction, Psychosocial work
- In post war trauma

\subsection*{2.5 Approaches to Peace Building in post war societies}

Khan defines Peace as a political condition that ensures justice and social stability through formal and informal institutions, practices and norms\textsuperscript{36}. He noted that, peace is not just the absence of direct/physical violence but also the presence of the conditions of the wellbeing, cooperation and just relationships amongst people.

\textsuperscript{36} Khan Hassan (2005). Fiji Civil Society Organizations contribution to Peace building and Conflict Resolution. Paper delivered at the regional workshop on conflict resolution and peace building in the pacific. The University of South Pacific. No.24,
Post-conflict peace building is today a well-established and ever growing field of theoretical reflection and practice. First introduced in the international discourse by the UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali in his 1992 Agenda for Peace, the notion has subsequently been elaborated in a number of UN documents and given institutional recognition with the establishment of the UN Peace building Commission in 2000. Peace building elements have come to be routinely incorporated into the mandate of UN peacekeeping operations, moving from a minimalist objectives of maintenance of the status quo to a much more ambitious goal of managing multiple, and complementary, processes of transition.

According to Ramsbotham, however, the UN transformative project UN peace building is not working—or at least, not well enough to justify the amount of intellectual, human and financial resources that have been wasted. There have been questions on what is really ‘new’ in peace building—whether it is only old wine in new bottles, traditional development prescriptions applied to post-conflict countries. Other common critiques include a lack of a long-term vision (with many ‘peace building strategies’ being, at a closer scrutiny, merely a compilation of targets and benchmarks), use of ‘one-size-fits-all’ solutions that are oblivious to (or ignorant of) local realities, and low legitimacy vis-à-vis local populations. More fundamentally, the peace building project has been criticised for being exclusively rooted in Western political thought resembling a modern, polished, and politically-correct version of the colonial mission.

Cohen observes that Post conflict peace building was a commonly used phrase in Africa in the first decade of the 20th century, it encompasses actions to identify and support structures that will help to strengthen and solidify peace to avoid relapse into conflict. She adds that peace building in ethnically divided societies involves re-building the hope of preventing the recurrence of conflict, establishing a stronger developmental perspective linking political reconstruction, social reconciliation and economic development. In Rwanda though a lot is being done to strengthen political structures and systems, the level of social reconciliation does not

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[^39]: Sarah Cohen; Building Civil Society in Post conflict environments from the micro to macro. A World Bank occasional paper series on preventing and Building failed States.
seem to be yielding much and this implies that there is still a gap in establishing all the necessary avenues to enhance sustainable peace.

Relatedly Galtung observed post-conflict peace building as “strategies designed to promote a secure and lasting peace in which the basic human needs of the population are met and violent conflicts do not recur” \(^{40}\). This definition takes a long-term focus and incorporates the goals of negative peace (absence of physical violence) and positive peace (absence of structural violence). The analysis of this study is also informed by the more comprehensive and normative definition of peace building provided by Spence:

“those activities and processes that: focus on the root causes of the conflict, rather than just the effects; support the rebuilding and rehabilitation of all sectors of the war-torn society; encourage and support interaction between all sectors of society in order to repair damaged relations and start the process of restoring dignity and trust; recognize the specifics of each post conflict situation; encourage and support the participation of indigenous resources in the design, implementation and sustainment of activities and processes; and promote processes that will endure after the initial emergency recovery phase has passed.” \(^{41}\)

These definitions assume that, to be successful, post-conflict peace building must address the underlying causes of conflict in addition to the surface manifestations such as the military culture and proliferation of weapons. In this regard, the researcher argues that at the heart of the notion of peace building in a post genocide state like Rwanda is the idea of meeting needs: for security and order, for a reasonable standard of living, and for recognition of identity and worth. This focus on satisfying human needs is derived from the conflict resolution theories of John Burton. \(^{42}\)

According to Spence, “the process of peace building calls for new attitudes and practices: ones that are flexible, consultative and collaborative and that operate from a contextual understanding of the root causes of conflict”. The approach for peace building should be transformative based on terminating something undesired (violence) and the building of something desired through the


transformation of relationships and construction of the conditions for peace.\textsuperscript{43} This argument is consistent with the perspective enunciated by Ryan that the task of peace building involves a switch of focus away from the warriors to the attitudes and socio-economic circumstances of ordinary people.\textsuperscript{44} This means that peace-building tries to build bridges between the ordinary people.

The transitions from conflict have also been related to notions of building democracy. Finer states that modern theories of democracy expect some form of public participation beyond voting for the representative in an election\textsuperscript{45}. This has developed into the notion of public consultation where policy development is at least in theory carried out in discussion with representative groups and the general public. In the post genocide Rwanda there has been efforts to move towards democracy by forming a government of national unity and holding regular periodic elections. However, there has been insufficient capacity by civil society organizations to engage in consultation process, this form of democratization process remains less effective.

According to Pamela, the UN’s Supplement to an Agenda for Peace identified ‘post-conflict peace building’ as the “comprehensive efforts to identify and support structures which will tend to consolidate peace and advance a sense of confidence and well-being among people\textsuperscript{46}. This means that the process is not only about activities, methods and impacts, but also about the intentions driving the intervention in what must necessarily be a multi-dimensional conceptualization of policy and implementation.

Outside the UN system, peace building has also thrived on an increasing portion of the aid budget of bilateral donors is today allocated to post-conflict countries, with the explicit aim of rebuilding the political, social and economic foundations of peace. Fundamental to the peace building discourse is the idea of the post-conflict period as a ‘window of opportunity’ for

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{44} Stephen Ryan (1990:61-2). Ethnic Conflict and International Relations, Aldershot: Dartmouth,
\end{footnotesize}
advancing a series of social, cultural and political values, which are believed to make society more resilient to future violence\textsuperscript{47}.

According to Bryden, post-conflict peace building is characterized by a complex, multi-layered architecture of actors and mechanisms interacting in related yet disconnected security and development fields which span all territorial levels of interaction from sub-state to state, regional and global levels\textsuperscript{48}. International organizations and transnational private actors play a key role. International regimes and conventions establish normative frameworks in areas such as human rights law (HRL) and international humanitarian law (IHL). However, highly politicized issues such as security sector reform (SSR) and transitional justice embody a normative governance dimension in that they presuppose the existence of political institutions capable of enforcing principles of good governance and democratic accountability.

Cedric pointed out that, Peace building is a complex system that consists multiple short, medium and long-term programmes that simultaneously address both the causes and consequences of a conflict. The systems require a coherent and coordinated multidimensional response by a broad range of internal and external actors – including government, civil society, the private sector, international institutions, agencies and international non-governmental organizations\textsuperscript{49}. These actors undertake a range of interrelated programmes that span the security, political, socio-economic and reconciliation dimensions of society.

Justice and reconciliation have often been seen as competing objectives in the process of making and building peace. In the interests of reaching a settlement, alleged perpetrators of human rights abuses have been included in the negotiations, and even in the new governments in some cases, with Cambodia being a prime example. This process not only perpetuates a culture of impunity that fails to deter future war criminals, it also fails to produce a just peace. As Francis states “issues of justice and accountability for war crimes and gross violations of human rights should not be glossed over in the civil war peace settlement”. However, very few researchers have

considered the roles of justice and reconciliation in the success or failure of sustaining a long-term peace. For example, neither David nor Stedman and Rothschild mention the role of transitional justice in their analysis of post-conflict peace building.\(^{50}\) Another researcher, Hartzell, also acknowledges the role of justice in peace building, but declines to include it in her analysis.\(^{51}\)

Bertram, by contrast to the above, highlights the dilemma of how to deal with those accused of past human rights abuses and the question of “amnesty or reconciliation”. She describes it as “one of the most troubling quandaries for peace builders” and claims that a policy of impunity or blanket amnesty creates “ominous implications for UN efforts to build democracy and a sustainable peace”.\(^{52}\) Justice and reconciliation are fundamental to peace-building, but there is no adequate theorising of how these relate to each other or even a common language of what they all mean in the context of post-conflict peace-building\(^{53}\).

Exploring the multiple meanings of justice and reconciliation and using the above analysis, both the international community and the Rwandan government regarded legal justice as crucial to the peace building process in the aftermath of the 1994 genocide. The Rwandan domestic courts are trying those accused of genocide and crimes against humanity committed since October 1990, while the UN established the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) to prosecute those accused of genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes committed during 1994, the Rwandan government established Gacaca courts. However, regardless of all this, Rwandans have not necessarily experienced justice as a result of the trials implemented locally and at the international level.

Certainly, the articulation between global discourse and local practice in peace building remains challenge, and there is no shortage of analyses and case-studies pointing to the gap between the


declared benefits of peace building interventions and the far more sobering reality on the ground. The purposes of this study, was to analyse the role of civil society in the design and implementation of the peace building project—and the role that civil society organizations in the success or failure of peace building strategies.

2.6 The role of Civil Society in post war Peace Building process

The last few decades have witnessed the mushrooming of Non-Governmental Organizations, many extensive in their operations. According Fischer, the roles of civil society actors in peace processes are determined by a number of factors, including both external such as attitudes of the warring parties and the degree of “political space” afforded to civic groups and internal factors such as the resources and skills available for groups54.

Atuobi notes that the nature post conflict peace-building demands concerted efforts from all stakeholders. He observed that, the crucial role of civil society in the context of post-conflict peace building manifests in various ways: First, civil society is the arena where tolerance for others is achieved through exchange, dialogue and compromise and thereby facilitating and sustaining the process of reintegration of the country into a unified polity. Second, an informed and active civil society can influence the political process, keep the politicians accountable for their actions and create the conditions for lasting peace. Third, the involvement of civil society groups in the peace building process may help stem off the ‘crises of social patience’ that may result from the inability of the post-war state to deliver on the high expectations of the citizenry and the potential for disrupting the fragile peace.

Pouligny points out that from the Agenda for Peace onwards, all key UN policy documents on peace building insist on the crucial role played by civil society. This can be explained by the fact that most expanded UN peacekeeping missions envisage some kind of interface with Civil Society Organisations55. The resolutions establishing the UN Peace building Commission refer to civil society as important to contributing to peace building efforts” and “encourage the


Commission to consult with civil society, Non Governmental Organisations, including women’s organisations…engaged in peace building activities”

Yet, as noted by a recent World Bank’s report, the massive rise of civil society involvement in peace building initiatives has not been “matched by a corresponding research agenda and debate on the nexus between civil society and peace building.” However, to date there has been little systematic analysis of the specific role of civic engagement and civil society in the context of armed conflict and even less regarding its potentials, limitations and critical factors.

In post-conflict reconstruction, the practice of outsourcing social services delivery to civil society actors is widespread. Within the operational imperative, Civil Society Organizations are seen as partners in all dimensions of the peace building process. In practice, the key role that civil society plays is to support in the delivery of social services, such as water supply and health care.

However, a study by World Bank has indicated that the involvement of CSOs in service delivery in post-conflict countries, where the status of the government is, almost by definition, weak and controversial contributes to the dismissive attitude of citizens toward the state, even when these are elected bodies”. The study further indicates that using civil society as service delivery agency, with no clear exit-strategy, raises important issues related to sustainability, accountability, and synergy of action. An often-quoted case of such bad practices is given by the international community’s reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan. Assessments carried out by different donors arrive to very similar conclusions, noting that the Afghan government had been distressed by the tendency of “some foreign and foreign-supported NGOs to replicate the state’s tasks and thereby undermining its position in society”.

According to Kateryna, the end of the Cold War has increasingly turned everyone’s attention to the concept of civil society. Peaceful revolutions in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union

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56 UN, (2005a), In Larger Freedom: towards development, security and human rights for all - Report of the Secretary-General, A/59/2005
59 Swanstrom and Cornell, (2005), A Strategic Conflict Analysis of Afghanistan, prepared for SIDA
that brought about the regime change put civil society in the spotlight both in academia and in policy-making\textsuperscript{60}. From an obscure theoretical concept civil society got transformed into a dominant policy approach to democracy building in different parts of the world. It is now argued to be a major means to achieve society-wide and long-lasting change as well as a final goal of any intervention be that for creating sustainable development, facilitating transitions to democracy, or post-conflict reconstruction.

Nkulunziza and Mugumya observed that, the role of civil society is founded on the fundamental right of the people to fully and effectively participate in the determination of the decisions that affect their lives at all levels and at all times\textsuperscript{61}. This means that Civil society has the task to impact on democracy and governance which in turn impact on peace building process and because of their grass root contacts and intimate knowledge of the people and their area, the organizations have the capacity to identify, analyze and eventually facilitate the communities in alleviating low-level tensions and pre-violent conflicts.

Related to Nhurunziza and Mugumya’s argument, Toure argued that, CSOs are a vital link to sustainability of post-war democracy-because citizens, communities and Civil Society Organizations are perceived as key actors in overcoming existing conflict lines, factionalism and organized violence\textsuperscript{62}. In this regard, the work of international organizations and their connection to indigenous organizations is to reinforce a sense of common interest, purpose and demonstrate the political will to support collective measures for preventive action.

While the above arguments may be true in theory, in practice may not be applicable. in Rwanda, local and International CSOs tend to have different goals and missions with different approaches. While many CSOs in post genocide Rwanda claim to be working towards democratic governance, many of their activities seem to be foreign driven with less impact on ground.

In his assessment of the democacracy and the role of civil society, Tarrow stated that what matters for democracy are not only the formal institutions of representative democracy but also

\textsuperscript{60}Kateryna P. Engaging (2009) Civil Society in Peace Building: Taking Stock of Past Practice, Sant’Anna School of Advanced Studies, Paper prepared for the SHUR Final Conference, LUISS University, Rome, Italy, 4-6,


\textsuperscript{62}Toure.A (2002). The Role of Civil Society in National Reconciliation and Peace building in Africa
the informal institutions, social relations and patterns of trust, in which formal political processes are embedded. On the basis of an extensive study of the impact of the regional reforms introduced in Italy in 1970, he argued that the social capital generated through a variety of informal institutions explains the relative performance of democracies. As Putnam states in the oft-quoted conclusion: “Tocqueville was right; democratic government is strengthened, not weakened, when it faces a vigorous civil society….Building social capital will not be easy, but it is the key to making democracy work.” A link between building trust, values, and skills through voluntary association and enhancing democracy–has been considered eye-opening for the study of civil society in both democratizing countries and established democracies.

