Home Grown Solutions :
A Legacy to Generations in Africa

By Prof Tharcisse Gatwa & Prof Deo Mbonyinkebe [ed.]

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Acknowledgments

This book was forged on the furnace of the Rwandan post-genocide reconstruction efforts. Discourses on Rwanda, another "failed state in Africa" sounded like a final verdict of the many lessons dictated by "international experts" in the aftermath of each crisis that affects the African continent. The lesson-givers from "triumphant democracies" and "confident" international systems" who have developed "scholarships" over political systems crises in developing countries, were all adamant to jump in with "ready-made" solutions. Various alternatives were proposed, either to recolonize Rwanda or to create the so-called *Hutuland* and *Tutsiland* or to simply leave Rwandans to what could have been neo-Darwinism self-destruction. The experts pushed their arrogance to the limit of the intolerable by blaming the victims for the consequences of the Transatlantic Black Slave Trade, the devastation, disarticulation and disorganisation inherited from cynical colonial rule and the Cold War divisive ideologies that left the African societies in tatters.

There were, however many Rwandans and friends who believed in the resilience and renaissance of a nation. Liberating Rwanda from the furnace of the genocide was not enough; they vowed to pedagogically, methodically, initiate a process of bringing together the pieces of the puzzle. Between 1998 and 1999, national consultations organised in the *Urugwiro* village- the office of the president of Rwanda- engineered many different initiatives, including the rehabilitation of home grown solutions and different mechanisms for the reconstruction of social fabric. The so-called Vision 2020, a socio-economic transformation and modernisation of the country was adopted in 2000; participants at the consultations set up development goals in various domains and strategies to reach the 2020 Vision. To this category of individuals who never gave up but believed in Rwanda not as a utopia but a project and to our ancestors who anonymously strove to initiate cultural practices which served as tools for that journey, we dedicate this volume.

We acknowledge all contributors who joined efforts to investigate the issues presented in this volume. We thank distinguished scholars who reviewed the texts. These include particularly, Professors Benoît Girardin, Theogene Nkeramihigo, Jesse Mugambi, Philippe Denis, Dr Claudia Baez-Camargo and

Saba Kassa; to Mrs Lou and Prof Nick Johnson who read and made valuable suggestions.

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Huye, Rwanda, December 2018

T.G. & DM

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Preface

By Rev Prof Elisee Musemakweli[1]

The genocide of the Tutsi of Rwanda has been one of the most atrocious tragedies of the twentieth century. Indeed, it shocked the world both for its ferocity and its magnitude. In one hundred days the whole country was turned upside down with the most indescribable horror : a huge number of lives slaughtered (1 million people slaughtered), many facilities and infrastructures destroyed, but more importantly the destruction of social fabric and hence the Rwandan identity and personality.

The traditional values that, in the past, were the foundation of the Rwandan identity were shattered by the ideology of genocide fuelled by the incendiary and hatred rhetoric of those who were supposed to protect the people. Those values did not resist the fury and barbarity of the "genocidaires" determined to exterminate a whole group of the Rwandan population. More seriously, the Christianity that most Rwandans had embraced (90% of the Rwandan population] did not act cohesively to prevent the planning and execution of the genocide.

This unspeakable human tragedy left a country completely devastated. Apart from a large number of mutilated and traumatized people, the foundations, the nature of the family and the community were deeply affected; the social links were dislocated and the whole system of Rwandan values completely disarticulated.

Paradoxically, these traditional values flouted, denigrated, defamed and weakened by colonisation and Christianity would serve as a starting point for the reconstruction of Rwanda after the genocide. They provide a solid foundation for the humanization of society; they provide justice for both the victims and the perpetrators of violence; they have become pillars for the reconstruction of the new Rwanda on human and social developmental levels.

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1. Rev Prof Elisee Musemakweli is the Vice Chancellor of the Protestant University of Rwanda [PIASS], Huye-Butare.

The post genocide Rwanda called upon forgotten practices first to address a societal crisis, then to face the most challenging crisis of values in our history and the many consequences of the genocide. What today Rwandans call "Home grown solutions" are the solutions to our problems deriving from our values and genius. One well known example is the traditional courts, the *Gacaca;* as in ancient Rwanda*,* this practice hugely rooted in community identity helped to give justice to both the victims and the offenders, in this case, the suspects of genocide. It helped to relieve the overcrowded prison system. If the traditional Gacaca courts had not rescued the situation, clearing the judgments of the genocide-related suspects in the Western model judicial system would have taken more than two centuries to complete (see F. Digneffe et al., 2003, cited in the Parliament, Senate Report, 2006). But the primary purpose of the traditional *Gacaca* jurisdictions was not to punish, but especially to initiate communication between the protagonists and between divided families. The Rwandan government reconceptualised the Gacaca tribunals not only to punish the genocide perpetrators or to reduce the prison population, but above all to eliminate impunity. The truth on the genocide unveiled during the Gacaca proceedings helped in the reconciliation of Rwandans. Gacaca was a moment for truth, the space for cross-cutting the narratives of the genocide, surely opening up the wounds but hopefully, creating a listening and healing process. In fact the rehabilitation of the torn apart social fabric and the construction of the unity of the country for a lasting peace required well understood and internalized reconciliation processes.

Ubudehe and *Umuganda*, other components of Rwandan values were pillars of the Rwandans' *raison d'être*. They promote human solidarity to reduce poverty. The development of a scientific and technological society advocated by Rwandan authorities does not contradict this approach. Emphasizing a development founded on people's identity and cultural values is surely key to sustainable development; and yet this approach is not a monopoly for Rwanda; it is advocated allover Africa and beyond. [Ki-Zerbo 1988; Zadi Kessy 1998]. In its Agenda 2063, **the Africa we want**, the African Union emphasizes that the foundations of its development are its cultural values, including solidarity. In that regard, through the **aspiration 2** of Agenda 2063, Africa must become an economically integrated and politically united continent, where all forms of colonialism and discrimination will be permanently banned. Peoples will then be able to move freely from one country to another; trade between African countries will be intensified and the institutions of the continent established and operational. The integration process will lead to the political unity of the continent.

All these achievements will serve as a backdrop to solidarity and unity which have always been the driving force of the struggles against slavery, colonialism

and apartheid. The document pursues, that at the same time, the achievements aim at strengthening the unity of Africa (African Union Commission, Agenda 2063: Framework Document, September 2015, p.10). The **aspiration 5** is more explicit about the importance of cultural values as the foundation of Africa's emancipation and development. It states: "Africa, as the cradle of human civilization, is custodian of a cultural patrimony that has contributed enormously to human progress. *African cultural identity, values and ethics* as a critical factor in Africa's re-emergence on the global stage in the decade of the 21 st century, will be promoted and strengthened by 2063. African people are imbued with a sense of their fundamental cultural unity, which has fostered a sense of a common destiny and African identity and Pan-African consciousness…. The Africa of 2063 will be one, where cultures will flourish. National languages will be the basis for administration, and there will be a strong work ethic based on merit. Traditional African values of family, community and social cohesion will be firmly entrenched and the resulting social capital will be valued and stand as an example to the rest of the world"[2].

Clearly, Pan-Africanism and African cultural and ethical values will be the bedrock but at the same time the driving force for Africa's development. It is precisely this message that authors from diverse horizons are trying to convey to future generations in this volume.

The fundamental question they raise is the following :

How to connect our development with our values and our own genius? In other words, how to make our values and our identity an engine of the development of our continent? How to find solutions to our problems without necessarily totally relying on external tools? Is it possible to build a country, a continent that we want if we do not know who we are or where we come from? The answer to this question is what Rwanda wants to share with other Africans. The intention of the authors is therefore to sensitize the new African generations to their responsibility towards a development of the continent, where people enjoy peace and prosperity. For this to happen, many different generations must keep in high esteem the role of ethical and cultural values in the struggle to liberate our continent from wars, violence, corruption, bad governance, poverty and other forms of evil. The renaissance of Africa requires the re-awakening of its cultural identity.

Finally, we pay tribute to the authors of the articles contained in this volume for their great contribution to the reconstruction of Rwanda and the Africa

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2. African Union Commission [2015], "Agenda 2063 Framework Document", September 2015, p.15.

we want. Special thanks to the editors of the Volume, Professor Tharcisse Gatwa and Professor Deogratias Mbonyinkebe, for directing and monitoring the entire writing process.

We hope that those who will read this volume will find inspiration for the reconstruction of our beloved continent.

Elisée Musemakweli
Vice Chancellor,
Protestant University of Rwanda

Part I

Drawing resources found in the Rwandan Way of Life

1

Home Grown Initiatives : A Paradigm Shift in the Ethics of Reconstruction

By Prof. Tharcisse Gatwa

1. Introduction

Faced by a completely devastated country in the aftermath of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, Rwandans have a huge task of deciding how to set up the foundations of the destiny of their country. Consciously and unconsciously, the direction to take could be impacted by the consequences of choices in crucial domains that matter for a sovereign state : pacification, harmony, unity and reconciliation as opposed to ethnicity and discrimination and revenge; rebuilding social fabric and setting up goals for socio-economic development; taking into their own hands the destiny as opposed to relying on foreign powers and international experts; political and diplomatic options based in autocratic systems or in citizens' participation in the definition of orientations.

This paper argues that the new Rwandan leadership opted for a complete paradigm shift in the ethics of reconstruction. Political, social and economic options in Rwanda were decided by Rwandans during the 1998 and 1999 consultations in the *Urugwiro* village [the office of the president of Rwanda]. The choices based on the outcomes of national consultations were entrenched in the 2003 constitution. Among other objectives, Rwandans decided to set up Vision 2020, aiming at reaching middle class income by 2020, then moving towards more capacity building and more ambitions ahead. Major political choices defined within Vision 2020 comprise mechanisms for justice, unity and reconciliation, economic and development modernization, new relations between State and society and political settlement. The consultations reached the conclusion that for Rwandans who had been abandoned on their own during the genocide; recovery required looking back to their traditional practices to identify which ones helped the ancestors to recover from major crises[3].

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3. Similarly, in many post conflict contexts, the processes of reconstruction require extraordinary vision, enormous capacity for initiation of sustained interactions and debate

The reflection led to a gradual rediscovery and rehabilitation of cultural and social values entrenched in Rwandan culture, known today as "Home Grown Solutions" [HGS]. These values increased the potential for governance; they were concerned with the well-being and harmony of the population at community level; they integrated individual citizens into a social network of mutual empowerment. HGS like *Gacaca, Abunzi, Umuganda, Ubudehe, Itorero* and others guided Rwandans in their journey to building social solidarity, people's participation and community care. The Rwanda Governance Board [RGB] - the public custodian for HGSs- recognizes 17 Home grown solutions under four clusters: governance cluster, [*Umwiherero; Umushyikirano*; Governance month; National forum of political parties; *Itorero; Imihigo*], social cluster [*Girinka; Ubudehe; VUP;* Universal Health Insurance; 9&12 Years Basic Education], economic cluster, *Agaciro* Development Fund; Land Use Consolidation] and justice cluster [*Gacaca; Abunzi*; MAJ][4]. In the following sections we intend to discuss the interaction between the *Banyarwanda* people with these practices which are parts of their cultural heritage and civilisation..

2. The *Banyarwanda*, People, Nation, Institutions and Culture

Among many recommendations of the 1998 to 1999 *Urugwiro* village consultations, an adhoc commission was tasked to conduct a study on the unity of *Banyarwanda* in pre-colonial and post-colonial eras[5]. Published in 1999, its report questioned the analyses that ascribed the causes of the genocide and crisis to the so-called "secular hatred" between *Bahutu* and *Batutsi* irrespective to the fact that no single record of any conflict between the *Bahutu, Batutsi* and *Batwa*[6] has been recorded. The unity of Banyarwanda, they write, was the most precious factor of their worldview. They were known as *Inyabutatu nyarwanda*

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that could generate new political orientations that can save or sink the country deeper. After the two world wars, the victorious powers sat down together to reinvent a new model of society. This resulted in the creation of the League of Nations in 1919 and after 1945, the creation of the United Nations with a mandate to policing for peace worldwide and to apply the sanctions against Germany including the split of the country into two independent states.
4. http://gov.rw/about-the-government/governance-home-grown-solutions/; https ://rwandaguide.info/post-category/home-grown-solutions. VUP : Vision *Umurenge* Program; MAJ : Maison d'assistance a la justice (Judiciary accompaniment to the most vulnerable in communities).
5. Professors Gamaliem Mbonimana and Paul Rutayisire, historians, were appointed chair and deputy. Their report *The unity of Rwandans before the colonial period and under the colonial ruleunder the first republic* was presented in 1999. Kigali : the Office of the President.
6. 1900 is the date of the installation of the European missionaries and 1907, the official installation of the German colonial rule.

[the Rwandan triune] or *Rubanda rw'umwami* [the people of the monarch]; they religiously believed they belonged together to their motherland, Rwanda. A French historian, a well-known prelate, Louis de Lacger, was impressed in 1930 by the way *Banyarwanda* shared the love for their country, ready to die for it. De Lacger attributed such a feeling to the common language and culture shared by all *Banyarwanda*, a privilege rare in various parts of the world [Mbonimana, Rutayisire & al 1999].

The concepts of *Bahutu, Batutsi* and *Batwa* existed in the pre-colonial era. The concepts were classifiers for the socio-economic stratification. In the following sections we discuss how the *Banyarwanda* expressed their belonging together.

2.1. The Clan : A Unifying Factor ?

There has been unanimity among the ethno-historians on the fact that the clan was by far the most important unifying factor in the social organization of pre-colonial Rwandan society. The clan is a social category whose members acknowledge descending from an eponymous common ancestor, real or mythical. All three social classes mix in the same clans; the most commonly known of these are : *Abasinga, Abasindi, Abazigaba, Abagesera, Abanyiginya, Abega, Ababanda, Abacyaba, Abungura, Abashambo, Abatsobe, Abakono, Abaha, Abashingo, Abanyakarama, Abasita, Abongera and Abenengwe* (Alexis Kagame 1958; 1963; D'Hertefelt 1971: 10; Gatwa 2005: 10)[7]. Each Rwandan would identify themselves accordingly to one of these clans. Amazingly, when the first ethnologists and anthropologists started collecting data in Rwanda, they realized that different people from the three social classes could be found in each one of the clans identified, with proportional representation [Czekanowski 1917; De Lacger 1939; 1962; D'Hertefelt, 1971: 13]. This belonging to the same clans had a very important meaning, including the fact that different religious, social, cultural functions, like the religious initiation through traditional ceremony called *kubandwa,* or any other social, cultural and ritual role could be performed in community by any competent person from one of the clans without consideration of social class origin provided the divination consultations mediated by a specialist of the invisible agreed.

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7. De Lacger; Kagame; D'Heltefelt and others. There were 18 clans according to D'Hertefelt; 15 according to Alexis Kagame. D'Heltefelt, *les Clans du Rwanda Ancien. Elements d'ethnohistoire et d'ethnosociologie*, Brussels, 1977.

2.2. Rwanda-the nation of the *Banyarwanda* people

Frederik Barth defines ethnic group as "a category of ascriptions whose continuity rests on the perpetuation of boundaries and the codification constantly renewed of cultural difference between neighboring groups" [Barth 1982:14]. Like Frederick Barth, social scientists found that what was supposed to be ethnic groups in many contexts were only colonial creations that have built strategies to integrate into a learned language data of stereotypes assigned to populations. People who belonged to the same culture and civilization began to be divided into ethnic and racial categories which J.L. Amselle and E. M'bokolo consider an obsession of the colonisers [Amselle; M'bokolo 1985]. In fact, all things that make the differentiation in the definition of "race", "ethnic group", "tribe", "nation" apply in the Rwandan case rather as unifying factors including language, religion, shared social, cultural and political institutions and organisations, shared geographical location and habitat, etc; and foremost, they belong to the same major institution, the clans as indicated above. With regard to the habitat system- there is no land for *Bahutu,* or for *Batutsi* or *Batwa*; all mix together in villages and streets; this leads to mutual solidarity and care; and that goes together with the idea of the integration of families from intimate to social relations irrespective of social backgrounds.

In addition, with regard to professions, many researchers documented the fact that at the beginning of the colonial occupation, *Bahutu, Batutsi* and *Batwa* were traditionally and indistinctly agriculturalists and pastoralists D'Hertefelt [D'Hertefelt 1971: 75] through which they enjoyed social mobility that challenges odds and prejudices. Chanoine de Lacger put it as follows:

> Mututsi *et* muhutu *sont des mots qui tendent à perdre leur sens proprement racial et à n'être plus que des qualificatifs, des étiquettes, sous lesquelles se rangent capitalistes et travailleurs, gouvernants et gouvernés, sans toutefois que le préjugé de la naissance soit sérieusement entamé... Le facteur économique de la fusion nationale joue à plein rendement dans la mesure ou la possession d'un cheptel cesse d'être un monopole, et ou le* mututsi *peut en déchoir et le* muhutu *y accède », ce qui conduit au changement de classe social des uns et des autres.* [De Lacger 1939 : 34 quoted by Reyntjens 1985 :27][8].

8. Muhutu *and* Mututsi *are words that tend to lose their racial meaning and to be understood as qualifiers or labels under which capitalists, working class, rulers and ruled are classified without necessarily drawing away the "birth prejudice"[sic]...The economic fact plays a big role in the national harmonization because the possession of cattle ceases to be anybody monopoly, the* Mututsi *can lose their cattle hence cease to belong to the* Batutsi *[plural of* Mututsi*), whilst the* Muhutu *can accesses to that status by the same process... this leads to the change of social class among all people* [De Lacger 1939 : 34 quoted by Reyntjens 1985 :27].

2.3 Rwandan traditional religion as a unifying factor

The *Banyarwanda* shared a same religious worldview. Many Rwandan wisdoms generously imbuing the culture, proverbs, sayings; for example, *Iyo ucumuye Imana igucira ubugeni* [when you sin, God shortens your lifetime, a Kirundi proverb]; "*Imana yerekeza umugome aho intorezo iri naho we ngo aray-obya uburari*" [God leads the criminal to a trap and s/he would say that they are confusing the paths of the prosecutors]; "*Imana ihora ihoze*" [God is patient in punishing]. For generations, *Banyarwanda* have known that God is aware of our deeds; and that sooner or later, everyone will be accountable for their deeds.

The *Banyarwanda* people belonged to a same traditional religion, known as the religion of *Lyangombe*; they were initiated to it through the *kubandwa* ceremony. The ritual of *kubandwa* has aspects that remind some practices of Christianity. For example, there are two stages. The first consists in initiating a person to belong to the community of *imandwa* (those who were initiated before them). For the initiation to take place, the novice must be accompanied and cared for by an adult chosen by the family after consultations of the expert of the invisible; like the godfather and godmother in Christianity, the person becomes the lifelong spiritual leader for the newly initiated. The persons initiated to *kubandwa*, their spiritual sponsors and members of respective families would be bound by a pact of solidarity and friendship that could not be broken. The initiation to *kubandwa* is considered fully completed only after the second and final step called *gusubiraho* (Bigirumwami 1974; Kagame 1963; 1968; Vidal 1984; Mulago 1969; Mbonimana, Rutayisire & al 1999). Any person from one of the three social classes could become a religious initiator of a member of another social class, provided the divination consultations consented. The King was above the social classes, and considered of mythical powers, thus was not compelled to *kubandwa*. For some matters, though, he needed a "soothsayer"; the *abiru* (the experts of the monarchy constitution) would advise on the right choice according to his/her ability [Mbonimana, Rutayisire & al 1999; Ruhumuliza: 2014]. *Kubandwa* was a shared religious practice of all people of the interlacustrine region of Africa [Rwanda, Burundi, West Tanzania, South Uganda; Eastern DRC]; it had wider social, economic, political implications beyond the religious dimension. Because the liturgy of initiation to *Kubandwa* could not validly start unless all the three social groups, *Muhutu, Mututsi* and *Mutwa* were represented, Rwandan traditional religion has been considered as another important unifying factor[9] .

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9. It is believed that before dying, this hero of the traditional religion, Ryangombe said: « that the *Umututsi* invokes me! That the *Muhutu* invokes me; and the *Mutwa* invokes me! The promoter of the

2.4. The Pact between the People and the monarch

The Rwanda that was revealed to the first Europeans at the end of the 19th century was a united and centralized state, hierarchal in its organization with heterogeneous populations living in what could be qualified as total harmony. This socio-political reality was the result of a long and complex process of conquests, migrations, socio-economic adaptation and finally, political domination under the *Nyiginya* dynasty. Altogether the *Banyarwanda* participated in the expansion of the country, under the king's own leadership; they were known as "*ingabo z'umwami*" [the king's armies or people], [Mbonimana et al 1999: 8][10] .The monarch fulfilled sacred even religious functions. The *Banyarwanda* would see him as the incarnation of the nation. The "monarchs" [king and queen mother] were the "father of the nation", because they existed not for themselves or their household but for the people of all backgrounds; their security. The monarch had no "ethnic" or "race" belonging; they belonged to the people; he was the cornerstone of the unity of *Banyarwanda*. "Poets called him *Sebantu* (the father of all people in Rwanda). Surely, the monarch was chosen among the *Batutsi* social class [the *Banyiginya* clan], and yet after he was enthroned, people would say «he isn't *Umututsi* any more»; he is the people's King. Hence in their daily life, *Bahutu*, *Batutsi* and *Batwa* were familiar with the King. Anyone who wanted could meet the King: it was forbidden to prevent anybody to meet the king for any reason. The nation expected from the monarch, protection from enemies; they expected from him justice and equity.

2.5. The *ubuhake* system

Ubuhake is a social and economic institution that has been subject to many studies that need to be revisited. For many authors, the system was a tool for the subjugation of the *Bahutu* by the *Batutsi* [Maquet; Pages, Arnoux, Delmas; de Heusch; Reyntjens 1985]. Some have questioned this restrictive interpretation given that *ubuhake* appeared to be fundamentally a unifying factor. People from all clans and social classes adhered to *Ubuhake* [central Rwanda] or *Ubukonde* [northern Rwanda]; they would conclude a contract for services to a much

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initiation would come from all ethnic or social origin as much as it had the favor of the gods; and that's an unbreakable seal (*Igihango*), not only between the promoter and the insiders, but between the two families would be sealed.

10. A list of 26 names of *Batwa* chiefs was exchanged and agreed upon between Alexis Kagame and Jaques Maquet. Kagame gave examples of prominent *Batwa* chiefs who proudly commended armies and territories, until they were dismissed by colonial administration [See Gatwa 2005 : 20]. Alexis Kagame identified 86 military brigades he called Precolonial milices of Rwanda. A. Kagame [1962], *Les Milices du Rwanda pre-colonial. Brussels*: IRISAC.

wealthier pastoralist or landlord; the contracting agent would provide diverse services like domestic, pastoral and farming in general like care for the cattle and cultivating the lands; accompanying the master on long journeys and other services. On the other side, the master offered rewards including protection, cows or land for the services provided. *Ubuhake* was a bond of lasting friendship between the master and his former servant, similar to the relationship between a former student and their PhD promoter. *Ubuhake* was also an arena for interactions and solidarity between the "*bagaragu*" like brothers under the roof of a same stepfather, like disciples promoted by a same scholar. Victor Visathan rightly put it this way :

> *Take my case, for instance: until this day, I still swear by the names of Chief Munderi or Chief Rwabutogo, because they were of a superior status than mine and because at one given time, they each gave me cows as presents. But, on the other hand, there are also those who swear by my name because I was of superior status than they were, and that at one given time I gave them cows." So, an individual could be a patron or a client depending on how many cows the individual had. In those days, a very big number of* Bahutu *were owners of countless cows, a fact which made them patrons of less affluent* Bahutu *and* Batutsi *alike, and which even elevated them from the* Muhutu *title to become* Mututsi.[11]

How different this system is from today individuals who sell their services to family businesses, companies, factories, some at a salary that does not last the month.

3. The Rwandan way of life[12]

The historical Rwanda and its people have not only a unique culture but a way of life, a national ethos shaped through a diversity of social practices, cultural, political, social and religious infrastructures. Rwandan culture as described above, is characterized by a variety of pillars of humanness, Ubuntu, conviviality, solidarity, friendship, respect of the older persons, respect of the children, respect of women, care for the vulnerable, mutual assistance, and respect of religion.

3.1. Marriage and family

Marriage and family extended friendship to family inclusion with all the moral duties and obligations that went with it. Discussing marriage, Mbonimana, Rutayisire and allies remind us that girls were called "*gahuzamiryango*", the

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11. Victor Visathan. '*Ndi Umunyarwanda*' concept should be a legacy for posterity. *Izuba Rirashe* 26 march 2015.
12. Wikipedia accessed 4/01/2018.

unifyier, the bridge between families; they would marry people of different clans'; they were called "*nyampinga*" [the ones who shine from the top of the hill]. When they married and had children women could have a mediation role between families through gacaca [Mbonimana & Rutayisire 1999: 9; de Lacger 1939].

Together with mutual bride giving [*guhana abageni*], people exchanged cattle, *guhana inka*, as a sign of friendship. This practice had a particular importance because cows were the sign of wealth which elevated social status. In addition to these two bonds, *ubucuti* was sealed and reaffirmed through the *kunywana* ritual, consisting in the blood pact. As said above, *kubandisha* [the action of initiation to *kubandwa]* or ritual fathering or mothering in the traditional religion made brothers and sisters two persons who until then were far strangers or unrelated; they were incorporated into one's family through bonds that cannot be broken. When sharing their blood, the two partners in the pact, swore undying and faithful friendship to one another and subscribed to mutual help and support between their respective families. Showing disloyalty to one's pact and breaking it was, as aforementioned, a serious offence; this binding promise of friendship was so important that people would swear during the ritual "*Nintatira iki gihango, igihango kizanyice*" [may I be stricken dead if I betray this pact [R. Benda p. 41/42].

3.2. Heroism and Patriotism

Heroism and Patriotism were important expressions of the Banyarwanda's worldview. Each dignified Rwandan was proud to be instrumental in the country's achievements. Rwandan ethics of moral integrity compelled all members of a family to work hard to preserve the above practices. They ought to be ready to defend the security and integrity of their country; to never betray, to show courage and determination in acts of manhood [*kuba umugabo*] distancing themselves from cowardice, from slanders and disloyalty, discrimination or any other form of dissidence. The risk of being excluded by the community [kugirwa igicibwa] prevented people from misbehavior.

3.3. Respect of life

The Rwandan worldview conceived eternal existence into reproduction and self-perpetuation through their procreation. Like many other African societies, whoever exists must reproduce. Human Beings reproduce themselves in the image of their progenitors [Balibutsa 2002:105]. Large procreation with many

descendants was a sign of benediction and the accomplishment of parents who dreamed to leave behind a dignified image when they would be dismissed for earthly life. An important feature of that culture of respect of life was the high consideration of the dead body; there was a whole ritual consisting in preparation to burial including cleaning; positioning in right way [kumwuhagira no *kumupfunya*]. The burial was organized in dignity, and all family members, friends and all neighbors including the non-friends of the bereaved family ought to attend. In *Kinyarwanda* a dead body would not stay overnight in the house. Eight days later, the process of bereavement was closed by a ceremony called *Kwirabura*; then the family members could start to vacate to their routine activities, eat, clothe and drink as habitually. This did not happen during the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi; up until now thousands of victims remain uncounted for; unfortunately, surviving members cannot accomplish the final and necessary bereavement.

3.4. *Nta Byera ngo de !* Challenges existed !

Despite the strong bonds presented above, there were challenges to the unity of *Banyarwanda*. *Ntabyera ngo de* (there cannot be a universal cleanness).

Exclusion

We have considered a number of common factors among the three social classes, but we cannot overlook the development of a non-egalitarian political system in Rwanda. Like other societies, inequality emerged from the social dynamics which gradually shaped a group identity with the aim of monopolizing political and economic powers. From the seventieth century, King Yuhi Gahindiro installed a regime of *ibikingi/ibiti* and created a triple representation countrywide based on: the chief of pasture *(umunyamukenke)*, the chief of land (*umunyabutaka*) and the chief of the armies (*umutware w'ingabo*). The process resulted in a superstructure maintained and reflected in a hierarchical and unequal organization which facilitated the accumulation of the wealth, land and cattle in the hands of a few, the King and his entourage. As Louis put it, this tendency to monopolise the political power and the resources was pursued by later monarchs (Louis 1963; Linden 1977).

When the first Europeans arrived in the end of the 19th century, the ideology of power control was being promoted through mythical and religious justification consigned in the highly sophisticated *Ubwiru* and *Ubucurabwenge* literature kept by the specialists, *Abacurabwenge*, and the constitutional affairs guardians, the *Abiru* (Gatwa 2005: 19-24) on the benefit of a reigning dynasty.

However, as well documented by A. Kagame, the nation building that gradually arose from the expansion and consolidation of the social and political institutions and manifested in well-structured, administered and organized country was achieved with the contribution of all three social classes (Kagame 1952). The concepts of "race", ethnic group", "tribe" were not known in Rwanda; they were introduced and codified in the abundant colonial and missionary literature and raised into ideological categories the colonial political reforms of the early 1920s up to early 1930s (Reyntjens 1985).

Infighting and Mutual exclusion

Far from being a paradise, infighting and mutual exclusion for power and resources control have existed but never on the basis of *Bahutu, Batutsi* and *Batwa*. A challenge to unity was the power struggle within the royal family; one example is the *Rucunshu* putsch within the royal family after the death of King Rwabugiri[13] at the time, the Europeans camped in the western borders of Rwanda, in Shangi (Cyangugu), and the missionaries were busy setting up their plans to occupy the country. These internal infightings for power control weakened the regime and helped the Europeans to easily conquer the country[14] .

The exclusion of the Batwa *group*

The decline of the population in this social class and the fact that despite the government efforts to improve their well-being the situation has not significantly improved still is a concern for the government; the Senate has appointed a special commission whose reports led to the government long term strategic plan for the well-being of this category. The implementation of the strategic plan constituted a Senate audition session – review in February 2019 which ended with a resolution requesting a written answer from the Prime Minister on how the government intends to resolve the issue. Mbonimana and colleagues rightly highlight the discrimination against the *Batwa* social class despite some prominent

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13. *Rucunshu* is a village near the Anglican parish center of Shyogwe, at about 15 km from the city of Gitarama. In 1896, a coup overthrew King Mibambwe IV Rutarindwa and replaced him by his half-brother, Musinga. Both were sons of King Kigeli IV Rwabugiri the sitting monarch at the arrival of the Europeans; Rutarindwa, the heir to the throne had lost his mother and his father had given him for surrogate mother another of his wives, Kanjogera. The latter was supposed to reign as queen mother with Rutalindwa. She rather plotted and put her own son, Musinga onto power.
14. Office of the President of Rwanda-*The unity of Rwandans : before the colonial period; under the colonial rule and under the first republic*, Kigali 1999: 9.

figures among this group who served as prominent chief of territories and chief of armies as recorded by A. Kagame[15].