Criticizing Putnam, many scholars have argued that notwithstanding the contribution of his study on exploring relationships of cooperation and social trust, it fails to demonstrate a causal relationship between civil society as he conceives of it and the success of democracy. Quite on the contrary, it has been argued that a vibrant and robust civil society, if developing alongside weak political institutions, can produce non-democratic effects. For example, Berman shows that the Nazi movement in the Weimar Republic emerged from a vibrant and well-organized civil society. Other, closer to date examples include the rise of extremist groups like the Russian National Unity and the Romanian National Union or the World Church of the Creator and the Nation of Islam. For Putnam any association or network regardless of its goals and the nature of its political engagement (or lack thereof) makes a rich associational life; he fails to make a distinction between democratic and non or even anti-democratic values that may be at the core of these organizations and networks. To quote Amy Gutmann’s critique:

*Among its members, the Ku Klux Klan may cultivate solidarity and trust, reduce the incentives for opportunism, and develop some ‘I’s’ into a ‘we’...[but]...the associational premises of these solidaristic ties are hatred, degradation, and denigration of fellow citizens and fellow human beings.*

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To extend this criticism Gutman adds that: Putnam fails to address the challenge of “bad civil society”. Drawing on examples from various historical contexts in which voluntary associations actively and publicly challenge the values of civility and reciprocity through the promotion of hate, bigotry, racism, anti-Semitism, and aggressive xenophobia, Chambers and Kopstein argue that—counter to the direct causal link between dense associational life and democracy—such groups present a threat to democracy and democratic values.

When talking of networks of trust and solidarity, it is important to acknowledge that their impact on tolerance and pluralism in society is highly dependent on their as well as on their connections with other networks. To address this criticism, Putnam later developed the typology of “bonding” and “bridging” social capital, i.e. social capital based on developing solidarity within a group and social capital developed by connecting across different kinds of groups differentiated by class, race, gender, and so on. In his analysis of Muslim-Hindu relationships in India, Varshney arrives at similar conclusions, distinguishing between intra-communal engagement (corresponding to Putnam’s bonding capital) and inter-communal engagement (corresponding to bridging capital). While the latter is a bulwark against external shocks, the former is not. “Organized civic networks, when intercommunal, not only withstand the exogenous communal shocks–partitions, desecration of holy places–but they also constrain local politicians in their strategic behaviour” but “if engagement is only intracommunal, small tremors…can unleash torrents of violence”.

The normative approach to civil society clearly poses civil society as a framework for establishing and evaluating the ends as opposed to the means of peace building. It implies that civil society should be instrumental to generating and upholding certain values in the society. From this perspective, the discussion should not be on whether certain forms of associational life qualify as civil society, nor should it be about what should be done to involve civil society in peace building. Instead, it should be about the terms of “civility” at which all peace building interventions should aim. This means that effective peace building should simultaneously focus on different societal realms and strengthen a range of institutions and promoting participation, dialogue, empowerment, and local ownership of peace building of initiatives.

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While the idea of civil society has gained fashionable status in the peace building process, there appears however to be a growing consensus in political and social science theory that an active civil society has an important role to play in the development of an inclusive, solidaristic and democratic society. One way to achieve this democratization is for the state to expand the role of such a civil society so that it operates as a forum for critical discussion and debate where all sectors of society have the opportunity to promote their point of view, to push for the emergence of grassroots movement politics and ultimately, for social change. The existence of civil society implies a particular kind of social affiliation, one that embodies solidarity, and above all, communication and engagement.

Although the civil society has been seen as a positive force in democratization and peace building process, it can also be part of the problem of conflict generation or escalation. As Mania notes the 1994 Rwandan genocide could not have taken gruesome extent without the complicity of the civil society groups; in fact the ideology of hate was not only propagated by the state, but also actively supported by segments of CSOs including the press. During the 1990 civil war fake human rights organizations such as LIDEL, ARDEVI were established to support the government of the day in dividing civil society. The church, an institution mandated to preach peace and unity instead preached the message of ethnic hatred; in fact many churches in Rwanda became slaughter houses.

As has been outlined above, an analytical approach to civil society as rich associational life has been particularly proficient in identifying a whole variety of forms of civic organizations. The “thickness” of the definition of civil society is one of its major contributions of direct relevance to peace building policy. The issue of goals and thus, of primary activities of civil society remains open in the analytical approach. The emphasis on richness and multiplicity of forms of associational life implies that civic groups and organizations can do a variety of things voluntarily. This approach supports the understanding of civil society as a means in peace building.

2.7 Civil Society-State Relationship in building Peace

Civil society cannot play the role of peace facilitators in a vacuum; they need the support and understanding of national governments. This is because Civil Society and government play complimentary roles; while governments may have a comparative advantage over Civil Society Organizations in certain areas, CSOs can play a pivotal role, in particular where governmental institutions are ineffective or absent\(^{69}\). However, literature reveals that, while civil society initiatives often emerge in situations where state and market fail, they cannot replace state functions and formal political processes. When CSOs are fulfilling functions usually performed by the state, care must be taken to avoid further undermining state capacity.

Similarly, CSOs and government are mutually dependent. Civil society interacts closely with the state and is shaped by parameters and frameworks defined by the state. The state provides legal frameworks, operational regulations, procedures for consultations and in some cases financial resources\(^{70}\). Civil society regularly acts as a link between the state and citizens in promoting specific values, building institutions, producing information and ideas and building social capital. However, to be effective respective areas of expertise should be mapped out and mutual responsibilities and accountabilities more clearly understood between the two actors.

Alexander notes that, at its core, civil society is based upon a relationship between the state and lower level organizations within a framework where the latter can grow and have influence. He adds that the relationship is often a tense and difficult one but, in an ideal world is based upon a mutual recognition of the principles of openness, pluralism and tolerance.\(^{71}\) While specific institutions and procedures are necessary for the creation and re-creation of this viable civil sphere, it is such symbolic communications that allow for the construction of common identities and solidarities.

Alexander’s argument assumes the presence of a benign and mature state, which is relatively stable in terms of internal security and confident in the face of criticism. Furthermore, it suggests a level of grassroots motivation and capacity for engagement in the political arena. It

\(^{69}\) EU-Presidency statement (June 22, 2004). The Role of Civil Society in Post-conflict peace building.


presupposes an absence of fear, either real or imagined, in the relationship between the individual and the state. In Rwanda post 1994 many of these core assumptions do not hold truth and therefore the possibility of civil society emerging organically has been greatly reduced.

According to Cohen, within post-conflict environments, four broad types of relationship could exist between the state and civil society: tenuous, hopeful, nascent and evolving relationships.72 First, tenuous relationships could be found in protracted post-conflict environments or highly repressive states with regional conflict dimensions. In such contexts, relationship between civil society and the state may be characterized by decentralization, weakness and deep mistrust between national institutions and local government structures. Rwanda provides a good example of this type of relationship. This is because since the genocide ended there still exists deep mistrust between civil society and the government.

The second is hopeful relationships characterized by improved dynamics between civil society and the state evidenced by positive expectations and a population that is willing to place a degree of hope in their leadership. Southern Sudan is an instructive example of hopeful relationship following the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (2005) that triggered an improved level of expectation and confidence in the Government of Southern Sudan. Also in Rwanda the enacting of a new constitution which offered places to CSOs in the transitional period triggered a period of hopeful relationship between the state and civil society. However, in many cases where hopeful relationships are present, citizens place unrealistic expectations upon a newly formed or struggling leadership.

Third, Nascent relationships is exemplified by authoritarian regimes that are undergoing the transition to a new democracy. Often characterized by citizens with very limited interaction with or experience in governance, advocacy or civil society groups, these relationships can be marked by the lack of recognition of a functioning state.

And fourth, evolving relationships where citizens have to negotiate space between the state and other powerful entities such as warlords or alternative power structures that are in contention.

with state elements. Often these various entities are folded into the state following a peace settlement.

Cohen elaborates that, how the state and CSOs co-existed or interacted was not a major issue in Rwanda before the war since there were not many of them. Before the genocide, the idea of CSOs was not common in Rwanda. There were rather, pressure groups, such as the trade unions, which sought the interest of their members but not society in general. A number of CSOs were largely faith-based involved in health, education and agriculture. Hence, the relationship between the state and such CSOs were cordial and there existed regular interaction between the two groups. It was not uncommon to find state officials present at the signing ceremony of funding agreements and briefing on CSOs activities. Since the role of civil society after the genocide changed to demanding political reforms, accountability and transparency, the relationship between the state and civil society continues to be antagonistic.

Ntungwe observed that, the relationship between the state and civic organization in most African states remains ambiguous and tenuous, whilst civil society institutions need to remain both autonomous and a critical conscience of state policies, they can also serve as important allies in widening or deepening democracy. This means that the state-civil society relationship is not a one-way street, it is not only that the state helps constitute civil society but also that civil society helps constitute the sort of state that exists.

An issue of ongoing debate within the literature on civil society is whether Civil Society Organisations are adversaries or partners to the state. On the one hand, CSOs may oppose the state on certain issues and mobilise public opposition or lobby policy-makers to change policy. These civil society actors may seek to act as a type of watchdog over the state and so function as a force for accountability, pressuring officials to inform the public about what they are doing and explain their decisions, and holding them responsible for what they have done.

However CSOs may also serve to function as partner to the state in certain capacities, especially in developmental contexts and in the context of the security sector. In defence and security affairs, most CSOs have a dual role. They are frequently composed of members of the

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intellectual elite who stand between the government and the general public. On one hand, such CSOs may assist the government in finding the right answers to public policy issues and criticising government responsibly. On the other hand, advocacy CSOs can help to spread knowledge and create a climate of opinion that encourages wise policy.

For sustainable peace and development to take place, state and civil society development programmes need to be co-ordinated. The modalities of an effective public-private sector partnership in development require a relationship of mutual trust between the state and civil society institutions, as well as legitimacy among the constituencies represented. However, in the post-genocide Rwanda often there is tenuous relationship between state and NGO’s characterized by suspicion, with NGO’s posturing as opposition to government, being charged with peddling international donor agendas against domestic interest and interference with the state’s development agenda, as well as impeding and duplicating the state’s development as well as peace building efforts.

The cycle of war and peace in Rwanda provides a very useful template for analysing the inherent difficulties in maintaining state-civil society cooperation (and partnership) in post-conflict peace building. These groups, in the emergency phase where the absence of efficient state structures, partnered with International Non-Governmental Organizations to provide relief and humanitarian services for the people. However, the destruction of the country’s social fabric during the war suppressed, compromised the organizational strength and activities of some of the CSOs.

While literature tend to portray Civil Society as independent and not for profit gains, the experience all over the world and in Rwanda in particular contradicts the same. The situation is that, for CSOs to operate there is need for government approval and that they are governed by the laws set by the government. Many CSOs in Rwanda though claim to be nonprofit oriented; they are characterized by corruption and sometimes nonexistent projects plus lack of proper accountability procedures.

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2.8 Challenges of civil society in peace building process in the post conflict societies

The aftermath of armed conflict presents a host of challenges, ranging from reconciliation between former warring factions to long-term sustainable development. Post-conflict states are often conflict-ridden with a certain amount of uncertainty, insecurity and volatility which may remain for a long time.

The fragility of post-conflict situations creates multiple openings for the lack of a common ethos of governance; undermine the political will for transparency and accountability, thus impeding the creation of robust mechanisms to deal with corruption. The absence of a shared vision and ethos of governance within the new, constituted governing group, especially when its members are drawn from former warring parties, often induces factionalism between different groups in society work at cross-purposes rather than for the national good.

The mushrooming of peace initiatives prompt increased involvement of NGOs in post conflict countries, but also to the commercialization of peace work. This ‘NGOization’ of social protest leads to a perceived taming of social movements and thus shifting the focus away from peace movements and grassroots civic engagement. Taking an example of most African states and Rwanda particular, INGOs have been criticized for parachuting into conflicts and introducing culturally insensitive Western conflict resolution techniques that are in consequence socialized to the language and expectation of international donors.

Countries where there are many CSOs characterized by competition, Peace work become more professionalized often monopolized by a few, mainly urban based elite CSOs. This makes the genuine social and peace engagement of the local peace CSOs disempowered due to disconnection from the people and their communities on both sides of the conflict. To this end significant challenges include fostering local ownership, constructing entrance and exit

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78 Spurk Christopha and Paffenholz Thania, social Development Papers. Conflict and Reconstruction Paper No. 36/October, 2006
strategies, and developing a deep understanding of the specific problems of the country in question.

According NDI, many Civil Society Organizations in post conflict societies lack operational and management capacity to assume an effective role in conflict management and prevention. This is worsened by lack of consultation among these groups, duplication of initiatives and lack of continuity. Paris notes that this fragmentation and weak links among most civil society affects their influence on political process. While many CSOs and NGOs existed before and during the genocide era, they had no work within the framework of national development which curtailed their ability to challenge the exclusions that existed within the Rwandan society.

To stress the challenges of peace building, Tschirg elaborated that, civil society’s relations with governments in Africa have historically been marked by suspicion, mistrust and autocratic tendencies. The state often seeks to influence the operations of civil society, co-opting some actors to act on behalf of its interest or frustrating the efforts of organizations that criticize the weaknesses of governance structures and human rights regimes.

Post conflict government always tend to maintain the status quo by maintaining the picture of what brought the conflict and any criticism against such a government can be understood as widening the gap in the division which exists in the society. This argument was also confirmed by Nyemera when he stated that Rwandan government on several accounts attacks some international organizations accused of supporting local groups labeled as having a “genocide ideology”. He added that the government also castigated the French and Dutch governments for aiding Civil Society Organizations alleged to have a “genocide ideology.”

Local NGOs, created with the help of donor funding have are often poorly rooted in their own societies. They are formed with the sole intention of tapping into funding from donors. As Berg notes, these NGOs often have a political agenda and are not necessarily well-versed in the

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82 http://www.grandslacs.net/doc/3134.pdf
intricacies of local contexts and realities\textsuperscript{83}. The challenge here becomes state resistance, internal divisions within and among the local NGO community, low internal democratic values and the generalized failure of networks. These organizations can become battlegrounds of internal power struggles and conflicting visions and sometimes are themselves internally poorly representative of democratic values.

The challenge facing peace building in the post genocide Rwanda is that of impact assessment; how to know when a peace building project has actually built peace, indicators and tools that are most appropriate at evaluating and assessing the theories of peace building on which projects are based. This has been a big concern to Aid agencies and International Organizations seeking to assess the effectiveness of funding devoted to peace projects in the post genocide Rwanda\textsuperscript{84}. If impact cannot be assessed, then the legitimacy of the entire enterprise of peace building is open to question.

Despite the prominent role attributed to civil society in the peace building discourse, peace building policy is characterised by a number of contradictory assumptions and problematic practices. This confusion is caused by mixed understandings of who belongs to civil society, what its contribution to peace building can and should be, and as a consequence, how the involvement of civil society in peace building can be supported by international actors. These problems go beyond the operational level and are produced by the conceptual confusion underlying the policy debate on the role of civil society in peace building.

While these challenges are not exclusive of post-conflict countries, they do assume particularly important proportions in such contexts, due to a combination of massive and sudden influx of international actors and the scarcity of other employment opportunities, which make the civil society option particularly appealing. In this study, the researcher argues that the challenges of involving civil society in peace building go beyond the operational dimension. However, in


\textsuperscript{84} Menkhaus Kn. Impact assessment in post conflict peace building. Challenges and future directions. Interpeace, 2004
Rwanda is the conceptual confusion that is at the heart of the debate and policy practice on engaging civil society in peace building.

The thrust of this study is that these challenges to peace building in the post genocide Rwanda are not merely operational and practical shortcomings-rather, they derive from a fundamental lack of clarity as to the rationale for civil society involvement in peace building. The nexus between peace building and civil society is elaborated along two different dimensions. At one level—*prescriptive dimension*, civil society is seen as one of the fundamental elements of the model of social organisation that should emerge from the process of peace building—civil society as an end. At another level (an *operational dimension*), civil society is seen as a partner in the process of building peace—civil society as a means. These contradictions are not merely academic: in practical terms, the two dimensions translate in different types of interventions and activities, and are measured by different indicators of success.

**Conclusion**

This chapter reviewed literature on the role of CSOs in Peace Building in Rwanda and the work of other researchers in Africa and beyond. The interplay between local, international organizations and the state has also been cited. Emphasis was also placed on the relationship between the state and CSOs in peace building process to bring out a clear architecture of peace building. As can be noticed, not much has been documented on the CSOs in Rwanda. Similarly, there is a glaring dearth of literature on Rwanda as regards the contribution of CSOs in peace building approaches. Researchers have generally not drawn the distinction between peace building in the aftermath of genocide and peace building following other civil wars or ethnic conflicts. However, the cited work provides some conceptual clarity and indicates the focus of the research.
CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction
This section gives information about research design, area of study, population of study, sample size, sample selection, methods of data collection, data analysis, procedure, and problems encountered during the study.

3.1 Research design
This was a case study in which descriptive design was preferred due to emphasis on historical analysis, centrally to accuracy through minimizing biases and maximizing reliability of results. In order to obtain the realistic picture, the both qualitative and quantitative approaches to research were employed. The fact that this study involved respondents’ experiences, attitudes, and beliefs that were sensitive at times, it required careful approach.

3.2 Area of study
This study was conducted in the City of Kigali, the capital and commercial city of the Republic of Rwanda. The city covers an area of 730 kms with about one million inhabitants. Kigali is located in the centre of the country with a status of a province, one of the five provinces in the country. Kigali is built in hilly landscapes sprawling across ridges and wet valleys in between. The study covered the three districts (divisions) of Kigali (Nyarugenge, Kicukiro and Gasabo).

Compared to other African cities, the size and population growth of Kigali has until early nineties trivial, but its demographic profile was seriously affected by the 1994 genocide which claimed the lives of about 1,000,000 million Tutsis and moderate Hutus country wide. Since then it is estimated that there has been over 800,000 old refugees of 1959 returning from exile in neighbouring countries of Uganda, Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, Tanzania, Kenya and oversees, with a big number of them opting to settle in the capital for employment and security reasons. There has also been momentous migration of people resulting in drastic increase of population in Kigali. Besides war and genocide, the immigration to Kigali from late

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1990s may be a manifestation of more employment and business opportunities there, compared to other Rwandan towns.

3.3 Study population
For the purpose of this study, the study population included: government officials, local leaders, Civil Society Organizations and area residents. The targeted population was officials working with ministry of local government, National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, Gacaca secretariat, city division administrators, CSOs staff, local residents as well as local leaders. These categories of respondents were selected in order to give the researcher the required information from a wide cross section of the population. The categories of the respondents were selected by the virtue of their ability to give reliable information.

3.4 Sample selection
The researcher employed both probability and non probability techniques. Non probability sampling was employed in order to acquire data from small numbers of the populations. This sampling process was designed by the researcher through careful understanding of the features of the population such as; age, sex, level of education and position held in society.

Since respondents were not homogeneous, purposive sampling was also used to select respondents; they included people directly working with Civil Society Organizations, government officials, local leaders as well as local residents.

The selection of these CSOs was not based on a random sample, but on the researchers’ deeper knowledge of the kind of CSOs which are likely to provide useful information based on their mission, vision and area of intervention. This method of selection enabled the researchers to select the right CSOs for the purpose of this research project.

3.5 Research Instruments
The researcher used both qualitative and quantitative methods involving research instruments such as; questionnaires, interview guide, observation and documentary review.
3.5.1 Interview guides

According to Bailey, an interview is a data collection method that involves oral questioning of the respondents either individually or as a group and answers to questions are recorded by writing them down\(^\text{86}\).

While in the field interviews took place and became a precedent because better and detailed raw data was required from the respondents. These were mainly in form of oral structured interviews and semi-structured that involved verbal interchange of information face to face. These came after the introduction to the different respondents.

In order to obtain data from the local residents, the researcher found it necessary to conduct interviews in the local language (Kinyarwanda) that was familiar to them even when the questions were set in English. Interviews to government officials, religious leaders, local and international organizations were set in English.

The researcher used interviews to ascertain the views, attitudes of the people as regards the role of CSOs in the peace building and the challenges involved. This enabled the researcher obtain enough primary data concerning the research problem. This method of data collection ensured good response rate, data obtained was convenient, reliable as it involved direct contact with the respondents.

The interview method called for high degree of flexibility making it easy for the respondents to answer for themselves. Although the schedule was written in English, the actual interview was carried out in Kinyarwanda basing on the environment, as non-English speaking, semiliterate respondents were involved.

Generally, the interviews yielded a high response rate in comparison to other instruments of data collection. Clarification was made and respondents were in position to accept or refuse the interview. Through this method it was easy for the researcher to detect and correct mistakes, it enabled the researcher acquire the additional data as respondents were free to ask for clarification in case they were not in position to answer a given question due to its complexity or language.

3.5.2 Personal observation

Bailey defines observation as the primary technique for collecting data on non-verbal behavior involving the use of all the five senses. This method took a second consideration as an instrument of data collection. The researcher intended to know what exactly was going on in Rwanda so as to find out a workable relationship with the progress in the peace building process.

The researcher used personal observation to reveal what most respondents could not reveal verbally. However, this method also helped the researcher see what was going on in Rwanda with his own eyes as far as peace building is concerned by attending some of the dialogue and capacity building sessions done by some CSOs.

This method revealed that, many Rwandans were not well informed about peace building activities, gender mainstreaming in most peace building activities was still low while the level of ethnic stereotyping was like it were before, most personnel for local CSOs lacked peace building skills, a situation that may hinder positive progress in the enhancement of sustainable peace.

3.45.3 Questionnaire

Bailey defines a questionnaire as a written set of well structured questions distributed to respondents in absence of the researcher. Grinnell and Williams added that, the best method for collecting data for a survey is to use a questionnaire and that it may either be Self administered or group-administered87. They also went ahead to stress that, a questionnaire can be of two types: open-ended and closed-ended.

Closed-ended questionnaires provide fixed alternatives which makes it easy for the researcher to code answers, thus it saves time and money. Open-ended questionnaires can be used when all of the possible answer categories are no known or where the investigator wishes to see what the respondent’s views are and they allow the respondent to answer adequately.

While undertaking this study, the researcher used both types of questions to come up with detailed and relevant data about the research topic. A total of 78 questionnaires were distributed to the different categories of respondents. These were supplied to MINLOC, Ministry of Justice,

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District leaders, both local and international organizations, local residents, local leaders, and religious leaders.

In this study, the questionnaire was deemed effective because it gave respondents a room to freely answer questions. This instrument was also easy to administer and it saved time because the researcher did not need regular supervision to the respondents.

However, this instrument was associated with the problem of failure to interpret questions as some respondents were Franc-phones and hence found it difficult to answer the questions while others had little to answer or could neglect the response.

3.5.4 Documentary review
Documentary review is the analysis of documents or data gathered or authored by another person. This provided a starting point to the researcher in collecting data. In order to obtain enough information, the researcher had to consult various publications. This revealed other writers’ opinion and suggestions as regards the history of Rwandan conflict, the civil society and the peace building process. This is reflected in Chapter Two and elsewhere in this report. The publications reviewed were got from the Peace center book bank, Makerere University Main Library, IRDP resource Center, Center for Conflict Management Butare National University and the Internet.

3.6 Data quality control
In order to ascertain the reliability and validity of the instruments (questionnaires, the researcher carried out a pre-test of 30 questionnaires; 10 in Gasabo, 10 Nyarugenge and another 10 in Kicukiro. Basing on the response, some questions were phased out while others were added and adjusted for accurate data collection. Following a pre-test, the researcher confidently went to the field for data collection and obtained the results as discussed in chapter four.

3.7 Data analysis and management
The researcher analyzed data manually. In analyzing and processing data, the researcher grouped responses together and processed them in a variety of ways in order to show what they mean to facilitate their interpretation.
After the collection of data from the field, the researcher proceeded to process it, related it to the research objectives and research questions to provide a meaningful report for easy interpretation and understanding.

Data analysis was done in three phases in order to come up with well presented information about the research study. These phases included; coding, editing, evaluation, and tabulation of collected data. In addition tables and Pie charts were used in presenting and analyzing data from the field.

Editing was done by clearly checking collected questionnaires from the different respondents. This was done purposely for easy interpretation of the information and correlation of irrelevant information. The interview schedule questions were in the same way thoroughly crosschecked by the researcher after interviews. This ensured accuracy, uniformity and completeness.

The evaluation process. Here percentages were used; the researcher listed values by the total number of the variables, multiplied them by 100 and converted them into percentages for easy analysis and presentation. The percentages were useful in presenting data on tables and pie-charts. In order to carry out systematic analysis, the respondents were asked the same number of questions that the researcher categorically tallied. All this is presented in chapter four of this report.

3.8 Limitations of the study

While in the field for data collection, the researcher encountered the following limitations that may in one way or the other affect the study;

The researcher faced the problem of respondents’ bias. Being a foreigner some of the respondents received him with suspicion which could have forced some of them to withhold useful information regarding the current peace situation and the reconciliation process, thus affecting the quality of the research report. To overcome this, the researcher created short interviews with various people that enabled him to acquire the necessary data.

Language barrier, Rwanda is a Franco-phone country and so most of the respondents spoke French. To overcome this, the researcher always introduced himself to the respondents in
Kinyarwanda and also even when the interviews were set in English most of them were done either in Kinyarwanda or English depending on the flexibility of the respondent.

Conclusion

This chapter described the research design, the study population, area of study and the methodological procedures of sampling. Details of the techniques of data collection, study limitations were presented too. Despite the limitations encountered during the study, the data collected is sufficient to give a realistic picture of the role played by CSOs in the peace building process.
CHAPTER FOUR
RESEARCH FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATION

4.0 Introduction
This chapter presents the research findings and their interpretation. The study was guided by the objectives and research questions.

To obtain data from the field the researcher supplied a total of 78 questionnaires, but also conducted interviews to four categories of respondents that included; Workers of local and International Civil Society Organizations, government officials, Religious leaders, Local residents and community leaders.

The questionnaires and interviews focused on the role and success of Civil Society Organizations in peace building process in the post genocide Rwanda, the relationship that exists between CSOs and the government in the process of building peace. It also considered the challenges facing Civil Society Organizations and the peace building process in the post genocide Rwanda.

After data collection, the researcher coded, evaluated and tabulated the research findings for easy analysis and interpretation. The different responses from the respondents were captured and categorized them into different themes. Tabulations were calculated and made out of the total responses as per a given question. This is clearly shown by table 8, 9 and 10.

4.1 Background information and characteristics of the respondents
The researcher sought to establish the characteristics of the respondents based on their gender, age and levels of education. The main reason here was because he wanted to obtain information from a cross-section of respondents whose experiences and opinions are different as regards to issues of peace and conflict in Rwanda.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>78</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field research 2009

Table 1 above shows that 45% of the respondents who participated in this research study were females while 55% were males. This means that there were more males than females. However,
this is attributed to the fact that the number of females involved in peace building activities was less. During the study, males seemed to be quite more knowledgeable on peace building issues and the role of civil society organizations as opposed to females which affected their level of participation in this study. The knowledge of women as regards the role of Civil Society Organizations was affected by levels of education. While males were found out to be more educated females were discovered to be less educated.

Table 2: Age of the respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age range</th>
<th>frequency</th>
<th>percentages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20-30</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-40</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-50</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-60</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;60</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td><strong>78</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: field research 2009

Table 2 above indicates that most of the respondents were adults (between 30 and 60 years of age). The respondents also comprised a section of youths (aged between 20-30). The main reason for having the adults composing the highest percentage was the need to have responses that are valid based on experiences of people who know much on the history of Rwanda including the period during the genocide. This helped in making a workable relationship between the responses by the youths and the adults.

Table 3: Levels of education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Levels of education</th>
<th>frequency</th>
<th>percentages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td><strong>78</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field research 2009

Table 3 indicates that majority of the respondents (38%) had attained tertiary education, 32% of the respondents had attended secondary education, 13% reported to have attained primary education while 17% had never gone to school a tall. The above findings means that most of the respondents could read and write, but also had the capacity to interpret different situations in a
concrete and analytical way that would enable the researcher record the relevant information pertaining the study. Some of the respondents who reported not to have attained any form of education were mainly those aged above 60 and were local residents. However, the elderly irrespective of not having attained education, their knowledge of the history of Rwanda and issues related to peace and reconciliation seemed to be undisputable as they were opinion leaders in their communities.

4.2 Background and characteristics of organizations
The researcher established data on historical and experience characteristics of the organizations as well as their area of intervention. This intended to find out the status of the organizations that were studied. The following table presents the number and type of organizations investigated during the study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Organization</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local CSOs</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International CSOs</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field research 2009

Table 4, above shows the type of organization as laid down in the methodology, these were three local Organizations and three International Organizations. The objective was to have a clear comparison between the capacity competence, roles in peace building and challenges faced.

Table 5. Period of CSOs establishment in Rwanda

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period of formation</th>
<th>frequency</th>
<th>percentages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before the genocide</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After the genocide</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: field research 2009

The above table shows that 3 (50%) of organizations studied were formed before the genocide while another 3 (50%) were formed after the genocide. However, the researcher established that those that were formed before the genocide were mainly international organizations, yet most of
the local CSOs were either formed after the genocide or at the beginning of the civil war in 1990s.

In light with the above view, the researcher also learnt that while Rwanda was considered as one of the few countries in Africa that had a high associational life before the genocide, such organizations were mainly cooperatives and peasant associations that mainly operated at village level. The few Civil Society Organizations that operated at the national level lacked independence and were mainly government associates. Hence their role in influencing government policy was limited and some of them were reported to have been schools of negative ideologies that later perpetuated genocide.

The Civil Society Organizations were categorized further by showing the years in which they started operating in Rwanda, areas of intervention, mission as well as their mission. These have a bearing on their capacity to intervene in peace issues. This is as shown in the following table.