4. When the Country's Sovereignty was stolen

4.1. First the country's Sovereignty...

Colonisation is destructive by nature; wherever it occurred it subverted existing political, social, economic and cultural institutions. In addition to conquering and dominating, colonization imposed conquering religions, Christianity and Islam which have proved to be equally intolerant to cultural and religious values of conquered populations. The Europeans had an easy task to conquer Rwanda; they arrived at the time of power struggle within the royal household, whilst another crisis was bourgeoning in the northern part of Rwanda, the Basebya-Ndungutse revolt of 1911-1912.

In 1896, Captain Ramsay handed the German flag to the Court in Runda hill, near Kigali[16] ; henceforth, Rwanda became a German Protectorate. The well-known powerful kingdom in central and eastern Africa lost its sovereignty, its integrity, its independence; the king lost the authority and the control over his subjects and the kingdom's resources.

The Belgian colonial rule began on 22 November 1916; the King of Belgians signed a decree appointing a royal commander to administer the East African territories taken from the Germans. By July 1917, King Musinga of Rwanda was forced to sign a bill of freedom of conscience. The document imposed Christianity as the official religion of the country [Reyntjens 1985: 80]. That same year, the King's power and final verdict over his subjects was revoked; in 1923, the King's authority over the chiefs was removed. But the most troubling ruling came in 1925 when the *Abiru* institution was dismantled and its chief, Gashamura, was exiled in Gitega, Burundi. From then onwards, the King and the Queen Mother were disempowered, the Belgian colonial governor was at the centre of power control. The sharing system between the Queen Mother and the King was dismissed; Queen Mother, Kankazi was installed in Shyogwe far from Nyanza, the residence of the King.

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15. Alexis Kagame, *Le Code des Institutions politiques… 1952,* 116-133 quoted in Gatwa, 2005: 20.
16. Captain Ramsay did not meet King Musinga, but a substitute, Mpamarugamba, son of Prince Mutijima. [Kagame, *Un abrégé de l'histoire… 1975*, vol. 2: 130 & 147 quoted in Reyntjens 1985: 59].

4.2. Then the King...

On 12 November, 1931 the turning point took place when the colonial power and the missionaries revoked King Musinga on the accusation that he opposed the conversion to Catholicism and colonial reforms. He was exiled in Kamembe, western Rwanda, then to Moba-DRC where he died[17]. Significant is how the colonial-missionary alliance worked harmoniously to organize the putsch. The colonial governor, Charles Voisin and the head of the Catholic Church, Bishop Leon Classe installed Musinga's son, Rudahigwa, a catechumen to Catholicism. As they totally ignored the Abiru, the constitutional body in charge of the enthronization of the monarchy, Governor Voisin took the lead during the ceremony: "Rudahigwa, as you were nominated by the King of Belgians, I proclaim you, King of Ruanda". Then Bishop Classe, took over: "the title of your reign is Mutara by the requirement of the dynastic rule"[18] . This power control by the colonial rule and church alliance was completed by a joint pursuit of the political and administrative reforms aimed at promoting chiefs and assistant chiefs from schools created for boys selected from families labeled chiefs *Batutsi[19]*.

From 1931 to 1940, King Rudahigwa did a lot to rehabilitate the image of the royal family towards the church and colonial power; indeed, his example of conversion was followed by the majority of the population [towards 1940 more or less 95% of the chiefs were converted to Catholicism[20]]; he was baptized in 1943 taking the name of both the Governor and the head of the Catholic Church [Charles Leon Pierre Rudahigwa]; the Queen Mother was also baptized; she took the name of the Princess of Belgians, Radegonde; the King's wife Gicanda took the name Rosalie. In 1946, King Mutara consecrated the kingdom and his people to Christ the King and to the Virgin Mary [Gatwa 2005: 94]. Thereafter, he received from pope Pius XII a medal in recognition of the support to Christianity.

Furthermore, King Rudahigwa tried to restore the image of the monarchy, the dignity and unity of the Banyarwanda. He initiated gradual reforms including the abolition in 1954 of the *ubuhake* system, the creation of the Advisory

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17. King Musinga died in 1945; till now, his remains were never returned to Rwanda.
18. Van Overschelde 1946 : 156; Reyntjens 1985 : 91 quoted by Gatwa 2005 : 89.
19. The creation of schools for sons of *Batutsi chiefs* by the missionaries started with the school of Nyanza near the residence of King Musinga in 1905 which was relocated to Kabgayi in 1912 on the accusation that Musinga would allow a mixture of some sons of *Bahutu* and *Batutsi*; then the creation of Indatwa in 1926 in Butare [formerly Astrida] of a school for sons of chiefs for Ruanda and Burundi.
20. For the chiefs to keep their position, they must be baptized; and to be accepted in catechumenate, they were prescribed a number of subjects to bring as converts; the failure to reach the target was severely punished by the father, head of the mission; heavy beating, imprisonment even revocation of the chief were common [Rumiya 1992: 195/6; Gatwa 2005: 92].

Council for the Country in 1956, and the advocacy for the autonomy of the country [Gamaliel Mbonimana, Paul Rutayisire et al 1999: 11]. His reforms were stopped by his sudden and unexplained death on 25 July 1959 in Bujumbura in the hands of colonial officials .

Furthermore, King Rudahigwa tried to restore the image of the monarchy, the dignity and unity of the *Banyarwanda*. He initiated gradual reforms including the abolition in 1954 of the *ubuhake system*, the creation of the Advisory Council for the Country in 1956, and the advocacy for the autonomy of the country [Gamaliel Mbonimana, Paul Rutayisire et al 1999 : 11]. His reforms were stopped by his sudden and unexplained death on 25 July 1959 in Bujumbura in the hands of colonial officials[21].

5. Breaking the Unity of *Banyarwanda* : Ideology of

The colonial construct of race supremacy in Rwanda reposed on a model made of five major articulations: biblical genealogy; the application of the ideologies of race supremacy to the Rwandan social reality; the mythico-history; a cynical management of the transfer of political power from colonial rule to national leaders; finally, the instrumentalisation of the ethno-racial factors out of the social classes of *Banyarwanda*.

5.1 Biblical genealogy

The Hamite concept dominated the thinking of ethnologists, missionaries and colonial officials during their attempt to characterize Rwandan society. This concept developed out of the emergence of race supremacy theories in Europe. Joseph Arthur Gobineau (1816 –1882) affirmed that the Hamites descended, 5000 years ago from the White superior race in Mesopotamia. Confronted by the Black African masses, non-Adamic, they would mix and become diluted. The Hamites were considered descendants of Ham who saw the nudity of his drunken father, Noah. His youngest son, Canaan, the brother of Cush (the Ethiopian), Mizraim (Misri) and Put, was cursed by Noah when he realized that Ham saw his nudity (Genesis 10:1-32). It is assumed that from Mesopotamia the hamites settled in Egypt, Kush and Ethiopia. The ancient Egyptians called themselves Kamit (Hamites, Blacks or Ebony). But for a long, the Hamites were rejected at the periphery of humanity. How then did they emerge as the "civilizing race of Black Africa"? According to C.G. Seligman, there was a combination of factors.

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21. Like Rudahigwa, other leaders of the Belgian colonies were murdered in a record period of 2 years [Lumumba in 1960; Rwagasore in Burundi in 1961; Rudahigwa 1959].

In the 19th century, studies and exegeses combined with social science theories were oriented to deepen the gap between Whites and Blacks; the Napoleonic wars allowed the Westerners to discover the great civilization of Egypt, and later the socio-political organizations and institutions of the interlacustrine region (C.G. Seligman 1930; C.A. Diop. 1955:62; Chretien 1993:338).

5.2. Application of the ideologies of race supremacy to the Rwandan social reality

The general frame of interpretation of history of humanity that was applied to many regions of the world gave primacy to racial conquests and domination. Dominique Franche reminded that such an interpretation flourished in France in the sixteenth century; the theory presented the French nobility as descendants of the Franks from Germany, in opposition to the roturiers (peasants) descendants from the Gallo-Romans. The theory was adopted and reproduced by the Nobles who embraced it (Franche 1997:32-33). The early explorers and ethnologists applied this theory uncritically in Rwanda. For example, Captain Herne Speke accepted the accounts about the Hamites of Galla origin who emigrated from Ethiopia toward Rwanda. Similarly, Comte Gustav Adolf Goetzen gave the following description : a strange Semitic or Hamitic aristocratic caste whose ancestors originated from Gallaland, in the South of Abyssinia, had occupied the region of the Great Lakes" (G. Honke 1990 : 97-110 ; Gatwa 2005:65). In 1902, Father Leon Classe, future bishop and Primate of the Catholic Church in Rwanda (1907 - 1945) wrote that the "*Batutsi* are men of superb physique, with delicate and regular features and with something of both Aryen and Semitic types" (Classe 1902: 385) ; in 1917, Father Francois Menard wrote: "the *Mututsi* is a European person in a Black skin". These statements would be reiterated by ethnologists including Dr Baumann (Gatwa 2005: 70).

5.3 Manipulation of the mythico-history

The theory was subsequently inserted in the mythico-history of Rwanda. For Father Delmas, the Hamites of Rwanda themselves subdivided into four categories: the true nobles descending from the sky (*ibimanuka*), the hybrids of the indigenous Bahutu rulers and the hamites; the nobles of unknown clans; the *Batutsi* of foreign origin. As it appears, the first category is founded on myth which is a universal problem in the ideology of power control; the other

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categories labelled hybrids or unknown seem to lead in impasse in which no one among the *Banyarwanda* knew their origin[22].

One way these theories channeled division in Rwandan society was the missionary schools exclusively reserved for the sons of "Batutsi chiefs". According to Mgr Classe the missionary schools were created to form an elite "capable of understanding and implementing progress". A section of the 1927 colonial report written by the head of the catholic missions in Rwanda state: "With the Batutsi Christian the missionaries hope to achieve the formation of pro-European social elite. Christianity provides it. Cardinal Lavigerie used to repeat to the missionary societies of Africa that it was necessary to give a foundation that rests on our civilization, namely Christianity. If it were not the case, the Negroes [sic!] would not understand the civilization engendered by Christianity" (Annual colonial report 1927: 48). On the influence he wanted the church to have on society, Mg Classe put it as follows :

> *One of the most crucial questions that commend our attention in the forthcoming changes in Rwanda is schools. The issue is whether the ruling elite will be for us or against us; whether the important places in indigenous society will be for Catholics or for non-Catholics; whether the church will have, through education and formation of the youth, the predominant influence in Rwanda* (Van der Meersch, 1993 :104).

5.4 Cynical management of the power transfer : The Role of Colonel Logiest

The political turmoil of the end of 1950s for African liberation resonated as well in the former Belgian colonies, Burundi, Congo and Rwanda. However, the Belgian colonial rule's management of the transition period can be described as revenge against the *Batutsi* elite who petitioned for independence[23]. The petitions for independence by the educated elite, formerly their "protégés" was no more but a betrayal of the trust the two powers had invested in them. They both clearly opted to support ethnically motivated tensions and to transfer political power from the colonial agents to the Parmehutu political leaders. The former used ethnic strategies and at the same time, softened their positions vis-à-vis the colonial

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22. Arnoux A, *Les Peres blancs aux sources du Nil*, quoted by Muzungu 1996: 25; Delmas. L, (1950) La Généalogie de la noblesse Batutsi du Rwanda, quoted by Muzungu 1996:43-45)

23. Mgr Perraudin's position was not the official position of the Rwandan hierarchy; Mgr Aloys Bigirumwami in Nyundo was resolutely committed to peace and reconciliation. However, because of his position as Primate of the church, his messages had much more media coverage. See Gatwa T, A paper presented in the international conference on *100 Years of Priesthood in Rwanda,* Huye 2017.

rulers. The colonial regime has also been accused of being responsible for the physical elimination of the leaders of the independence movement, King Mutara Rudahigwa of Rwanda, on 25 July 1959; Patrice Lumumba of Congo and Louis Rwagasore of Burundi early 1961[24] . One colonial ruler who played a key role in the polarization of the crisis is the last Governor of Rwanda [called Special Resident], Colonel Guy Logiest.

"For Linden, political developments following the revolt (1959 social up-rising) were dominated by three factors: the resolute bias towards the *Bahutu* on the part of the Special Resident, colonel Logiest. It would not be an insult to Kayibanda and his colleagues to say that their sudden success and the pene-tration of the Parmehutu propaganda on the hills of Rwanda depended heavily on the resolute support of Colonel Logiest and the Catholic Church of Rwanda. Had Logiest and Perraudin had a different attitude then Kayibanda and some prominent leaders would have been eliminated and the revolution delayed for some more decades. In his memoirs, Logist presents the problem of Rwanda at the time as resulting from the domination of one "caste, the Hamite" over the Bahutu. Logiest shows how, after contacting some political and religious author-ities, and after reading the documentation provided by the leaders of the politi-cal parties, he took the decision to support the *Bahutu* cause (Logiest 1988:58). Against the position of his hierarchy – J.P. Harroy, Governor of Ruanda-Urundi based in Bujumbura, Burundi- and instead of mediating a political settlement for power sharing, Logiest decided to hand the mechanisms of political power and the administration to the leaders of Parmehutu.

During the uprising resulting from the polarization of the politics into *Bahutu-Batutsi* issue, a large number of positions of chiefs and sub-chiefs be-came vacant. Twenty-three chiefs out of 45 and 158 sub-chiefs out of 489 in place before the upheaval of 2 November 1959 were either arrested, exiled, dis-placed, killed or had been forced to resign. Logiest took the opportunity to sweep away the *Batutsi* authorities despite the opposition of his hierarchy, J.P. Harroy. Reyntjens put it as follows :

Logiest gave orders to the administrators of territories (all Europeans) to pro-pose to him the dismissal of as many Tutsi chiefs and sub-chiefs as possible. Even where the chiefs stayed in place, the Governor wanted to dislodge them by all means. He ignored the orders of Governor Harroy who without insist-ing showed the illegitimate nature of that decision. Logiest rather advised the population to form the committees that would compile the lists of the persons to be declared undesirable so as to expel them from the region. To the question

24. Linden 1977 : 234 ; Lemarchand 1970 : 340 ; Gatwa 2005: 112.

whether the chiefs who wished would resume their activity- according to the decree of 1952-Logiest said it was the right of the population to oppose the move for the sake of public order and security. To one region that had moved quickly, the Ruhengeri territory in the North of Rwanda, Logiest said: with all the authorities of Hutu background your territory must give an example to the whole of Rwanda. You must prove that the Bahutu *are capable of participating in the running of their country".* (Reyntjens 1985 : 268-9; Logiest 1988 :125; quoted in Gatwa 2005:58).

It is not the scope of this study to discuss the factors that led the Catholic church to change its position in favour of the *Bahutu*; however, Linden suggests that the alliance disappeared gradually from 1945 under the new primate, Mgr Deprimoz, then in 1959 with Mgr Perraudin's infamous letter about the "obligation of social justice" [Linden 1977: 238].

5.5 The instrumentalisation of the ethno-racial factors

Following these political turmoil (1959-1962), Rwanda accessed independence in 1962. The former colonial governor and military commander, Colonial Logiest was appointed the new ambassador of Belgium to the new government and stay in this position in many years. At the same time, Rwandan refugees of *Batutsi* background settled in the neighboring counties from where some of them started to organize a rebellion known as the *Inyenzi* attacks (cockroaches). One of the dreadful attacks took place on Christmas 1963 from Bugesera, 25 Km from Kigali. It resulted in irremediably affected "ethnic" tensions provoking massacres and exile for many *Batutsi.* Between 5000 to 8000 persons lost their lives in the Gikongoro prefecture; other regions were affected too. Referring to the UN report on the massacres which absolved the new Rwandan government of any premeditation or acts of genocide, Reyntjens like Segal before him, reminded that some well-known local authorities responsible for the tragedy safely pursued their political career, and even promotion to higher positions [Reyntjens 1985 : 466; Segal 1964; Gatwa 2005:122]. Moreover, the *inyenzi* attacks were taken as pretext by the Parmehutu regime assisted by the former colonial master's agents, to harass and eliminate the internal legal opposition parties. In 1965, the leaders of this opposition, some of them members of the Parliament, were arrested under the orders of a Belgian officer, Mr. Pilate, summarily tried and executed in the Ruhengeri prison[25].

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25. Reyntjens 1985: 463. Among the leaders were E. Afrika, D. Burabyo, J. Rutsindintwarane, M. Rwagasana; C. Gisimba; M. Ndazaro; M. Mpirikanyi of UNAR; P. Bwanaweri, L. Ndazaro and C. Karinda of RADER.

Clearly, in less than half a century, the colonial system and the church hierarchy have created a hero in the interlacustrine region of Africa, the Hamite, out of the ethnographic and anthropological narratives; when the colonial systems were rebuked in Africa, they decided to *kill* their hero made scapegoat of the failed colonial politics; then, in Rwanda, they metamorphosed him into a new phenomenon out of the Parmehutu ideology.

6. African traditions : odd relics or potential tools for change ?

6.1. Keys in Mind or the indigenous knowledge systems !

Apostle Paul's statement in *2 Corinthians 3.6* : "the letter kills the Spirit gives life" challenged the present author to examine whether the Rwandan Home Grown Solutions are "oddities, retrograde and hindrances to development" or whether they are potential factors for progress. We have discussed the idea that high degrees of socio-economic transformation are not incompatible with social, cultural, religious foundations. We suggest that they are a major ingredient of culture and civilization that sustains an ideology of power and shared destiny. Secondly, we have assumed that societies can reach social, cultural, political and religious sophistication, but to achieve unity and progress, they must engineer political power centralization and cement a way of life that guides the mobilization and organization of the people's potential.

Whether traditions in Africa can help a people to walk towards progress remains a controversial issue. Axelle Kabou launched a virulent attack against African cultures accusing them to being retrograde and not development oriented. The only chance for Africa, she suggests, is not to search for scapegoats elsewhere, neither in the transatlantic slave trade, nor colonialists and   neo-colonialists, not even Bretton Wood institutions, but to borrow and adapt the know-how and technologies that achieved vast revolutions in other societies (Kabou 1991). Similarly, Etounga Manguele said that the African cultures need a structural adjustment to retrieve and reject the magic mentality resting on fatalism, defeatism and easy submission. Africans must work hard for themselves instead of living by procurement [Etounga Manguelle 1993].

These perspectives have been dismissed at different grounds. Joseph Ki-Zerbo in his famous *Développement, Clés en tête* [development keys in mind-set] vehemently opposed the approach inviting the Africans to borrow and reproduce know-how from elsewhere being from the World financial institutions and

the technically developed countries. The *ready-made* projects reproduced here and there in developing countries by *experts* without consideration of the historical, political, cultural and social contexts have been a disaster. He considers the indigenous knowledge systems as a catalyst of people's participation, an irrefutable path to sustainable development [26]. In the same tune, Zadi Kessy defends the idea that African cultures, used with pragmatism are excellent factors for development because of their ethical values like: Solidarity, enthusiasm, respect for the word given, bonds of family and clan tradition, respect for the hierarchy, listening to others, peaceful mediation… all factors that can be strong foundations for successful mobilization in business particularly restraining harmful disruptions to nascent economies [Z. Kessy 1998].

Most of home grown solutions are part of the African socio-economic and cultural heritage commonly known as indigenous knowledge systems. These are experiential knowledge systems based on a worldview and a culture that is basically relational. Regarding Africa in general, these systems belong to a worldview of wholeness, community and harmony, deeply embedded in cultural values. Central to the African worldview is the strong orientation to collective values and harmony rooted in a sense of common responsibility – a 'collective ethic' –; a person becomes human only in the midst of others and seeks both individual and collective harmony as the primary task in the process of becoming a true person. Therefore, the survival of the group derives from harmony through interdependence and interconnectedness[27].

Because indigenous knowledge systems are mainly oral and not written, people-centered and sometimes not so easily 'measurable' [Emeagwali, 2003], they have been mistaken by many as simplistic and not amenable to systematic scientific investigation. For Ngara, this is a total misrepresentation of the rich complexities that are vastly present in the community ceremonies and rituals, like story-telling, proverbs, folktales, recitation, demonstration, sport, epic, poetry, reasoning, riddles, praise, songs, word games, puzzles, tongue-twisters, dance, music, and other education-centered activities [Ngara, 2007].

6.2. Which matters: the *local* or the *universal* ?

Ngugi wa Thiong'o dismisses the misuse of West when it is meant to generalize its experience of history as the universal experience of the world. He

26. Ki-Zerbo, J (1992), *La nasse des autres Dakar* : CODESRIA ; Zadi Kessy (1998), *Culture africaine et gestion d'une entreprise moderne*. Yaoundé/Abidjan : CEDA/CLÉ.
27. Frances E. Owusu-Ansah[1] and Gubela Mji[2] African indigenous knowledge and research. In African Journal of Disability 2013; 2(1): 30.

said: *What is Western becomes universal and what is Third World becomes local. Locality becomes measured by the degree of its distance from the metropolis of the Western world*. For Ngugi wa Thiong'o there is no reason for a frenetic tendency to search for mechanical opposition between local and universal . For him *the universal* is contained in the particular, just as the particular is contained in the universal. We are all human beings but the fact of our being human does not manifest itself in its abstraction but in the particularity of real living human beings of different climates and races"[Ngugi 1993:26]. With regard to cultures he says :

> *cultures do not always develop out of the working-out of contradictions within themselves or with the other features of that society only. They also develop in an external environment of contact with other societies. This contact can be one of hostility, indifference, or of mutual give and take. The same is of course true of the development in thought and even in academic disciplines*[28].

It has been the assumption of this chapter that many countries which reached sustainable development were helped by a specific identity, drawing resources from cultural values and civilizations which they preciously preserved. Reference can be made to countries inspired by *Confucianism* and *Buddhism* including China, Korea, Japan, and indeed many countries in South East Asia when thinking in particular of their ethic of hard work and discipline. From Europe in the 16th century, the reformers' ethic of working hard and saving to invest impacted on all countries that joined the Reformation movement.

The experiences cannot be easily generalized; they can only be taken for inspiration for the interaction between the local and the universal defended by Ngugi wa Kiongo'o to take place. However, like a virus that attacks the immune system of a human body and destroys all defense factors, colonialism destroyed all pillars of the Rwandan way of life and civilization. This was done in various ways. Politically, the idea of a monarch- incarnation of the nation and its values- and the constitutional pillars of the country, *Ubwiru* and *ubucurabwenge*, even its national religion were dismantled. Annihilating the religion that was a unifying factor of all sociological components meant that the country no longer belonged to the king and his people, but to foreign powers, the church and colonial rulers which were discriminating and selecting the people by merit[29]. The values

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28. Ngugi wa Thiongo'o [1993]. *Moving the Centre. The Structure for Cultural freedom*. Currey, EAEP, Heinmann: London, Nairobi, Portsmouth, p. 25-27.

29. All missionaries with few exceptions were whites. As Mongo Beti put it in *Le Pauvre Christ de Bomba*, the African populations would not see a difference between the white father and Jesus, all white folks.

of humanism, solidarity and compassion like *umuganda, ubudehe*, were politicized, transformed into tools for forced labour [30]. The *Itorero*, a traditional ferment of patriotism and intergenerational unity was prohibited[31]. The disappearance of *Itorero* led to the loss of the school of excellence that contributed to the formation of character. *Gacaca* and *Abunzi* community based judiciary mechanisms were replaced by the legal roman system; hence Rwandans lost the ethos of a judiciary system fundamentally restorative, based on community participation which was replaced by the Roman retributive criminal judiciary system.

6.3. Ubudehe

Ubudehe solidarity assistance, in the Rwandan culture was a community activity where local populations would roundly work for their neighbors, cultivating the land during the farming season or building houses, or creating a well or marking out the cattle's pasture, etc. In a context of manual farming with no technologies, individual work on the land was at risk of delays, resulting in discouragement and missed seasons. *Ubudehe* was the key empowerment of individual families, key to solidarity of the communities. The practice was particularly instrumental in assisting the most vulnerable. Today, *Ubudehe*, rehabilitated, is commonly used to categorize the population according to their social and economic situation with the aim of providing public assistance to those at the bottom of the ladder at the same time to lift them up from where they are.

6.4. Gacaca

Gacaca, the traditional village space and at the same time mechanisms for conflict resolution under the mediation of the wisest of the community, was a forum for all; men and women had a voice in the search for truth in conflict resolution. In post-genocide Rwanda, *Gacaca* were rehabilitated to settle cases of justice for the victims and survivors of the 1994 genocide against the *Tutsi*. 9 judges known as *Inyangamugayo*, people of integrity, were elected by the community to know and judge local cases with the participation of members of that community. From 2001 up to 2012, *Gacaca* judged more or less 2 million cases of crimes of genocide, whilst the United Nations international tribunal for Rwanda [Arusha, Tanzania], took more than 20 years to judge less than 100 first category master

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30. Danielle de Lame [1996], *Une colline entre mille ou le calme avant la tempête. Transformation et blocage du Rwanda Rural*. Brussels : Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale. Tervuren, p. 60.
31. Prohibited in 1923, the concept *Itorero* was recuperated by some branches of the conquering religions, protestant denominations as the *Kinyarwanda* equivalent of church [Eglise] whilst the Catholics adopted the word *Kiliziya*.

minders of the genocide. Judged by the results such as community participation; the encounter between the victims and perpetrators in the search for truth; justice offered in a short time to both parties; low costs to public funds; empowerment of local leadership, we clearly should advocate for this judiciary system to be promoted worldwide.

6.5. *Abunzi* or the community mediators

The *Abunzi* pursue the social even legal mediation for cases in communities; they are also regulated by law and by a code of conduct set up by the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Local Government. *Abunzi* [benevolent mediators elected by the community] have become part of the normal and permanent mechanisms of conflict transformation. For any case in the community to go to the modern legal system, it must either be beyond the mandate and powers of the *abunzi,* or either party has rejected the mediation offered. Because individuals and families are not left on their own to face their tormentors, even the most powerful, *Gacaca* and *abunzi* have become factors of peace and harmony in communities.

6.6. Umuganda

Of the socio-economic development tools, umuganda [community work], is the home grown solution concerned with engaging social and economic activities, including construction of roads, bridges, schools, health facilities, housing , drainage, residences and city cleaning etc. Umuganda strengthens the achievements of individual families beyond the resources of the nucleus family. Transformed into a tool of forced labour during the colonial rule, *umuganda* has been rehabilitated in the post-colonial era as a major contributor to socio-economic activities. One day per week or per month, *Umuganda* fulfills another function, social reconciliation through, bringing people to working together, then to interact on community and country problems and solutions at hand. God gives a hand to hard workers : *Imana ifasha uwifashije* [God helps the person who helps themselves]; *Abagiye Inama Imana irabasanga* [God joins those who convene for good action] is the Rwandan philosophy behind *umuganda*. In that regard, both *ubudehe* and *umuganda* emphasise the essence of togetherness.

6.7. Imihigo

Imihigo and *ibigwi* known as the performance contract for social, political and sustainable economic growth were the backbone of performance, nation

building and capacity building for generations. People used *Imihigo* both as a community and as individuals to define strategic goals and objectives being military, political, economic and social, committing themselves to their fulfillment and reporting to superiors, peers and the community through *guhiga ibigwi*. The ceremony of *guhiga* [vowing] was presided over by the king, or a chief or the head of the clan or family. The ceremony was characterized by sharing *inzoga y' Imihigo* (the "I*mihigo* beer" as anticipation of *inzoga yo guhigura* the beer of performance reporting] which was the monopoly of those who achieved what they vowed to do. "*Generally, Rwandans resorted to this cultural practice when they sought to overcome a huge societal problem requiring voluntarism and commitment from an individual, an organized group or all the citizens. The community regarded such a commitment as an act of bravery and would expect committed individuals or groups to successfully achieve set objectives efficiently, whatever the object*" [RGB 2014, p 85].

6.8. Girinka Munyarwada

Traditional Rwanda was a pastoralist society. The cow was the highest and most valued richness a Rwandan would be proud to possess. The possession of cattle was the symbol of dignity; a Rwandan family valued the cow the same way a European values their car. Treasured more than any other resource of the land, offering a cow was the highest factor of friendship; the most valued heritage to children. Cattle were symbols of prosperity[32]. The cow played a central role in rewarding the highest achievements, promoting and sustaining friendship, reconciliation and social cohesion; it is given across the nation as dowry for marriage; cows and the land were the most important assets the family would leave in heritage to their offspring.

7. Conclusion- Paradigm Shift, a Renaissance !

The journey into Rwandan traditional practices helps Rwandans to revisit their past in an attempt to undergo the *auto-da-fé*, the encounter with the *Afrique d'en-bas*. The entire exercise aims to explore the practices of cultural heritage at the grass-roots to sustain resilience [Jean Marc Ela 2002]. In *moving the centre*, Ngugi wa Thiong'o proposes an interaction between the local and the universal which represents a total disregard of any pretention to unilateralism. Back to the colonial period in the *Cahier d'un Retour au pays natal*, Aimé Césaire [Césaire

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32. Not often cattle were designed for meat; meat were consumed rather by cow's death accident or during special ceremony.

1939] dismissed the baseness of the Eurocentric orientation. The "Negritude" by Césaire, Senghor and others, condemned the colonial order, awakened the consciousness of all people to stand up for the rehabilitation of their identity and personality.

This study has also proposed Amilcal Cabral's relevant Marxist social analysis reminding us that the people's land is a metonym of their culture, and that both land and culture have become the material base of pre-colonial and colonial contradictions. For him, imperialism exacerbated the tension between the ethnic groups and between the educated elites and the peasants; the elites were alienated by colonization from their culture which is embodied in the struggle and life of the peasants. Therefore, if the elites want to be part of the liberation movement, social, economic and cultural reconstruction, they have to accept to be re-Africanized[33].