**Table 6. International CSOs that were visited for the study**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of CSO</th>
<th>Year of establishment</th>
<th>Areas of intervention</th>
<th>Vision/Mission</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oxfam-GB</td>
<td>Late 1970s</td>
<td>Peace building, capacity building, Advocacy and development.</td>
<td>Encouraging active community participation in decision-making and development work, Improving gender relations and building women’s economic capacity,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic Relief Service (CRS)</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>Health, agriculture, reconciliation, and helping orphans and the Vulnerable.</td>
<td>To contribute to a peaceful and productive society through development programs and Peace building activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Alert</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Fostering Social-economic reintegration ,national reconciliation process by rehabilitating genocide survivors and reintegrating ex combatants and ex prisoners</td>
<td>Seeking to influence the government policies, international organizations to reduce conflict risk and increase the prospects of peace</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field research 2009
Considering Table 6, most of the international organizations studied, employ holistic approaches in their programmes, in fact as observed human security and social protection seem to be their agenda. This is because the socio-economic and political life of most Rwandans was adversely affected by the civil war and the. Their aim as observed is to extend humanitarian services to the needy and reduce animosity among Rwandans.

International CSOs chose their areas of interventions depending on their general objectives that were set before going to Rwanda. The area of intervention was decided upon basing on the type of emergencies that were needed by the beneficiaries in the area of operation. However, the researcher also established that while some International organizations had come with different agenda especially those that came before the genocide, after the war they had to incorporate conflict management, conflict transformation as well as reconciliation in their programmes and among these was found to be Oxfam Great Britain.

The study established that, most of the international organizations do charity work and though based in Kigali their areas of operations are in the country side especially targeting areas of special interest such as those that were adversely affected by the genocide and have got high numbers of genocide survivors, orphans, areas having high numbers of returnees or areas that are frequently hit by natural disasters such as long droughts. However, when it comes to issues of conflict management and capacity building their role has no boundaries for even those operating in rural areas such as Oxfam GB can still facilitate/ train government agencies and other private organizations in Kigali.
Table 7. Local CSOs that were studied

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of CSO</th>
<th>Founding Year</th>
<th>Area of Intervention</th>
<th>Vision/Mission</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Never Again</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Sensitization on Youth involvement on civic and political institutions through participation in conflict mitigation, peace building and leadership training.</td>
<td>A future where sustainable peace and development is driven by creative, involved, and critical-thinking youth. To enhance youth’s capacity to analyze the root causes of conflicts, and facilitate dialogue among peers in order to generate ideas and activities that work towards sustainable peace and social-economic development.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avega-Aghazo</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Advocacy, socio-economic empowerment, psycho-socio rehabilitation, Capacity building.</td>
<td>To promote the general welfare of the genocide victims;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIPRODHOR</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Human rights, Advocacy, capacity building</td>
<td>A society where all the members have a culture of respect for the human rights, The promotion and Defense of Human Rights</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field research 2009

Table 7 indicates that most of the local organizations were formed after the 1994 genocide. Immediately after the genocide there was an urgent need for charity organizations mainly to help with humanitarian emergencies to many Rwandans who were suffering at the time and this was mainly concerned with the psycho-social, and relief issues among genocide survivors and the overwhelming number of returnees. However, most of them work in the same areas of operation and have related interventions.

The study revealed that, local CSOs are taking root in Rwanda in the post genocide period. This is mainly because of the conducive environment provided by the government and the realization that a vibrant civil society can help in bridging the ethnic gap that exists in the country. In contrast some respondents asserted that, the government has provided such an environment due to the international pressure. In Rwanda, there is an ongoing debate between civil society and the
government regarding the autonomy and credibility of CSOs. Community-level women’s associations are said to be taking root and women’s participation in governance and decision making process has drastically improved in the last decade.

4.3 The Role of Civil Society Organizations in Peace building in the post genocide Rwanda

The information below represents the findings on the first objective of the study as obtained from respondents. To give valid information, the researcher compared the respondents’ views with brochures, constitutions of various organizations, policy review papers in workshops and retreats.

According to the respondents, both local and international organizations play a significant an important role in the peace building process in post genocide Rwanda. To ascertain answers on the above, the researcher distributed questionnaires to 78 respondents and a number of responses were given as shown in table 8;

Table 8. The role of civil society organizations in peace building in post genocide Rwanda

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Encouraging unity and reconciliation</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capacity building</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dialogue for peace</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lobbying and spearheading advocacy for justice</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psycho-social rehabilitation</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-economic rehabilitation</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developing a culture of peace</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratization and good governance</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research on peace and conflicts in Rwanda</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>78</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field research 2009
4.3.1 Socio-economic rehabilitation

The 1994 genocide led to massive deaths and displacements of people affecting the country’s social and economic fabric. According to government of Rwanda, the poverty in Rwanda is estimated at 66% in rural areas, 12% in Kigali and 19% in other urban areas\(^88\).

During the study, a government official asserted that, there were two overarching priorities for fostering peace in the post genocide Rwanda; promoting national unity and poverty reduction. He further explained that;

“Poverty, inequality, exclusion and prejudice culminated and structured the violence and other dynamics that fed to the 1994 genocide. It is for this reason that a national reconciliation process in Rwanda was founded on the notion of economic development, equality, participation, tolerance, human rights and rule of law”\(^89\).

According to Uvin, in a post-conflict situation, state capacity to handle economic challenges facing the population is often limited\(^90\). In this regard Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) are perceived to be part of the crucial machinery for implementing development goals.

In line with Uvin’s argument the study established that a number of CSOs in the post genocide Rwanda were engaged in aspects of implementing peaceful change through socio-economic reconstruction and development. The major reasons behind this were reported to include: One, to serve as counterbalance to the state by promoting greater popular participation in social life, two, to provide the entry point for engagement in a situation where government is seen to be incapable to provide social services.

One respondent from Oxfam revealed that, their approach to peace building encompass normalizing unjust situations by helping people to cope with the consequences of globalization and war economies. He further revealed that Oxfam was helping the poor improve their livelihoods by encouraging and facilitating them to form community development projects such

\(^89\)Interview with Kobucye Bob. Head of Civic Education, National Unity and Reconciliation Commission.
as animal rearing. Such development projects were reported to be helping in increasing levels of contact, interaction and communication across geographic, religious, ethnic, cultural and class divides.

Avega in the area of socio-economic rehabilitation focused on genocide widows. To improve the general welfare of the genocide survivors, the organization insisted on promoting solidarity among members of the association as well as upholding the memory of the genocide victims and to fight for justice. In this regard the organization reported to be helping genocide widows by facilitating them to form income generating projects with an aim of enabling them cope with life after the genocide. International Alert, too in the same way was working to ensure that the socio-economic life of the widows and other women is not compromised by rendering help to their projects.

In line with socio-economic rehabilitation, Catholic Relief Service also targeted the most vulnerable groups in the community including the elderly, the disabled and orphaned children. As Rwanda works towards reducing poverty and reconciling its past, CRS reported to have been engaged in development activities in Agriculture, Microfinance and Peace building. CRS also was involved in providing food assistance to the most vulnerable in institutions, and to partner organizations working with children and families affected by HIV and AIDS.

While commending the work of CRS, a local leader from Gasabo reported that;

Gufasha imbabare n’abatishoboye, n’imwemunzira zokubaka amahoro. Bituma imbabare zitiheba, bigatuma banamenya akamaro kubuzima ndetse n’oguhana agaciro”

Translated as;

“Helping the vulnerable and the helpless is a process of making peace. It gives them hope, find live meaningful, but also to see value in each other”.

The study established that many competing socio-economic obstacles faced by the poorest and most vulnerable sections of Rwandan society today are compounded by the inability of the members of communities to engage actively in the local and national decision-making processes that directly affect their lives. Whereas there were reports that CSOs were involved in rehabilitating the socio-economic lives of Rwandans, there were concerns that INGOs often did
not establish strong local partnerships interventions to enhance local ownership which affected the continuity of most of their projects.

4.3.2 Encouraging unity and reconciliation

As a result of the 1994 genocide, Rwandans developed much hatred against each other on the basis of ethnic lines; in fact they started seeing each other as enemies other than people who belong to the same nation. This coincides with Pacheco’s argument when he stated that one of the most devastating legacies of violent conflict is the polarization of social relationships, conditions of insecurity and social mistrust. Hence, extending communication bridges again between the social groups, promoting unity and reconciliation are essential requirements for peace building.

Reconciliation means mutual acceptance of each other by members of formerly hostile groups. Such acceptance includes positive attitudes, but also positive actions that express them, as circumstances allow and require. It requires structures and institutions that promote changed psychological orientation toward the other. The study established that the reconciliation process in Rwanda had taken both judicial and no-judicial strategies. Judicial strategies include the ICTR, national trials and Gacaca trials. Non-judicial strategies include public condemnation of the genocide, commemoration, no mention of ethnicity on identity cards, government of national unity and national commissions.

De la Rey observes that in creating unity and reconciliation civil society must contribute to conciliate the interests of the different groups over the long-term. He adds that “Reconciliation is a discourse which looks beyond the immediate material concerns of physical and infrastructural reconstruction towards issues of social relationships, rights and livelihoods as central to achieving lasting peace” 92. This requires determining the nature of civil society that can drive best mechanisms to consolidating peace and reconciliation within the affected communities.

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Related to Rey’s argument, reconciliation was observed to be on the agenda of Rwanda’s roadmap to building a peaceful society. To enhance the reconciliation process established by Rwandan government, local Civil Society Organizations encouraged members of the community to tell the truth in the process establishing the of Patterns of abuse, to acknowledge that genocide happened, individualization of guilt, recognize that certain actions were wrong and should not have been perpetrated. It was also reported that CSOs were promoting reconciliation by functioning as watchdog agents of change in relation to authorities and empowering weak marginalized groups.

In the process of promoting reconciliation CSOs encouraged local communities to accepted former prisoners and x-combatants who had come out to shan those still harboring genocide ideologies. As a result this had enabled a smooth running of the reconciliation process irrespective of its slowness. The approach taken by CSOs to build peace in Rwanda is in agreement with Gutlove Paula and Thompson Gordon’s view when they said “A key component of social reconstruction is community reconciliation as it leads to the restoration of trust and hope within a community, rises cooperative behaviour and the development of shared values and expectations”93.

Research has shown that often perpetrators endure victimization or other traumatic experiences as part of the cycle of violence. Their unhealed wounds contribute to their actions, sometimes past trauma is fixed and maintained in collective memory; it becomes a chosen trauma that continuously shapes group psychology and behavior. This seems to have been the case with Hutus in Rwanda, who still refer to their experience under Tutsi rule before 1959 (even though it was ultimately under Belgian rule) as slavery. This study notes that, for reconciliation to be successful in the post genocide Rwanda, perpetrators and members of the perpetrator group who may not have engaged in violence also need to heal.

A study carried out in former Yugoslavia indicated that people who engage in intense violence against others are deeply affected by their own actions. The act of killing results in psychological and spiritual woundedness. This is because, in order to kill another person, one must close off

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some of one’s humanity; empathy and compassion must be shut down, at least in relation to the victims, especially when a person engages in repeated acts of intense violence.

It is important to recognise that most dilemmas of promoting reconciliation in Rwanda include persistent divisions across the community—not only between Hutu and Tutsi, but also within each population: between the Hutus who killed and those who didn’t; between Hutu extremists and moderates; between Tutsi who lived in Rwanda their whole lives and those who returned after the genocide; between Franco phones and Anglophones.

To explain the challenge facing the reconciliation process in Rwanda a responded from Catholic Relief Services pointed out that;

“The challenge for genuine reconciliation in post genocide Rwanda is for the entire nation to get out of the genocide shell, create conducive environment for open and frank debates. A volatile reconciliation process led by the state where more powerful organizations like the church is still openly accused by political leaders of complacency or having actively participated in the genocide, presents serious risks”.

The above statement revealed that Rwanda had achieved little reconciliation due to the fact that most of the people still mirror narratives of impunity and violence. This suggests that instead of reconciliation being seen in a linear fashion, it should be seen in a dynamic non-linear relationship. Thus, what is needed is not merely co-existence but a place where societies can share the same space and the same society without harbouring deep resentment.

Despite the differences in emphasis attached to reconciliation and contribution to peace, all respondents concluded that there was no prescriptive solution for all post conflict situations, rather, the need to undertake a balanced process that would in time allow people to heal. This exposed the fact that the overall positive peace building process in Rwanda required facilitating political rehabilitation, but also promoting social, a much deeper and transformational intervention.
4.3.3 Dialogue for peace

One of the most devastating legacies of violent conflict is the polarization of social relationships. The conditions of insecurity contribute to the creation of a lasting social mistrust and lack of dialogue spaces. According to Beatrice, conflict not only destroys buildings—it also negatively affects trust, hope, identity, family and relationships. She identified Peace as a situation of individual satisfaction and well-being which is subject to cohesion between its components. That cohesion is characterized by sharing, mutual assistance and help in the time of adversity. This means that extending communication bridges between the social groups and promoting participation in peace building discourses are essential requirements for social reconciliation. Presently, in Rwanda harmony and social cohesion should no longer be a choice but a condition for the survival of a nation.

Based on the above, all the CSOs studied were working to foster dialogue on conflict related issues in areas of their operation. The researcher found out that indeed several peace clubs were taking root in Kigali and other parts of Rwanda composed of people of all walks of life ranging from x-prisoners, survivors of genocide and women as well as Hutus and Tutsis. To express the value of dialogue, a genocide widow and a member of Avega asserted that; “CSOs were promoting a culture of collaboration in solving problems in their community in a non violent way”

Similarly, another respondent from Never Again stated that their organization was fully dedicated to discussing the challenges and conflicts in the country by involving the youth. Guided by a vision of a nation where youth collaborate as agents of change to achieve sustainable peace and unity, 32 NAR Youth Clubs in secondary schools and universities as well as non-schooling youth had been formed.

In relation to the above, there was a concern from some religious leaders that; the stakeholders in the peace building process needed to consider the experiences and perceptions of the communities under which they work if they were to play a significant part in building sustainable peace. The researcher observed that, dialogues across the huge social fissures such as those that

exist between persons locked into cultures of violence and those working to build cultures of peace, as well as those that run from gender had not acquired much attention by most local CSOs compared to the international ones. This call for endeavors to gather the wisdom of many peoples and their attitude since without this, people’s understanding of the way the process works will always be partial and their normative prescriptions will always be biased.

4.3.4 Research and documentation of conflict in Rwanda

Research and documentation are important tools in any peace building efforts. It helps to establish and document conflict processes and dynamics in any given society. According to Kananga a respondent from Rwanda National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NUR);

“Research helps in forming a basis for making informed decisions and policy formulations. But in the area of peace building, it also helps in establishing society dynamics and challenges which informs the formulation of peace building strategies”95

The silences around which Rwanda’s peace building process must weave are compounded by the lack of relevant empirical clarity on the levels of inter-ethnic cohesion in post genocide Rwanda can be gauged. Eugenia notes that this is partly due to the nebulosity of the concept of cohesion and polarization and partly due to the striking lack of systematic, micro level investigations96. The abundant and growing level of literature on Rwanda tends to neglect the historical perspective of the country’s conflict in favour of trying to explain the Great lakes crises in general and the genocide in particular.

Research and documentation is recommended as the first step for any intervention in any post conflict setting. It shapes the approach methods and tools to be employed in peace building. In Rwanda, both local and international organizations had taken on the role of identifying the unending cause of the conflict in Rwanda through research. This is sought in helping establish existing conflicts, the causes of conflicts, and the achievements that have been made so far in the peace building process.

95 Interview with Kananga, an officer from National Unity and Reconciliation Commission.
It was established that organizations such as International Alert, Avega were doing research on gender relations in the post genocide Rwanda, while Oxfam and CRS focused on the livelihood and vulnerable groups. The goal here was reported that research would help in developing strategies to defuse tensions, based on conflicts and rights violations in key conflict prone areas not only in Kigali, but also throughout the country.

To achieve the above, the respondents further disclosed that, there was an increasing cooperation between national and INGOs but also with regional organizations and the state. In Rwanda, national human rights organizations cooperate with local groups and maintained close links to Amnesty International, Human rights watch. These international ties provided a safer space for local groups to perform their research and monitoring tasks.

### 4.3.5 Capacity building

The study found out that many of the local CSO’s were born out of an emergency context and faced huge problems of capacity to plan and implement peace building initiatives, lacked qualified human resources, vulnerability to government pressures, deficient level of articulation between themselves and with international networks. This also hinder their capacity to create a national civil society’s agenda for peace.

To close the above gaps, organizations such as Oxfam, CRS and international Alert employed comprehensive approach to improve the capacity of local CSOs by facilitating training in conflict management skills. This approach also included skills development in poverty reduction, fighting inequality, exploitation and exclusion. The process was expected to ensure fair access to resources, decision-making processes, and accountability based on a system of social justice which respects fundamental human rights. With such an ambitious programme for reinventing the social, political, and economic structure of Rwanda, it appeared that both local and international CSOs were moving the nation beyond its destructive past and guaranteeing a positive future for citizens.

In the same process of capacity building, Oxfam reported to have been involved in strengthening the existing conflict management structures with training in mediation and land rights. The organization had put up specific sessions seeking to clarify the mediators (Abunzi) role in the
overall land law and the national land policy which they were meant to implement. In the same way, human rights organizations such as LIPRODHOR under their umbrella organization CLADHO had initiated radio programmes sensitizing Rwandans on land issues and on how always to handle land related matters. It was also added that capacity building efforts involved trust building and management skills, technical specialization and participatory methodologies in transforming communities.

Organizations such as Oxfam, CRS, and International Alert based their capacity building programmes on development projects that directly addresses the connections between conflict and poverty. Respondents from these organizations stated that poverty eradication programs could only be seen as a conflict management tool since it leads to greater livelihood sustainability in communities by enhancing equitable access to resources.

The role of religious organizations, in particular CRS was reported to be significant especially in the education sector. It was stated that, Religious based organizations were playing an important role in social service delivery, particularly in areas where the presence of local CSOs was weak. This indicates that indeed many CSOs in the post genocide Rwanda are quite resolute to building peace for they have a multi dimensional approach and their focuse to bring a positive change.

4.3.6 Psycho-social rehabilitation

The genocide in Rwanda was such a brutal event done on a large scale that many people were victims. Trauma healing is a relevant aspect of peace building; it is ultimately about developing or restoring healthy human relationships, implies mood improvement, creating inner peace, decrease in isolation, anger, bitterness, and a decrease in feelings of animosity and hatred toward others. Today more than a decade later cases of trauma still transcend the lives of Rwandans particularly the survivors. As Herman noted; a traumatized society can undergo “psychosocial degeneration” in which a large fraction of the society loses its sense of basic trust or faith in their society or the wider world. Feelings of rage and revenge often oscillate with feelings of helplessness, humiliation, and victimization.

97 Herman J (1997:63). Trauma Recovery. The Aftermath of Violence-from domestic abuse to political terror, Zed books
As shown by the responses from the field a number of charity organizations were involved in addressing psychosocial issues among Rwandan population. To build peace, both local and international organizations reported that their priority had been put on building partnerships with government through encouraging collective memory of genocide victims to overcome the history of war in the country.

A respondent from AVEGA a local genocide widows’ organization stated that ‘the organization advocates for psychosocial healing recourse because it is key to facilitating healing by afflicted population’. This argument reaffirms Hart’s statement; "Rebuilding society implies a restoration of the people in social, psychological and spiritual ways. If these forces are not a part of the rebuilding of society at the end of war and in the post-war context, we just put the lid on a boiling cauldron that will eventually blow off because the pain, anger and fear of war were never dealt with."

The CSOs’ psycho-social approaches to peace building highlights their commitment to engage mechanisms to restore interpersonal and inter-communal relations. This approach, like all others was reported not to be championed in isolation, but rather complimented other aspects of post conflict reconstruction intended to building a sustainable peace. For Avega, the widows and orphans of genocide victims were the focus of psycho-social interventions.

### 4.3.7 Democratization and good governance

Part of the respondents (3%) reported that, the genocide in Rwanda was due to leadership that was not people centered. Unlike during the pre-genocide period, the post genocide CSOs reported to be aggressively involved in issues of governance by demanding accountability from the state, influencing government policies and demanding for participatory democracy. CSOs also reported to be participating in other democratic actions, including as observers of parliamentary and presidential elections. However, CSOs had not mobilised themselves to take the opportunity offered by the draft law on local NGOs to participate more actively in the process of public policy and decision-making.

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To enhance good governance, International Organizations such as Oxfam, International Alert, CRS targeted local leaders with capacity building programs to strengthen their knowledge on issues of respect for human rights. While acknowledging the role of CSOs in leadership and good governance, a government official from Ministry of Local Government stated that:

“CSOs have contributed to governance from the bottom-up by creating partnerships between CBOs and local government units by installing principles of participation and consultation, and by participating in peace building activities”

The study established that, the idea behind CSOs involvement in democratization and good governance was to improve prospects and circumstances of people to address issues detrimental to society at large or to particular sectors. Ideally, this involves promoting pluralism and diversity, motivating citizens to engage in civic life, providing services and creating an alternative space from the state for reflection on key social, political and economic issues.

Despite the increasing role of civil society in the democratization in the post genocide Rwanda, there were reports of a crucial lack of knowledge about the characteristics, roles and impact of civil society towards positive social change. This knowledge is fundamental in informing the strategies and activities of advancing sustainable democracy and human rights. This then calls for a deliberate move towards creating independent civil society that along with government will strengthen good governance.

In his classic study on civil society in Kenya, Ndegwa challenged the notion that civil society is uniformly progressive in opposing the excesses of the African state and in advancing the process of democratization. He questioned whether the popular drive toward democratization in Africa is founded on inherently democratic values within civil society and genuine grassroots representation, or rather on civil society’s reactions to external pressures. Similarly, Brysk asserted that civil society can only impact the democratization process when it is itself democratized. To be democratic, she observed, civil society must be representative, accountable,

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pluralistic, and must respect human rights\textsuperscript{100}. This suggests that civil society’s democratizing role is diminished when it is undemocratic and fails to observe democratic norms.”

These general observations can also be applied to civil society in Rwanda. An examination of civil society groups in Rwanda revealed the following: the opposition of civil society to the Rwandan state was not uniformly progressive. Rwandan civil society revealed signs of internal struggles and demonstrated a need for further democratization.

Due to a lack of exposure to concepts such as democracy and empowerment, many CSOs had not had the opportunity to recognize the potential or mechanisms for, community action. Those most in need of active engagement in processes that bring about change at a local level currently lack the ability to have their voices heard. However, on a general analysis CSOs in Rwanda were progressively becoming a critical force in the movement for democratization and had the potential to play a crucial role in furthering this process.

\textbf{4.3.8 Lobbying and spearheading advocacy for justice}

Lobbying and spearheading advocacy for justice is yet a role played by CSOs in a bid to promote peace in the post genocide Rwanda. Local CSOs such as LIPRODHOR were playing a leading role in the area of advocacy by articulating interests of social groups, creating communication channels to raise public awareness and facilitating the inclusion of issues in the public agenda.

It was further established that advocacy included campaigns to influence policies that affect the social, political and economic development of people. In regard to this, common issues upon which advocacy efforts often focus include health, education, culture, human rights, environment, gender, and the marginalization of groups such as women, the disabled, the elderly, and the young. The assessment, however, indicated that civil society groups in Rwanda rarely take an active role in shaping government policy, even in areas of direct concern to them. At the same time, they often take on a role of helping to implement government initiatives, and remain highly dependent upon the government for authorization.

As with most politically volatile post-conflict countries, civil action through advocacy has been limited in post-genocide Rwanda. Advocacy work is generally just evolving, and only taking a

non-confrontational approach. The main forms advocacy used is through petitions and memorandums to government or concerned parties, and to a small extent, publishing them in the media. More conventional advocacy tactics such as public debates, mass mobilization, protests and demonstrations, boycotts, are not used and are perceived as confrontational. However this cannot influence government policy and practice in sensitive issues such as civil, political and socioeconomic rights, where the government may strongly hold contrary ideas.

To strengthen the advocacy campaign, local CSOs reported to have created networks with international CSOs in bringing specific conflict issues on the international agenda. Organizations such as International Alert advocated for the need to adopt a people-based peace process putting much emphasis on the special role of women in peace building. Its main advocacy instrument was to continuously provide information and lobbying for a bottom-up approach.

However, some respondents reported the difficulty of assessing the effectiveness of their role in advocacy. They further stressed the fact that even achieving policy change was not necessarily a measure of broader change in people’s lives. A respondent from LIPRODHOR suggested that one way they knew that their advocacy work was being effective, was when numbers of people reporting cases of injustices to their office increased and the constitutional amendment to abolish death penalty. This type of indicator needs to be thought through as it was pointed out by some local residents that people do not normally necessarily know what organizations are advocating for.

Lessons emerging from respondents were that, the broader impact of advocacy rests on wider goals of empowerment and the generation of a democratic public space which was still lacking in Rwanda. To explain why CSOs have not been successful in their advocacy a district official from Kicukiro district reported that;

“Perhaps more importantly, most local CSOs were and remain institutionally too weak to conceive and design a strong agenda and follow it through with a strong voice, zeal and confidence to influence Government. Moreover, many CSOs lack strong constituencies which would move Government-at least politically, lack a culture of transparency and spirit of networking which would amplify their voice”.

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4.3.9 Building a culture of peace

The genocide in Rwanda affected civic life at all levels changing attitudes and behavior of individuals, shifting social perceptions between groups, shifting power relations within and between communities and society. It was established that, for many years Rwanda had been characterized by a culture of war where mistrust, absence of dialogue, fear, excessive competition, indifference to nature, structural and direct violence pervaded most peoples’ lives. With the support of the government and international agencies CSOs had engaged themselves in teaching the values of peace in the post genocide Rwanda.

The study established that the idea of building a culture of peace was based on the fact that peace in communities that suffered violent conflict would only be promoted if individuals, groups were able to manage conflict in a constructive and non-violent manner. The culture of peace was seen as an alternative to violent culture and intends to promote transparent, reconciliatory, participative and dialogical society. However, as observed by the researcher, what was missing in most endeavors to building the culture of peace were the opportunities to hear what the voiceless, the marginalized, the excluded had to say. Hence, there was still a need to tap into deeper wells of wisdom since all human beings have their own survival strategies and everyone can contribute to techniques for the peaceful resolution of conflict.

According to Adams building a culture of peace is a key civil society function that supports the practice of democratic attitudes and values within society, realized through the active participation in associations, networks or democratic movements. The objective is to promote attitude change within society toward peaceful conflict resolution and reconciliation. To enhance this, CSOs that were studied were involved in activities such as: reconciliation initiatives, peace education through different channels such as radio or TV, theatre, school books, poetry festivals and peace camps. The overall aim of building the culture of peace was reported to be Joint vision building for a future peaceful Rwanda.

Generally, most Civil Society Organizations had initiatives to support attitude change of adversary groups as part of fostering a culture of peace. However, the practical problem was that

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most of the culture of peace activities were often too sporadic, lacked coordination and had failed to create a critical mass movement that is needed for change.

4.4 The state-Civil Society Relationship in the peace building process in the post genocide Rwanda

Civil society cannot be analyzed in isolation from the state. This is because; CSOs and the state are mutually dependent on each other. The state provides the legal framework for CSOs, and may assure rules of engagement and procedures for consultations. In the same way, civil society can contribute to the state as a link between state and citizens, in promoting democratic values, building institutions, producing information and ideas, and building social capital. However, in conflict affected states, this relationship could also take different form and is often much narrower.

The state-civil society relationship in the post genocide Rwanda as established by this study could be summarized as follows;

### Table 9: State civil society organizations relationship

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-existent</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limited</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extensive</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>78</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field research 2009

The relationship between CSOs and the state as demonstrated by the research findings is considered to be moderate. It was reported that for the last decade, CSOs had tried to establish avenues of engaging the state. With peace secured, state civil society relations had slowly resumed and were learning how to co-exist.

The study established that to enhance the peace building process in the post genocide Rwanda, both the state and CSOs were working as partner. According to the respondents’ views, the growth and development of CSOs depends on good will of the state by providing the necessary space, an enabling policy and legal environment. While some respondents were of the view that
the government was quite oppressive of the growth and development of Civil Society in Rwanda, the majority thought otherwise.

A respondent from Oxfam G.B reported that, ever since the organization resumed its work after the genocide, they had close collaboration with the government especially the local government structures. The organization had been involved in training mediators (Abunzi), the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission staff, the Center for Conflict Management on how to enhance government programmes in reconciliation and poverty eradication.

Another important finding was that, the CSOs in Rwanda were serving as a bridge between government institutions and the socially excluded and vulnerable constituencies. It was also reported that the encouragement of ordinary people by most CSOs to get involved in government peace building and decision-making processes as seen in Gacaca being an integral state-civil society relationship.

Another positive indicator of a good relationship was that the government was fully supportive of the growth of civil society in Rwanda. The government recognized civil society as an effective partner in service delivery and in the development process as evidenced by the various government policies such as Poverty Reduction Strategy, the Vision 2020, the National Framework on Strengthening Good Governance, and the National Gender Policy. Furthermore, the involvement of CSOs in the African Peer Review process by government indicated a positive state-civil society relationship.

The progressive development ushered in by the government of national unity was recognized as a key facilitative factor to a good and conducive environment for civil society to flourish in Rwanda. Indeed some respondents commended governments’ tremendous development efforts in the areas of education, health, and telecommunication, achieved after genocide. This created an enabling policy environment, which is a prerequisite for the civil society to exist and function effectively in areas such as advocacy on human rights research and documentation on peace and security.

The respondents also reported the work of CSOs in training the mediators (Abunzi) and local leaders in negotiation, mediation and community based trauma healing services which would
otherwise have been done by government as an indication of a good working relationship between the CSOs and government institutions in Rwanda. Other efforts mentioned to demonstrate state civil society partnership included the involvement of civil society in national events such as general elections and the constitution making process, which accorded civil society the opportunity to participate and influence key issues relating to governance of the country. Government’s good will for CSOs to exist could also be also demonstrated through promotion of freedoms of association.