These reflections apply to post genocide Rwanda where ongoing efforts aim at rehabilitating the cultural heritage in the quest for harmony, reconciliation and reconstruction. Most of the practices reintroduced as factors of socio-economic and moral reconstruction prove to be helpful. Harmony requires eradicating impunity and injustice; whilst the search for reconciliation requires particular efforts between both the victim and the perpetrator of violence on one side, and on the other, the need for a competent mediator personally committed to make the new encounter a success. The perpetrators of violence who caused harm need a new conscientiousness [*umutimanama*] that leads them to humility, confession and demand of forgiveness. Reconciliation brings about change; it shapes a new history in the relationships of communities. The corpus of practices presented here, and many more that need to be investigated, are hugely relevant in that quest for a new history. With governance envisioned from the perspective of home grown solutions, a paradigm shift is taking place; it offers to the *Banyarwanda* people the chance to revisit their dark past so as to build the foundations of a bright future. Such an endeavor has no pretention to glorify the ancestors' practices but to accompany these to a fruitful exposure to tools of modernity for a new shared personality of our nations to emerge. Would Africa take advantage!

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Bâtir sur la Ressource Culturelle : Réflexions socio-anthropologiques sur les *Home-Grown Solutions* ou solutions endogènes au Rwanda post-génocide

Par Prof. Déo Mbonyinkebe

*Ijya kurisha ihera ku rugo (*l'animal qui va brouter débute par l'enclos).

*Akanyoni katagurutse ntikamenya iyo bweze (*l'oiseau qui ne s'envole pas ne sait pas là où la moisson est disponible).

1. Contexte et Motivation

Près de 25 ans se sont écoulées depuis le génocide perpétré contre les *Tutsi* en 1994. Le Rwanda continue à être félicité pour les efforts de redressement et de développement accomplis (J. P. Kimonyo, 2017), au regard de la tragé-die du génocide d'une part, et d'autre part, de l'abandon par la Communauté Internationale avant et pendant cette horreur absolue, et même après dans une certaine mesure. Les stratégies de réhabilitation, de reconstruction et aujourd'hui de développement inclusif ont été guidées dès le départ par le souci, mieux la vo-lonté tenace de creuser profondément en vue de se ressourcer dans les valeurs qui se trouvent dans le socle historique de la Nation rwandaise telle que rêvée par ses Fondateurs/trices.

C'est ainsi que les célèbres consultations nationales au sortir du géno-cide, entre 1998 et 1999 dans le Village *Urugwiro*, siège de la Présidence de la République, ont abouti à la conclusion selon laquelle la seule option possible et féconde était de redécouvrir et de réhabiliter les vertus ou valeurs positives qui constituent le précieux capital social du Rwanda dont la convivialité, la solidari-té, le patriotisme. Il s'agissait dès lors de considérer la culture rwandaise en ses

aspects positifs comme une précieuse ressource en vue d'asseoir l'unité, l'inté-grité, la tolérance, la résilience[34].

Faisant l'économie des débats des années 90 (voir entre autres A. Kabou, 1991 ; D. Etounga Manguele, 1991) repris plus tard en 2000 (voir L. E. Harrison, 2000 : XVIII-XXIV) en leur préférant une posture pragmatique et en évitant ainsi le piège « *culturaliste* », les nouvelles autorités politiques ont cru en la possibilité de conjuguer l'ancien et le nouveau, le moderne et le traditionnel, notamment à travers l'entreprise « *osée* » de l'instauration des Juridictions *Gacaca* au-jourd'hui fort documentées (voir entre autres F. Digneffe & J. Fierens eds, 2003 ; P. Clark, 2010 ; K. C. Doughty, 2016,). Suivront d'autres initiatives telles que l'*Ubudehe*, les *Imihigo* ou contrats de performance, *Ingando* ou camps d'éduca-tion civique et dans la foulée, *Itorero ry'Igihugu* (Écoles d'excellence et de for-mation civique), pour ne citer que celles-la. Parmi les préoccupations des promo-teurs de cet ouvrage nous retiendrons les interrogations ci-après :

1˚ Comment ces initiatives et programmes répondent-ils au souci de rebâ-tir une *société morale* ayant le souci de la Justice, de l'Équité, du Développement inclusif ?

2˚ Quels en sont les enjeux, les difficultés et les opportunités ?

3˚ Comment en réduire les risques de manipulation idéologique au sens per-vers du terme, laquelle vise à assouvir tout en les masquant des intérêts particu-liers inavouables ?

4˚ Sur quel substratum ou socle reposent les efforts de reformatage et la re-vitalisation des valeurs censées contribuer à la consolidation de la Nation rwan-daise tout en l'ouvrant à l'Afrique et au Monde[35] ?

5˚ Quels dispositifs pédagogiques sont mis en place en vue de transmettre aux jeunes générations les meilleurs acquis à partir de ces processus en cours touchant à des domaines cruciaux de l'existence collective

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34. Voir document final issu de ces assises : *Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda ; imbere y'Abazungu n'igihe cy'Ubukoloni, Mu gihe cya Repubulika ya mbere*, Kanama 1999) [L'unité des Rwandais : avant la colonisation, au cours de la période coloniale et au cours de la Ière République].

35. Cette notion de *Substratum* correspond chez Jacques Berque, « à *l'original*, *l'authentique*, *l'essentiel*, *le fondamental*, ou *ce qui constitue l'Esprit de la Culture, son âme, qu'il ne faut surtout pas perdre comme le recommande l'Évangile* » (voir J. BERQUE, 1968 cité in Roger Bastide, Paris 1968: 57).Ainsi conçue, la culture dans sa face lumineuse peut être définie comme *Capacité* (M. Crozier, E. Friedberg, 1977) « *permettant aux groupes de se constituer, et de mobiliser leurs aptitudes, connaissances et intérêts divergents* » (pp216 et ss)

2. Les Home-Grown Solutions: regards institutionnels

La Constitution de la République du Rwanda (2015) [voir *Journal Officiel/ Official Gazette*, N° spécial du 24/12/2015] en son chapitre III consacré aux principes fondamentaux et solutions endogènes souligne le fait que la culture est source des solutions endogènes :

> *en vue du développement national, de la promotion de la culture nationale et de la restauration de la dignité, les Rwandais, se basant sur leurs valeurs, mettent en place des mécanismes de solutions endogènes en vue d'aborder des questions les concernant. Des lois peuvent créer différents mécanismes visant des solutions endogènes.*

La visée finale consiste donc dans la marche vers un mieux-être auquel peuvent contribuer des mécanismes inspirés des valeurs inscrites au cœur de la culture nationale, laquelle de ce fait s'en trouve rehaussée, ceci assurant une plus grande dignité aux Rwandais. Cette dignité a été si longtemps bafouée. L'Office rwandais de la Gouvernance (Rwanda Governance Board [RGB]) en charge entre autres de documenter et d'évaluer ces solutions endogènes, Home Grown Solutions (HGS) évoque ces dernières de la manière suivante :

> *As part of efforts to reconstruct Rwanda and nurture a shared national identity, the Government of Rwanda drew on aspects of Rwandan Culture and traditional practices to enrich and adapt its development programs to the country needs and contexts. The result is a set of Governance and Home Grown Initiatives (HGI)- culturally own practices translated into development programs.*

Avant cela on croise quelques déclarations du Chef de l'Etat, le Président Paul Kagame soulignant la valeur instrumentale de la culture dans le développement du Rwanda. Pour lui, la culture, la diplomatie, l'armée, les TIC/ICT constituent des piliers du développement du Rwanda post- génocide (propos tenu à Kigali, le 13/5/2001 devant une délégation de la USA Army Academy). Bien plus tard, il affirmait de même que le Rwanda était en train de « *créer des institutions modernes à partir des héritages culturels* » (*Umurage w'Abanyarwanda*, déclaration faite à Denver, USA, Février 2011).

Déjà en 2008, dans sa préface à l'ouvrage édité par l'Institut des Musées Nationaux du Rwanda : « *Rwanda. Umurage ndangamuco kuva kera kugera magingo aya/* Rwanda, Son Patrimoine culturel Hier et Aujourd'hui/ Its cultural Heritage, Past and Present, 2008 », le Président de la République était explicite à ce sujet :

L'une des stratégies de développement harmonieux de la société rwandaise, réside dans le renforcement des ressources culturelles et dans les capacités individuelles et collectives d'intégrer des technologies et des systèmes étrangers dans l'ensemble des pratiques, des savoir-faire et des systèmes rwandais. L'intégration des apports enrichissants requiert deux qualités complémentaires : la maîtrise des savoir-faire de la population rwandaise et la créativité consistant en l'exploitation judicieuse de ces apports fusant de partout dans la recherche des solutions des problèmes de la société rwandaise. La meilleure façon de conserver la culture réside alors dans la créativité continuelle puisant son inspiration aussi bien dans la tradition que dans la modernité. Le dialogue fécond et permanent entre générations permet de garder le lien entre la passé et le présent et d'inscrire la culture dans un développement durable. C'est dans cette perspective que la culture jouera son rôle et demeurera la base de tout développement harmonieux.

Il insiste sur un double impératif : l'enracinement dans l'humus des héritages et l'ouverture aux apports extérieurs. Car, comme nous le rappelle opportunément le philosophe camerounais Godefroid Bidima (1995 : 107) « *Dans la traversée, l'Afrique doit inaugurer culturellement une logique de l'accumulation (pas au sens capitaliste !) des expériences d'autres histoires qui viendront à leur manière féconder la sienne ».* Les *Home Grown Solutions* s'accordent parfaitement avec cette perspective même si l'on constate des failles dans la pratique. Il y a lieu de noter que le Chef de l'État est revenu avec insistance sur le rôle de la culture dans les stratégies du Développement rapide, durable et inclusif lors de ses prises de parole au cours de la Session XV de l'Annual Leadersphip Retreat en 2018.

3. Éclairages conceptuels

En examinant au plus près l'énoncé de la Constitution de 2015 à propos des *Home Grown Solutions*, l'on peut repérer quelques concepts-clés, tels que : Culture, Culture nationale, Dignité, Valeurs, Tradition, Développement.

3.1. Culture (*Umuco*)

Le concept de culture se présente comme un « *motif* » récurrent [au sens de thème] quant aux *Home Grown Solutions* [HGS] s'agissant de l'*Ubudehe*, *Girinka Munyarwanda*, les *Imihigo*, *Umuganda*, *Itorero ry'Igihugu*…. Les textes officiels n'en donnent pas une définition explicite. Aussi, n'est-il pas superflu d'en offrir un éclairage sous l'angle de la socio-anthropologie. Le penseur

et sociologue R. Dumont (1981 :13-14) en donne une définition fort suggestive. Il considère la culture comme « *un milieu pour des actions et des rêves, un monde pour les hommes* ». Il y a ici alliance entre une vision « *utopique* » de la culture et de sa portée pragmatique, et ceci me semble un bon horizon pour comprendre l'ambition et la faisabilité des *Home-Grown Solutions*. Dans la foulée Brigitte Berger (1993) rappelle que la notion de culture recouvre « l'existence d'un groupe social dans sa totalité : rapports interpersonnels, valeurs, croyances, normes, styles cognitifs». Elle ajoute que « *la culture n'est qu'un concept, idéal-typique, élaboré à des fins heuristiques* ».

Les ouvrages d'anthropologie sociale et culturelle offrent des définitions synthétiques ou holistiques de la culture. Retenons pour notre propos la suivante (N. Bonvillain N., 2010) : « *Culture includes cultural knowledge [information that enables people to function in their society and contributes to the survival of the society as a whole] and behavior for living and organizing their lives], people thoughts and behaviors are mutual reinforcing... * ». L'intérêt de cette approche est qu'elle combine l'aspect idéal et l'aspect comportemental ou « *actionniste* » de la culture.

En complément de ce regard sur la culture il est utile d'intégrer également la composante « environnementale ou écologique », tel que souligné par F. De Beer (2001) :

> *For the anthropologist culture refers to the total way of life of a society. Such a way of life can be seen as a system of thought, behavior, values and material creations of a human group or society which came into being through interaction with the environment. There is, therefore a close connection between people, culture and their environment.*

De Beer poursuit en soulignant l'aspect « *mutant* » ou dynamique de la culture en ce sens que « *culture is not a static phenomenon, but is constantly subject to the change, however insignificant change may be* ». Ainsi, le concept de culture est de nature plus processuelle que substantialiste : « *culture refers rather to the processes that are related to the creation and maintenance of ideas, behavior patterns, values and other products of creation in the context of influences that humans, who are creators thereof are subject to* » (o.c.).

C'est cela qui explique aussi le fait que la culture comme « *milieu* » permet de constantes adaptations aux exigences du présent et donc des « *innovations* » lorsque les circonstances l'exigent. En effet « *c'est dans la quotidienneté que les sociétés africaines produisent et reproduisent leur culture, la relisent et*

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la réactualisent dans un processus de « permanence » et de « rupture » qui caractérisent la vitalité des peuples engagés dans l'histoire » (J.M. Ela, 1997 : 23).

Dans le cas du Rwanda il s'agit d'un véritable pari de « résurrection » après ou à la suite d'une mort annoncée. Heureusement, au-delà de la mort il y a la vie, car comme l'affirme le sage J.Ki-Zerbo (2003 :161) « *il y a une vertu vitale qui fait que, même mille ans après, on peut retrouver des éléments encore exploitables pour la vie des individus et des collectivités* ». Les capacités de résilience paraissent également fondées sur le caractère « *hybride* » des cultures, y compris la culture nationale du Rwanda post-génocide, qui puise pour sa survie dans des interactions éco-systémiques multiples au cours de son histoire millénaire, en dépit d'immenses défis qu'elle a connus, y compris dans sa période la plus récente.

3.2. Culture Nationale (*Umuco w'i gihugu/Umuco nyarwanda*)

Dans un texte qui mérite d'être lu et relu, le regretté historien rwandais Emmanuel Ntezimana (1987) fait remonter l'émergence d'une mémoire collective dans ce qui deviendra au fil du temps le Rwanda (*Urwanda*) vers 1000 avant Jésus Christ (A.D.). C'est à cette période, selon l'historien rwandais, qu'apparaît une langue « bantu » qui deviendra plus tard le Kinyarwanda. Entre 1000 et 1400 de notre ère débutent des stratifications sociales et des structures politiques complexes. Durant la période qui va de 1300 à 1895 émergent des ensembles reconnaissables aussi bien à l'Ouest de la Nyabarongo, au Sud-ouest, au Rwanda Central, au Nord-Ouest et à l'Est de la Nyabarongo. Des micro-nations naissent et se développent autour de 1500.

Dans l'espace « *rwandais* » comme en région d'Afrique Interlacustre la culture est issue des échanges et des métissages (emprunts, assimilations multiples) dans des domaines variés : langue, structures politico-militaires, outils, cuisine, relations matrimoniales, cultes et croyances, …) [voir aussi J. P. Chrétien, 2003 ; P. Kanyamachumbi, 2016]. Selon E. Ntezimana, « *Le processus d'intégration/fédération des micro-royautés s'opère par « Jeu d'alliances » et de préséances, soit même par des actions politiques et militaires* ». A partir des sources diverses (généalogies [*Ibisekuru*] ; poèmes panégyriques [*Ibisigo*], poèmes guerriers [*Ibyivugo*], poèmes pastoraux [*Amazina y'inka*], chansons guerrières des lignages [*Indirimbo*], chansons à la harpe [*Inanga*], récits relatant des faits divers relatifs aux villages [*Amakuru*], divers récits allégoriques [*Imigani*], s'élabore un élément identificatoire et fédérateur majeur, la langue « *Ikinyarwanda* » à travers laquelle se déploient les grands axes de la pensée rwandaise concernant le vivre-ensemble, le rapport à l'Étranger, la Guerre, l'amitié, le voisinage,

la convivialité, la bienveillance, la sagesse, l'éducation, l'intelligence, les relations aux aînés et aux Ancêtres, à Dieu, la patrie, l'émergence de la conscience nationale…

S'agissant de la transmission des valeurs, elle se réalisait de manière performative, à travers les rencontres conviviales et autres activités tel que les voyages, les guerres. Les générations qui ont atteint la puberte dans les années 1950s se souviennent encore de célébrations de valeurs de l'héroisme à travers les « *Ibitaramo* » (veillées quotidiennes autours du feu ou au clair de la lune) et « *Inkera* » (les grandes veillées des fêtes et des rencontres lignagères). Ces célébrations pouvaient se répercuter d'une façon ou d'une autre aux champs et aux « pâturages », aux puits ou dans la forêt, au lit ou pendant les repas, dans les voyages et à la guerre. Le résultat était que l'éducation des jeunes comme la valeur devant les pairs reposait sur de vraies références et de réelles connaissances de *Abantu* [les Humains] et de « *Ibihugu* » [Pays].

Une des conclusions majeures que nous tirons est que l'histoire du Rwanda repose sur un socle de « *culture* » et de « *civilisation* » « *Ikinyarwanda* » [un substratum !] porté par ailleurs par des « *complémentarités économiques* », une direction politique, une conscience nationale et patriotique «*un imaginaire religieux permettant de répondre de manière résiliente à des grands défis ; ceci demeurant également vrai pour l'ensemble des peuples agro-pastoraux de la Région Interlacustre. C'est un fait qui nous pousse à la sagesse, à l'optimisme à l'opposà du* « catastrophisme ». Hélas, la catastrophe est advenue, du fait qu'on a ignoré de manière irresponsable le fait que les richesses humaines se construisent autour des diversités, essence même de l'histoire et de la culture. Ce sont ces phénomènes qui conduisent à de « *méga-ethnies » ou « Peuple-Nation » d'une part ; et d'autre part, à la possibilité de r*écuperer les consciences, les mémoires et les personnalités.*

L'on connaît la suite : destruction des institutions traditionnelles constitutives de l'identité (voir G. Mbonimana, 2001 :5-31 ; ambiguïtés des interventions coloniales et missionnaires (F. Rutembesa et alii, 2000 ; cf. P. Rutayisire, 2001 : 32-60 ; cristallisation ethniques mortifères ; voir J. P. Kimonyo: 2017, 61-91) ; ruptures socio-culturelles et génocide ; F. Rutembesa,2001 :13-124. Les *Home-Grown Solutions* dont il est question visent précisément à contribuer à la reconstruction d'un tissu social profondément lacéré et à propos duquel aucune illusion n'est permise !

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3.3. Tradition (*Umurage*)

Dans sa réflexion sur le génocide perpétré contre les *Tutsi* l'anthropologue suisse Andrea Grieder (2016 : 42) affirme avec beaucoup de pertinence que « *le recours à la tradition permet de recréer une valeur de soi et de la collectivité en s'appuyant sur un passé d'avant la violence, parfois abstrait ou idéaliste* ». Disons d'emblée que le recours à la tradition en ce qui concerne les *Home Grown Solutions* n'est ni rêveur ni de nature nostalgique, encore moins utopique. C'est une démarche hautement pragmatique comme l'est en général l'approche politique du Rwanda post-génocide (Voir J. P. Kimonyo, 2017).

Mais comment définit-on le concept de tradition ? Encore une fois les textes officiels sur les *Home Grown Solutions* ne s'embarrassent pas de définitions ! D'après E. Clément et alii (2000) le terme de tradition dérive du latin *tradere,* à savoir « *remettre, transmettre* » ou encore ce qui est transmis. Et à propos de la tradition, il est dit que :

> contrairement à un préjugé courant, [elle] n'appartient pas exclusivement au passé. Elle désigne au contraire ce qui, transmis par le passé, fait partie du présent. Philosophiquement se pose surtout la question de l'évaluation de la tradition : qu'elle nous soit transmise par le passé n'est ni un gage de valeur, ni une raison pour la refuser a priori (Clement et alii 2000 : 451).

Concernant la tradition, le penseur italien Luigi Guissani (1990) tient le propos suivant :

> Each one of us is born into a certain tradition. Nature casts us into the dynamic of existence, arming us with the complex instrument with which we can confront our surroundings. We do not possess tradition in order to become fossilized within it, but to develop it even to the point of profoundly changing it (Guissani 1990 : 37).

Cette perspective s'applique de manière très concrète aux *Home-Grown Solutions*. Les traditions ne sont opérantes que si elles peuvent être au service du présent et être réinterprétées en ce sens. Car comme le précise A. Ricardi (2017 :74) « *toute redécouverte de la tradition est aussi une réinterprétation* ». Sur la même longueur d'ondes, le philosophe français Paul Ricoeur rappelle opportunément que la condition de survie des valeurs du passé consiste dans la possibilité de les réinterpréter : « *toutes les valeurs du passé ne peuvent pas survivre ; seules le peuvent celles qui sont susceptibles de ce que je viens d'appeler la réinterprétation* » (Ricoeur 1991 :255).

Dans le cas du Rwanda une appréciation à posteriori permet de conclure au positif, avec quelques réserves sans doute, en ce qui concerne les *Home-Grown Solutions*, tout au moins celles qui connaissent un début d'évaluation rigoureuse, notamment les Juridictions *Gacaca*, *Ubudehe*, *Imihigo, Girinka Munyarwanda* et dans une moindre mesure l'*Itorero*[36].

S'agissant des fonctions de la tradition, on retiendra les suivantes qui éclairent par ailleurs notre propos :

- fonction « *sémantique* », celle permettant de « *donner un sens* » (G. Balandier, 2007 :204), notamment aux formes [et pratiques] nouvelles [pseudo-traditionalisme] ;
- fonction corrélée de communication et de légitimation ;
- fonction de préservation des identités.

J. Diamond (2014) rappelle le fait que la tradition recèle des trésors cachés d'expériences millénaires des peuples, s'agissant de la prise en charge de l'enfant, des vulnérables et du rapport à la nature, ce qui remonte aux formations sociales pré-étatiques là où ne s'étaient pas encore instaurés des rapports fortement inégalitaires. C'est le cas des formations lignagères pré-monarchiques au Rwanda.

Il y a lieu de souligner que le Rwanda post-génocide a repris à son compte la conviction selon laquelle la tradition n'est pas forcement incompatible avec la modernité, comme en témoignent par ailleurs des récits venus d'ailleurs notamment à propos des solidarités transnationales fondées sur les liens de parenté (voir par ex. J. McGaffey & R. Bazengwisa, 2000 :134).

3.4. Valeur (*agaciro*)

Ce terme revient souvent dans les textes instaurant les *Home-Grown Solutions* ou ceux qui en font un commentaire. La littérature sociologique et anthropologique abonde en définitions du concept de *Valeur*. Nous présentons dans les lignes qui suivent l'essentiel en puisant chez G. Rocher (1968) mais en évoquant également des références plus récentes.

Pour cet auteur, le concept de valeur réfère à une manière d'être ou d'agir qu'une personne ou une collectivité reconnaissent comme idéal et qui rend désirables les êtres ou les conduites auxquelles elle est attribuée.

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36. Voir notamment l'étude de Rwanda Governance Board (RGB), 2014 s'agissant de *Ubudehe*, *Girinka*, *Umuganda*, *Imihigo* ; voir aussi *Never Again Rwanda, 2018* sur les *Imihigo*.

La valeur se situe dans l'ordre idéal et non dans celui des objets concrets ou des événements. Ceux qui peuvent exprimer ou représenter une valeur, ils peuvent la rappeler ou s'en inspirer, mais c'est par référence à un certain ordre moral, esthétique ou intellectuel dont ils portent l'empreinte qu'ils méritent ou appellent le respect (1968 :72-87).

L'anthropologue J. Beattie (1972) avance le même point de vue :

les valeurs ne sont pas des qualités objectives que les choses possèdent ; elles sont relationnelles, c'est-à-dire qu'elles sont des valeurs pour quelqu'un. Ce qui intéresse les anthropologues, ce sont des évaluations plutôt que les valeurs (au sens des choses auxquelles on accorde de la valeur (J. Beattie 1972 :90-93).

L'insistance sur l'aspect « *idéaux* » se retrouve chez de nombreux auteurs (voir Y. Alpe et-alii, 2005 :277 ; F.C. De Beer, 2001 ; G. Ferreol, 2002 :277 ; M. Gondola, 2000 :44-46 ; R. T. Schaeffer, 2003 :69 ; H. Tavani, 2007 :35 ; etc…). C'est une composante cruciale de la définition des valeurs. Par ailleurs, les valeurs sont caractérisées par leur relativité : « *les seules valeurs réelles sont toujours celles d'une société particulière* » (G. Rocher, oc :75), encore que l'on puisse observer l'existence d'universaux plus ou moins abstraits dans l'univers des valeurs (ex, Amour, Justice, Paix, Liberté, …) (voir aussi à ce sujet T. Schaeffer, 2003 :69). En outre, le concept de valeur est marqué par une forte charge affective, ce qui en fait « *un puissant facteur dans l'orientation de l'action des personnes et des collectivités* » (G. Rocher, oc : 76) [voir aussi J.C. Kaufmann, 2004 :177]. On dit également des valeurs qu'elles sont généralement stables, mais qu'elles sont susceptibles de changer au fil du temps et selon les contextes (T. Schaeffer, 2003 :69). Aussi, il existe une hiérarchie des valeurs par rapport aux personnes et aux collectivités (G. Rocher, oc : 77), de telle manière qu'on est fondé à parler de valeurs dominantes et de valeurs-substituts.

S'agissant des fonctions des valeurs, on peut retenir les suivantes :

- motiver les conduites individuelles et collectives, même en temps difficiles, en leur donnant une direction et en pouvant pousser jusqu'au sacrifice (F.C. De Beer, 2001) ;

- contribuer à définir le bien, le beau, le vrai, le juste (N. Bonvillain, 2010 :103-104) ;

- fournir une identité aux groupes, aux collectivités (J. C. Kaufmann, 2004 :177) et assurer ainsi un certain degré de « *solidarité sociale sans pour autant évacuer les conflits potentiels* » (G. Rocher, o.c, 86-87).

Il est utile de rappeler que les valeurs se présentent selon les cas comme des variables indépendantes ou dépendantes. Ainsi, par exemple, la perte progressive de certaines valeurs-socle au cours de l'histoire tourmentée du Rwanda a contribué à la menace de sa destruction totale au cours du Génocide [voir article de Th. Gatwa ci-dessus]. A l'inverse le Génocide représente un moment tragique lequel dans son déroulement anéantit presque le capital social de la Nation (voir N. J. Coletta, L. Michelle, M. Collen, 2000 ; E. Rutembesa, 2001).

Dans leur dimension méta-anthropologique, les valeurs ont leurs fondements ultimes, selon l'ontologie africaine, par delà ses diversités (voir J. G. Bidima, 1995: 49-59) dans l»*Etre par excellence*», «*l'explication de l'ultime de l'origine de la substance de l'homme et de toutes choses à la fois lointaines et proches»* (T. Obengd; 149), communiquant par ailleurs avec les humains par l'intermédiation des puissances (esprit des ancêtres) et du leadership des communautés (voir à ce sujet entre autres Kunhyop S. W,2008; ch 3 *Fondation of Contemporary African Ethics*; pour le contexte rwandais, J. Galabert, 2012 (2011); 255-301; E. Gasarabwe, 1978:54-60).

Concluons cette séquence par cette idée du camerounais Achille Mbembe (2000), s'agissant de l'Afrique contemporaine et au-delà :

affirmation des finalités ne peut se faire qu'en référence à des valeurs. Elle implique nécessairement l'exercice d'une forme de jugement et de subjectivité. Elle met en jeu des options morales et éthiques qui elles-mêmes, renvoient à des convictions anthropologiques de base (Achille Mbembe 2000 : 18).

C'est dire toute la valeur opératoire du concept de valeur quant aux choix décisifs à prendre, notamment au niveau macro-social des politiques publiques.

3.5. Dignité (*kwihesha agaciro*)

Le sens le plus proche de nos préoccupations nous en est donné par les dictionnaires courants. Ainsi le Robert Quotidien (1996 :559) évoque « *le respect que mérite quelqu'un* ». C'est dans ce sens qu'on parle de la dignité de la personne humaine. L'Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary (2010 : 406) réfère à *a sense of your own importance and value*. Enfin le Cambridge Dictionary of English (1997: 385) évoque l'idée ou *the quality or state of deserving respect*. Il y a convergence dans toutes ces définitions vers le noyau sémantique de « *respect* ». C'est également l'idée rendue de manière paraphrastique par « *Kwihesha agaciro* »[avoir un comportement qui inspire le respect]. E. Clément et contributeurs (2000, v. dignité) : nous livrent la définition du concept de dignité en philosophie, comme dérivant du latin *dignitas* qui signifie « *rang* », « *valeur* », ce qui

renvoie dans le langage courant à ce qui mérite le respect. Chez le philosophe E. Kant qui s'est le plus penché sur ce concept (voir son *Fondement de la métaphysique des mœurs*), il y a référence au « *caractère irremplaçable d'un être, ce qui en fait sa valeur* ».

Au Rwanda, le Président de la République Paul Kagame revient assez souvent sur la thématique de la dignité (*Kwiha agaciro*). Cela a été le cas en 2008 lors de la cérémonie d'ouverture de la semaine de deuil (A. Grieder, 2016). S'exprimant en partie en anglais pour se faire comprendre par l'Étranger il dit :

> *We are a people, we are a nation, we deserve a dignity, like any other nation, like any other People. And in saying this I want to say that we shall demand to have it and we will have it. And we have started to have that dignity. And we will ask from nobody's favor to be able to have our dignity, to be able to have our rights* (Paul Kagame quoted by Grieder 2016: 224-226)

Ceci est un message fort contre des frustrations, des humiliations hétéro et auto-infligées, sans oublier le risque de destruction totale au cours du génocide. En peu de mots, le propos du Président Paul Kagame peut être rendu par : «*Ne touche pas à ma dignité »* ou encore « *Dignity is intouchable* » (E. Lindner, 2006 :27).

Cette idée ou cet idéal de dignité se retrouve dans les objectifs globaux de l'Ecole Nationale de l'Excellence re-instituée en 2007. Celle-ci vise à aider les Rwandais à se battre pour leur dignité en recourant aux valeurs culturelles rwandaises aux fins d'un changement positif et rapide en vue de garantir le bien être individuel et collectif sur fond d'unité, de bonne gouvernance et de prospérité économique sans devoir compter en premier lieu sur les interventions extérieures. Les valeurs culturelles convoquées à cet effet sont entre autres : le patriotisme, un comportement approprié, digne en ce sens, marqué au coin de l'intégrité, de l'héroïsme même. Les contrats de performance s'inscrivent dans la même logique en s'inspirant d'une des composantes de l'héritage culturel du Rwanda, les *imihigo* fondés sur le principe d'auto-détermination « *en vue d'atteindre des objectifs que l'on s'est librement fixé à travers le débat* » (voir Rwanda Governance Advisory Council, Kigali 2011, cité in A. Grieder 2016 :232).

Bref, il s'agit d'un ressort institutionnel pour une culture de redevabilité et de performance ancrée en partie dans l'éthique de l'armée du temps de la monarchie, reconduisant l'idée synthétique de noblesse de cœur « *ubupfura »* par opposition à la « *noblese de sang* »[37].

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37. S'agissant du concept de *ubupfura*, noblesse de cœur, entre autres G. Mbonimana, 1986 :84 ; J. L. Galabert : 237-451, sp 296.