The study established that, state Civil Society Organizations relationship in Rwanda was to some extent limited and characterized by suspicion. A respondent from LIPRODHOR asserted that, there was a growing apprehension on the distinction between CSOs and opposition political parties. Such tendencies are an indication of the political tensions between Civil Society Organizations and the ruling elites.

To explain the above Atuobi’s findings on the role of Civil society in Liberia indicate that in practice, co-operation between the state and civil society in any post conflict situation is difficult to achieve because the post-war government may be too suspicious of civil society groups. Civil society groups on their part may find themselves too weak, too traumatized or too divided to be effective. Such state of affairs does not augur well for the consolidation of peace to avoid relapse into conflict.

The study further established that the history of Rwanda is one characterized by mistrust. The traditional relations of mutual help and stability had been undermined by the politics of impunity and patronage as well as genocide ideologies not only in the ruling elites but also among the Civil Society. This notion means that lack of trust constitutes an enormous constraint on the emergency of Civil Society Organizations as it penetrates its development and therefore raptures their relationship with government. To explain this, a government official asserted that “the government was cautious of anything that is built on suspicion as it may endanger the success that had been witnessed”.

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102 Samuel Atuobi (2010). State-Civil Society Interface in Liberia’s Post-Conflict Peacebuilding; KAIPTC Occasional Papers
The study also found out that, there was a lot of debate about whether and how to aggregate interests of disparate groups so as to strengthen the ability of civil society to speak with a stronger voice. The situation explains a series of factors that portray Rwandans limited engagement in policy influence and concern. In view of this it was disclosed that the platform for civil society had been formed to bridge the gaps of limited engagement on policy and the concern of fear, unfamiliarity, lack of knowledge about civics and self censorship.

Part of the respondents (4%), yet mentioned that the state civil society relationship in Rwanda was nonexistent. It was argued that, the government could not find it comfortable to give civil society what many donors spontaneously value, in terms of diversity of opinion and counter power. This was further maintained by one respondent who asserted that in the past few years new laws had been formulated to constrain civil society practices and free speech as well as administrative harassment of media.

The study also found out that, there was a drastic increase in unwillingness by the state to allow CSOs intervene in areas of social and political engineering and most importantly good governance. It was reported that CSOs could only be considered important when government needed support from the international community and where CSOs can put pressure on the international community. There were also accusations that government invitation for CSOs to participate in policy dialogues was selective and did not attempt to ensure that CSOs are fairly represented. All these confirm that state-CSOs relations are not at its best and therefore needs re-thinking.
4.5 Challenges facing Civil Society Organizations in peace building process

CSO dynamics change in the transition out of conflict. The transition poses new challenges, both in terms of CSO-government relations, and the new skills and capacities that CSOs need to function in a changing environment. As pointed out by Manor a critical challenge for countries recovering from conflict is thus to ensure that the state is capitalizing on the experience of CSOs, while gradually building its own institutions and capacity that can co-exist with a vibrant civil society. Below are the responses on the challenges facing CSOs in the peace building process;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>frequency</th>
<th>percentages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suspicion among peace building stakeholders</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persistent ethnic and genocide ideologies</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial and human resource capacity</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High levels of poverty among the population</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cases of trauma among genocide survivors</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of accountability</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of civic culture</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiteracy</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of common vision and unity</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strict legal operating environment</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>78</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field research 2009

4.5.1 Suspicion

Considering respondents’ views majority of the respondents (20%) pointed out suspicion as the biggest challenge encountered by the Civil Society Organizations in the peace building process. To explain how suspicion was a challenge one respondent reported that;

“Suspicion had created differences in ideology, strategies and mandates among CSOs and other peace building actors. This leads to limited interactions on matters of peace and conflict resolution”.

The study established that at the operational level diverse interests, strategies and mandate scan lead to mistrust and suspicion among Civil Society Organizations. This is a characteristic of a weak and unfocused civil society which portrays lack of proper approach in bringing back peace to the country and healing the wounds of its bad historical past.
The study also established that the suspicion among the different CSOs was due to competition for resources and information as well as social grounds. It was observed that, some organizations could be branded pro-or anti government on the basis of whether their founders or chief executive officers were Tutsi or Hutu. Suspicion was also said to be as a result of some CSOs having maintained links with forces opposed to the government.

In addition, the researcher discovered that Anglophone-francophone divide was also another source of suspicion between CSOs. This finding rimes with Kibala and Maina’s findings during their research on civil society in Rwanda; “the Anglophone led CSOs were often seen as enemy of francophone led organizations as they are associated with the ruling echelons of the RPF who mostly came from Uganda”.

Due to high level of suspicion among CSOs, the study also established that their ability and willingness to provide support to each other in times of crisis was limited, a typical example cited was when LIPRODHOR received no support from other CSOs when it was accused by government of spreading genocide ideology.

4.5.2 Restrictive operating legal environment

The study established that whereas the legal environment in which CSOs operate in Rwanda is supportive of civil society, the legal framework consist multiple restrictive laws, which are implemented by different government ministries, agencies and departments. The diverse and sometimes overlapping laws present difficulties for the government in developing harmonized, systematic and coordinated plans and approaches to civil society.

In Rwanda, the right to free association is enshrined in Article 33 of the Constitution stating that ‘Everyone shall have the right to form associations for whatever purpose’\textsuperscript{103}. However, these rights are obstructed by prohibitions against unregistered groups, complex registration procedures, and vague grounds for denial, re-registration requirements, and barriers for international organizations. Such a situation undermines the civil society sector and creates a climate of fear and insecurity for groups which have not yet received legal status.

\textsuperscript{103} The republic of Rwanda (2003) National Constitution
It was reported that government agencies that regulate the NGO sector create intrusive supervisory mechanisms which are in many cases beyond judicial review. The regulatory agencies have virtually limitless powers including the authority to revoke registration status and dissolve organizations which suspected of misconduct or mismanagement or participating in unlawful purposes which are contrary to national or public interest. Under these circumstances, participating in local Civil Society Organizations entails serious personal risk since NGO members can be imprisoned as a result of their connection to any “unlawful” organization.

4.5.3 Persistent ethnic and genocide ideologies

Rwandan society is still characterized by negative ethnic ideologies. It was established that, there were Rwandans resolute on transforming and constructing the country and those who still nurse hatred and spreading it. This had continued to widen the gap between the ethnic groups. Thus, even though CSOs were trying to bridge the gap between the different ethnic groups by putting in place dialogue spaces and peace clubs the environment characterized by such ill ideologies, still hindered a sustainable success on reconciliation.

It was reported that while ethnic divisions were being challenged through government policies, new divisions between survivors and perpetrators of the genocide, between different sorts of returnees conditioned by factors such as the countries they returned from were emerging. In addition, government officials expressed concern that, not only were the genocide ideologies propagated by the local citizens but also Civil Society Organizations.

The above findings resonate with Kevin’s findings “historically, civil society in Rwanda has consisted of groups engaged in identity politics and power. Political allegiance has been built and maintained according to ethnicity and the result was genocide of unprecedented scale involving the majority of citizens either killing or being killed”104. This implies that the struggle to move beyond ethnic duality is dependent not on the reconstruction of civil society instead, but rather building a society where all members of the state are free to interact, dissent and promote different spheres within the state and globally. If ethnic identity in Rwanda is also constructed

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and manipulated even within the civil society, then the task for Rwanda is to deconstruct that identity allegiance and transfer it to a healthier society based on the whole rather than the group.

As regards the above, government officials expressed strong disapproval of any organizations or institution that were quick to jump to the defence of Civil Society Organizations either local or International accused of propagating negative ideologies before establishing the truth behind government charges.

The challenge in Rwanda is that, the hearts and minds of many Rwandans were ravaged by the genocide and their healing is as critical a need as the reconstruction of burnt out towns or villages. The need for assistance to the antagonists to get beyond their past violence and develop a new vision for a better future remains a critical factor. In the aftermath of 1994 genocide, there still remains a big challenge of reversing the negative relationship dynamics involving functionalized identity groups who have to live in close proximity to each other. All this means that, there still exists a problem of focusing on reconciliation to create new perceptions and explore new shared experiences and change key relationship dynamics in the conflict system.

At an attitudinal level, the persistent ethnic ideologies are unfavorable to the peace building process. They result from protagonists’ inability to think optimistically, distorted vision, restricted options, misattribution of motives, stereotyping and polarization. To build sustainable peace in Rwanda, CSOs have a continuing task of providing attitudinal and behavioral alternatives to these negative processes since they tend to be the breeding grounds for more direct violence. In particular, there is need for creative analytical problem solving processes and conflict transformation. It is especially vital to think of ways in which the quality of relationships within and between groups may be enhanced to make communities more resilient and reducing power asymmetries.

4.5.4 Lack of financial and human resource capacity

The study established that many CSOs operating in Rwanda especially local ones lacked the necessary financial capacity to sustain their activities. Most of them depend on foreign donations and operate on small budgets. Lamboune notes that “in cases where CSOs involved in peace work lack expertise, it contributes to a degree of cynicism of their activities, especially where
they are not organically rooted among the grassroots population\textsuperscript{105}. She adds that foreign dependency has often prompted governments to institute control over the CSOs by regulating its activities and public accountability. This implies that CSOs autonomy and mandate can often be affected by the overriding need to survive in a highly competitive funding environment.

Related to Lamboume’s statement, the study established that in some instances the Rwandan government accuses Civil Society Organizations of complicity and manipulation by foreign donors. The dependency on foreign funding often also raised questions on their credibility and independence. This means that even when the state civil society relationship was getting better, there was still need for continued ways to strengthen constructive engagement with each other.

One of the key problems leading to lack of financial and human resource capacity among CSOs in Rwanda was reported to be poor organizational programme structures and designs. Due to weak technical and fiduciary capacity among local CSOs, donors have low confidence in them and tend to concentrate their financing on a few privileged organizations with higher capacity.

Local CSOs believed INGOs have greater technical and financial capacity. In fact the entire respondents shared this view as many gave highest praise to projects implemented by INGOs; “The most innovative approaches and participatory methodologies are mostly implemented by INGOs”. Because of this, INGOs with more elaborate fiduciary procedures and higher legitimacy among donors tend to manage most of the funding.

Generally lack of human capacity was identified as one of the key challenge facing contemporary Rwanda cutting across all sectors including civil society. However, this was attributed to the genocide. The shortage of skilled human capital adversely affects service delivery and disabled the different sectors from complimenting each other’s efforts.

**4.5.5 High levels of poverty among the population**

Overwhelming majority of Rwandans continue to suffer from extreme poverty; about two-thirds of the entire population lives on less than $1 per day. Such poverty deters engagement in any activity that is directly productive. According to a study done by IRDP Poverty was cited as

\textsuperscript{105} Lambourne Wendy. Post-conflict peace building: meeting Human Needs For Justice and Reconciliation. Peace, conflict and development -Issue, Four, April, 2004
being the basis for conflicts in Rwanda\textsuperscript{106}. This argument was put forward to justify involvement of civil populations in genocide because political authorities promised them that they would occupy the lands of the victims and take over their property.

In response to these perceived needs, many organizations based on government’s policies and programs had tried their level best to fight poverty. However, the study identified that, initiatives to reduce poverty were scattered, not coordinated and failed to create local impact. Some of the beneficiaries of the studied organizations asserted that;

“\textit{Instead of poverty reduction programs benefiting the targeted constituencies, it is the project coordinators and initiators who have become rich}. The lack of basic needs has hindered peace building initiatives to yield the desired results.

Many of the poverty linked factors that fuelled conflict in Rwanda’s past such as land, unemployment, under-development, ignorance are still present and are still liable to lead to violence. This calls for a better coordinated effort by all peace building actors to make the population realize and improve their welfare. Most importantly this would include ensuring that government policies such as Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy (EDPRS), Poverty reduction Strategy are well implemented by putting in place clear monitoring and advocacy strategies focusing on all levels of administration.

\textbf{4.5.6 Lack of common vision and unity}

Some of the respondents reported lack of mechanisms to bring CSOs together on a common platform or to facilitate communication. The lack of common vision affects the level of coordination among the numerous organizations of civil society. The link between national-level groups and local grassroots organizations was also observed to be insufficient in most sectors which carries a risk of possible exclusion of critical voices from the local community.

Lack of coordination of actions between the CSOs limits their ability to network, free flowing communication, duplication of efforts and wastes resources which affects their greater social impact. The need for greater cooperation was echoed in similar comments from all the 78 respondents. A respondent from never Again added that;

\textsuperscript{106} IRDP (2003:19). Sustaining Peace in Rwanda: Voice of the People
“We have not learnt to work together. We need to develop a sense of common project, building up on everyone’s strengths and not fearing competition”

As regards responding to root causes of conflict, a fundamental problem among CSOs in the post genocide Rwanda has been lack of institutional framework and a well co-ordinated approach to conflict management. Interventions by government and non-governmental actors to address issues of conflict in the country are not up to date and are not conflict sensitive. As a result, most actors engage on ad hoc basis that are reactionary in nature. Lack of norms, values and principles to guide interventions, has in certain situations exacerbated conflicts.

4.5.7 Persistent cases of trauma among genocide survivors

The genocide in Rwanda happened on a large scale affecting every aspect of human life, what happened still lingers in the minds of many, the mass grave yards, the overwhelming number of widows and orphans can live to tell. Some of the respondents gave the view that violence, perceived injustice and negative stereotyping in Rwanda had combined over extended periods of time to make many people lose hope and success. It was disclosed that those who suffered unjustified violent attacks were experiencing unending fear, recurring trauma which undermines the possibility of developing renewed trust in their victimizers and inhibits any true acceptance or eventual integration with them. This fact reduces the possibility of attaining a desired goal of enhancing sustainable peace by both local and international organizations as well as Rwandan government.

To explain the psychosocial effects of genocide one respondent asserted that;

“N‘ubwo imyaka irenga icumi nyumayitsembwoko nitsembatsemba, ihohoterwa abatutsi beretswe bituma abacitsekwicumu benshi bakomezakwitinya, bakomejekwiyanga ndetse nokwanga isi nikiremwamuntu n’acyane uwaba atarumwe muribo”

Translated as;

“The impact of intense violence on Tutsi during the genocide has continued to impact on the lives of survivors in an enormous way to the extent that even more than a decade after the genocide, many still feel vulnerable, the world looks dangerous to them, and other people, especially those outside their group”.

82
Since identity is rooted at least in part of group membership, the traumatized people in Rwanda are not only survivors (those Tutsis who lived in Rwanda during the genocide), but also those Tutsis who returned to Rwanda to devastated families, communities, and indeed their entire group. The sense of vulnerability and the perception of the world and other people as dangerous increase the likelihood that, without corrective experiences, former victims will become perpetrators. They are likely to be sensitive to new threat, in case of any new threat or conflict they may strike out believing that they need to defend themselves even when violent self-defense is not necessary. This self-protective violence seems especially likely when former victims live with and are surrounded by the group at whose hands they suffered such extreme violence and when there is not yet the sense that justice has been done.

4.5.8 Lack of civic culture among Rwandans

The respondents’ views indicate that Rwandans in the post genocide period lack civic culture. The study established that the general lack of civic culture among the Rwandan population had affected the level of membership of local citizens to CSOs. In their views two respondents from two human rights organizations (LIPRODHOR, NAR) urged that, many people in Kigali do not know much about their rights and were not conscious about them at all. The researcher also found out that, not only were the citizen unconscious about their rights, also most leaders in Kigali did not know most of the rights of the people that they lead.

Lack of an informal and participatory culture suggests that too much reliance is placed upon hierarchical leadership. Though the formal political institutions of democracy exist in Rwanda and though there is a promising political infrastructure, a system of political parties, pressure groups and an underlying set of attitudes that would regulate the operation of these institutions in a democratic direction are missing. To reveal why many people in Kigali do not want to associate with private civic organizations one local resident reported that, it is because they lack trust in them and that they consider some Civil Society Organizations to be arms of colonialists who want to keep exploiting them. To improve the civic culture of t Rwandans, there is need for confidence building so as to instill trust in the local population about the values and importance of developing a civic culture.
4.5.9 Illiteracy

The respondent’s views acknowledged that, Rwandan society including Kigali the Capital was still characterized by illiteracy. One respondent reported that, the past regimes had denied most Rwandans the right to education basing on their ethnic affiliations or area of origin only favouring the tribes men to the president. Today Rwanda faces the challenge of high illiteracy levels especially among women and girls. A respondent from CRS explained that;

“Ubujiji n’umwanziwamahoro n’amajambere; ubujiji butuma umuntu ahorayigunze ntagusab’ana, ndetsebigatuma ahora inyumayibirimunsi nomugihugu”

Translated as;

“Illiteracy is an enemy to peace and development; it makes an individual remain isolated from the rest and the world at large, because uneducated person is never informed”.

Another respondent from Kicukiro added that,

Ubujiji niyo sokoy’ubukene, kandibutuma abantu bibanda kumyumvire nimitwarize mibi. Kuko umuntu utize ntiyagira icyoyimenyera kandi bigatuma ahora atekerereza nukwemerera mumateka”

Translated as

“Illiteracy perpetuates poverty and makes one maintain ill beliefs. Since an illiterate person cannot know for himself, it makes them thinking and believing in their historical past”.

The above responses mean that, building peace in an environment characterized by illiteracy often becomes hard and takes long. Even though organizations such as CRS had come out to help part of Rwandan population acquire education the challenges still remain as there were still cases of high school dropouts especially among the females.

The lack of education limits the ability of people to access various sources of information and limits the capacity to interact with formal institutions of the state. The respondents pointed out that, if sustainable peace is to be achieved in the post genocide Rwanda, illiteracy levels should
be reduced by encouraging all Rwandans to take their children to school but also incorporating peace education in the school curriculum.

4.5.10 Lack of accountability practices

Accountability practices and self-assessment among CSOs helps to determine the available resources and in determining capacity building priorities for the organization, promotes team building and consensus among staff and its constituencies. However, the respondents’ responses indicate that lack of accountability practices still characterized a sizable number of CSOs in Rwanda. This reflected an absence of CSO’s baseline assessment which in turn affects their capacity to implement advocacy programmes and the peace building initiatives.

The study also established that, transparency in decision-making and financial issues, and internal procedures that respect gender equity, democratic practices, or tolerance of diversity were rare among most CSOs. CSO’s structures and practices tend to be hierarchical and strong individuals (rather than collectives) often dominate. Elections of office bearers and steering committees tend to be biannual or tri-annual, yet some CSOs had their elections long-delayed.

One respondent from Kicukiro observed that, “accountability and transparency of CSOs to local communities had always been inadequate”. It was further contended that, majority of local CSOs were more accountable and responsive to donors rather than to communities they serve. Concerns about downward accountability vis--vis communities were raised. Lack of transparency was also reported in the selection criteria of communities to be supported.

The findings suggest that Rwandan CSOs were still weak and lacked proper self-regulation mechanisms. This is because, in circumstances where oversight and self-regulation mechanisms are weak, fraudulent CSOs can take advantage of communities and beneficiaries. Lack of accountability to constituencies or beneficiaries by some Civil Society Organizations as reported by the respondents in turn disempowers local communities and civic engagement.

Some of the local leaders and residents reported that due to lack of accountability and transparency, corruption, nepotism and injustices had pervaded some CSOs. Corruption was mainly reported in the procurement process of equipments and other things like inputs for projects aimed at dealing with income generation.
The most important way to increase the accountability of CSOs as advanced by the respondents is to bring donors and beneficiaries much closer together, but at the same time involving beneficiaries in performance assessment. In this case assessments should be based on the subjective opinions of the various stakeholders—donors, staff, boards, beneficiaries and outside evaluators—in contrast to the formalistic ‘log frames’ of donors.

Another mechanism advanced was the process known as ‘social audit’, in which the various stakeholders should get involved in negotiating and periodically assessing a set of criteria through which the CSOs or project should be judged.

To fulfill the above, however, CSOs must grapple with clarifying their legitimacy as social actors by ensuring that their ability to offer accountabilities to key stakeholders as a means contributing to the public good is undisputed. Dealing with these issues will help CSOs define more clearly their missions and values and position them to answer questions of legitimacy and can help mobilize public support.

**Conclusion**

This chapter presented the analysis and interpretation of research findings. It drew the information from the responses of the respondents and other methods of data collection as outlined under the methodology. The findings in this chapter indicate that, CSOs have played a significant role in the peace building process in Rwanda. But was also evident that several challenges still exist which limits their effective contribution.
CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE STUDY

5.0 Introduction
This chapter represents a summary, conclusion and recommendations of the research findings.

5.1 The role played by civil society organizations in building sustainable peace in the post genocide Rwanda
The study established that, many CSOs in Rwanda were engaged in aspects of implementing peaceful change through socio-economic reconstruction and development. This followed the recognition of the deep-rooted nature of conflict and its links to development and poverty. Issues of culture, human needs, and fault lines of the human condition such as gender had been mainstreamed in the peace debate in Rwanda and are recognized as crucial.

CSOs were involved in bridging the gap between development and peace by helping citizens form income generating projects to narrow the levels of inequality. This relationship between development and peace in some instances intends to reinforce people’s livelihood and reduce poverty and social classes that are a source of conflict.

It was also established that that some CSOs were engaged in enhancing dialogue for peace. This involves creating spaces for interactions on challenges and conflicts in Rwanda to groom a generation that can grow in the culture of negotiation and co-existence. This finding was in agreement with what the Institute of Research and Dialogue for Peace writes that “dialogue spaces have been created at different levels providing a unique platform for the open discussion on a variety of issues related to life in the post genocide era107.”

CSOs reported their involvement in capacity building initiatives targeting government structures with training in conflict management. However, the study established that the structures were still weak and full of mistrust. This followed the fact that people had failed to fully accept each other, lacked collaboration mutual trust. This implied that all peace building events in Rwanda still require the efforts of all stakeholders.

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107IRDP (200:142), A Time for Peace: Canvassing the Views of Rwanda’s People in the Search for Lasting Peace. A draft for Inter Peace.
Furthermore, the study established that a number of CSOs both local and international were helping in rehabilitating the victims of genocide. This effort compliments other aspects of post war peace building interventions ranging from material resource to psycho-social rehabilitation. This comes from the conviction that psycho-social support can renew trust to build long lasting peace in Rwanda.

Majority of CSOs were involved in encouraging unity and reconciliation as a pillar of peace building in the post genocide era. This followed the fact that, the genocide happened on a large scale that the social set up of Rwandan society was paralyzed. There emerged grave ethnic divisions that required much effort from different stakeholders to harmonize especially building spaces that would enable Rwandans to heal and forgive each other.

The study established that CSOs were performing advocacy function with an aim of influencing government policies, demanding for accountability. However, the CSOs’ advocacy role seemed not well streamlined and that little had been achieved. This calls for proper planning for advocacy work in a broader sense by understanding where change can happen and the arenas and levels at which strategies should be redrawn. To promote change strategies such as; consciousness raising, social mobilization, leadership development using the media, building coalitions, networks and social movements were still needed.

CSOs in the post genocide Rwanda are involved in building the culture of peace as a means of creating change and build sustainable peace. However, there was a general concern that, CSOs peace building tools required to be reviewed regularly to determine the magnitude of their impact in peace work. This approach was reported not to address issues of power, in particular the predominance of patriarchal attitudes towards women emanating from traditional practices.

There was a general agreement on the centrality of civil society in enhancing and consolidating democracy and good governance. Because of its crucial role in transitions from war to peace, civil society in Rwanda has come to be seen as the vital link between the state and the population. However, what was contested among respondents was how effective and durable the actions of civil society would be, and which actions were most likely to contribute to democratic consolidation.
It was established that many obstacles still hinder the progress towards strengthening democracy. These include mutual distrust between the ethnic group; the presence of Rwandans in prison awaiting trial on genocide charges; the absence of democratic traditions and culture; state control over the media and information flows; the passivity of grassroots associations vis-à-vis the regime; the large gap between national-level civil society associations in Kigali and civil society organizations outside the capital; and lack of institutional capacity due to the decimation of large numbers of educated and trained staff as a result of war and genocide aggravated by widespread poverty.

5.2 Relationship between CSOs and the state in the peace building process

The findings were that the working relationship between CSOs and government are relatively positive and there was a general agreement among the respondents that CSOs were taking root in Rwanda. This brings hope that the peace building process in the country is progressing and that positive results may in future be realized.

The study established that some CSOs were working with the government and there had been links with the government peace building structures and institutions such as the NURC, CCM and the mediators, indicating some level of complimenting each other in the peace building process.

The study found out that CSOs were serving as a bridge between government and the people at the community level in the peace building process. However, the researcher observed that there was still a missing link between the government and the people outside the country who would put in more effort in building sustainable peace. This further indicates that the voices of Rwandans in exile have not been taken into account.

The relationship between CSOs and the state were historically constrained. To have a successful peace building agenda this relationship must be repaired according to this history. There is need to have consistent public dialogue if trust is to be repaired, a prolonged approach to build the healing process in the society and this should be done with an inclusive approach of all.
The nature of the Civil Society Organizations in Rwanda and their relations with the state presented lack of a broad based and diverse interaction. There exists mistrust between the state and civil society suggesting lack of better and strong working relationship.

In Kigali, most stakeholders see CSO-government relations as improving but still tense and in need of more systematic coordination and communication. Local CSOs-government partnerships remain sporadic and are usually initiated by INGOs. It is necessary for the importance of civil society to be better known by the state, as well as by civil society itself.

5.3 Challenges facing CSOs in the peace building Process in Post genocide Rwanda

Most of the CSOs that are operating in Rwanda have put more of their efforts in the reconstruction area to make Rwanda develop its economic background and they are slow on the rehabilitation of the mind of the common person who needs to have a mind shift.

Rwanda is still a closed society and this is partly because of the mistrust and the historical nature of the country. This has created a culture of silent ethnic stereotyping and prejudices which consequently affect the level of attitude change and reconciliation.

The local CSOs operating in Rwanda are many but they are weak and their capacity to operate and implement planned activities is curtailed lack of managerial, financial and operational capacity to carry on the burden of building the society of Rwanda to recover from the wounds of the 1994 genocide. This also was reported to be affecting CSOs’ advocacy and evolution levels.

The society in Rwanda was greatly affected by the 1994 genocide. The challenge to peace building remains the persistent genocide ideologies which affects the reconciliation process. Many Rwandans have failed to adjust and change their attitudes about one another. This implies that strong projects that bring the ethnic groups together to discuss issues related to ethnicity and its dangers have not taken root in many parts of Kigali but also in rural areas. Thus, this poses a big challenge to the CSOs in the struggle to build sustainable peace in the country.

Lack of common vision and unity was reported to be a challenge to CSOs in the peace building process. This portrays lack of strategic alliances, inclusiveness and participatory process. This
affects CSOs’ values and ideas significantly and portrayed lack of good practices in peace building endeavors.

While some CSOs registered a working relationship, the reports from some respondents show that they are treated like the opposition parties. Many CSOs that are involved in advocacy and issues of governance has put them in a position of conflict with the government. This situation has resulted into mistrust that propelled the government to enact laws that restricts their operation.

Lack of civic culture among Rwandans. This had lead to a weak membership base the capacity to create domestic social capital, and broad ownership of peace processes consequently putting advocacy oriented domestic civil society organizations in a weak and subordinate position.

Restrictive operating legal environment. The legal framework was reported to be unclear and compelled CSO to arbitrary verifications before registration. Most CSOs reported levels of difficulty in obtaining legal status. This suggests that existing legal frameworks do not provide clear rules of engagement and thus being the main handicap to the effectiveness of CSOs.

While there has been a wide range of activities towards engaging the population in peace building efforts, the presence of Ex-far and FDLR rebels in DRC were reported to be a major hindrance to the successful peace building intervention.

CSOs involved in advocacy in Rwanda also reported to be facing greater difficulties. It was reported that the government was very critical of organizations and elements in the church working on issues of governance, democratization and human rights.

5.4 General Conclusion
Key issues and lessons emerging from the study are that; Rwandan civil society is young and still weak; it has not yet clearly defined its role as an actor in public policy-making. In general, Rwandan CSOs have remained passive vis-à-vis the state. Civil society peace interventions in post genocide Rwanda have not been rigorously evaluated indicating a need to identify strategic objectives and demonstrate the relevance of activities they are engaged in.
Civil society groups have unique potential in peace building. However, as long as the Rwandan state remains undemocratic with limited space for CSOs involvement in advocacy, it will be difficult to achieve the goals of peace building and national reconciliation. It is necessary to recognize that there is no post-conflict peace building model that is universally valid; but each situation requires its own process from the financial and institutional resources available to which actors should assume responsibility. Therefore, investing in civil society groups whose activities have found resonance with the population would promote full participation of the citizenry in public life.

5.5 Recommendations
This study observed that CSOs were a key player in the peace building process. However, a number of challenges were still being encountered at different levels. Thus the researcher makes the following recommendations and if employed, could improve CSO’s contribution to the process of building sustainable peace in Rwanda;

5.5.1 To enhance opportunities for social reconciliation, innovative strategies and instruments to enhance technical skills to indigenous organizations should be designed. This should involve capacity building of CSO operatives and leaders in effective accountable management and in democratic practices.

5.5.2 CSOs should work to improve on their advocacy role by establishing networks, coalitions and campaigns based on a broad range of issues such as; democratic processes, influencing government policies, justice, anti-corruption campaigns, access to information as well as freedoms of association and expression.