C'est aussi le meilleur remède contre une longue et pénible période d'humi-liations. En effet, comme le rappelle opportunément Dominique Moïsi, fils d'un rescapé d'Auschwitz :

un certain degré d'humiliation peut constituer une incitation à l'ascension sociale, peut pousser à travailler dur... Lorsqu'elle est dépassée et maîtri-sée, l'humiliation agit sur les nations comme sur les individus. Elle renforce leur instinct de compétition. Elle donne de l'énergie et aiguise l'appétit... En d'autres termes, pour que l'humiliation soit de la « bonne » sorte, elle réclame un minimum de confiance et des circonstances favorables tel un contexte ou une direction politique et économique raisonnablement propices (D. Moïsi, 2008 :98-99).

3.6. Développement (*Iterambere*)

Dans une réflexion sur la relation entre Culture et Développement à partir de l'expérience asiatique, J. B. Onana définit de manière à la fois sobre et éclai-rante le concept de développement comme « *en premier lieu, la capacité d'un pays à satisfaire ses besoins primaires et urgents, sans recourir à la générosité ou à l'aide extérieure ; et en second lieu (...) l'aptitude de son économie à géné-rer et à redistribuer des richesses* » [voir J. Brasseur 1993:13-14]. Il convient de corroborer ce point de vue en pensant au développement défini comme la satis-faction des besoins fondamentaux de l'homme et comme processus cumulatif de long terme tout en rappelant que la dimension économique indéniable du déve-loppement est insuffisante, s'il ne tient pas compte de « *la dimension éthique et sociale* » soulignée par Sen, prix Nobel d'économie en 1999, étroitement liée à l'idée de dignité de la personne humaine.

Feu l'historien burkinabé Joseph Ki-Zerbo (2004 :157) insiste sur cette idée d'équité lorsqu'il souligne le fait que l'accumulation, comme indice du dévelop-pement doit être saisi comme «*un bloc intégré ; tant en biens et services qu'en valeurs sociales* ». Le Rwanda post-génocide apparaît comme tourné vers un « *Developmental State* » préoccupé par l'accélération de son processus de déve-loppement, mais qui soit à la fois inclusif et participatif (J. P. Kimonyo, 2017). Ce souci anime profondément les *Home-Grown Solutions* même s'il ne se tra-duit pas toujours dans les faits de manière satisfaisante, car, comme le rappelle l'adage rwandais «*Ahari abantu hanuka urunturuntu»* [là où se trouvent les hu-mains il y a toujours des lacunes].

4. Lecture transversale de quelques *Home-Grown Solutions*

4.1. Les Juridictions *Gacaca*

Selon le *Dictionnaire rwandais-français* édité par le linguiste E. Jacob Tome I : 164-165) *urucaca* ou *agacaca* signifie «*un lieu couvert d'herbe umucaca ou lopin de gazon* ». Par métonymisation, *gacaca* désigne « *une réunion des gens pour régler un litige à l'amiable pour tenter de réconcilier les personnes* ». Il signifie également « le lieu où ces gens se réunissent ».

Le *Gacaca* « *traditionnel* » fonctionne d'après une conception de la justice axée, non pas sur les vertus de la punition uniquement, mais davantage selon la préoccupation de réintégration et de guérison ou de réhabilitation à la fois personnelle et sociale, à travers la médiation groupale, l'auto-implication des parties en conflit ainsi que la performativité de la parole propre aux sociétés de l'oralité, avec ce que ceci comprend en termes de flexibilité, de capacité de négociation ; ceci grâce à une argumentation à la fois intelligente, sensible, c'est-à-dire empathique et moralement fondée (Mbonyinkebe 2003 ; voir aussi Ricoeur 1991: 239-255). La coutume et les pratiques associées au *Gacaca* se retrouvent auprès des populations rwandophones riveraines de la région des volcans (*Virunga*) aussi bien au Rwanda, en République Démocratique du Congo qu'en Ouganda (Bufumbira, District de Kigezi). D'après les résultats d'une enquête réalisée par Aloys Tegera (1998) à ce sujet : « *En cas d'un différend entre membres du groupe, le* Gacaca *composé de sages et souvent responsables lignagers pouvaient se réunir, juger et imposer des sanctions* (icyiru) *en faveur d'une partie lésée».*

D'après ses enquêtes il semble que « *ce mécanisme pouvait même jouer dans le cas d'un meurtre pour éviter la vengeance* » (P. Kanyamacumbi, 2016 :411-412). Au-delà de l'espace de civilisation rwandaise, des pratiques similaires existent chez les *Gikuyu* du Kenya. Ainsi J. Wanjohi (1997) décrit les procédures informelles, jusqu'à un certain point, car il y a le fonctionnement selon des codes culturels identifiables, selon lesquelles des conflits étaient arrangés et apaisés d'après un principe d'économie d'énergies physiques, psychiques et sociales en résolvant ce qui peut l'être au moindre coût possible. La résolution du conflit s'organisait d'abord au niveau familial sous l'autorité du *pater familias* (chef de famille) en cas de conflit intra-familial, car selon un proverbe *gikuyu,* les affaires ou disputes familiales ne s'exposent pas en public. Le conseil des anciens ou aînés lignagers dirigent l'événement avec possibilité de plaidoiries de la part des parties concernées, ceci devant un public de spectateurs actifs

et intéressés ; le moment venu, les aînés se retirent pour délibérer avec de procla-mer le verdict. Ces derniers méritent la confiance de par leur sagesse et leur inté-grité morale, à la manière des juges « *gacaca* » dits *Inyangamugayo* (personnes qui refusent la mésestime, moralement intègres, à la conduite irréprochable, bref honnêtes).

Dans le cas des *Gikuyu*, en cas d'insatisfaction, les parties en conflit pou-vaient interjeter appel, le jugement rendu prenant le temps qu'il fallait pour at-teindre le consensus souhaité par les membres du Jury. Plus près du Rwanda, au sein de la société *Banyoro* en Ouganda proche culturellement des *Abanyarwanda*, ce genre de pratiques quasi-légales opèrent au niveau du face à face des relations communautaires :

> *les querelles entre villageois sont souvent réglées par un groupe officieux de voisins qui a le droit traditionnel d'imposer une pénalité à la partie jugée dans son tort, mais qui n'a aucun moyen officiel de faire exécuter son jugement. La pénalité imposée est toujours un paiement en viande et en bière, qui doit être versée au domicile du gagnant au jour fixé. Là, viande et bière sont consom-mées par les participants de la querelle et par les voisins concernés par son rè-glement (et par quiconque arrive à ce moment-là). Il est évident que le but de cette procédure (...) n'est pas tant de punir le délinquant que de réconcilier les querelles et de restaurer l'harmonie du village* (J. Beattie, 1972 :201-203).

De manière plus générale, les traditions quasi-légales du type de *Gacaca* opèrent davantage dans des contextes marqués par les liens de parenté, un ethos largement égalitariste, la fréquence des relations du type « *face-à-face »* (*face to face relations*), le poids de la pression de l'opinion publique, l'absence d'une compétition agressive pour l'accès aux ressources naturelles (M. Harris, 1991). Qu'en est-il de la version revue de *Gacaca* ?

Le *Gacaca* « *revisité »* reprend l'*esprit* de l'ancien *Gacaca,* à savoir d'être :

- une justice participative

- une justice de proximité

- une justice rendue par des juges « *censés* » être des intègres (*Inyangamugayo*) (voir entre autres, A. Molenaar, 2005) ;

- Une justice à visée réconciliatrice et thérapeutique/ restauratrice (voir M. Paradelle, H. Dumont, 2006 :97-135), dans un contexte profondément altéré, notamment quant aux rapports sociaux.

Mais le *Gacaca* traditionnel subit ici de très profondes mutations, ce qui amène bien des observateurs à parler de réinvention de la tradition. En effet :

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-   le nouveau *Gacaca* est formaté par une législation étatique, avec une obligation contraignante de participation là où l'ancien était régi par la coutume en régime de civilisation d'oralité, avec ce que cela implique de flexibilité, entre autres, et fonctionnait au niveau local ;

- C'est donc une justice très formalisée. Selon Reyntjens, bien avant 1994, *Gacaca* était devenue une instance de justice semi-officialisée (voir F. Reyntjens, 1990 : 31-34, 41);

- Il s'occupe désormais, non pas de délits et crimes mineurs relatifs notamment au foncier, aux agressions physiques entre autres, mais des crimes commis contre les valeurs cardinales de la société ayant transgressé le socle du lien social, assassinats, atrocités, meurtres de masse ;

- Il intègre de manière plus insistante une composante rétributive fondée sur la culpabilité individuelle et se conclut le cas échéant sur des sanctions ou peines individuelles, y compris l'emprisonnement ;

- il est autrement plus inclusif, car il connaît la participation des jeunes et des femmes ;

- il a une ambition de « *resocialisation collective* » en contexte post génocide, en incitant les Rwandais à redécouvrir les valeurs de vérité (*ukuri*), de réconciliation, de compassion (*impuhw*e, *ibambe*), s'agissant notamment de la possibilité d'échanger autour du génocide et d'en tirer toutes les leçons pour la préservation du Futur (M. Paradelle & H. Dumont, 2006 :134).

Quant au bilan, il est largement positif en dépit des limites certaines. Des prévenus ont été acquittés par manque d'indices sûrs de culpabilité, chez certain(e)s des peines ont été revues, la justice a été rendue conformément aux normes requises (voir D. Bizimana, 2012). Le tout a abouti à l'apaisement de la scène sociale même si des frustrations subsistent (voir P. Clark, 2010; K. Conner Doughty, 2016 ; voir aussi le chapitre de Aggée Shyaka).

4.2. *Ubudehe* (Forme de Travail collectif)

Selon le *Dictionnaire rwandais-français*, édité en 1984 par Irénée Jacob (1984 : pp.232-233, v. *Ubudehe*) l'*ubudehe* est défini comme un ensemble ou groupe de personnes cultivant pour la bière. Ce propos me semble une définition crûment matérialiste qui ne correspond ni à l'esprit ni à la lettre d'*Ubudehe*. À ce propos, l'anthropologue Rwando-français Edouard Gasarabwe dans son classique « *Le Geste rwanda* » (1978) définit l'esprit d'*Ubudehe* tel que reconduit dans les activités de construction de la hutte ou lieu d'habitation en tant que

pacte tacite de coopération ; mais au-delà, à mon sens, il s'agit d'une « *affirmation éthique* » d'une valeur en soi par rapport au statut du « *sujet humain* », ceci en régime d'Economie du Don. Gasarabwe est explicite à ce propos :

> *La construction chez les Rwandais est en vérité un pacte. Comme les compagnons de guerre se jurent assistance et fidélité en toutes circonstances, chez eux comme à l'étranger, en échangeant symboliquement leur sang, les habitants d'une colline concluent un pacte tacite par la coopération* » ; « *les ouvriers eux-mêmes conçoivent cet acte (la construction de la hutte) non comme un acte de générosité et d'humanité, mais comme une preuve de leur propre existence par et pour les groupes. L'on va* « *construire* » *comme on va à la guerre, sans solde* » (Gasarabwe 1978 : 248).

A propos de l'*Ubudehe*, Jean-Paul Harroy (1970 : 65-69) rappelle qu'il s'agit d'une forme de travail collectif pour autrui qu'on retrouve dans les économies jadis appelées « abusivement primitives » (P. Bessaignet, 1966 :55) présente dans tous les continents et que les Américains désignent par le terme de «*combite*». Il s'agit d'un :

> *phénomène tout à fait général, à caractère libre ou obligatoire, temporaire ou permanent, organisé ou non, pouvant concerner de groupes de toutes dimensions dont tous les membres s'unissent pour effectuer ensemble un travail au bénéfice exclusif de l'un d'entre eux ... Le bénéficiaire étant un individu, il ne s'agit donc pas d'un travail d'exécution et d'intérêt communautaire* (M. Herskovits, 1952 :1 cité par J.P. Harroy 1970 : 65 ; 66).

Au cœur de cette forme d'action collective, il y a l'idée d'entraide. Cette forme de solidarité a des avantages certains :

- permettre l'exécution des travaux lourds ;

- rendre plus agréable le travail souvent rythmé par le chant, tel qu'on le voit sur les chantiers de construction aujourd'hui dans la Ville de Kigali (pour d'autres détails notamment concernant le glissement vers la marchandisatisation de cette forme de coopération (J. P. Harroy, o.c. : 68 et ss).

On retrouve ces formes de coopération aussi bien en Afrique Orientale qu'en Afrique Occidentale (J. Ki-Zerbo, 2003 : 28 ; P. M. Mbithi, 1972).

Que dire de la version réactualisée de l'*Ubudehe* ? En empruntant à la thèse de doctorat d'A. Shaw (2011), l'on peut affirmer que l'*Ubudehe* fait partie des stratégies de développement endogène (*Home-Grown Solutions*) dans le contexte du Rwanda post-génocide et développementaliste. L'*Ubudehe* puise son inspiration dans les pratiques traditionnelles d'entraide de voisinage, à savoir travailler

ensemble pour résoudre les problèmes communs. Mais il inclut des objectifs bien plus larges. Il s'agit en effet de reprendre l'imaginaire de la population en lui injectant un ensemble de principes normatifs et des propriétés susceptibles de stimuler sa participation à l'*auto-gouvernance* et à l'*action collective*.

La visée ultime de l'*Ubudehe* c'est d'asseoir une démocratie participative tout en luttant contre la pauvreté et avec le souci de reconstruction du lien social. Effectivement, en dépit de certaines faiblesses constatées qu'on retrouve également dans le Programme « Girinka *Munyarwanda* » (*One cow per poor family*), à savoir : risques de manipulation par les élites, captation des ressources par les non-bénéficiaires), l'*Ubudehe* a eu pour résultats positifs de promouvoir la citoyenneté, donc, la cohésion sociale à terme, à travers les processus délibératifs, ce qui réduit sensiblement la pente glissante d'une certaine culture d'obéissance à laquelle on attribue en partie la commission du Génocide ; l'émergence, à partir des savoir-faire développés au niveau de la base (*Skills at grass-roots level*), d'une culture citoyenne, ce qui protège potentiellement contre des formes perverses de domination et de manipulation par le haut/ sommet sociétal[38].

Comme on peut le constater, l'*Ubudehe* recontextualisé déborde énormément ses origines « *traditionnelles* », notamment quant à ses objectifs, son ampleur, ses stratégies et le contexte de sa mise en œuvre. Il s'agit de nouveau d'une réinvention de la tradition à visée pragmatique adaptée au contexte inédit et inouï du Rwanda post-génocide. Il s'inscrit dans le cadre global de la reconstruction socio-économique, de la décentralisation, de la démocratie participative[39].

4.3. *Girinka Munyarwanda* (One cow per One Poor Family)

Girinka est une formule usuelle et prisée de salutation bienveillante à travers laquelle on souhaite la prospérité, symbolisée par la vache. Le don d'une vache établit en effet un fort lien social en termes de possibilités de nouer des relations amicales et dans le système de clientèle, également à partir des pactes matrimoniaux (vache donnée en dot) et donc source de fécondité *via* les enfants issus du mariage, ce qui confère le prestige social à l'adulte accompli. Par ailleurs, la vache représente un bien économique. Elle procure le lait et ses produits dérivés, le sang, la bouse fertilisante, les peaux, les cornes … (E. Gasarabwe, 1978 :45).

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38. Sur l'intégration de l'*Ubudehe* dans la planification des districts, les résultats quantitatifs et les limites des interventions, voir O. N. Militery, 2013 et RGB, 2014.
39. M. M. Ensign& W. E. Bertrand, 2010 ; ch3 ; J. P. Kimonyo, 2017 :267-270.

Le don de vache intervient par conséquent dans les cycles de réciprocité du don et du contre-don, pratique qu'on retrouve chez certains peuples pasteurs de l'Afrique de l'Est, notamment les Turkana. A propos de la réciprocité et des pratiques du don et contre-don, il y a lieu de souligner avec D. Temple (1995) et C. C. Taylor (1992: 5) la forme que prend au Rwanda la réciprocité qui se trouve à la base de toutes les sociétés humaines. Elle est associée au sens de responsabilité et d'équité et on la retrouve largement en Afrique sub-saharienne, qu'elle soit horizontale ou verticale (T. K. M. Buakasa, 1986). On comprend ainsi pourquoi à partir d'une posture d'indignation face à un état désolant de malnutrition infantile, le Président de la République Paul Kagame alerte l'opinion nationale et la mobilise pour y mettre un terme ou tout au moins la réduire considérablement, en s'appuyant de nouveau sur l'imaginaire collectif ancré dans la culture populaire. En effet, « *no rwandan child was ever to lack milk again while others have plenty*"[40].

C'est ainsi que débute en 2006 le Programme appelé *One Cow Per One Poor Family*. Ce Programme a eu un impact certain dans la lutte contre la pauvreté à partir de la donation de vache par rotation. Il y a des résultats probants en termes d'accroissement de la production du lait, du fumier et donc de fertilisation des sols, d'augmentation du revenu familial et d'abord de nutrition, mais aussi au bout de la chaîne, d'un peu plus de cohésion sociale au sein d'une société profondément détruite. L'Etat est le premier contributeur (c'est aussi toute la différence par rapport à *Girinka* traditionnel), mais d'autres intervenants se sont ajoutés (ONG nationales et internationales, personnalités privées, églises, banques, institutions de microfinance).

À l'instar d'*Ubudehe, Girinka Munyarwanda* permet d'améliorer les conditions socio-économiques des ménages vulnérables et de stimuler le développement du petit commerce ainsi que la professionnalisation du monde rural (O. N. Militery et alii 2013). Il participe, à l'instar de *Gacaca* et de l'*Ubudehe*, à la resocialisation du Rwanda aux vertus de la coopération, de la solidarité agissante, de la compassion, de l'amitié, de la redevabilité et de l'équité.

5. Conclusion

Il apparaît, au bout de nos réflexions, qu'un grand écart existe entre les sources traditionnelles des solutions dites endogènes et leur reformatage en contexte post-génocide. Celles-ci (les *Home Grown Solutions*) répondent à des

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40. http://www.rwandopedia.rw.explore/Girinka accessed on 24 June 2014) cité dans A. Mukaminani, 2014.

défis majeurs concernant la reconstruction physique et morale de la Nation Rwandaise, et très concrètement les efforts visant à recréer le lien social à la suite de la grave fracture opérée par le génocide perpétré contre les Tutsi, la lutte contre la pauvreté et l'impératif d'un développement rapide , inclusif, soucieux de l'équité.

Il demeure vrai que l'esprit ou l'intention profonde qui animait les coutumes et pratiques inspiratrices des *Home Grown Solutions* (HGS) paraît « *récupéré* » comme sont repris de manière plus marginale quelques aspects procéduraux, ce qu'on peut rapprocher de la notion de « *lettre* » par opposition à « *esprit* ».

La néotraditionnalisation ou la « *double institutionnalisation* » des institutions coutumières répond sans doute également à une stratégie de communication et de persuasion qui a tout à gagner à se connecter au cœur de la culture nationale, elle-même soumise à la globalisation et à l'hybridation en cours partout en Afrique et au-delà. Par ce biais également il y a là un effort réfléchi et volontariste de remettre en circulation ou de revitaliser les valeurs fondatrices, notamment celle de justice, de paix, de tolérance, d'équité, de responsabilité/redevabilité, de cohésion sociale. En outre, les solutions endogènes facilitent une gestion collective efficiente des ressources, réduisent la dépendance vis-à-vis de l'extérieur, stimulent l'engagement (*Agency*) ainsi que l'appropriation des mécanismes du développement durable et inclusif[41]

Quant à la transférabilité de l'expérience rwandaise en perspective comparative et transnationale, il y a lieu de rappeler, s'agissant notamment de l'Afrique subsaharienne, que cette région du monde possède un socle identitaire commun, par-delà les diversités (J.J. Maquet, 1967). Ainsi, chaque nation Africaine peut mobiliser et le fait déjà à sa façon, à l'instar du Rwanda, mais selon ses propres besoins et aspirations ainsi que son capital social et culturel pour accélérer son développement socio-économique tout en s'assurant une bonne cohésion sociale, à la fois facteur et effet des processus liés audit développement. L'émergence et la renaissance des nations passe en partie par la redécouverte du potentiel inscrit dans les héritages culturels. Par conséquent, ce qui est ici possible peut l'être ailleurs de manière contextuelle. Si le Rwanda peut aujourd'hui à certains égards être source d'inspiration, tant mieux pour tous. À chacun de se gérer de manière responsable, à la mesure de ses capacités et de son imagination créatrice.

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41. Je remercie Dr Olivier Ngamata Militery pour avoir attiré mon attention sur ces aspects cruciaux des solutions endogènes. Il en est de même pour Dr Jean Paul Kimonyo, auteurs de deux ouvrages de reference: *Rwanda, un Génocide populaire* (Karthala, Paris 2008) et *Rwanda demain! Une longue marche vers la transformation* (Karthala, Paris 2017).

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Part II

Some Home Grown Solutions

Indigenous Practice for Social Economic Development : An Analysis of *Umuganda*

Dr Penine Uwimbabazi[42]

Introduction

This study analyses the traditional practice of *umuganda*, which is a Rwandan word for community work. Many authors have looked at *umuganda*, mainly focusing on the period from 1973 until the 1994 genocide - something which has fostered a lot of negativity regarding the essence and practice of *umuganda*. Rather than discussing *umuganda* for a specific period, a wide look at its origins until the present day is more informative. The study informs us on how the practice of *umuganda* has been understood and implemented throughout the historical period of Rwanda, namely, the pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial periods until the genocide against the *Tutsi*, and then the post-genocide period. The discussion leads to a more detailed empirical study of how *umuganda* is and could contribute more to social economic development. This is a follow up study from an informative doctoral dissertation of 2012 on the analysis of the policy and practice of *umuganda* (Uwimbabazi, 2012). One urban, Kigali, and one rural, Western province was purposively selected to learn how *umuganda* is practiced both in urban and rural settings.

During discussions conducted in May and June 2010, with randomly selected Rwandan community members participating in *umuganda* in Kigali and Western Province, it was found that approximately 80% of people thought that *umuganda* was not as efficient as it should be. To test this hypothesis at a 95% confidence level with a 10% margin of error and a power of 80%, a sample size of 108 participants was needed. Due to the possibility of no responses, this sample size could have been increased by 20% (convenient decision) to give 130. Therefore a sample size of at least 130 respondents was considered to be

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42. Dr Penine Uwimbabazi is specialist of policy analysis, teaches at the Protestant University of Rwanda, where she is Director of Quality Assurance.

adequate though we have accommodated 139 respondents. The respondents were as follows :

Table 1: Category and total of respondents

	Categories of respondents	Number of respondents
Focus Group		24
Open – ended interview		59
	Elders	16
	Government Officials	13
	Ordinary Community Members	30
Structured interview		56
Total		**139**

Through participatory observation, interviews, and focus group discussions, respondents, the study attempts to shed more light on the practice and argues that, even though cultural practices are sometimes seen as backward, *umuganda* has been proved to offer positive outcomes to social economic even more than to the political development of Rwanda. In 2015 and 2016 a follow up on any change from the earlier collected data was made and presented herein. The over-all finding which is more similar to data collected from2010 -2012 is that, trans-forming *umuganda* to be managed by local communities contributes to either a traditional sense of state citizen relationship, socio-economic well-being and more so on to modern development strategies, which in turn would support the state's responsibility in service delivery.

2. An overview of *umuganda*

Umuganda is the traditional practice of people working together to solve household and community problems. This is influenced by the understanding that individual belonging and the well-being of society were central to the prac-tice of *umuganda* in the early days of *banya-Rwanda*. The concept is related to the idea of solidarity and a communal sense of living, which can in turn be re-lated to the Southern African philosophy of *ubuntu*, a translation from the *Nguni* proverb *umuntungumuntungabantu* (Gade, 2011 : 303). In Rwanda this would sound *umuntu n'abantu* – I am because you are. It is an idea that emphasizes the essence of human togetherness.

This understanding drove Banya-Rwanda in the early days to act together to identify and solve their neighbor's problems whenever required. Until the arrival of missionaries (toward the end of the 1880s), *umuganda* grew from being a household and community initiative to one that incorporated the entire system under the kingdom's administration. According the participants in this study, the King or chief could call upon community members to contribute by working on any identified need. Moreover, the needs were confined to that of the community and did not affect *umuganda* as practised within households (interview with elders in Kigali). Therefore, even though occasionally *umuganda* could be organized in a hierarchical way, notably by the King, *umuganda* continued to be regarded as an integral part of social life in the early *banya-Rwanda* community. From the early practice of *umuganda*, the notion of community occupied a very important place in people's livelihoods. This intertwined community life with the practice of *umuganda* in a support system for people and their communities.

Each member of the community felt intrinsically and ethically socially obliged to participate in *umuganda* and other social activities since that embodied life in the community. With this ethos, it is clear that the idea and practice of *umuganda* in the early days was in essence a communal practice for each community member's well-being. This understanding suggests a relational mapping of *umuganda* conveying how it is tied to people's social well-being. The spirit of caring and serving each other in the community embodies what may be called 'social well-being', meaning a center of nurturing harmony and development.

An understanding of the relationship between *umuganda* and social well-being points to its nature and evolution (see figure 1), as well as to its contextual and periodic responses to institutions such as those of government responses at various historical junctures. The understanding of this relationship also sheds light on *umuganda's* outcome in current post-genocide society. Equally important is the possibility that social change can actually be achieved through *umuganda* initiatives, whose values transcend historical, social, cultural and politico-economic circumstances, while at the same time evolving in response to them.

The empirical finding in this study indicated, however, that this traditional understanding of *umuganda* has been overpowered by an alternative general political idea of what a community needs for its well-being. This was learnt from the colonial regime. One of the informants from Western Province noted that "the colonial system either ignored or did not recognize that *umuganda* was not purely a matter of labor but was more importantly, in its original form, a spirit of care and togetherness" (Interview : Western province). The colonial masters were fortunate to find a society where collective labor was a norm of life.

With colonial regulation, *umuganda* lost its moral force to become coercive labor which was enforced by corporal punishment. According to interviewees, *umuganda* was then understood to be *uburetwa* or *shiku*, that is, forced labor initiated by colonial masters (Lemarchand, 1970 : 22 ; Newbury, 1991 : 142 ; Pottier, 2006 : 513).

Evidence from interviews and focus group discussions show that since the post-colonial period until now, the idea of *umuganda* has shifted from a sense of social well-being through community endeavor to being used for purposes of the state (Focus group discussion: Kigali; interview: Kigali, December 2015, 2017). This has entailed public work initiated and organized by the state. According to Article Two of the policy document of *umuganda*, No 53/2007 of 17/11/2007, the post-genocide definition of *umuganda* is: "the gathering efforts of many people in order for them to carry out a general public-interest activity" (Official Gazette of the Republic of Rwanda, 2008 : 5). Below is the illustration of the evolution of *umuganda*.
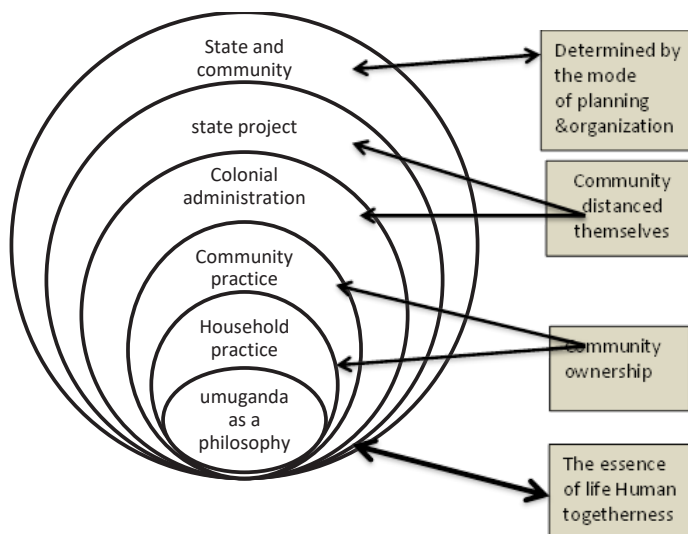
Figure 1 *:* the evolution of umuganda

Umuganda, as a form of collective action, participation and belonging, can be compared to Russian peasant communal work, in the social unit called the mir in the 1800s, before the socialist and communist revolution of 1917 in the Soviet Bloc countries of the USSR and Eastern Europe (Willis 2005: 75). Within the context of the African continent, *umuganda* is similar to the indigenous initiative of *harambee* (meaning `pulling together'), which is found in Kenya. The same forms of community work are present in many other post-independence African

countries, notably, *ujamaa* in Tanzania or humanism in Zambia. However, in most cases, politicians have manipulated these indigenous initiatives for their own political interest. Some scholars such as Gibson, argues that politicians have used the notion of 'development' as a slogan to make sense of their actions in the eyes of the ordinary people (1995: 69). This attracts us to look at the purpose of the policy and practice of *umuganda* in Rwanda.

3. The purpose and role of *umuganda*

The initial purpose of *umuganda* had two elements. Firstly, *umuganda* was for poverty eradication. As was learnt from informants, in the pre-colonial period, *umuganda* balanced out inequality amongst community members in the early days. Even though there could be those who were regarded as more affluent, there was a mutual responsibility to ensure that everyone had shelter and food (Uwimbabazi & Lawrence, 2012: 92). Secondly, people being dependent on one another in the community automatically created a spirit of union. People focused more on the value that each person had in the community rather than on what could divide them (Focus Group Discussion: Western Province).

Umuganda was believed to have had great value for household well-being until the arrival of colonialism. According to the informants, *umuganda* as a moral force was weakened by the regulations of the colonial system, becoming forced labor that only benefited colonial masters. The original purpose of *umuganda* became blurred when it was defined by and directly benefited the colonial administration. Forced *labor* under the colonial administration aimed at mobilizing economic activities for the state of the colonial economy, while sowing division among *banya-Rwanda*.

The post-colonial regime did not change this state of affairs. Instead governments replaced colonial forced *labor* with new forms of organized collective *labor*. *Umuganda* continued to be viewed from the perspective of state development and economic growth. Hence, scholars such as Straus (2006: 109) and Verwimp (2003: 13) identify the post-colonial regime of Rwanda as a state imbued with a developmental ideology, based on its own understanding of development.

Some respondents noted that *umuganda* was directed towards nation–building. This is confirmed in promotional documents issued by the government. As quoted in *Verwimp*, "*Umuganda* must be planned in order to reach its objective, developing our country by building the necessary infrastructure for its economy and allowing the new Rwandan to engage in his work" (2006: 20). Scholars have

criticized this development ideology for increasing divisions between Rwandans that were created during colonial rule and enhanced during post-colonial rule (*Mamdani* 2001). According to *Mamdani,* this division is understood in the ethical orientation of *umuganda*, as the practice of agrarians, the then called *bahutu*.

The idea of 'national building' was problematic, since it was seen as promoting a nation built on ethnic exclusion where one group was favored at the expense of the other, thus, undermining community development. *Umuganda* was then regarded as the institution of the true Rwandan - meaning agrarian - while pastoralists, then *Tutsi* were regarded as non-Rwandan (*Verwimp* 2003, *Mamdani* 2001). *Umuganda* turned out to be one group's movement, with which other Rwandan groups could not identify. One of our respondents from the Western province expressed that "in the 1980 and early 1990s a *Tutsi* could not dare show up for *umuganda*" (interview: 2016). The humiliation and insults meant that *umuganda* had turned into a tool of manipulation for political gain. This was enhanced even during the genocide against *Tutsi* where killing fellow human beings meant doing *umuganda*. A great deal has been written on how *umuganda* was used to implement the genocide policy (See for example *Mamdani* 2001, *Verwimp* 2004, 2005 and 2006).

Current reports indicate that Rwanda is still among poor countries, with an equal society, characterized by a sharp disparity between urban and rural areas (Uwimbabazi & Lawrence, 2011: 12). More than 80% of the populations rely on subsistence (UNDP, 2010: 11). Although much has been done to rebuild the country, both scholars and participants in the focus group discussions speak out about the continuing misinterpretation of *umuganda*. The definition and objective of *umuganda*, as indicated in the law of establishing *umuganda* No. 53/2007, is indicative of how the current purpose of *umuganda* has not changed much from that of early *banya-Rwandan* (Official Gazette of the Republic of Rwanda, 2008). The current law states that the establishment of the policy of *umuganda* aims at "promoting development activities in the framework of supporting the national budget and provides an opportunity for cordiality among people."

The discussants identified two main purposes which underlie the present policy of *umuganda*. The first is to re-unite the people of Rwanda. It is hoped that through collective action performed through *umuganda* people will be able to socialize and thereby reconcile. The second is poverty reduction and economic development. The post-genocide government hopes to attain its developmental goals through taking advantage of the joint *labor* provided by *umuganda*. Achieving and sustaining these two main aims will depend more on how the policy is being implemented.

3.1. Contribution of *umuganda* to economic development

Umuganda allows the government through decentralized structures to engage in civic education related to any government plan and to sensitize people to regard government needs as their own. The use of *umuganda* in public projects reduces costs through the use of free and joint *labor*. After the 1994 genocide against the *Tutsi* Rwanda experienced an economic tragedy as GDP decreased by almost 60% (Brandt, 2009:33). In 1996-2002 the average economic growth rate was 10, 7% (World Bank 2009). In 2008 Rwanda had a GDP growth rate of 11, 2% (CIA World Fact book 2009), and currently with over 13, 20% 2017. Although this reflected an exceptionally high growth rate, it is not yet an indicator of sustainable development. In practice, economic growth does not mean sustainable development for the people. The praise from the United Nation Annual Development Report that the "economy of Rwanda is doing well rising from 143 to 67" (UNDP 2009), affirms the efforts made, but does not change the fact that over half of all Rwandan citizens still live below the poverty line. Hintjens (2008: 20) observes that the benefits of this growth appear to bypass most rural areas, maintaining that the best technical solutions to policy-making and implementation for development cannot be achieved unless there is cooperation, which means making modifications to accommodate the views and needs of the various actors involved. The practice of *umuganda* attempts to facilitate cooperation not only among community members but also political leaders and local community members through sharing government vision.

3.2. *Umuganda* and state-citizen relation

The success of any policy outcome depends not simply on designing good policies but upon how to manage its implementation (Brinkerhoff and Crosby 2002: 6). Given this, there are two ways of understanding economic development in Rwanda: either in terms of national development or as community (local people') development. Evidence presented from the field indicates that, *umuganda* has served mainly the purpose of communicating government decisions to the population (focus group discussion, Kigali 17 December 2016). Through its communication style people have been sensitized to government programs therefore connecting people to the state.

After *umuganda* "local leaders read different announcement from the government and what is expected from us" (interview : Western Province, 22 December 2010, Kigali 2016). From the interviews and the focus group discussions, it was learned that in the *umuganda* gatherings government leaders present speeches based on themes that the central government has identified and

transmitted to local leaders. Local leaders, in turn, are expected to make sure that people understand and respond to the programs.

Nevertheless, community involvement in the implementation of government programs can hardly be considered to be community participation, unless there is at least some degree of decision-making which brings together authorities and the community. Taking the example of Kigali, *umuganda* is a type of popular participation, as internal regulations and modes of operation have been pre-determined mostly by local government officials. Local communities often have their say or decide on what needs to be done in their area during *umuganda* gatherings. This has been widely noted in gatherings of *umuganda,* as well as on what is being done and how it is done during *umunganda* work. Depending on local leaders, discussion would normally lead to what needs to be done for the benefit of the local community in general. More on the role and benefits are learned from its model of participation and different activities associated with *umuganda* practice.

4. Participation and activities associated with *umuganda*

Article3 and 4 of the law establishing *umuganda*, Law n° 53/2007, indicates persons who should perform the activities of *umuganda* as well as days and hours these activities should take place (2008 : 6-7). The law states clearly that every last Saturday of every month is dedicated to *umuganda* from 8 : 00 A.M and lasts for three hours. Thereafter, the whole community meets in a designated big hall or under a tree where local leaders address the community members, talking about various issues such as the importance of family planning, health insurance schemes, hygiene, security, and so on.

Different activities are performed during *umuganda*. Most of the work carried out includes building or repairing roads, bridges, schools, hospitals and houses for the needy (Kwizera, in the *New Times,* June 2010). Although there may be different views on the practice of *umuganda*, both positive and negative, environmental protection, security provision, unity and reconciliation, and community development, could be regarded as beneficial to the community, and to the government, which have mainly been achieved through *umuganda* work. Each will be discussed briefly.

4.1 *Umuganda* for environmental protection

To a great extent, most activities of *umuganda* countrywide are linked with environmental protection strategies. Generally, most people participate in

cleaning streets, cutting grass, trimming bushes alongside the roads, planting trees and repairing public buildings (Rwanda Environment Authority, REMA, 2009).

Through the practice of *umuganda*, reforestation and erosion control have been successful in many communities (Rwanda Research Group, 2008 : 6). Government Institutions such as REMA urge people to take care of environmental and water resources and mobilizes people to plant trees, for example, to protect river banks (REMA, 2009). This is usually the message in almost each gathering after *umuganda* work. The concept of *umuganda* is a good idea to maintain a clean society and this has helped the country to gain its new face. The practice does not only propagate a clean society but also presents an opportunity for people to join hands to achieve set objectives, on top of fostering harmony among residents. This has attracted many foreign nations such as the Malawi's Minister of Industry and Trade who once commended *umuganda* and thought that this practice would be good for other countries as well. In an article published in the *Nyasa Times*, she notes, *This is something all African countries need to do because wherever we go in Africa now, there is environmental degradation and the only way to resolve the issue is to have every person involved in curbing it.* (*Nyasa Times*, 1 Nov 2010). To get everyone involved will require alternatively the adoption of the spirit of working together that is found in the practice of *umuganda*. Being a Rwandan brand *umuganda* has been introduced in different countries especially those where Rwandan peacekeepers are in peace intervention missions. Rwandan Embassies also such as in Tanzania, have been doing *umuganda* in that country, positively influencing people to join in. Moreover, respondents from western province and Kigali equally appreciated *umuganda* which is organized and carried out by military and police personnel. One respondent said :

> *Umuganda wabasirikare urashimishije*, *umuganda* done by military personnel is impressive. Even if they are ten, they do work that even a hundred people cannot do, their commitment and passion to the work is so pleasing (Interview : 20 Dec 2011 and followed up in 2016).

It is that commitment and integrity that has made *umuganda* popular and widespread to almost every country where Rwandan peacekeeping personnel are placed. Going with principles of community development, should indeed be a learning practice for other countries too.

4.2 *Umuganda* **for security provision**

According to the UNDP Report on Human Development (1994: 23), human security is concerned with how people live in a society, how freely they exercise their choices, how much access they have to market and social opportunities and whether they live in conflict or peace. With the challenges of social division that marked the country in the past, community gatherings for *umuganda* have been able to form community policing bodies which monitor inappropriate behavior in the community, such as theft. Community policing involves a group of people in the village (*umudugudu*) which works closely (when necessary) with national police regarding matters related to instability. Small cases are taken care of at the *umudugudu* leadership level. Everyone is expected to be vigilant in their respective areas and in each community (*umudugudu*) there are designated people who do night patrols. Community members are required to contribute monetarily for compensation to those who perform these patrols. The night patrols and money contribution is decided and explained during *umuganda* gatherings, where suspicious or inappropriate behavioral cases related to insecurity are reported, and possible solutions sought from the community members. Thus, the *umuganda* gathering is an important opportunity to know what is going on in the area. This discussion can be seen as contributing to three objectives: firstly, making the community aware of what is going on in their area; secondly, mobilizing the community to be vigilant for the sake of their own security and; thirdly, it may be a way of controlling but also making people accountable to one another.

4.3 *Umuganda* **for unity and reconciliation**

Taking peace as a prerequisite for sustainable development and poverty reduction, the policy document explains that *umuganda* aims to "provide an opportunity for conviviality among people" (Official Gazette of the Republic of Rwanda, 2008: 6). It is therefore meant to forge unity and reconciliation among Rwandans. *Umuganda* activities allow and motivate all Rwandan groups to be together and to act together for both public and community interests. For reconciliation to take place requires not only talking to each other but also having a common vision. It is believed that during *umuganda*, people in *umudugudu* are given a chance to mutually envision what they would like to see happening in their community (Rwandan Government Board, 2011). Therefore, participating in *umuganda* is seen as enhancing social cohesion and encouraging a sense of civic duty to participate in community and national development plans, ideally bringing people close to the state's vision.

4.4 *Umuganda* for community development

While the term 'community development' may have different meanings for different people and organizations, the government of Rwanda recognizes Resohazy's theory of community development as "*a co-ordinated and systematic policy whose aim is to organize the global progress of a specific region, within the participation of the concerned population*" (from the Rwandan community development policy, 2001: 12). A coordinated and systematic policy refers to "*an action which pursues specific objectives determined within a given time, provides means and tools arranges measures to be taken in a successive manner, conceived, elaborated, and implemented under the guidance of qualified people*" (from the Rwandan community development policy 2001: 12). To organize global progress means "*to be in charge of transformation of all important aspects of the social-economic life*" (from the Rwandan community development policy, 2001 : 12).

In community development, *umuganda* aims not only at poverty reduction but also at community mobilization, empowerment and confidence building (Ministry of Local Government, 2008 : 7). Recall that the policy of *umuganda* motivates citizens to participate in self-development rather than waiting for the government to deliver. Moreover, Taylor (1992 : 255) explains that the main role of government is to provide a sustainable social, economic and political environment in which local initiatives and local self-development can flourish. In the same way, *umuganda* policy intends to empower people to be active in the decision-making which affects their lives. Although activities involved in *umuganda* are regarded more as for public interest, cleaning neighborhood streets and building roads and schools for the children, *umuganda* provides opportunities for local leaders to engage in civic education and to foster dialogue on topics related to public interest (Brown 2008: 52).Through self-help initiatives like planting trees, building schools and performing other developmental work, community development is promoted.

While in the past, citizens depended on the government to deliver; *umuganda* contributes to a sense of community that shares responsibility for the community and nation at large whereby people contribute to their community's needs instead of waiting for the government to do so (Kigabo, 2008 : 11). This in turn builds a confident society. For example, in gatherings which occur after the activities of *umuganda*, awareness about, for example, gender-based violence, AIDS, and poverty are raised.

Although *umuganda* is very influential in Rwandan society, Mutara (2006) expresses his concerns in these words: "*Umuganda* is abused; if 'abuse' can be used to mean people's failure to thoroughly exploit the rich resources and potential that is embedded in them in achieving effects". Mugarura (in the *New Times*, 2005) also argues that *umuganda* has lost its meaning. While in the old days, Rwandan communities derived a sense of unity and togetherness from the voluntary community work, today it is viewed more as mandatory work involving punitive sanctions. This view has to do with the policy law of *umuganda* but also assumptions indicating that it is a no longer the people's initiative but set by government.

Nevertheless, *umuganda* being identified as a potential platform for community mobilization and information – sharing, the government has established an easy way to implement the policy designed. The labor costs of *umuganda* contribute to the national development programs, as well as a means of service delivery. The question is how people would benefit from such labor. This differs, depending on the social status of the beneficiaries and the location of the *labor.* Some benefit is direct, other is indirect, but both are for public benefit.

4.4.1. Direct benefit

Direct benefits are activities that community members initiate, for example, by building houses or helping in one another's fields. These offer direct short-term benefits. However, based on the findings, activities that directly benefit community members are seldom performed in *umuganda*. Many activities are related to the visualization of economic development in Rwanda. How much attention should be paid to economic development, community development and to poverty reduction ? The last two are often seen as part of economic development, which aims more at general outcomes that at the welfare of specific communities.

In addition, most activities are often directed from district or sector level. Occasionally, people in rural areas will organize themselves to build for their neighbors who are in need. But participants in the study complained that without the approval of the local leaders there is nothing that they can do to initiate *umuganda* for anyone who is in need. While relying on community participation, *umuganda* has not been effective in targeting and benefiting the poor. The majority, especially those in rural areas, are still living in absolute poverty. Consequently, *umuganda* no longer makes sense to the ordinary population when they cannot use their labor for what they consider to be of direct benefit to their households. Instead, the practice of *umuganda* should be approached holistically so that all can benefit according to their needs.

4.4.2. Indirect benefit

Activities in *umuganda* that can be considered indirectly beneficial to the people, are, for example, building schools, clinics or even roads. These are regarded by respondents as more beneficial to the government than they are to the people. While an urban population may benefit directly from the use of a major road, the rural population might not, yet everyone benefits indirectly.

The current study has identified the government's lack of understanding or willingness to take advantages of the notion of development for the people. The policy of *umuganda* is structured so that it has the power of bringing communities together for development. Nevertheless, this study indicates that *umuganda* has not been adequately explored in this regard. While this free labor should be of benefit to local communities, most of the activities concentrate on building public infrastructure, planting trees and cleaning streets, which offer indirect benefit to most.

Sustainability cannot be achieved without the full involvement of beneficiaries, in this case the ordinary *banya-Rwanda.* For example, could farmers, in rural areas, or people in need of shelter use *umuganda* to assist each other as they did in the pre-colonial era? Could it be used for food security ? There is no development when people are still living below the poverty line and are not empowered to fight against structures that bind them into poverty. Local people may not have enough resources to boost their economy, but their labor is a great asset to their economy and development in general. Local government leaders need not bypass this reality. Once well managed, *umuganda* could become a good policy mechanism for other policies that require popular mobilization and participation.

Given Rwanda's rate of economic and demographic growth, and expectations of regional trade, further development is likely. But the population needs to be empowered so that they can initiate and direct *umuganda* not only for the sake of other government policies but also for the direct benefit of communities. Providing services that not only uplift the community but also activities that improve well-being in the long run should be the focus of *umuganda*. This means pursuing a variety of community service initiatives that include not just what the government has identified but what the community itself has identified as a problem. This is the initial philosophical meaning of *umuganda*.

5. A philosophical understanding of *umuganda* today

The philosophy and practice of *umuganda* are crucial to the future of Rwanda in promoting good governance, social development and economic development. Their relationship is portrayed in the Figure below.
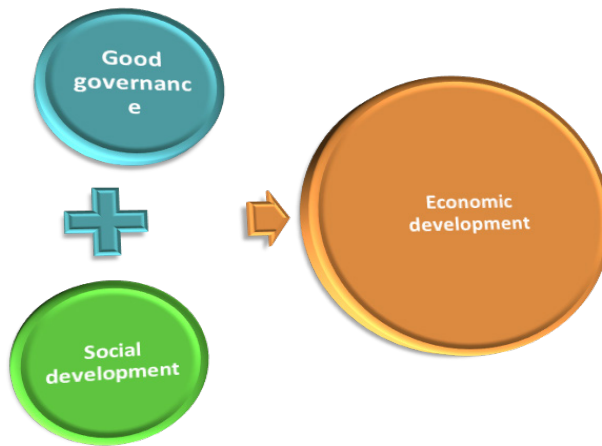
Figure 1 : Key areas in nation-building

Although the three pillars are mutually important, each element is discussed separately.

5.1 Good governance

Good governance means different things to different countries. In Rwanda, good governance is related to more political and administrative decentralization. However, the economic aspect of decentralization should not be ignored, especially as this is concealed in the planning and management of *umuganda*. While the role of government in the management of *umuganda* could be questioned in this study, a condition for economic growth is good governance that allows social growth. For this to happen in Rwanda, local government officials would have to recognize that people have the ability to transform their own lives. This would entail government delegating powers to the rest of the society. For example, the management and functions of *umuganda* could be performed by local people themselves, with the government as mentor. Thus, development, either social or economic is not directed to people but from the people.

Good management of the policy and practice of *umuganda* could achieve far higher levels of participation by a public with a positive attitude. This can only be done by allowing local people's involvement in planning and organizing activities of *umuganda* based on local communities' priorities. Policies such as decentralization, good governance, poverty reduction and reconciliation can be implemented through state control but cannot succeed without the genuine and full participation of ordinary citizens. Through good governance local leaders can work closely with residents to develop ideas. Thus, the government does not have to concern itself with not having enough to give to its citizens. Instead, *umuganda* can do a lot for national development while maintaining the unity of the people.

5.2. Social development

Based on the findings of this study, the traditional aim of *umuganda* was to bring about a sense of solidarity and strengthen social cohesion. In its current form, *umuganda* also seeks to improve information sharing, provide a learning ground for coordinated activities, promote civic-mindedness, and through shared experience, develop a sense of collective consciousness. This study has demonstrated the shift in the practice of *umuganda* to that of political concentration, rhetorically known as nation-building. However, the majority of the people do not identify with this remote, indirect benefit.

Even though, in general, policies are designed to solve social problems as well as enacting change, in most cases policy design is based on a tradition of exercising power and authority rather than on local knowledge as a basis for responding to the needs of the people. In the case of *umuganda*, if participation is limited so much that the potential beneficiaries do not understand the objectives of the policy, therefore then, the policy fails. Much needs to be done in engaging communities rather than in telling them what to do. The government should enable people to be in charge of practising *umuganda*. For example, in rural areas, basic service delivery is historically provided by people themselves rather than by government. People are used to building their own houses, fetching water from a river and electricity is not a major issue, although it is needed. Moreover, school classrooms and clinics are to some extent built by *umuganda*, which confirms the capacity that ordinary people have for social development while supporting the national budget.

5.3. Economic development

Economic development can hardly be achieved when society is poorly governed and when the majority in the communities are poor. This is evident in the

practice of *umuganda* where Kigali has relatively much more in terms of infra-structure, while Western Province has little. Nevertheless, if governance reaches the people and allows full participation, economic development can be a means of advancing economic development as well. Rwandan society is composed of people with different skills such as teachers, engineers, architects and so on who can volunteer their time and knowledge to do something beyond cleaning streets. Currently, the population of Rwanda stands at over 11million. If, for example, at least 5 million people spend four hours every month to perform services for the community, a journey in the fight against poverty, and economic development could be embarked upon. Results from *umuganda* could be far better than what we see today. People in the community usually know each other; it is easy to know who is in need and to make this a priority in planning activities of *umuganda*. This extends *umuganda* into becoming not only a tool for building and main-taining public property, but also would encourage an exchange of services, skills and expertise that are found within the community. This could also allow devel-opment within communities as well as throughout the country.

However, the essence of volunteerism is required in order to achieve the maximum level of local people's passion for *umuganda*. This calls for reconsid-ering the current punitive sanctions that are involved in the practice of *umugan-da*. A sense of compulsion undermines the core value of social and community development and a spirit of volunteerism. It also raises the need for the govern-ment to become less involved in the whole practice of *umuganda*. Although it is still debatable how reduced a role government should have, communities can be stronger when they exist within a more enabling context. This includes creating an environment of political leadership, law and legislation as well as an appropri-ate attitude for government administration and civil servants.

Theoretically, the implementation of any policy should be accompanied by policy evaluation. Yet the study found that little or no proper evaluation has been done on the policy of *umuganda*. This is a missing link in the policy making process, management and policy implementation, as it hinders the possibility of improvement.

6. Challenges in administering *umuganda*

Both communities in Kigali and Western Province identified two major chal-lenges in administering *umuganda.* One is attendance or participation in *umu-ganda,* and the second is a lack of necessary tools to use during *umuganda.* Out of 76 respondents 47 in Kigali, and 53 out of 63 respondents from the Western

province, indicated that there is poor participation in *umuganda*. Nevertheless, 61 participants out of 76 in Kigali, and 54 out of 63 respondents thought that there is a lack of necessary tools to carry out the work of *umuganda*.

As much as *umuganda* is regarded as beneficial, the majority admitted that they do not attend *umuganda* often, if at all. Table 1 indicates the level of participation for each community.

Table 2: Level of participation

		N	100
Kigali	**How often do you go to *umuganda* ?**	76	100
	All the time	3	4
	Some time	37	49
	Never	36	47
Western Province	**How often do you go to *umuganda* ?**	63	100
	All the time	26	41
	Some time	28	44
	Never	9	14

Of the 76 participants in Kigali, only 4% indicated that they attend the monthly *umuganda* all the time, while 49% in Kigali and 44% in Western Province said that they undertake *umuganda* some of the time. However, 47% in Kigali and 14% in Western Province admitted that they never go to *umuganda*. While few people 14% revealed never attending *umuganda* in Western Province, in Kigali a substantially higher number of 47% did not. This could be because it is more difficult to control people in the city than in the rural settings. Various reasons were mentioned for not participating in *umuganda*. Most revolve around its poor management.

First, there is a problem related to a lack of necessary tools. Activities performed during *umuganda* extended from picking up rubbish to building houses. Different tools are therefore needed but most people do not have them or access to them. Such tools can be found at a reasonable price. Why is there a lack of equipment? Does it have to do with people not preparing themselves for *umuganda* or not valuing the activities much? Are the tools unaffordable? Do people avoid these tools because of the traumatic experiences of their usage as weapons during the genocide? While all these questions may be relevant, the clear general answer is that this is indicative of the little value given to *umuganda*. According to an interviewee :

In Kigali city for instance, it is not easy to find people owning, for example, hoes, machetes and so on. Many people come with no tools at all, expecting to share with someone who probably has one. Others will bring tools that are not matching or not useful to the kind of activities to be done on that day because that is all they have (Interview OCM- 13a 02 Jan 2011, revisited in 2017).

An ordinary community member explained that the lack of necessary tools is part of what discourages many people from participating in *umuganda* activities, as some will arrive and then return home without having done anything because there were not enough tools to share (OCM- 13a 02 January 2011). Even though the policy document on *umuganda* indicates that tools will be provided by each relevant administration unit (*umudugudu*) for the activities of *umuganda* this has not yet been implemented. One can see, perhaps, the failure of the government to provide tools as indicated in the law, as well as the lack of awareness or inability of ordinary people to buy them.

But in rural areas like Western Province some tools for *umuganda* activities should not be a problem, since almost everyone is involved in at least small-scale farming activities. A community member explained that people arrive with the wrong tools, possibly because they did not hear the government announcement for the day or because they do not have the proper tools for that particular activity. One participant reported :

Instead of going empty handed, we just take whatever we have to be safe in case the local defence forces see you. They won't think that you are escaping *umuganda* (OCM 5-b 29 Dec 2011).

Note the element of fear in this response. Has *umuganda* become forced labour where people participate out of fear? Another issue that was identified is organising and performing *umuganda* during the weekend. This is due to the fact that many social functions like weddings are organised on Saturdays. The focus group discussions in both Kigali and Western Province indicated that it is not easy to finish *umuganda* at twelve or in the afternoon and be able to attend a funeral, for example (FGD-2 17 Dec 2010, revisited in 2017). Other challenges like wrongly informing people about time, venue and the kind of activities that will be taking place were identified during focus group discussions in Kigali. It was also noted that sometimes people can spend time looking for the place where *umuganda* is meant to be carried out, resulting in them arriving at the venue late or giving up.

6.1. What can be done to help improve the efficiency of *umuganda*

Based on the challenges to the practice of *umuganda* that have just been discussed, what can be done to improve the efficiency of *umuganda?* There are six areas that respondents felt need to be considered. These are as follows :

(a) There is a need to increase the number of participants in *umuganda* (71 out of 76 in Kigali, and 58 out of 63 in the Western Province), despite its being compulsory. This suggests a failure by government to implement and enforce its policy, even though there are formal sanctions for non-attendance.

(b) Participants in Kigali (59 out of 76, and fewer, 11 out of 63 in the Western province) indicated that there is a need to improve the quality of management of *umuganda*. Learning earlier that most of the time *umuganda* is organised by government leaders, one of the issues that came up every time was the suggestion that there should be an accurate selection of activities planned in time and also activities that are beneficial to the community. A community member explains :

> *Even though we know that every last Saturday of the month there is* umuganda, *we don't know what will be done and we are told of what to do and where to go for* umuganda *on Friday evening before the day (or few hours) of* umuganda *and sometimes they don't say anything until the day of* umuganda*. Sometimes I don't go because I don't know what is going on* (interview: 10-a 14 Dec 2010, revisited in 2017).

(C) A significant number of respondents in Kigali (56 out of 76 and 41 out of 63 in the Western province) indicated that there is a need to restructure decision-making policy related to the planning and implementation of *umuganda* activities.

What was noted is that making *umuganda* more relevant to the people by choosing activities that are directly beneficial to them is more important, this includes the long speeches that are given after *umuganda*. They [government officials] need to prepare activities and speeches that have direct benefit, *intérêt direct,* to the people" (interview 15-a 17 Dec 2010, follow up June 2017). Participants suggested that the government should involve them in planning the activities of *umuganda*, and in the long run leaving themselves to manage *umuganda* leaving citizens not in ignorance.

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Conclusion

The old traditional communal development practice of *umuganda* has survived and is currently regarded as a practice to be relied upon to meet the modern development needs of Rwanda. Post-genocide Rwanda regards *umuganda* as a system where public, private and civil society sectors join forces for the common good of their communities. The practice of *umuganda* does not only involve cleaning up streets and other activities for the public good; it also empowers people by motivating them to participate in dialogue, especially during gatherings after the work of *umuganda* has been completed. Discussing issues related to security, poverty eradication, education and elections allow people to see the need for working together as a community, which in turn help to foster social unity.

Moreover, the potential for the practice of *umuganda* lies in the opportunities for the local population to mingle with not only neighbors but also with their leaders. But such participation must essentially give local people an opportunity to plan and organize *umuganda* in order to solve their individual and local community's problems. The government's ability to use *umuganda* as a means for communication can offer platforms where social, economic and political issues are discussed and understood. Therefore, the most important feature of *umuganda* in post-genocide times would be seen in its ability for community engagement, with a great possibility of reunifying Rwandan society. It is not the amount of work done; rather, it is the gathering of people and exchanging of ideas for the sake of rebuilding mutual trust among the indigenous people. Beyond doubt this is the greatest value Rwanda can obtain from *umuganda.* It is believed that the more community members share, or at least understand and tolerate each other's values and attitudes, the stronger their community will be. Through the practice of *umuganda*, of working together, Rwandans can develop the ability to see beyond what divides them and focus more on what they can do together to build their future.

In the age of globalization and modernization, where solidarity is in question, *umuganda* could be a great inspiring practice, transferable to other communities beyond Rwanda. This research has indicated how appreciated it has been when Rwandan Peacekeepers implement it where they are for peace missions, such as in Haiti, Central Africa and South Sudan. Gladly some African countries, especially through Rwandan embassies such as in Tanzania, have also been implementing it, positively influencing local communities to join. This study shows that *umuganda* as a form of social and economic development is not a modern concept but a traditional idea that has been transformed in how it is organized, practised and who benefits from these development activities. Its practice focuses

on common good. While in the early days, activities were initiated and owned by people themselves, the state now organizes and therefore it is regarded as a government program. Development in Rwanda still has much to learn from the traditional values of *umuganda.* This will bring a closer state-citizen relationship, meaning planning and defining together what is good for the community development. With proper management, *umuganda* could help to recognize that there are many ways a country could assist the poor and deliver services to its citizens.

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4

Gacaca Courts and the *Abunzi* Mediation Committees : the Journey to Justice and Peace Consolidation in Post Genocide Rwanda

By Dr Aimé Muyoboke Karimunda[43]

1. Introduction

In the aftermath of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, thinking of account-ability for genocide was still globally considered to be attempting the impossi-ble. The determination to fight against impunity was in its infancy; there was no international tribunal to deal with genocide as such. Nuremberg and Tokyo rul-ings that would have served as reference have often been accused of having been manipulated by the victorious powers of the Second World War. Their impact appeared also to have been to a large extent insignificant since they were limit-ed to a handful of suspects bearing the highest criminal responsibility.[44] Victims interests were also not debated either.[45] Further, the Eichmann case that was the first domestic interpretation of the 1948 Convention for the Prevention and

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43. Dr Aimé Muyoboke Kalimunda is President of the Court of Appeal. He is also Guest Senior Lecturer University of Rwanda. I am very thankful to Tharcisse Professors Gatwa, Deogratias Mbonyinkebe Sebahire, Sam Rugege, Jean Jean Marie Kamatali and Dr Jastine Barret who graciously accepted to proofread my manuscripts and helped to improve the quality of this paper. I am full responsible of any remaining mistake.

44. Only twenty-four people were arraigned before the tribunal, namely Karl Dönitz, Hans Frank, Wilhelm Frick, Hans Fritzsche, Walter Funk, Herman Göring, Rudolf Hess, Alfred Hess, Alfred Jodl, Ernest Kalternbrunner, Wilhelm Keitel, Konstantin von Neurath, Franz von Papen, Willem Raeder, Joachim von Ribbentrop, Alfred Rosenberg, Fritz Saukel, Hjalmar Schacht, Baldur von Schirach, Arthur Seyss-Inquart, Albert Speer and Julius Streicher. For further details, see Robert Cryer and others, *An Introduction to International Criminal Law and Procedure*, Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2014, at. p.117.