5.5.3 There should be efforts by all stakeholders to evaluate the sustainability of the available peace building programmes advanced by both local and International organization. This is because some actors have not laid foundations that would ensure sustainability of their peace building initiatives.

5.5.4 Equally important to the paving the path towards sustainable peace, there should be means of addressing issues of prejudice and stereotyping that increase mistrust among Rwandans. There
is need to encourage Rwandans to appreciate each other and concentrate on what unites them as opposed to what divides them.

5.5.5 CSOs should develop clear mandates in defining their peace building and conflict prevention, conflict management, and conflict resolution priorities in order to build effective alliances and mobilize national constituencies. Without a clear mandate civil society groups are unlikely to attract citizens’ support, especially when the government is suspicious about their work.

5.5.6 A code of conduct and common principles among CSOs should be developed to ensure accountability and transparency in the work of civil society actors. This is because an accountable and transparent civil society groups are necessary for attracting state and donor support.

5.5.7 Religious based organizations should strengthen and expand intra and inter-faith structures and further develop tools for monitoring and evaluating their role in the peace building process because of the wide constituencies they enjoy in the post genocide era.

5.5.8 CSOs should strive to generate their own funds to make their activities sustainable. This is because civil society dependence on foreign aid threatens its own existence and survival and, in some cases, limits its capacity.

5.5.9 To improve State Civil Society relations, there should be improved levels of understanding between the state and civil society groups. While the state must provide the enabling environment for civil society groups to thrive, CSOs must refrain from adopting hostile stance against government and must see themselves as working in partnership with government to achieve the same goals.

5.5.10 Rwandan Civil Society Organizations should also work more actively to ensure that peace building concerns do not crowd out measures to secure changes such as gender equality, democratic participation and sustainable rural development. Gender mainstreaming should be emphasized in all peace building efforts.
5.5.11 Promoting a culture of peace and citizenship should be an integral part of all CSOs operating within the country. This should be done by encouraging and supporting formation of more peace clubs within Kigali and around the country.

5.5.12 Civil Society Organizations should design civic education programs that introduce citizens to rules of democratic political systems, their rights and obligations. This should convey values such as political tolerance, trust in the democratic process and respect for the rule of law as well as responsible and informed political participation.

5.5.13 Research is required on the comparative advantages of CSOs’ types, their contributions in peace building and success factors. This should be coordinated with a well-defined interface between researchers, practitioners, policy-makers and external support organizations.

5.5.14 A national peace forum should be constituted as a platform for consultations, collaboration, co-operation and co-ordination by all peace actors and stakeholders. This would help in designing peace building approaches and strategies.

**Further areas of research**

Whereas communal forms of civil society are often more concentrated on the issues of social service, generating trust and resolving conflicts, further study is needed into their capacity to improve political accountability.
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APPENDIX I: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS

Dear respondent, you have been selected to participate in this Post Graduate Research Study, entitled “The Role of Civil Society Organizations in Peace Building in the Post genocide Rwanda: A Study of Selected Charity Organization”, by a Master of Arts in Peace and Conflict Studies student from Makerere University.

You are requested to answer the questions as best as you can and your answers will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

1 (a). Title of the respondent

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

(b). Gender

(i). Male □ (ii). Female □

(c). Age

(i) 20-30 □ (ii) 30-40 □ (iii) 40-50 □ (iv) 50-60 □ (v) >60 □

(d). Level of Education

(i) Primary □ (ii) Secondary □ (ii) Tertiary □

2. (a) Name and type of the organization

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(i). Local □ (ii). International □

3. When was the mentioned organization established?

(a). Before the genocide □

(b). After the genocide □

4. Has your organization played any role in peace building in the post genocide Rwanda?

Yes □ No □

If yes, how?

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5. (a) Comment on the nature of relationship between your organization, the government and other stake holders in the peace building process in Rwanda

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(b) If the State-Civil Society organization relationship is not the best, state how it can be improved so as to ensure better partnership in peace building.

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6. Are there any challenges faced by your organization and the peace building process in the post genocide Rwanda?
   Yes ☐     No ☐
   If yes, state them.................................................................................................................................

7. (a) Is there any legal framework in place for organizations, groups, and individuals to participate in post genocide peace building process in Rwanda

(b). How does the mentioned legal framework facilitate or inhibit participation of civil society organizations in post genocide peace building.
   (i). How does it facilitate participation
   .............................................................................................................................................................
   (ii). How does it inhibit participation
   .............................................................................................................................................................

8. Comment on your operational relationship with government along the following
   (a). Resource accessibility (does government extend funding opportunities/strict regulation on finance resource utilization)
   .............................................................................................................................................................
   (b). Policy formulation (are there consultation on policy formulation?)
   .............................................................................................................................................................

9. What attitudes do the local citizens have about the Civil Society Organizations and their contribution to peace building in your country?
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10. Through what channels does the local people get information on civil society organizations and their activities?
    .............................................................................................................................................................

11. As a civil society organization, what is your comment about the Gacaca courts as regards, peace and reconciliation process in the post genocide Rwanda?
    .............................................................................................................................................................

12. (a). What issues of conflict exist in Rwandan Society?
    .............................................................................................................................................................
(b). How do the above mentioned conflict hinder the road to sustainable peace building?

(c). State the strategies you have or that you think if employed may help to solve conflicts in Rwanda.
APPENDIX II: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR LOCAL RESIDENTS/COMMUNITY LEADERS

Dear respondent, you have been selected to participate in this Post Graduate Research Study, entitled “The Role of Civil Society Organizations in Peace Building in the Post genocide Rwanda: A Study of Selected Charity Organizations”, by a Master of Arts in Peace and Conflict Studies student from Makerere University.

You are requested to answer the questions as best as you can and your answers will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Usabwe gutanga ibisubizo kuribibibazo bikurikira.

1. (a) Gender (Igitsina)
   (i). Male (Gabo) __  (ii). Female (Gore) __

   (b) Age (Imyaka)
   (i) 20-30 __  (ii) 30-40 __  (iii) 40-50 __  (iv) 50-60 __  (v) >60 __

   (c) Level of Education (Uregorwamashuri)
   (i) Primary (Uregorwibanze) __  (ii) Secondary (Ayisumbuye) __
      (ii) Tertiary (Ikiciro Kyambere) __

2. Occupation (Akazi)
………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………...

3. Area of residence (Ahuo utuye)
   (i). Nyarugeng __  (ii). Kicukiro __  (iii). Gasabo __

4. (a) How do you assess the current peace situation in the post genocide Rwanda?
Ese wavuga iki kubyerekeye amahoro murwana muribibihe byanuma yitsembabwoko?
…………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………

   (b). Comment on the state of the peace process initiatives after the genocide (post genocide peace building process)
Ningambaki zabazarafashwe kukubaka amahoro murwanda nyuma yitsembatsemba bwoko?
…………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………

4. In your view, what role has Rwandan government played as regards peace building in your country?
Mukurebakwawe, niruhareki leta y’urwanda ifite mukubaka amahoro mugihugu?
5. (a) Have the civil society organizations played any role in peace building in post-genocide Rwanda?
Ese, imishinga yigenga yaba harakamaro ifite muguteza imbera amahoro mugihugu?
Yes (Yego) □ □ No (Oya) □
If yes, explain (Sobanura) ............................................................................................................

6. (a) How do you assess the relationship between the government and the civil society organizations in the peace building process?
Ese, wavuga iki kumibanire nimyumvikanire yareta nimishinga yigenga muburyo bwoguteza imbere amahoro murwanda?
.................................................................................................................................
(b) If government’s relationship with other stakeholders is not the best, how is it can it be improved to ensure sustainable peace in Rwanda?
Ese, imibanire nimikoranire yareta nizindi nzegozihanira amahoro mugihugu atarimyiza, urumvabyagendagute?
.................................................................................................................................

7. Are there any challenges facing the civil society organizations in the peace building process in the post-genocide Rwanda?
Ese, haribyaba bibangamiye ingamba zokubaka amahoro mugihugu?
Yes (Yego) □ □ No (Oya) □
If yes, explain (Sobanura) ............................................................................................................

8. What attitudes do the local citizens have about civil society organizations and their contribution to peace building in your country?
Ese, abaturage bababishimiye akamaro kimishinga yigenga ifite mukubaka amahoro murwanda?
.................................................................................................................................

9. (a) How do the local people get information on peace and peace building?
Ese, abaturage amabwiriza kubyerekeye imibaniremyiza nokuba amahoro babifashwamo bate?
.................................................................................................................................

10. As a citizen, what is your comment about the performance of Gacaca courts as regards, peace and reconciliation process in the post-genocide Rwanda?
Nkumuturage, wavuga iki kumikorere yagacaca mukubaka amahoro mugihugu?
11. (a) What issues of conflict exist in Rwandan Society?
Ese, nimakimbiraneki yaba akisanzuye mubanyarwanda?

(b) How do the above mentioned conflict issues hinder the road to sustainable peace building?
Ayomakimbirane haruko yaba abanganiye imyubakire yamahoro mugihugu?

(c) What strategies if employed may help to solve conflicts in Rwanda.

12. Give some of the achievements of post genocide peace building initiatives?
Tanga bimwe kubigenzwe mukubaka amahoro mugihungu nyuma yitsembabwoko
APPENDIX III: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS
Dear respondent, you have been selected to participate in this Post Graduate Research Study, entitled “The Role of Civil Society Organizations in Peace Building in Post genocide Rwanda: A Study of Selected Charity Organizations”, by a Master of Arts in Peace and Conflict Studies student from Makerere University.

You are requested to answer the questions as best as you can and your answers will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

1 (a). Title of the respondent

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

(b). Gender

(i). Male ☐ (ii). Female ☐

(c) Age

(i) 20-30 ☐ (ii) 30-40 ☐ (iii) 40-50 ☐ (iv) 50-60 ☐ (v)>60 ☐

(d). Level of Education

(i) Primary ☐ (ii) Secondary ☐ (ii) Tertiary ☐

2. (a) Name of government institution

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3. How do you assess the current peace situation in the post genocide Rwanda?

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

4. In your view, what role has Rwandan government played as regards peace building process?

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5.(a) How do you assess the relationship between the state and Civil Society Organizations in relation to peace building in Rwanda

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(b). If the State-Civil Society relationship is not the best, state how it can be improved so as to ensure better partnership.

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6. Are there any challenges facing the peace building process in the post genocide Rwanda?

Yes ☐ No ☐

If yes, explain........................................................................................................................................
7. (a) What legal framework is in place for government, organizations, groups, and individuals to participate in post genocide peace building process in Rwanda?

8. (a). In your view, has the civil society organizations played any role in the peace building process in the post genocide Rwanda?
(b). Comment on government operational relationship with Civil Society Organizations

9. What attitudes do the local citizens have about the role of civil society organizations and their contribution in enhancing sustainable peace in your country?

10. What attitudes do the local citizens have about the role of civil society organizations and its contribution in enhancing peace in your country?

11. What is your comment about the Gacaca courts as regards, peace and reconciliation process in the post genocide Rwanda is concerned?

12. (a). What issues of conflict exist in Rwandan Society?
(b). How do the above mentioned conflict hinder the road to sustainable peace building?
(c). State the strategies you have or that you think if employed may help to solve conflicts in Rwanda.
APPENDIX IV: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR RELIGIOUS LEADERS

Dear respondent, you have been selected to participate in this Post Graduate Research Study, entitled “The Role of Civil Society Organizations in Peace Building in Post genocide Rwanda: A Study of Selected Charity Organizations”, by a Master of Arts in Peace and Conflict Studies student from Makerere University.

You are requested to answer the questions as best as you can and your answers will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

1 (a). Title of the respondent

(b). Gender
   (i). Male □   (ii). Female □

(c) Age
   (i) 20-30 □   (ii) 30-40 □  (iii) 40-50 □  (iv) 50-60 □  (v)>60 □

(d). Level of Education
   (i) Primary □   (ii) Secondary □  (ii) Tertiary □

2. Religious affiliation

3. (a) As a religious leader, how do you assess the current peace situation in the post genocide Rwanda?

(b). Comment on the state of the peace process after the genocide (post genocide peace building process)

4. In your view, what role has Rwandan government played as regards the sustainable peace building process?

5.(a) How do you assess the relationship between the government and other stakeholders/civil society organizations in relation to peace building in Rwanda?

(b). If the State-Civil Society relationship is not the best, state how it can be improved so as to ensure sustainable peace in Rwanda.
6. Are there any challenges facing civil society organizations in the peace building process in the post genocide Rwanda?
Yes ☐ No ☐
If yes, explain...........................................................................................................................................................

7. (a) What is the nature of relationship between the existing legal framework and the participation of stakeholders like civil society organizations in peace building?
...........................................................................................................................................................................

8. Comment on government operational relationship with Civil Society Organizations along the following
(a). Resource accessibility (does government extend funding opportunities/strict regulation on finance resource utilization)
...........................................................................................................................................................................
(b). Policy formulation (are there consultation on policy formulation?)
...........................................................................................................................................................................

9. What attitudes do the local citizens have about the role of religious institutions and their contribution in enhancing sustainable peace in your country?
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10. What attitudes do the local citizens have about the partnerships between religious institutions and government and their call for peace in Rwanda?
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11. As a religious leader, what is your comment about the performance of Gacaca courts as regards, peace and reconciliation process in the post genocide Rwanda?
...........................................................................................................................................................................
(b). How do the above mentioned conflict issues hinder the road to sustainable peace building?
(c). State the strategies you have or that you think if employed may help to solve conflicts in Rwanda.
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13. Give some of the achievements of post genocide peace building initiatives in Rwanda?
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Thank you for your cooperation
APPENDIX V: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR INDEPTH-INTERVIEWS

1. What is the history of civil society organizations as regards peace building in Rwanda?
2. What role did the civil society organizations play during the 1994 genocide?
3. How has the civil society organizations evolved since the end of genocide in Rwanda?
4. With specific examples, what is the role of CSOs in enhancing sustainable peace in the post genocide Rwanda?
5. In your view, are there any conflicts that are still existing in Rwanda today that may hinder the peace building process? If yes state how your organization is helping in solving them.
6. What could be the challenges facing CSOs in the peace building process in the post genocide Rwanda?
7. What is the relationship between CSOs and the State in the peace building process in the post genocide Rwanda?
8. Do the civil society organizations in the post genocide Rwanda address the causes of the 1994 Rwandan genocide as a means of paving way for peace?
9. What is your view as regards the Gacaca courts in the process of peace and reconciliation process in your country?
10. What do you think are some of the tangible successes in the peace building process 14 years after the genocide?
APPENDIXVII: ADMINISTRATIVE MAP OF KIGALI CITY

Source: Kigali City Council, 2009
**APPENDIXVIII: LIST OF RESPONDENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Organization/Area of residence</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Chantal Kabasinga</td>
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<td>2 Uwase</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 Mulefu</td>
<td>Ministry of Justice</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 Kobukyeye</td>
<td>NURC</td>
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<td>5 Aryeija</td>
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<td>8 Habyarimana</td>
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