45. William A. Schabas, "The Rwandan Courts in Quest of Accountability : Genocide Trials and *Gacaca* Courts" 3 Journal of International Criminal Justice 879, 2005 at p.880 ; William A. Schabas, *The International Criminal Court: A Commentary on the Rome Statute*, Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2013, p.5. See also Robert Cryer and Others, An introduction to International Criminal Law and Procedure, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, p.116.

Punishment of the Crime of Genocide was as well reported not to have observed the standards of justice.[46]

Rwanda rejected the idea of a symbolic or flawed justice. It wanted to create a society that conditions itself against genocide by making real the "never again" slogan. Accordingly, it defied the international community by systematically rejecting any compromise with full accountability; this involved believing in the possible where experts professed the impossible.[47]

In Rwanda, trials before ordinary courts for genocide suspects started in 1996,[48] a few weeks before the launch of the trials at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda in Arusha. The goal was to bring to justice the genocide suspects that numbered approximately one hundred thousand in December 1996. The number of suspects had increased to 125 000 by 2000.[49] Many others were and are still at large. Rwandan prisons and detention facilities built to house 20,000 people were suffocating.[50] The international community became very critical mainly following the turn that justice took when 22 convicts were executed.[51] Although William Schabas finds that most justice systems would conclude that the trials were satisfactory,[52] Rwandans deemed the process to be very slow and inadequate.[53] Only 2,580 cases out of 124,800 detainees were completed by December 1999,[54] and the figure rose to only 6,000 by 2001. The trials appeared to be a denial of justice for both the victims and perpetrators of genocide against the Tutsi.

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46. For more critical reviews of the case, see William A. Schabas, (2013). The Contribution of the Eichmann Trial to International Law, *Leiden Journal of International Law*, 26, pp. 667-699.

47. William A. Schabas, "The Rwandan Courts in Quest of Accountability: Genocide Trials and *Gacaca* Courts" 3 Journal of International Criminal Justice 879, 2005 at p.879.

48. Organic Law nº. 08/96 of August 30, 1996 on the Organization of Prosecutions for Offences Constituting the Crime of Genocide or Crimes against Humanity Committed Since October 1, 1990, J.O., 1996, No. 17.

49 UN DOC A/55/269, p.26, para 102.

50. Anne-Marie de Brouwer and Etienne Ruvebana, "The Legacy of the *Gacaca* Courts in Rwanda: Survivors' Views" *International Criminal Law Review* 13 (2013) 937–976, at p. 939.

51. William A. Schabas, *The Abolition of the Death Penalty in International Law*, 3rd ed, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, p.250.

52 William A. Schabas, "The Rwandan Courts in Quest of Accountability: Genocide Trials and Gacaca Courts" 3 Journal of International Criminal Justice 879, 2005 at p.881.

53. Urusaro Alice Karekezi, "Juridictions Gacaca, Lutte contre l'Impunité et Promotion de la Réconciliation Nationale" in Cahiers du Centre de Gestion des Conflits, *Les Juridictions Gacaca et les Processus de Réconciliation Nationale*, Kigali, Éditions de l'Université Nationale du Rwanda, 2001, p.35.

54. Sam Rugege and Aimé M. Karimunda, "Domestic Prosecution of International Crimes: The Case of Rwanda", in Gerhard Werle and Others, *Africa and the International Criminal Court*, The Hague: Springer, 2014, at p. 92.

It became imperative to find an intermediate alternative between the conventional justice, the reconstruction of the social fabric and the prevention of another tragedy. It was evident that modern tribunals and positive law had reached their limits. The complexity of genocide had defied existing institutional, legal and human capacity mechanisms. To deal with it required engaging with the entire population in order to establish the truth about genocide and to deal with its consequences.[55]

Gacaca courts were therefore found to be the only remaining alternative and innovative mechanism that would meet Rwanda's desire for a criminal justice approach to the genocide. It became compelling to resort to this heritage of Rwandan culture as a response to the challenge posed by the large number of the genocide suspects awaiting trials who could not be tried in the conventional courts within a reasonable period of time. *Gacaca* courts were also resurrected to serve as a tool for peace, national unity and reconciliation in a society that had experienced cycles of violence since 1959. *Gacaca* courts were specifically introduced and empowered to hear and decide genocide cases. Until 18 June 2012 when *Gacaca* courts were officially closed, they had tried a total number of 1,958,634 cases. Of these cases, 1,681,648 suspects or 86% were convicted and 277,066 suspects or 14,1% acquitted. Only 225,012 convicts or 13, 38% resorted to the procedure of guilty plea and confession.[56]

Although *Gacaca* courts proved to be an adequate Rwandan remedy to the most unimaginable human atrocity by speeding up trials, finding out and disclosing truth, eradicating the culture of impunity and strengthening peace, unity and reconciliation, they faced a good number of challenges. The spirit of *Gacaca* Courts was later revived in the *Abunzi* Committee that are still fighting for their legitimacy in the modern Rwanda. This chapter explores the merits of *Gacaca* Courts, their journey in the process of clearing the genocide case backlog, their contribution to building a peaceful and reconciled society, the challenges they faced and the revival of their legacy through the *Abunzi* Committee.

2. Understanding *Gacaca* courts in today's Rwanda

Historically, *Gacaca* courts were forums for conflict resolution between families where disputes were resolved in accordance with customary law and

55. Urusaro Alice Karekezi, "Juridictions *Gacaca,* Lutte contre l'Impunité et Promotion de la Réconciliation Nationale" in Cahiers du Centre de Gestion des Conflits, *Les Juridictions Gacaca et les Processus de Réconciliation Nationale*, Kigali, Éditions de l'Université Nationale du Rwanda, 2001, p.35.
56. National Service of *Gacaca* Courts*, Summary of the Report Presented at the Closing of Gacaca Courts' Activities*, Kigali, June 2012 (unpublished).

equity. The matter was initiated in the family council that comprised family members of the parties. *Gacaca* courts were for the parties the first level of appeal for issues they were not able to resolve on their own. The gathering was at this stage expanded to include other family members; it would extend to members of the community if the conflict involved two or more neighbours.
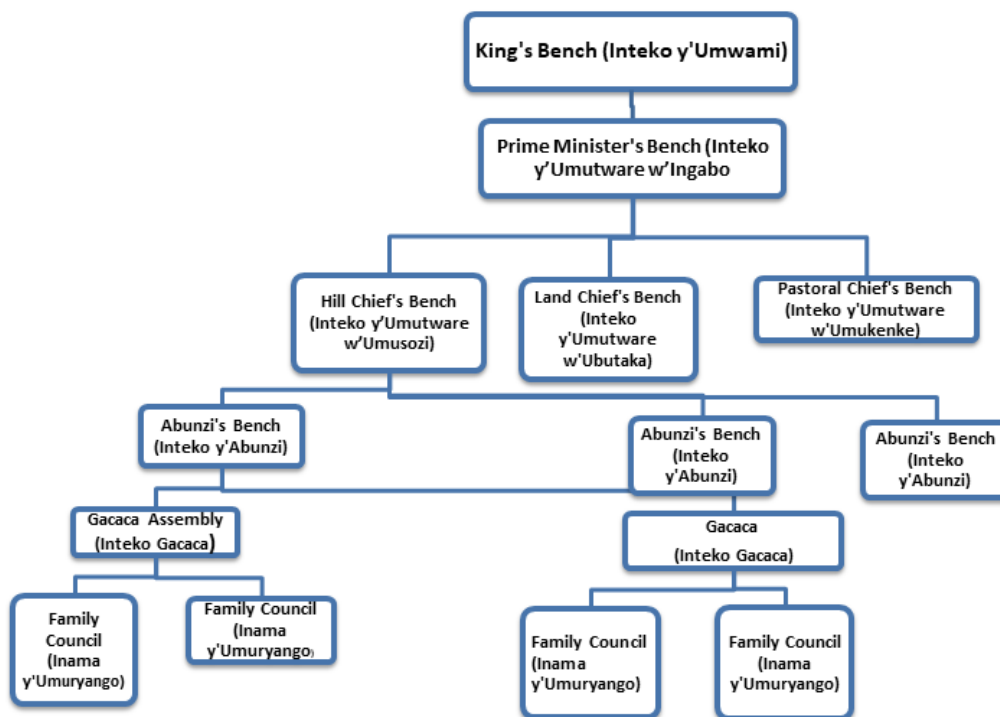
Figure 1 : The structure of the judiciary in the pre-colonial Rwanda

Source: Suprême Court, *Rwaciriwe i Mutakara : Ubutabera bubereye u Rwanda Twifuza, September 2017, pp. 7-8.*

Gacaca or lawn is a metonym referring to a physical space where men of a certain age gathered to debate and resolve conflicts among members of the community. Members of the assembly that formed the Council of Elders were selected by the community among men known for their integrity (*inyangamugayo*) in the village. The test of suitability for the position was the elder's reputation for wisdom, erudition, probity and impartiality in taking decisions. The function of judging was used as a test of eligibility for higher administrative or political

positions. The chief of the family or clan led the gathering with the assistance of the Council of elders. The role of a judge was a sacred matter.[57]

During the gathering, parties were invited to defend their cases before the assembly. *Gacaca* resolved all conflicts in the interest of the family and the community. The decision was taken immediately and publicly. *Gacaca* imposed fines, compensation, restitution and damages. The sanction was often immediately executed. When one of the parties was condemned to pay a fine of pitchers of beer, judges shared the pitchers with parties, witnesses and the assembly as a sign of reconciliation. Some offences were, however, so serious that they sullied the entire family. In this instance, the family resorted to collective purification. The priest would purify the wrongdoer. Such ritual purification closed the matter.[58] Ritual purification was often a remedy for offences against sexual morality in traditional Africa.[59]

The concept of justice under traditional *Gacaca* courts was distinct. Judges did not focus on looking for truth as understood before conventional courts that are mainly focused on rules of evidence. Elders were first and foremost concerned with social harmony in which the losing party participated. Community rights had primacy over individual rights. The goal of justice was to reconcile the parties and not to humiliate the offender. However, efforts at reconciliation were not a way of condoning impunity for serious crimes for which a heavy punishment was justified. Incorrigible and dangerous criminals were punished by ostracism. He or she ceased to enjoy social status within the community, which withdrew its support. The individual became a pariah for all intents and purposes and could not take part in social activities. This was the most feared punishment, because in traditional societies reciprocity played a vital role in everyone's life.[60] Crimes against the State and crimes that threatened human lives were tried by the Mwami's (King's) bench itself and the death penalty was among possible punishments that the court could impose.[61]

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57. Sam Rugege and Aimé M. Karimunda, "Domestic Prosecution of International Crimes : The Case of Rwanda", in Gerhard Werle and Others, *Africa and the International Criminal Court*, The Hague: Springer, 2014, at p.94.

58. Charles Ntampaka, *Introduction aux Systèmes Juridiques Africains*, Namur, Presse Universitaire de Namur, 2005, p.53.

59. Aimé Muyoboke Karimunda, *The Death Penalty in Africa: The Path Towards Abolition*, London: Ashgate, 2014, p.38.

60. Charles Ntampaka, *Introduction aux Systèmes Juridiques Africains*, Namur, Presse Universitaire de Namur, 2005, p.54.

61. René Bourgeois, *Banyarwanda et Barundi : La coutume,* Bruxelles*,* Institut Royal Colonial Belge, 1954, p. 397

Gacaca justice was thus built on the premise that punishment and reconciliation were not contradictory or mutually exclusive objectives. Eventually colonisation refashioned traditional *Gacaca* courts. They first lost jurisdiction over petty criminal offences and retained jurisdiction over civil disputes only. Later, colonial authorities replaced clan chiefs with people who owed allegiance to the colonial regime without paying attention as to whether they were persons of integrity suitable to be *Gacaca* judges.[62] After independence, Rwandan authorities maintained the *Gacaca* system, but extended it again to petty offences in order to decongest prisons.[63] The Government rather than the community however selected members of *Gacaca* courts from among local administrative authorities.[64] From independence, mainly since 1975 until 1994, *Gacaca* tribunals had become pre-trial instances where persons prosecuted for theft, assault and destruction of properties would be heard before being tried by the *Tribunal de Canton*. It was no longer a forum for debating social cohesion but rather a political institution parallel to courts.[65]

In 2001, *Gacaca* courts were created in order to establish the real truth of what happened, to punish perpetrators of the crimes committed during the genocide and thus to end impunity as well as to promote unity and reconciliation. The Organic Law No 40/2000 of 26 January 2001 that set up *Gacaca* courts recalled that since genocide crimes were perpetrated publicly, the population had a moral obligation to tell the truth about what had happened as witnesses, victims or offenders.[66] Therefore the choice was not between truth and justice. In transitional justice, there are policy-makers who choose to create some types of truth commissions which often trade amnesty in exchange for the full disclosure of the truth. There are others who opt for judicial mechanisms without necessarily demanding that the offender gives a complete account of the past.[67] Through

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62 Filip Reyntjens*, Pouvoir et droit au Rwanda: droit public et évolution politique, 1916-1973*, Tervuren: Musée Royale de l'Afrique Centrale, 1985, pp. 150-154.

63 Charles Ntampaka, *Introduction aux systèmes juridiques Africains*, Namur : Presses Universitaires de Namur, 2005, p. 55.

64 Urusaro Alice Karekezi, "Juridictions *Gacaca*, Lutte contre l'Impunité et Promotion de la Réconciliation Nationale" in Cahiers du Centre de Gestion des Conflits, *Les Juridictions Gacaca et les Processus de Réconciliation Nationale*, Kigali, Éditions de l'Université Nationale du Rwanda, 2001, p.32.

65 Charles Ntampaka, *Introduction aux Systèmes Juridiques Africains*, Namur, Presse Universitaire de Namur, 2005, p.55.

66 Preamble of the Organic Law nᵒ 40/2000 of 26/01/2001 setting up *Gacaca* jurisdictions and organizing prosecutions for offences constituting the crime of genocide or crimes against humanity committed between October 1, 1990 and December 31, 1994, *Official Gazette* No 6, of 15 March 2001.

67 For details see Phil Clark, *The Gacaca Courts, Post-Genocide Justice and Reconciliation in Rwanda*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 33-35.

Gacaca Courts, Rwanda decided to combine the goals of justice, truth and national reconciliation.

Although the initial response to genocide was retributive, the country noticed that favouring purely retributive justice would widen the rupture between Rwandan communities. The Rwandan approach to deal with genocide was truth and reconciliation through justice. It rejected a truth commission solution that would lead to a blanket amnesty, synonymous with impunity.[68] The government intended to get rid of the policy and practice of unconditional amnesty that had become inseparable from crimes perpetrated against the Tutsi. As far back as 1961, by a resolution on crimes perpetrated against the Tutsi minority, the United Nations recommended to Belgium to release *Hutu* extremists it had imprisoned and to grant 'full and unconditional amnesty.'[69] After independence, all those who committed crimes against the Tutsi and their sympathising Hutu were systematically granted amnesty by the Government.[70] The second Republic pursued the same agenda as its predecessor and this triggered further violence in 1972-1973. Thus, until the 1994 genocide against the *Tutsi*, 'there was total impunity for the perpetrator', as we as reminded by Gérard Prunier.[71]

The initial response to genocide cases was to rely on conventional courts. Legislation was amended in order to speed up trials, to reduce prison congestion. It was expected that a large number of suspects would confess their crimes and benefit from mitigating circumstances that would lead to more lenient sentences. Reduced sentences in return for confession was thought to speed up the process of unity and reconciliation. However an evaluation of the progress of the trial of genocide cases revealed that by 2000, the number of suspects had rather increased to 125,000.[72] It appeared that genocide suspects were suspicious about the procedure of confession and the survivors were unhappy about sentences handed down. By August 2000, Courts had registered only 3,751 instances of confession and only 2.580 cases had been tried.[73] The western-type of justice had

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68 Nicholas A. Jones, *The Courts of Genocide: Politics and Rule of Law in Rwanda and Arusha*, London, 2011, p.51

69 UN Doc A/1605 (XV), 21 April 1961, para 9.

70 Loi du 20 Mai 1963 portant amnistie générale des infractions politiques commises entre le 1er Octobre 1959 et le 1er Juillet 1962, *Official Gazette*, 1963, p.299; Décret-Loi du 30 Novembre 1974 portant amnistie de certaines infractions politiques, *Official Gazette*, 1974, p.626 ; Loi no 60/91 du 13 décembre 1991 portant amnistie générale et voie de solution au problème des refugies, *Official Gazette,* 1991, p.1930.

71 Gérard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1995, p.31.

72 UN DOC A/55/269, p.26, para 102.

73 Liprodhor, *Problématique de la preuve*, Kigali, Juin 2000, p.10. See also Urusaro Alice Karekezi,

completely failed to formulate adequate and timely responses to the consequences of the genocide against the *Tutsi*.

By establishing *Gacaca* courts through a law, extending their jurisdiction over life-threatening crimes and constituting them with elected judges including women on their benches, the lawmaker gave a modern characterisation to this traditional institution. This modernised *Gacaca* should not be confused with the conventional system of prosecuting offences. It was rather an institution aimed at re-establishing the social concord and to put genocide convicts on the right path as citizens. The population was therefore invited to actively participate in this new form of participatory justice; because as we said above, any offences in community, particularly those committed publically, were resolved together by the community.

3. Goals assigned to *Gacaca* by the law and evaluation of its achievements

The procedure to be followed by *Gacaca* Courts was simplified to make cases move rapidly. The proceedings excluded lawyers. There were no objections on any minor issues. Objections delay the judicial procedure. Judgments were delivered the day all debates were closed or the next day.[74] The judicial process, the charges, the testimonies of witnesses, the suspect's responses to charges, the assembly's public discussion of evidence, and the judges' decision on the guilt or innocence of the accused was expected to take no more than three weeks. *Gacaca* laws permitted the bench to hear different witnesses in the same hearing.[75]

The pilot phase started in 2002 with 751 *Gacaca* Courts at the Cell level in 118 Sectors.[76] This phase was primarily tasked with conducting investigations.

"Juridictions *Gacaca*, Lutte contre l'Impunité et Promotion de la Réconciliation Nationale" in Cahiers du Centre de Gestion des Conflits, *Les Juridictions Gacaca et les Processus de Réconciliation Nationale*, Kigali, Éditions de l'Université Nationale du Rwanda, 2001, p.22.

74. Sam Rugege, "Judicial Independence in Rwanda", (2007) 19 *Pacific McGeorge Global Business and Development Law Journal* 411, 421.

75. Phil Clark, *The Gacaca Courts, Post-Genocide Justice and Reconciliation in Rwanda*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010, p.172

76. Avocats Sans Frontières, *Monitoring des Juridictions Gacaca, Octobre 2005-Septembre 2006*, Kigali, Palloti Press, 2006, p. 7. Rwanda is administratvely subdivided in villages, cells, sectors, districts, provinces and the City of Kigali. See article 2 of the Law n°87/2013 of 11/09/2013 determining the organisation and functioning of decentralized administrative entities, Official Gazette n° Special of 30/10/2013.

On the basis of challenges identified during this pilot phase, the law governing *Gacaca* Courts was modified in 2004.[77] The trials started in 2005. Then with only 118 *Gacaca* Courts at the Sector level operating out of 1545. These are the ones that pioneered the hearings of cases.[78] Already by July 2006, *Gacaca* Courts at the Cell level had gathered information for 717, 942 persons of whom 63,000 belonged to the first category,[79] 335,000 belonged to the second category[80] and others to the third and fourth categories.[81] By 2006, *Gacaca* courts at the Sector level had already delivered 20,957 judgments out of 23,423 cases heard.[82] It was estimated that for trying 120.000 suspects, it would have taken more than 100 years before ordinary courts and between 15.000 and 20.000 years before the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda.[83] The results speak for themselves when due regard is paid to the modest resources invested in these courts.

Gacaca courts had also the merit of being less formal. There were no strict procedures, no gown, no Latin formula, no French or English principles and exceptions, etc. People attending the courts were neighbours and shared the culture, and they were used to the metaphors of their language. The court was user-friendly and less intimidating to witnesses. The relaxed environment encouraged everyone to say what he/she knew or what he/she saw. The argument that *Gacaca* Courts were designed to impose legal and historical truths, collective guilt and to encourage punitiveness against the *Hutu* community was excluded even by

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77. Organic Law № 16/2004 of 19/6/2004 establishing the Organization, Competence and Functioning of *Gacaca* courts charged with prosecuting and trying the perpetrators of the crime of genocide and other crimes against humanity, committed between October 1, 1990 and December 31, 1994, *Official Gazette* No Special of June 19, 2004.

78. Avocats Sans Frontières, *Monitoring des Juridictions Gacaca, Octobre 2005- Septembre 2006*, Kigali, Palloti Press, 2006, p. 7.

79. These are masterminds of the genocide or those who planned, organised, and supervised the genocide. The category includes also notorious murderers and persons who committed acts of sexual torture. For details see Sam Rugege and Aime M Karimunda "Domestic Prosecution of International Crimes: The case of Rwanda", in Gerhard Werle and Others, Africa and the International Criminal Court, The Hague: Springer, 2014, p. 89.

80. The second category consisted of groups perpetrators, conspirators and accomplices of murders other than those who were zealous in the perpetration of the crime. Offenders who seriously assaulted victims with intent to kill but did not accomplish their objective are placed in this category.

81. The third category was related to perpetrators who were involved in other serious attempts against bodily integrity without necessarily intending to kill the victim. The fourth category relates to people who committed offences relating to property.

82. Avocats Sans Frontières, *Monitoring des Juridictions Gacaca, Octobre 2005- Septembre 2006*, Kigali, Palloti Press, 2006, p.8.

83.Roelof Haveman, "Doing Justice to *Gacaca*", in Alette Smeulers and Roelof Haveman [eds]*, Supranational Criminology: Towards a Criminology of International Crimes*, Antwerp, Intersentia, 2008, p.367.

the most virulent opponent to this system.[84] Indeed researchers who indicated that genocide perpetrators were reluctant to acknowledge their wrongdoing or to express remorse have mostly quoted pre-Gacaca publications or justified this attitude by a conspiracy of silence among genocide suspects.[85]

It is undisputed that a relaxed environment is missing in most modern courts. For instance, on 31 October 2001, ICTR judges William Sekule (Tanzania), Winston Maqutu (Lesotho) and Arlette Ramaroson (Madagascar) suddenly burst out laughing when a Rwandan woman victim of genocide and who had been raped nine times by different men was asked, during cross-examination, to describe the genital parts of her rapists and the feeling she had during rape.[86] According to the Prosecutor in the case, witness TA had repeated 1,194 times that she was raped.[87] It requires extreme courage for victims of sexual violence to give a narrative of the horrors they were subjected to. There is always stigma attached to being a victim of sexual violence. Women who speak about sexual violence to which they were subjected are not always believed, their past is often subject to public scrutiny and they may be shamed for having admitted they were victims of rape or other forms of sexual violence. The language used to describe sex is also surrounded by many taboos. It is therefore important that judges create a favourable environment for victims of sexual violence. An atmosphere like the one before the ICTR where victims intervened in joint trials, with numerous defendants some accused of being their torturers, required to stand for days answering the same questions from emotionless defence counsel and without expecting any help from the prosecution is simply discouraging. [88]

Testimonies submitted to *Gacaca* courts had practical effects for survivors. Many genocide survivors are not interested in symbolic justice. They simply want to know when, where and how their loved ones died. *Gacaca* hearings permitted victims to recover the remains of their relatives and have them reburied in dignity. Others learnt how their loved ones were killed. The offender was also given the opportunity to acknowledge what he did, show remorse and

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84. Gerald Gahima, *Transnational Justice in Rwanda: Accountability for Atrocity*, London, Routledge, 2013, p. 250.

85. Gerald Gahima, Transnational Justice in Rwanda: Accountability for Atrocity, London, Routledge, 2013, p. 250 and 251.

86. *The Prosecutor v. Pauline Nyiramasuhuko at alii,* Transcripts, Case ICTR-98-42-7-31 October 2001, pp.67-100.

87. Quoted in Binaifer Nowrojee, "Your Justice is Too Slow : Will the ICTR fail Rwanda's Rape Victims?" United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Occasional Paper, No 10, 2005, p.23.

88. Binaifer Nowrojee, "Your Justice is Too Slow : Will the ICTR Fail Rwanda's Rape Victims ?", United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Occasional Paper, No 10, 2005, p.23.

ask for forgiveness in exchange for a more lenient sentence. To encourage re-integration, the convicts were given an opportunity to influence the determination of their sentence by confessing and showing remorse. This effect gave them the choice between either remaining behind the bars of prison or having half of the sentence converted into community work also known as TIG (*Travaux d'Intérêt Général*).[89] It also encouraged reintegration. By 2010, at least 90,000 persons, mostly second category perpetrators, co-perpetrators and accomplices, had chosen to participate in community work instead of long imprisonment.[90] At the same time, the community work performed by genocide convicts contributed to the reconstruction of the country to the tune of over 40 billion Rwandan Francs.[91] The interaction between the offender and the victim created chances for healing, reconciliation and ultimately recreation of social cohesion.

Figure 2 : Achievements of Gacaca *courts*
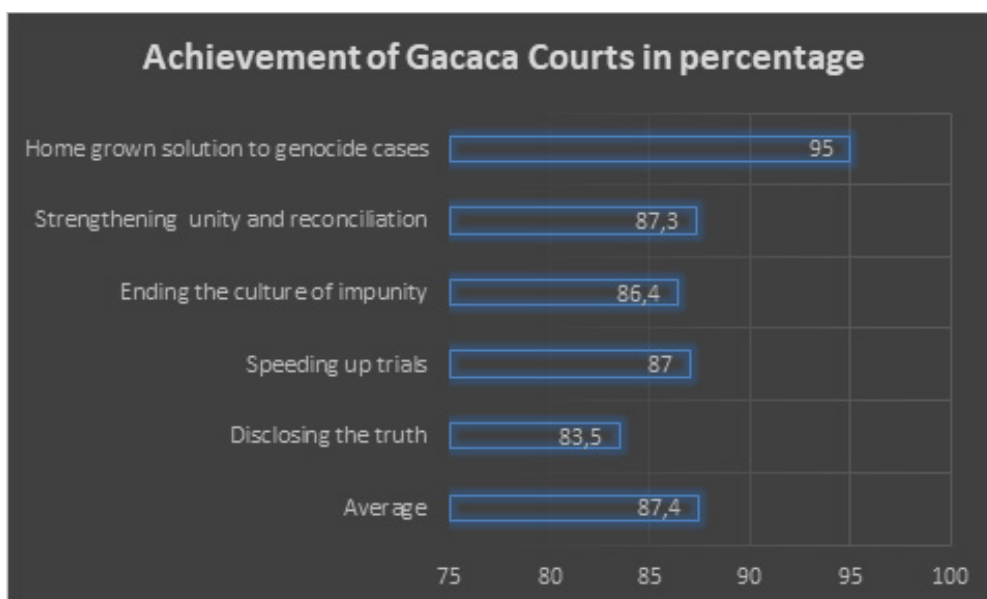
These are the results of research conducted by the Centre for Conflict Management of the University of Rwanda (CCM).[92] The figures were reproduced

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89. Presidential Decree N° 26/01 of 10 December 2001 relating to the Substitution of the penalty of imprisonment for community service, *Official Gazette* No 3 of 1 February 2002.
90. Penal Reform International, *The Contributions of Gacaca Courts to Resolving Cases Arising from Genocide*, London, 2010, p.29.
91. 'Over 40 Billion Rwf Saved Through TIG", *New Times*, 23 March 2013.
92. See http://gacaca.rw/about/achievements/ [consulted on 07 December 2018].

in the summary of the report presented at the closing of Gacaca Courts' activities, Kigali, 18 June 2012 by the national service of *Gacaca* Courts.

It is undisputed that *Gacaca* courts are neo-traditional institutions resurrected from the Rwandan culture. It is also evident that their less formal process helped uncover a large part of the narrative of the genocide against the *Tutsi.* The forum itself was unique in that it brought together victims and perpetrators. A further advantage of *Gacaca* courts was that they were cost-effective for the State, victims and witnesses. Court proceedings were organized where the crime was perpetrated. Witnesses did not need to travel far to attend court sessions.

In sum, *Gacaca* courts were a unique Rwandan solution to a unique Rwandan problem. They closed on 18 June 2012 after clearing nearly all genocide cases and helping establish the truth about what happened during the genocide. *Gacaca* courts tried one million nine hundred and fifty eight thousand six hundred and thirty four (1,958,634) cases[93]. The figure proves that this is an unprecedented judicial experiment. The institution of *Gacaca* provided justice in the eyes of many and constituted a basis for unity and reconciliation. Reconciliation is, however, a slow and gradual process. It involves emotional and interpersonal dynamics. As Archbishop Desmond Tutu rightly puts it, reconciliation can only be promoted[94]. Engaging the entire population in a dialogue to seek resolutions for past conflicts has provided a venue for an open debate, which is critical to sustaining more social interactions in the long term.

4. The role of *Gacaca* Courts in fostering peace

Even the most critical reviewers of *Gacaca* proceedings acknowledge that it was the only response to genocide.[95] It helped Rwanda to confront the demons of its recent past. It has brought to trial thousands of suspects who were losing hope of getting tried in their life time. *Gacaca* has proved to be able to respect the right not to be subjected to undue delays much more than would have been the case, had conventional justice been pursued. It has individualized justice and at the same time promoted peaceful coexistence between victims and perpetrators. It was used as a forum to find and disclose truth and has given the opportunity

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93. National Service of Gacaca Courts, *Summary of the Report Presented at the Closing of* Gacaca *Courts' Activities*, Kigali, June 2012, p.34.
94. Desmond Tutu, *No Future without Forgiveness*, New York, Doubleday,1999, p.274.
95. Gerald Gahima, *Transitional Justice in Rwanda: Accountability for Atrocity*, London, Routledge, 2013, p. 168.

to local people to access justice. It would have been difficult to achieve all these goals with conventional justice.[96] *Gacaca* has made the impossible possible.

By bringing to an end the pursuit of genocide perpetrators, *Gacaca* courts provided an opportunity to focus on building a prosperous future for the country. Although low-level conflicts are inevitable in every society and more so in post-conflict societies, *Gacaca* courts have helped perpetrators to understand that social unity is a natural state of affairs in Rwanda. *Gacaca* provided an opportunity to confront perpetrators' illusion of crime solidarity; as the village witnessed the trial and stood by the truth, the perpetrators had no other option but to accept the verdict of the community. *Gacaca* courts dealt simultaneously with their immediate past and present while framing virtues that would enable peaceful problem-solving in the future. It was important to instill the virtue that Rwanda has always been a family with an inherent sense of peace and harmony.[97]

This opposes Gerald Gahima's view that in participating in *Gacaca,* victims and perpetrators were rather motivated by personal, family or sectarian interest.[98] The importance of *Gacaca* courts was to deter perpetrators enough so that they do not repeat the offence, but also to give them an opportunity to associate with other Rwandans including the victims of the very crimes they perpetrated: *Gacaca* offered the chance to reconstruct a bright future for the next generation. Under the traditional *Gacaca* (before the colonial period), the process did not intend to give a free pass to the offender. There was a formal hearing, evidence produced and a decision taken and enforced. Under customary law, the criminal penalty also fulfilled the goal of today's sentencing policy. The inexistence of an imprisonment policy in the pre-colonial Rwanda or the fact that the death penalty was only imposed by the King's bench for very serious crimes and on dangerous offenders has never excluded a retributive approach in the traditional justice.[99] *Gacaca* judges took into account the seriousness of the perpetrated offence and the interests of society in imposing a fine, restitution or damages.[100] Victims got an opportunity of hearing the truth and engaging face to face with the perpetrators. Bearing in mind that in conventional justice victims play a subsidiary

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96. Gerald Gahima, *Transitional Justice in Rwanda: Accountability for Atrocity*, London, Routledge, 2013, p. 168.
97. Phil Clark, *The Gacaca Courts, post-Genocide Justice and Reconciliation in Rwanda: Justice without Lawyers*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 222-224.
98. Gerald Gahima, *Transitional Justice in Rwanda: Accountability for Atrocity*, London, Routledge, 2013, p. 169.
99. Aimé Muyoboke Karimunda, *The Death Penalty in Africa: The Path Towards Abolition*, London, Ashgate, 2014, p.37.
100. Charles Ntampaka, *Introduction aux Systèmes Juridiques Africains*, Namur, Presses Universitaires de Namur, 2005, p.53.

role as *parties civiles*, *Gacaca* courts was a unique forum for the victim-perpetrator interaction. In cases where the entire family was wiped out, the witnesses and the community- despite the abuse, manipulation and mobilization for "solidarity in crime"- stood up to face perpetrators. The Gacaca system, as reconceptualized to deal with genocide crimes, emulated the traditional gacaca in this regard.

Gacaca courts brought about a new form of justice and exposed genocide to the public. The forum prevented any generalization that was not beneficial to the process of unity and reconciliation. Individual accountability for offenders and the truth about genocide for victims are parts of the prerequisite for reconciliation that is the primary objective of any transitional justice. The pursuit of national unity, peace and the well-being of Rwandans requires reconciliation between Rwandans and the rebuilding of the society. Offenders should acknowledge the crimes they perpetrated, be held accountable, commit to transcend divisions of the past and build a new future. For the first time, there was one narrative of genocide at the national level. Albie Sachs says that "*You cannot have a country with different memories and expect a sense of common citizenship*."[101]

Despite his criticisms about the process, Gerald Gahima also acknowledges that the *Gacaca* initiatives has achieved a substantial measure of peaceful coexistence.[102] *The Washington Post* has reported that even Anuradha Chakravarty,[103] one of the critical reviewers of the *Gacaca* Courts has recognized that they secured local peace and prevented violence, limited the space for disputes to escalate into uncontrollable situations.[104] *Gacaca* Courts were a mechanism to foster peaceful coexistence among the Rwandans. The process of reconciliation is continuous work however.

5. The fairness of trials before *Gacaca* Courts

Gacaca was a participative lay justice. The system was first criticised for not permitting a right to legal representation of the accused. However, permitting legal representation would change the whole character of the court and would turn it into a regular court. It would bring in the formality of elaborate legal

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101. Albie Sachs, The Strange Alchemy of Life and Law, New York, Oxford University Press, 2009, p.87.
102. Gerald Gahima, *Transitional Justice in Rwanda: Accountability for Atrocity*, Abingdo, Routledge, 2013, p.262.
103. See Anuradha Chakravarty*, Investing in Authoritarian Rule: Punishment and Patronage in Rwanda's Gacaca Courts for Genocide Crimes*, Cambridge, Cambride University Press, 2015.
104. Laura Seay, "Rwanda's gacaca courts are hailed as a post-genocide success. The reality is more complicated", The Washington Post, 2 June 2017.

procedures and consequent delays. It would also mean bringing in legally-qualified judges who would understand the legal jargon and technicalities so well-loved by lawyers. It would bring in the almost hostile atmosphere of cross-examination and all kinds of preliminary objections and adjournments et cetera.

Moreover, even if the system would have been designed to accommodate lawyers, there were not enough in the country to represent hundreds of thousands of suspects scattered in villages around the country. Before 1994, the only law school that the country had, produced very few law graduates a year. This was part of the control system of the state. It is also noteworthy that traditional courts in other African countries do not permit legal representation so as to keep proceedings simple, people-friendly and to ensure speedy resolution of disputes. Once again, it was a matter of weighing the pros and cons and in this case the country chose to take the many advantages of *Gacaca* and live with the possible disadvantage of the absence of professional legal representation. At the same time, the accused had all the time he or she needed to challenge whatever was said by the complainant or witness and to call witnesses willing to testify on his or her behalf. Moreover, he or she could be assisted by another person to present the defence and there was nothing in the law prohibiting a lawyer not claiming the prerogatives of defence counsel to assist.

Gacaca gave an opportunity to rethink the concept of fairness within the context of neo-traditional criminal courts. Most of the guarantees of fair trial as they appear in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights were observed. Suspects were presumed innocent until found guilty by a competent court of law, hearings were conducted in public, the right to defence was observed, and judgements were delivered on time. The right to representation was certainly not observed. It is clear that this right was not designed for traditional courts. It is rather a guarantee against the abuse of power, an objective whose achievement under *Gacaca* Courts did not necessarily require legal representation.

Appeals were only allowed from the *Gacaca* court of the Cell to the Sector *Gacaca* court. Cases heard by the Sector *Gacaca* Courts at first instance could be appealed to the *Gacaca* Court of appeal. However, there were no appeals to the regular courts. In the regular courts, convictions and sentences of imprisonment are appealable at least up to the High Court and in some cases up to the Supreme Court.

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6. Challenges

6.1 Intimidation and killing of witnesses in genocide cases.

Despite the successes of the *Gacaca* system, there were challenges. One of the most serious ones is the intimidation of witnesses to dissuade them from testifying against the suspects. Acts of intimidation included setting houses of survivors ablaze, sending them anonymous letters, uprooting their crops and killing their animals. There are also other acts of intimidation such as throwing stones on roofs of houses. Witnesses have been killed; some after testifying, others before they were due to testify. This became a source of bitterness for some survivors who thought that the state was not doing enough to protect them and a number got discouraged from participating in the process. Some *Gacaca* judges (*Inyangamugayo*) have also been intimidated, assaulted or killed.[105]

6. 2 Fake confessions.

As indicated, the law allows suspects who have confessed, told the truth and asked for forgiveness to get lighter sentences and to serve half of their sentence in community service. It has also been the practice to identify those who have confessed and asked for forgiveness to be released from prison and await their trial in *Gacaca* from their homes. The problem is that there were many who did not tell the whole truth and just said enough to get them out of prison or to get them a light sentence.[106] Some even mocked the *Gacaca* process once they were out and threatened to finish the job they started when the time is right.[107] This does not advance the cause of reconciliation. The whole philosophy of the Rwandese reconciliation strategy is that truth and justice must precede reconciliation and not the other way round. Otherwise the survivors have no incentive in participating in reconciliation processes. They can only forgive when forgiveness is genuinely sought.

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105. Redress and African Rights, *Survivors and Post-Genocide in Rwanda: Their Experience, Perspectives and Hopes*, London and Kigali, Redress and African Rights, 2008, p. 6. See also Redress, *Testifying to Genocide: Victim and Witness Protection in Rwanda*, London, Redress Trust, 2012, at pp. 23-29.
106. Redress and African Rights, Survivors and Post-Genocide in Rwanda: Their Experience, Perspectives and Hopes, London and Kigali, Redress and African Rights, 2008, p. 119.
107. Redress and African Rights*, Survivors and Post-Genocide in Rwanda: Their Experience, Perspectives and Hopes,* London and Kigali, Redress and African Rights, 2008, pp. 123-124.

6.3 Cases of judges involved in bribery or other forms of misconduct

There have been a few cases of *Gacaca* judges who were discovered to have been involved in genocide and other crimes against humanity. They were removed and prosecuted. Other cases relate to malfunctioning of some *Gacaca* courts because of judges who were not genuine. For example, in one court two *Gacaca* judges destroyed a notebook containing the information that had been collected. Some *Gacaca* judges have been prosecuted for bribery. However, the vast majority of *Gacaca* judges were honest and committed to the cause of justice and reconciliation.[108]

6.4 Escaping from Community service

Not all persons sentenced to TIG showed up for the community service. Because they perform it in camps close to communities and because there is insufficient guarding and monitoring, a number manage to escape and disappear. They change their identities and resettle in places far from their former communities or leave the country. These are of course those who were not sincere in their pleas for forgiveness in the first place. This is still a serious challenge to the search for maximum reconciliation when there are known perpetrators who escaped unpunished.[109]

7. *Gacaca* Courts' unfulfilled expectations

7.1. Problem of reparation and insufficient material support for survivors

Popular discourse about victims often dubiously assumes that healing can be accomplished simply through the formal processing of the offender. The logic here is that if the perpetrator is caught, tried, convicted and punished, the victim will be able to somehow regain what he or she has lost. It is generally contended that the primary purpose of the criminal law is not to compensate the losses of the victims, but to prosecute and punish criminal offenders.[110]

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108. Redress and African Rights, *Survivors and Post-Genocide in Rwanda : Their Experience, Perspectives and Hopes,* London and Kigali, Redress and African Rights, 2008, p. 47-49.

109. 'Bacitse Imirimo Nsimburagifungo Bavuga ko Bashaje', *Kigali Today*, 02 January 2014, 'TIG: 151 Batorotse I Ngando', *Imvaho Nshya,* nᵒ 2007.

110. *Berger v. France*, nᵒ. 48221/99, Ecthr (Second Section), Judgment (Merits and Just Satisfaction) of 03.12.2002.

However, it is increasingly recognized that the affirmation of the right to redress the pains of the victims of mass atrocities is part of the system of individual human rights protection. The victim-centred approach is an important component of the modern criminal justice system.[111] According to the United Nations Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power, remedies for victims should be reparation (restitution or compensation) or assistance.[112] Article 2, paragraph 3 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights emphasizes this further by stating as follows :

"Each State Party to the present Covenant undertakes

(a) To ensure that any person whose rights or freedoms as herein recognized are violated shall have an effective remedy, notwithstanding that the violation has been committed by persons acting in an official capacity;

(b) To ensure that any person claiming such a remedy shall have his right thereto determined by competent judicial, administrative or legislative authorities, or by any other competent authority provided for by the legal system of the State, and to develop the possibilities of judicial remedy;

(c) To ensure that the competent authorities shall enforce such remedies when granted."[113]

The right to reparation for victims of genocide is certainly the most unfulfilled expectation of the *Gacaca* courts. Most survivors lost family and all the property they had in the genocide. They have not got any compensation even when the perpetrators have been convicted. Again this is discouraging, especially when survivors see those who were not affected by the genocide living comfortably. Survivors continue to view compensation as part of the process of justice. It has been submitted that it is also part of the healing process and a prerequisite for reconciliation because reparation would mend the damage done and educate society, though it is also acknowledged that it is also logistically and morally challenging.[114]

In fact, a fair assessment of the damage remains one of the most difficult tasks for judges in tort law. The attempt by judges to allocate compensation on the basis of article 258 of the Civil Code Book III proved to be fruitless. There

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111. UNDOC A/RES/40/34, 29 November 1985.
112. UNDOC A/RES/40/34, 29 November 1985.
113. UNDOC, UNTC, Vol. 999,1-14668 of 19 December 1966, ratified by Rwanda on 16 April 1975.
114. Jean Paul Mugiraneza, "Rwanda genocide: why compensation would help the healing", *The Guardian*, 7 April 2014.

is a difference between the recognition of the right to remedy and the materialisation of that remedy. Compensation is not only confirming that the victim has a right to recover the loss, the value of the loss or to consider the extent to which that loss has morally and/or materially affected him or her. Compensation should also look at the possibilities that the victim has to effectively recover what the court has allocated to him or her.

Under traditional *Gacaca*, there was no issue of recovering the damage allocated by the court since civil liability was collective. The law itself was considered as a heritage of past, existing and future generations.[115] Individuals exist only in relation to one another. The infringement of personalized interests by others directly affects the community itself. This means that individual rights, though they exist, are subsidiary.[116] William Chancellor finds that the right to be indemnified for injuries or loss caused by others must be respectful of the proportionality between the offence and the offender's ability to execute it, i.e. in cases of damages, the imposed amount must relatively correspond to the real income of the offender or his or her family's economic ability.[117] Collective civil responsibility was therefore a remedy for the issue of recovering damages from impecunious offenders. Justice restored the dignity of the victim without endangering that of the offender.[118]

The collectiveness of civil liability for genocide was not instituted in neo-traditional *Gacaca*. This means that in addition to judges' problems in making a correct evaluation of the damage, victims have to confront the real economic situation of the offender. For instance, the first judgments of ordinary courts condemned peasant convicts to pay compensation of millions of Rwandan Francs with no reasonable expectation that payment would materialise. For example, in the case of *Prosecutor v. Karorero and others*, the court imposed compensation of 212,155,000 Rwf (nearly 584,789 USD).[119] In the case of *Wellars*

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115. Ebo Chukwuemeka, "Indigenous Law And Justice: Some Major Concepts And Practices" in Gordon R. Woodman and A.O. Obilade (eds), African Law and Legal Theory, Dartmouth, Aldershot, Singapore and Sidney, 1995, at p. 39.
116. See George B.N. Ayittey, *Indigenous African Institutions*, Transnational Publisher, New York, 2006, at p.43; Holleman J. F., " An anthropological approach to Bantu Law (with special reference to Shona law)" in Gordon R. Woodman and A.O. Obilade [eds], *Op. Cit.*, at p.6.
117. William Chancellor, *The Destruction of black civilisation*, Third World Press, Chicago, 1987,as quoted by Georges B.N. Ayittey, *Indigenous African Institutions,* Transnational Publisher, New York, 2006, at p. 50
118. Desmond Tutu, No future Without Forgiveness, New York: Image, 1999, p.32
119. *Prosecutor v. Karorero Charles and Others*, RMP 78752/S2/KRL, Tribunal de Première Instance de Cyangungu, 31 March 2000. For the exchange rate, see www.bnr.rw / index as of 28 March 2000 [accessed on 27 August 2018].

Banzi and others, the court imposed compensation of 219,500,000 Rwf (nearly 498,863 USD).[120] All these damages were not paid. To resolve the issue of unrecovered damages, victims' advocates started simultaneously suing the suspect and the State of Rwanda. In April 1999, the Government declared that it owed 36,000,000 Rwf (nearly 107,142, 85 USD) of judicial damages to victims.[121] The issue of reparation was certainly becoming a burden for a State that the genocide against the Tutsi had further impoverished.

Although the state has acknowledged responsibility for reparation to survivors under the state succession doctrine,[122] it has so far only been able to help those who are destitute or very poor through a state fund popularly known as *Fonds d'Assistance aux Rescapés du Génocide* (FARG). [123] The fund was established in 1998.[124] The 1998 law setting up the fund was replaced by a more comprehensive law of 2008.[125] The state contributes 6% of the budget to this fund which provides assistance for housing, health of needy survivors and school expenses for their children and orphans.[126] The fund also assists needy survivors to engage in beneficial self-help economic and social programs. It also has the responsibility of supervising and coordinating activities relating to the collection of contributions intended for survivors. This body may raise funds from any source including charities as well as take action and seek indemnity against those convicted of genocide. However, there has not been much in terms of contributions from international sources.

120*. Prosecutor v. Banzi Wellars and Others,* RP221/R2/2000, Tribunal de Premiere Instance de Gisenyi, 25 May 2001.

121. *Le Verdict* No 01 of 15 April 1999, p.15. For the exchange rate, see www.bnr.rw / index as of 25 May 2001 [accessed on 27 August 2018]. For the exchange rate, see www.bnr.rw / index as of 15 April 1999 [accessed on 27 August 2018].

122. Urusaro Alice Karekezi, "Juridictions *Gacaca*, Lutte contre l'Impunité et Promotion de la Réconciliation Nationale" in Cahiers du Centre de Gestion des Conflits, *Les Juridictions Gacaca et les Processus de Réconciliation Nationale*, Kigali, Éditions de l'Université Nationale du Rwanda, 2001, p. 24.

123. For a general discussion see, Ibuka and others, *Right to Reparation for Survivors: Recommendations for Reparation for Survivors of the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi*, Discussion Paper, October 2012 (unpublished).

124. Law No 02/98 of 22 January 1998 creating the National Fund for Assistance to Victims of Genocide and Massacres perpetrated in Rwanda from 01/10/1991 to 31 December 1994.

125. Law N° 69/2008 of 30 December 2008 relating to the establishment of the Fund for the Support and Assistance to the Survivors of the *Tutsi* Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity committed between 1 October 1990 and 31 December 1994, and determining its organization, competence and functioning, *Official Gazette*, n° Special of 14 April 2009.

126 Article 22 (1) of the Law No 69/2008 of 30 December 2008 relating to the establishment of the Fund for the Support and Assistance to the Survivors of the *Tutsi* Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity committed between 1 October 1990 and 31 December 1994, and determining its organization, competence and functioning, *Official Gazette*, No Special of 14 April 2009.

Gacaca courts did not deal with the question of reparation as such. The matter was reserved to a specific piece of legislation that is not yet enacted.[127] They however condemned people who had looted or damaged property to pay compensation. In this regard, compensation is a punishment. The offender bears an individual responsibility in paying compensation. If he fails to pay, he is condemned to serve community service.[128] The outcome has been that only a few cases of compensation have materialized.

The issue of reparation for genocide as for other mass atrocities has no written response in modern law. Reparation for such cases cannot be dealt with as it is for ordinary. It has to take into account a myriad of factors that are absent in ordinary cases. Among these factors are the ranking of victims, length of reparation, and the capacity of perpetrators to pay the damages or in other words the availability of resources, etc. All these should be correctly and fairly assessed in order to maintain the fragile social cohesion. This might require a return to the traditional mechanism of collective civil responsibility. In modern states that means a basket fund to which all citizens, other states and willing individuals from other states may contribute.

Meanwhile the government of Rwanda has concentrated its urgent assistance to genocide survivors in four key areas: education; health/rehabilitation; housing; and income generation projects. A total of Rwf 163, 4 billion was spent on education from 1998 to 2017. However, despite the bigger amount in figure, the impact is bigger than the amount. From 1998 up to 2017, 109,615 students had completed secondary education whereas 26,100 had completed higher education. As time goes on, the number of students in secondary school decreases as they complete their education and join the labour market. This academic year, only 628 students are in secondary school from 41,003 students in 2010. For higher learning and universities, the number of students is also decreasing as in 2017-2018 academic year; students assisted by FARG are 14,159 from 15,371 students that were assisted in the previous year.

Through indirect and direct programmes, FARG supports vulnerable genocide survivors and over Rwf 16. 4 billion were spent on various activities in three different categories. These include a category of 25,892 needy genocide survivors

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127. Article 3 in fine, Organic Law N°04/2012/OL of 15/06/2012 terminating *Gacaca* Courts and determining mechanisms for solving issues which were under their jurisdiction, Official Gazette nº Special of 15/06/2012.

128 Article 12 Organic Law N°04/2012/OL of 15/06/2012 terminating *Gacaca* Courts and determining mechanisms for solving issues which were under their jurisdiction, Official Gazette nº Special of 15/06/2012.

who benefit from a monthly basic allowance of Frw 7, 500 to be able to buy basic daily materials. Another category is where each beneficiary receives a monthly basic allowance of Frw 30,000. This category includes a total of 1,692 adults who survived alone and had no other relative commonly called *incike* and elderly genocide survivors with serious health problems. The third category are genocide survivors who are hosted in nursing homes known as *inzu y'amasaziro* where FARG provides everything needed: food, hygienic materials and staff looking after them. According to FARG, 130 *incike* are hosted in six homes. Eighteen of them are housed in Nyanza district, seven in Kamonyi, seven in Kayonza, five in Rulindo, eighty in Huye, while five are in Rwamagana district.

In addition to this there is the program of income generating activities. It enables needy genocide survivors who are able to work to become self-reliant in order to get out of a vulnerable condition. From 1998 up to 2017 a total of 53,596 beneficiaries have been assisted to initiate profitable projects; 7,510 among them were given a cow and cowshed. The total budget spent on this programme over the period equals to Rwf 9,3billion. This program is run simultaneously with the shelter programme that has so far cost about Rwf 15 billion Frw from 1998 to 2017. 26,324 houses were built while 3,345 houses were rehabilitated. In 2017-2018, 318 houses are under construction, 352 houses had to be rebuilt while 192 houses are under rehabilitation. FARG also works with the Ministry of Defence Reserve Force to provide adequate houses by using modern construction materials.[129]

7.2. Dealing with miscarriage of justice

Gacaca Courts were closed by the Organic Law nº 04/2012/OL of 15 June 2012.[130] The law provides for mechanisms to solve pending issues that were under the jurisdiction of *Gacaca* Courts or any other issue that may subsequently arise after. For instance, accused persons who have been convicted by *Gacaca* Courts may introduce a plea for review of their judgments if they can establish serious miscarriage of justice. Miscarriage of justice includes a situation where a person has been convicted of murder as an act of genocide, but the victim is later found alive. It also includes mistaken identity where someone was convicted for homicide and later the court convicts another person for the same act but the latter was not in complicity or co-perpetration with the previous accused. Another

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129. See http://www.farg.gov.rw/index.php?id=18&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=36&cHash=a99dc451e93a82c15b282d92940f9a8b [consulted on 30 August 2018].

130. Organic Law N°04/2012/OL of 15/06/2012 terminating *Gacaca* Courts and determining mechanisms for solving issues which were under their jurisdiction, *Official Gazette* nº Special of 15/06/2012.

ground for reviewing the case may be the discovery of new evidence that incriminates a person who was acquitted by the *Gacaca* courts. Corruption is also a ground for applying for review. If it is established that a person was convicted or acquitted by a bench that was itself convicted of corruption, this may lead to an application for review of the case.

Applications for review are introduced before Primary Courts or before Intermediate Courts.[131] These courts started receiving applications for review immediately after the enactment of the law. Some cases were quickly tried and completed. However it became evident that a considerable number of convicts were intending to abuse the process. By 2014, 938 cases were introduced for review. Only nine applications were upheld out of 181 cases that have been completed by ordinary courts.[132]

*Figure 3: Pending **Gacaca** cases for review before ordinary courts*

Source : *Supreme Court of Rwanda, Directorate of planning,* March 2018.

It became clear to judicial authorities that the application for review was no longer a special mechanism: it threatened a fresh case of backlog of genocide
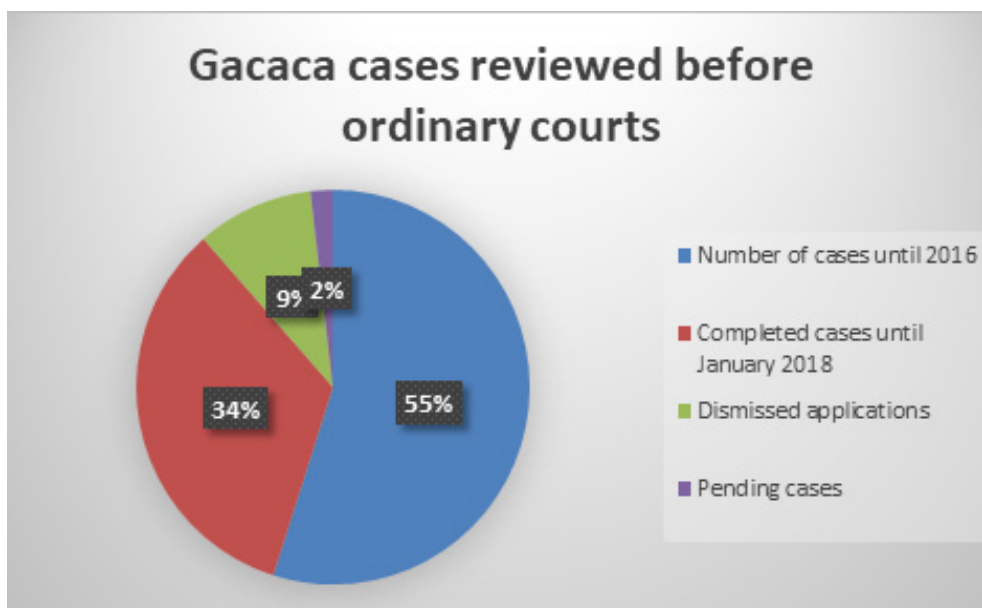
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131. Articles 4 and 5 of the Organic Law N°04/2012/OL of 15/06/2012 terminating Gacaca Courts and determining mechanisms for solving issues which were under their jurisdiction, Official Gazette nº Special of 15/06/2012.
132. Supreme Court of Rwanda, Directorate of planning, March 2018.

cases. There is a need to educate convicts on the legal requirements for judicial review. This mechanism should go hand in hand with additional measures that would discourage convicts from abusing the process. Most of the applications fail to meet the requirements of the law. Another concern relates to the needs for the court and the parties to access the *Gacaca* dossier. At the closing of the *Gacaca* Courts, all the files were collected from different corners of the country, packed and submitted to the National Commission for the Fight against Genocide (CNLG) in the Capital City, Kigali. It has become difficult to consult them especially for courts or parties that are located far from Kigali. To remedy that, there is an on-going effort to digitalize *Gacaca* archives to make them accessible to convicts and ordinary courts. The process started in 2015. It is expected that by the end of 2018, the 63 million copies of *Gacaca* courts' archives will be digitalized[133]. This approach will help to expedite applications for judicial review.

8. *Abunzi* or the revival of the *Gacaca* Courts spirit

Gacaca courts and *Abunzi* share the same spirit. *Abunzi* in traditional Rwanda society were a level of appeal for *Gacaca* decisions. They are traditional mechanisms for conflict resolution; in fact; the *Gacaca* traditional proceedings were mediated by *Abunzi;* a different *umwunzi* or group of *abunzi* would constitute a level of appeal to *Gacaca* decisions. In today's Rwanda, they are inspired by customary law to resolve modern problems. The *Abunzi* Committee, like the *Gacaca* court, is predicated on a justice of proximity. In its current form, the *Abunzi* Committee was re-introduced in 2004. The jurisdiction and functioning of the *Abunzi* Committee was regularly modified to bring the Committee closer to the requirements of the time and needs of its beneficiaries. The latest amendment dates back to 2016.[134]

The *Abunzi* are volunteers whose primary role is to reconcile the parties. The *Abunzi* Committee strives to adapt traditional methods of conflict resolution

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133 Digitalization of Gacaca archives to be completed by June 2018.", *New Times* 6 September 2017.

134. Law nᵒ 37/2016 OF 08/09/2016 determining organization, jurisdiction, competence and functioning of an *Abunzi* Committee, Official Gazette nᵒ 37 bis of 12/09/2016. Previous legislation are Organic Law nᵒ 17/2004 of 20/06/2004 determining organization, jurisdiction, competence and functioning of an *Abunzi* Committee, Official Gazette, Special number of 08/07/2004, Organic Law n° 31/2006 of 14/08/2006 on organisation, jurisdiction, competence and functioning of the Mediation Committee; Official Gazette, Special number of 16/08/2006 and Organic Law n° 02/2010/OL of 09/06/2010 on organisation, jurisdiction, competence and functioning of the mediation committee, Official Gazette n°24 Bis of 14/06/2010.

Organic Law n° 02/2010/OL of 09/06/2010 on organisation, jurisdiction, competence and functioning of the mediation committee, Official Gazette n° 24 Bis of 14/06/2010.

to written law. In practice, parties are often advised to submit first the matter to the Family Council (*Inama y'umuryango*) or the Council of Elders (*Inararibonye* or *Inyangamugayo*) or Committee of Villagers (*Inama z'umudugudu*).[135] The *Abunzi* Committee has practically become the first level of the formal judicial structure. The judicial system portrays it as a remedy to the issue of case backlog before the Primary Courts.

Figure 4 : The structure of the **Abunzi** *Committee*
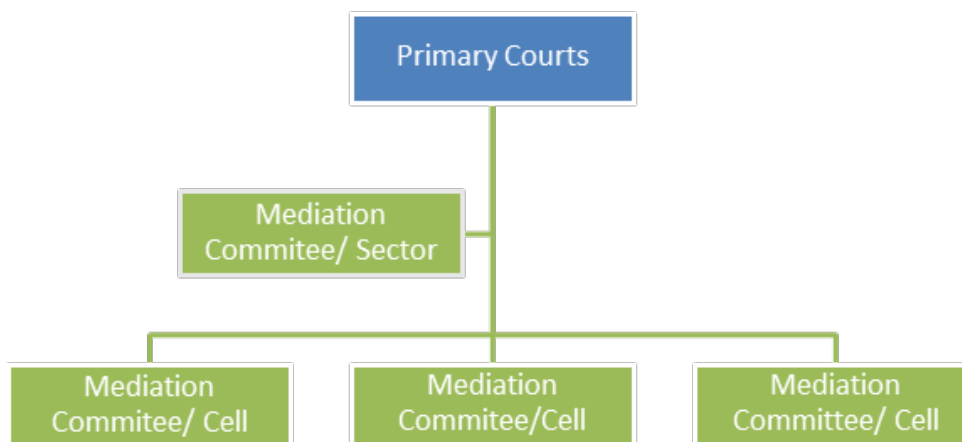
The key difference between the *Abunzi* Committee and the *Gacaca* Courts is that the *Abunzi* Committee is not empowered to adjudicate genocide cases. In 2010 the legislature extended its jurisdiction to petty criminal offences including theft of crops and animals, insults and defamation. [136] The reform was intended to speed up criminal trials, introduce mediation in criminal law and reduce the heavy case backlog before the Primary Tribunals. It was also an experimental phase of compensation and restitution as remedies in criminal law. For instance, the *Abunzi* Committee was empowered to impose flat rate fines or community service for fifteen days. Any of these sanctions could be renewed several times if the offender fails to comply with the Committee's ruling.[137]

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135. RCN, *La Justice de proximité au Rwanda: Le fonctionnement des comités de conciliateurs (2009-2011)*, Merignac-Cedex: Copymedia, 2015, p.3.
136 Article 9 of the Organic Law N° 02/2010/OL of 09/06/2010 on organisation, jurisdiction, competence and functioning of the mediation committee, Official Gazette n°24 Bis of 14/06/2010.
137 Articles 13 and 14 of the Organic Law N° 02/2010/OL of 09/06/2010 on organisation, jurisdiction, competence and functioning of the mediation committee, Official Gazette n°24 Bis of 14/06/2010.

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However, in a society that, since colonial times, was exposed to retribution as the primary goal of criminal justice, the move met with resistance. The change was interpreted as condoning petty offences. Citizens failed to understand how they would mediate with the thieves of their cows or crops, feeling safer when the perpetrator is in prison. This state of mind indicates the extent to which Rwandans have been acculturated. Although retribution was part of traditional criminal justice, retributive punishments including the death penalty were rare and progressively abandoned. Early before colonisation, the purpose of punishment had become compensation rather than retribution. The king [*umwami*] and his Council often replaced capital punishment with ostracism, forfeiture of property or compensation.[138]

Today the jurisdiction of the *Abunzi* Committee is brought back to civil cases relating to movable and immovable properties, succession and breach of contract to a maximum value of three million Rwandan Francs. It may also deal with family issues that are not related to civil status.[139]

8.1. Organisation and achievements of the *Abunzi* Committee

There are 2,563 Mediation Committees countrywide. The first instance has 2,147 Mediation Committees and the Appeal level has 416 committees. Each committee is composed of seven elected members resulting in a total of 17,941 *Abunzi*. Women are well represented: there are 7.953 female *Abunzi* which equates to 44.33% of the judges.

The *Abunzi* Committee has played an important role in bringing the component of mediation to modern justice. A report by the Ministry of Justice indicates that in 2015/2016, the *Abunzi* committees handled 36,005 cases out of 47,966 cases or 75 % of them. In 2016/2017, it handled 49,138 cases out of 51,016 or 96.3% of the cases of the cases submitted. Of these cases, only 2,417 or 4,9% were submitted for review before the Primary Tribunal.[140] In the last three years, the cases submitted to *Abunzi* committees has increased by 27%. From 2011 to 2015, the *Abunzi* committees handled 30.9% of cases that would otherwise be dealt with by the Primary Tribunal.[141] In the absence of the *Abunzi*, all these cases

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138. Georges Sandrat, *Cours de droit coutumier*, Partie II, Astrida: Groupe Scolaire, 1951, at p.74
139. Article 10 of the law nº 37/2016 of 08/09/2016 determining organisation, jurisdiction, competence and functioning of an *Abunzi* committee, *Official Gazette* nº 37 bis of 12/09/2016.
140. Ministry of Justice, Maj and *Abunzi* Committees Achievements from 2015/16 to 2016/17, March 2018 (unpublished report).
141. Sylvie Zaïnabo Kayitesi, *La Médiation dans la résolution des conflits: Expérience du Rwanda*, 25/01/2018.

would be dealt with by the Primary Courts with the immediate consequence of increasing case backlog.

Figure 5 : The impact of the **Abunzi** *Committee on the judicial case backlog*
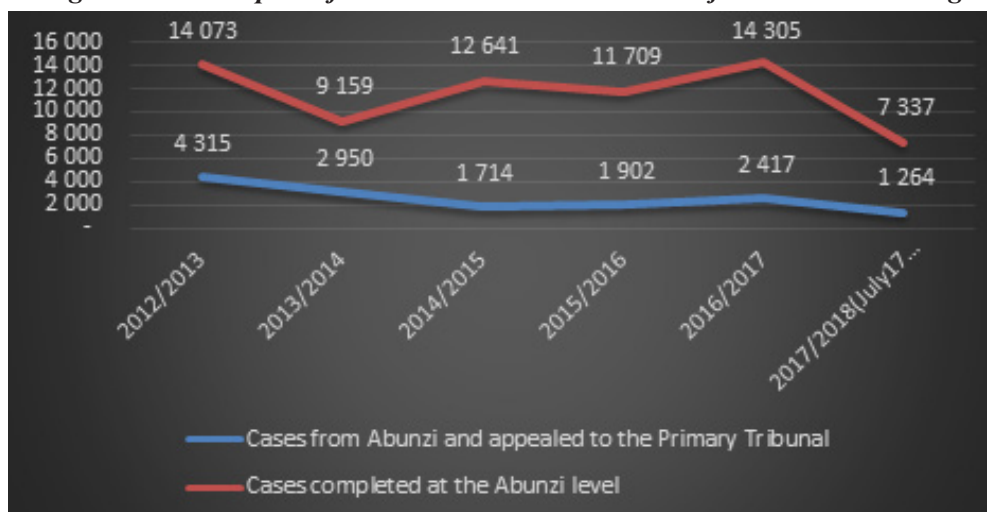
Source : *Supreme Court of Rwanda, Directorate of Planning, March 2018*

Cases where the *Abunzi* committees have succeeded in mediating and reconciling the parties do not reach the formal structure of the judiciary. The winning party only seeks the enforcement formula from the tribunal in order to get his or her right enforced.

8.2. Assessing the quality of the ruling from the *Abunzi* Committees

The level of satisfaction of parties to a case submitted to the *Abunzi* committee may be inferred from several factors. For instance, it is assumed that parties that do not submit their matters to the next level are satisfied with the ruling. Therefore, if appeal courts are receiving more cases, it is the result of poor performance at the first instance. In other words, if the Primary Court has received only 4,315 cases from the *Abunzi* Committee out of 14,073 cases in 2012/2013, it means that the remaining 9,758 cases were properly adjudicated. The quality of the ruling on the basis of this assumption would be further confirmed if the 4,315 cases submitted to the Primary Courts were dismissed. However this information is still missing in official reports.

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Despite this ostensible satisfaction, there are a number of flaws in this lay justice process that should not be overlooked. The *Abunzi* do not always comply with their jurisdiction, they do not always give clear guidance and the parties are often unaware of different legal deadlines for opposing or appealing against the ruling. This means that the fact of not appealing against the ruling does not always indicate satisfaction.[142]

Conclusion

Gacaca Courts and the *Abunzi* Committee are cultural home-grown solutions that Rwanda restored to deal with problems that conventional justice had failed to address. *Gacaca* Courts were assigned a myriad of objectives some of which were short term, and others long term. On one hand, they were tasked with clearing the genocide case backlog and discovering the truth about the genocide. On the other hand, *Gacaca* courts initiated a long-term process of restoring the Rwandan social fabric. Reconciliation as a prerequisite for peace resulted first from the opportunity of interaction that *Gacaca* courts gave to the offender and the victim. The forum created chances for healing, reconciliation and ultimately recreation of social cohesion. However, reconciliation and peace can only be promoted.[143] There is therefore a need to build on the work already accomplished by *Gacaca* courts by first enforcing their rulings as far as compensation and restitution are concerned and creating a basket fund for reparation.

Moreover, there are several cases from *Gacaca* Courts that are pending for judicial review before ordinary cases. Since the cases were tried by lay judges trying lay people, there is a need to educate convicts about the requirements for judicial review. They should understand that judicial review is applicable only when there exists a serious miscarriage of justice. It is not another level of appeal for *Gacaca* cases. However, dismissing applications for judicial review should be assessed on a case-by-case basis. Rejecting the application without further notice only because it does not comply with formal legal requirements would not serve the cause of justice.

The *Abunzi* committees share the same spirit as *Gacaca* courts. The difference between the two is that the latter's material; temporal and personal jurisdiction was limited to genocide cases. The *Abunzi* committees today provide relief

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142*. Ntihabose Théoneste v. Semanyenzi Deogratias*, RS/REV/INJUST/CIV 0010/15/CS, Supreme Court, 22/01/2016, para 19-22. See also *Ntawiniga Bonifrida and Others v Ntawera Patricie and Another*, RS.REV INJUST-RC 00036-2017, Supreme Court, 16/02/2018.

143. Desmond Tutu, *Nᵒ Future Without Forgiveness*, New York, Doubleday, 1999, p.274.

to the issue of case backlog in the judiciary. Heavy case backlog undermines the process of justice. Justice should be delivered within a reasonable time. Delays in delivering justice are expensive to citizens who cannot enjoy or get the benefits they expect from their rights. Sometimes delays simply lead to denial of justice. If the plaintiff brings a case related to illegal harvest of his crops by his immediate neighbour and the case takes several months or years to be decided, the ruling, however well-articulated it is, would be unhelpful to the plaintiff.

The *Abunzi* Committee might be good at dealing with substantive issues but its members still need knowledge of, and skills in, procedural aspects. Most cases introduced before Primary Tribunals are based on procedural errors. Training and guidance to the *Abunzi* Committee should be based on practical procedural guidelines relating to problems that the bench faces on a daily basis. Rulings from courts on these issues would help the *Abunzi* Committee to understand and progressively master procedural aspects of trials in civil matters.

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Surviving to survive: reparations, reconciliation and frustrations of genocide survivors in Rwanda

Dr Aggee M. Shyaka Mugabe[144]

1. Introduction

Twenty-four years after Rwanda experienced the horror of genocide against the Tutsi that decimated more than one million people; the country has embarked on a process of reconciliation and reached an impressive level of socioeconomic reconstruction and prosperity.[145] Nationally, studies point to high scores of social cohesion.[146] However, specific groups, particularly genocide survivors, have repeatedly expressed frustrations due to unaddressed consequences of the genocide.

Following the coming into power of the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF), several mechanisms of transitional justice[147] were established to deal with the legacy of the genocide. In this regard, in 1998, the Fund for Genocide Survivors (Fonds d'Assistance aux Rescapés du Génocide, FARG) was established as a means to lower poverty among the neediest genocide survivors and to encourage reconciliation. Every year the government allocates 6% of its internal revenue to FARG to provide a social package for the rehabilitation of eligible genocide survivors. Not all the survivors of genocide are eligible, but only those considered "most vulnerable". The rehabilitation scheme consists mainly of healthcare, tuition fees, and housing. To a lesser extent, the fund provides a little cash to the most vulnerable, particularly elder survivors who have no children or any other family support. FARG also funds some small income generating activities to encourage graduation from poverty and to reduce aid dependency.

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144. By Aggée M. Shyaka Mugabe, PhD, University of Rwanda, Centre for Conflict Management.
145. See for instance http://siteresources.worldbank.org/IDA/Resources/ida-Rwanda-10-02-09.pdf
146. NURC, Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer, Kigali, 2015.
147. Transitional justice is a set of

FARG was followed by the establishment in 1999 of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC). The Commission was scheduled in the Arusha Peace Agreement of 1993 between the then Government of Rwanda and the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF); it was reaffirmed by the Constitution of 2003 as revised in 2015. In 2001, the *Gacaca*, a traditional conflict resolution institution was revitalized and upgraded into a socio-judicial institution to deal with so-called minor offences associated with the genocide, to reveal the truth, to promote reconciliation and speed up trials of the genocide. In 2009, the National *Itorero* Programme was launched to promote national values, including patriotism. Four years later, the *Ndi Umunyarwanda* (I am Rwandese) programme was reintroduced to promote national cohesion and identity, the *Ubunyarwanda* (Rwandanness) as opposed to divisive artificial identities (*Hutu, Tutsi* and *Twa*).

All the above mechanisms have a common objective, promoting reconciliation then support post-genocide reconstruction efforts. However, the analysis of these mechanisms should go beyond their stated foundations and agendas developed by the authorities. The process of reconciliation must be questioned through the lens of the population's attitude toward these mechanisms, their efforts to own the processes and the trust that ordinary Rwandans place in them. Indeed, the challenges to the process of reconciliation, which determines the Rwandan collective experience since 1994, are mainly located within the general populace.

Experiences of trauma, betrayal, lies and frustrations still haunt the mind sets of many Rwandans who consider themselves as unfortunate victims of various and possibly opposite experiences based on divergent and multiple memories. If Rwanda has achieved undeniable progress in terms of collective security and peaceful coexistence, community reconciliation understood as a state of harmonious social relationships still has a long way to go, particularly among the two key groups: genocide survivors and those who committed genocide and related offences.

The above complex social matrix of present day Rwanda challenges the journey towards harmony and a lasting social cohesion. Numerous reports and research give diverse perspectives on reconciliation in Rwanda; nevertheless all agree that the process is very complex, making it very difficult to measure.[148]

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148. See namely, but not exclusively: Longman, T., Pham P., & Weinstein H. M., "Connecting justice to human experience: attitudes toward accountability and reconciliation in Rwanda", in Stover Eric, Weinstein Harvey M. (eds.) (2004): *My Neighbor, My Enemy: Justice and Community in the Aftermath of Mass Atrocity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 207-225; Republic of Rwanda – Senate (2006): *Genocide Ideology and Strategies for Its Eradication*, Kigali: Republic of Rwanda; Institute of Research and Dialogue for Peace (IRDP), *The state of peace in Rwanda as perceived by Rwandans: 17 years after the*

Understandably, as a post-genocide country, Rwanda still has several challenges to address. But from the perspective of the genocide survivors, an important issue that still requires the attention of the government and citizens alike is that of reparations.

At several occasions, the genocide survivors expressed dissatisfaction and frustrations due to ineffective reparations, received or unpaid. Previous research has already shown that some genocide survivors establish a causal relationship between reparations and reconciliation while others claim that reparations are an independent right of the victims which cannot be associated to reconciliation.[149]

This chapter discusses reparations from the perspective of their link to reconciliation. The 1994 genocide in Rwanda has demonstrated that too many relationships have been severed, too many identities have been distorted and too many people have endured too many traumatic experiences. The current state of affairs warrants an investigation into what is meant by reparations, why it is important to consider the issue very seriously and how it is interpreted and related to reconciliation by the genocide survivors in Rwanda.

2. What is reparation and how does it relate to reconciliation ?

In the context of this book, I opt for the UN definition. Reparation means all mechanisms of restitution (restoration or giving back something to its rightful owner and returning to the status quo), compensation (making up for someone's loss, damage or injury by giving the injured party an appropriate benefit), rehabilitation (package of social services including education, shelter, health care and access to justice), satisfaction and guarantee of non-repetition of violence designed to build a more just society and to address the needs and rights of the victims.[150]

Reparations are expected to contribute to reconciliation because they represent the most tangible manifestation – in comparison to truth-telling and punishment of the perpetrators - of the state's commitment to remedy the harms that the victims suffered. Some scholars simply consider that reconciliation is impossible in the absence of reparation. According to Orr, "*delayed reparation is*

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genocide against the Tutsi, Kigali, 2011.
149. See Shyaka Mugabe, A., *Réparation et réconciliation: portée et limites de la justice transitionnelle*, UCL, Louvain-la-Neuve, 2009.
150. UN General Assembly, A/RES/60/147 of December 16, 2005

healing retarded"[151]. Similarly, Vandeginste sees reconciliation as a "bridge that unites the past and the future", a "critical element of transitional justice" in that it attempts to redress injustices and a therefore a "key ingredient of reconciliation".[152] Likewise, in relation to reconciliation, De Greiff summarizes reparation into three key points: "a recognition of victims as victims; a sign of civil trust and an expression of solidarity with victims"[153] that foster rapprochement.

3. Material reparation in post-genocide Rwanda

In the years that immediately followed the genocide, security and retributive justice dominated the debates. Presently, the issue of reparation is increasingly gaining importance. While a specific portion of the Rwandan population - either as victims, relatives of the victims, perpetrators or relatives of the perpetrators - is directly implicated with this issue of reparation along with the authorities who are responsible for the processes, many Rwandans consider this issue to be a real challenge.[154] Some link it to the process of rebuilding social cohesion and reconciliation, which is eventually hampered when reparations are not guaranteed or perceived to be insufficient by the beneficiaries.[155] Often during the ceremonies of commemoration of the genocide against the *Tutsi*, representatives of the survivors' claim that more attention must be given to reparations paid, particularly financial compensations, to all victims of the genocide.[156]

Beyond the multiple policies, programs, projects and initiatives designed by the national authorities to improve the well-being of Rwandans, one specific category of the population, the survivors of the genocide, is repeatedly voicing grievances over its livelihood conditions. Reparations are therefore required to bridge the differences that persist, restore trust and build a capacity for creative renewal in Rwanda[157]. Advocacy groups such as *Ibuka* (Remember) have been

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151. Orr, W., « Reparation delayed is healing retarded », in C. Villa-Vicencio et W. Verwoerd, *Looking back, going forward: reflections on truth and reconciliation commission in South Africa*, Cape Town: UCT Press and London: Zed Press, 2000a, pp. 241-242.

152. Vandeginste, S., « Réparation », in D., Bloomfield, T., Barnes, et L., Huyse, *La réconciliation après un conflit violent. Un manuel*, Stockholm: IDEA, 2004 pp. 184-207, 188.

153. Greiff (de) P., (ed.), *The handbook of reparations*, New York : Oxford University Press, 2006, pp. 451-477.

154. Reparation is part of the most debated topics during genocide commemoration week (April 6-13).

155. See Orr, W., « Reparation delayed is healing retarded », Op. Cit. 2000a.

156. Shyaka Mugabe, A., *Op. Cit*., 2009.

157. Oliver Ramsbotham, Tom Woodhouse and Hugh Miall (2006), Cambridge, Polity Press, pg. 233.

voicing their discontent over the need for more vigorous action by the government on the issue of reparations.

Many Rwandans are aware that the forms of material reparation like 'restitutions' or 'compensations', meant to be granted to the genocide victims as decided by the *Gacaca* courts (2001-2012) have often been empty promises. During a recent forum of reconciliation in the district of Gasabo, genocide survivors were clear on this particular issue: "… *Turabibona ko ahari guhabwa indishyi bitazigera bikunda, ariko se n'iki kibuza ko imitungo yasahuwe isubizwa beneyo cyangwa ngo amazu yasenywe yongere yubakwe*?"[158], asked a 54 years old survivor woman (…We are aware that legal compensations will possibly never happen, but why is that looted property not restituted ? Why are houses destroyed not constructed ?" She added this: "*Kwiyunga ni ugushyikirana, buri ruhande rugomba kugira icyo rwigomwa. Mwe mwumva abacitse ku icumu babishobora bate mu gihe uburenganzira bwabo bw'ibanze bwirengagijwe. Mubona izo mbaraga bazivana he* !?" (Reconciliation is a form of negotiation, where each side has to make concessions. How do you expect genocide survivors to engage in such a process when their basic rights are being ignored ? Why would they found such efforts ?)" These forms of grievances are not isolated among the survivors' community. They are voiced whenever the opportunity arises; it clearly shows that reconciliation is a dependent variable that will materialize only if such claims have been addressed..

Indeed, looted or damaged houses, crops, household material or cattle, the restitution or compensation imposed on Category 3 convicts by the *Gacaca* Law rarely took place. In most cases , the crimes perpetrators argue that they had no means to pay anything back, especially when they have spent several years in prison. Some convicted criminals were subjected to community service works, TIG (Travaux d'Intéret Général) as punishment and/or - more rarely – finding a different way to compensate the victims. However, many would disagree with Phil Clark when he says that TIG encourages convicted perpetrators to engage meaningfully with the survivors either by working on labour programmes that benefit survivors directly, or by providing personal restitution to them[159] . Overall, many victims and observers complain that because the *Gacaca* courts privileged a restorative approach - as opposed to a purely retributive or criminal approach, the crimes perpetrators ended up being paradoxically the 'winning

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158. Training on unity and reconciliation organized by International Alert for member of reconciliation forum of Gasabo district, Kigali, 31st January, 2018.

159. Clark P., *The* Gacaca *Courts, Post-Genocide Justice and Reconciliation in Rwanda*, Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 346

side' of the judiciary process [160]. The survivors and their defendants claim that truth alone is half justice. The sentences for crimes committed by the perpetrators do not constitute a sufficient compensation for the traumatic experiences of the genocide.

During a research on the reintegration of former genocide prisoners, survivors insistently raised their concerns. Given the delays to design and implement effective reparations, some community members and the genocide survivors in particular felt that it was simply unjust for ex-genocide prisoners to be eligible for social protection programmes. In this regard, the following statement from a 57 years old genocide-survivor is very expressive :

Ubu se sibo bakize ahubwo? Urebye ubumenyi, amahugurwa anyuranye bakuye muri gereza, nibo birirwa bakora imirimo y'ubwubatsi aha dutuye no mu mijyi iyo, ndetse ni nabo bazi ibyo guhinga bya kijyambere. Bavanye ubumenyi muri gereza; ayo mahirwe yo kwiga imyuga twe ntayo twabonye, n'iyo ndishyi twagombaga guhabwa ntituzi aho yahagamye ! [161]

The opinion above that was later reinforced[162] clearly shows that the genocide survivors have the feeling of being given little attention as compared to the genocide perpetrators. It also underscores expectations of reparations and frustrations. Although recognition of the status of victims is itself a form of reparation[163], the non-materialization of the latter brings new frustration. According to Penal Reform International, "the execution of agreements and reparation orders

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160. See for instance this comment of a Rwandan citizen recorded by the Institute of Research and Dialogue for Peace (IRDP), a think-tank based in Kigali: «I appreciate the principles and the achievements of Gacaca. However, the way this process had been conducted does not give enough room for reconciliation. Sometimes one has the impression that much attention is focused on the killers than the victims.» (Institute of Research and Dialogue for Peace, 2011: 57) See also Human Rights Watch, 2011.

161. My translation: As of now, ex-genocide prisoners are the most economically better off. Thanks to the vocational skills they gained while in prison; they are technically more competitive. As a result, they grab any available casual work opportunity such as construction, and they are very good at modern agriculture. We didn't have the chance they had to learn vocational skills and yet the promises of reparations to which we are entitled never materialized. Focus Group Discussions with genocide survivors, Gahembe, Bugesera, March 2014.

162. During a meeting organized by International Alert on January 24, 2018 that brought together members of the reconciliation forum of Gasabo district, in Kigali, participants insistently expressed the concern that questions pertaining to reparations were given little attention in the debate compared to punishment of genocide perpetrators.

163. See Shyaka, Mugabe. A., 'Le FARG, la réparation et la réconciliation. Quel bilan ?', in Commission nationale de lutte contre le génocide - CNLG (ed.): *16 Years after the Genocide perpetrated against Tutsi (1994-2010) : Handling its consequences*, Kigali, March 2011, pp. 359-390, p. 361.

crystallizes all the fears and frustrations expressed by victims and are perceived as another form of victimisation"[164]. Moreover, many genocide survivors consider material reparation as their first need.[165]Indeed, the situation of deep poverty, which tens of thousands of genocide survivors endure on a daily basis, is less known - or concretely perceived - by the 'better-off' population. Yet, it accentuates the grievances and negative perceptions of the victims toward the post-genocide judiciary and reconciliation processes.

A symposium organized by the Rwanda National Commission against Genocide (CNLG) in April 2010 to assess the situation sixteen years after the genocide, was a good chance to gain insights about the precarious conditions of living of many survivors. Our own experience suggests that seven years after, no significant changes have happened. During the symposium, many contributors explained how the lack of economic assets and development opportunities penalize the genocide victims at multiple levels. In analyzing the reasons of comorbidity between Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and other disorders such as depression or somatization, Sezibera further elaborated that disorders can partly result from "the effect of socioeconomic adversities and continuous threats associated with the post-disaster context"[166]. Material security is an absolute pre-condition for the victims to build resilience, which in turn is necessary to envisage social reconnection and reconciliation. In the same vein Rutembesa observed that the lack of housing, meals and failure to respond to other basic needs prevent many genocide survivors and other community members from focusing on the future.[167] Moreover, the literature shows that such problems go beyond the victims. Ebert argues that "sufferings and negative behaviour due to deprivation are not limited to the survivors. The extension of trauma from one generation to the

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164. Penal Reform International (PRI), *Monitoring and Research Report on the Gacaca. The settlement of property offence cases committed during the genocide: Update on the execution of agreements and restoration condemnations* (accessible on http://www.penalreform.org/files/Rep_Ga12_final_2009.pdf(last consulted March 18, 2012), 2009, p.60.

165. The threat to physical security for genocide survivors having been drastically reduced, reparation has become the most important need for them since the closing of *Gacaca* trials in 2012.

166. Sezibera, V.,'PTSD and comorbidity : The moderating and mediating effect of the genocide reminders, the current socioeconomic adversities and coping strategies', in CNLG (ed.) : *16 Years after the Genocide perpetrated against Tutsi (1994-2010) : Handling its consequences*, Kigali, March 2011, pp. 51-63, p.59.

167. Rutembesa Eugène (2011) : 'La résilience et le syndrome du survivant du génocide contre les Tutsi en 1994', in Commission nationale de lutte contre le génocide - CNLG (ed.) : *16 Yearsafter the Genocide perpetrated against Tutsi (1994-2010) : Handling its consequences*, Kigali, March 2011, pp. 101-111.

next is (...) interconnected with the wider socio-economic context in which children grow up".[168]

Here, the third form of reparation defined by the United Nations in 1994 is at stake : the 'rehabilitation' of the victims at all levels : economic, psychological, judicial, etc. The physical and moral security - or 'human security' globally speaking - of the victims is as mentioned above important for them to spend energy in the reconciliation process. This is even more important given the culture of conflict management, which characterizes rural Rwanda. According to Boege paraphrasing Zartaman, more than punishment restitution has always been the base for reconciliation in the traditional societies in Africa.[169] Zartman rightly noticed the issue at stake is not punishment of the perpetrators for deeds done in the past, but restitution as a basis for reconciliation. The primary aim is the re-establishment of harmony, which implies also reintegration of the deviant members. This is why traditional approaches in general follow the line of restorative justice instead of the punitive one. Restorative justice has to be understood as a compensation for loss, not as a retribution for offence.[170]

It goes without saying much that, the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda exceeded by its intensity all possible community conflicts dealt with in the traditional way. In other words, justice in this case could not be limited to some 'traditional' restorative negotiated agreements. As defined by the international law, the genocide crimes needed prosecution and punishment.

FARG was created in 1998 to quell the situation of poverty of many survivors and contribute to reconciliation. For more than two decades five programs have been used to address major issues including education, health, shelter, and human rehabilitation and income generative activities. Twenty-four years later, five percent of the government internal revenues are still being allocated to the fund, while the budgets of all programs have been either stable or increased in the previous fiscal years[171]. In parallel, a great number of local and international non-government organizations, charity organizations, bilateral and multilat-

168. Ebert Angela (2011) : 'Community and individual resilience in post-genocide Rwanda', CNLG (ed.): *16 Years after the Genocide perpetrated against* Tutsi *(1994-2010): Handling its consequences*, Kigali, March 2011, pp. 85-99, p. 91.
169. Volker Boege, Traditional Approaches to Conflict Transformation - Potentials and Limits, Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, 2006, p.7.
170. Zartman I. William (2000): 'Conclusions: Changes in the New Order and the Place for the Old', in Zartman I. William (ed.): *Traditional Cures for Modern Conflicts. African Conflict "Medicine",* Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 219–230.
171. *New Times* (2011c): 'FARG allocates Rwf 130m for special medication', article published on October 7, 2011.

eral agencies implement assistance projects to benefit the genocide survivors[172]. In a different research, the author observed among the FARG's beneficiaries that from twelve percent before the implementation of FARG up to sixty-three percent of the beneficiaries showed an attitude favorable toward the process of reconciliation. Among the latter, eighty-one percent mentioned the improvement of their living conditions as the major factor for this change in attitudes.[173]

This is not to say, though, that positive attitudes toward reconciliation can be 'bought' by the authorities through financial assistance. The author further noticed that, although the feedbacks show that *"the fund (FARG) has significantly reduced the unpopular character of the process of reconciliation"*[174] some beneficiaries question the causal relationship between the aid and reconciliation; they therefore dissociate the latter from material aid. From his field experience, the author found that hatred, profound distrust and traumatic memories can be persistent on the side of the victims no matter the help they might receive. The FARG assistance will obviously never compensate any human loss. And, very importantly, while the FARG offers to the victims to be recognized as such, the assistance is not perceived as a 'reparation' mechanism mainly because the perpetrators do not participate in financing the rehabilitation fund.[175] As a result, FARG contributes better to reconciliation between the State and genocide survivors than it does with genocide perpetrators.

Secondly, the research shows that several categories of victims are excluded from the assistance, such as the survivors considered well off, children born from female survivors raped during the genocide, and even potential beneficiaries not properly identified[176]. Lastly, symbolical dimensions of reparation contained in

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172. See for instance : *New Times,* 2011a.

173. Shyaka Mugabe, A. *Op. Cit*., p. 205.

174. Ibid.

175. Shyaka Mugabe, A., *Op. Cit*., 2009.

176. Uwizeye, G., 'Sixteen years facing genocide reminders: women raped during the Genocide perpetrated against Tutsi', in Commission nationale de lutte contre le génocide - CNLG (ed.) : *16 Years after the Genocide perpetrated against* Tutsi *(1994-2010): Handling its consequences*, Kigali, March 2011, pp. 41-49. According to the author, younger participants regret that they cannot benefit from much of its support because they were not emotionally ready to stand up and claim their rights. (...) Older participants claimed that they have been disabled and don't have family. It is even difficult for them to get to FARG office when they need help. Moreover, associated with the impossibility or certain 'victims' to access the FARG's assistance is the sentiment expressed by many that the money disbursed ends up in the wrong hands. Such speculations were substantiated at several occasions by investigations concluding to misuse of money and embezzlement by FARG officials (see for instance: New Times, 2011b). MPs are well aware of and occasionally criticize the lack of transparency over survivors (see *New Times*, 2011d).

the principles of 'satisfaction', 'guarantees of non-repetition' as well as 'restitution' need more than material assistance as discussed in the next section.

4. Symbolical reparation : a better approach to reconciliation ?

According to the UN definition[177] the elements of 'satisfaction' and 'guarantees of non-repetition' include the longest lists of expected outcomes covering a wide range of needed actions: cessation of human rights violations, judiciary sanctions imposed on the crimes perpetrators, public apology by the latter, commemorations, state of security, independence of the justice system, mechanisms to prevent conflicts, legal reforms, etc. In all cases, action depends essentially on the central government and state authorities. The latter are bonded to their responsibility to protect their citizens according to international law.

Reconciliation, if it becomes *imaginable* by victims when material assistance (restitution, compensation, rehabilitation) is allocated, needs to become more effective and *voluntarily pursued*. Accountability and sanctions over actions executed in the past must be combined with confidence over the present and future. As John Paul Lederach states, « *reconciliation promotes an encounter between the open expression of the painful past, on the one hand, and the search for the articulation of a long-term, interdependent future, on the other hand* »[178]. This means that reconciliation processes, when they take place at their highest stage, encourage victims and perpetrators to build a common future cooperatively.

From the present author's field experience and understanding of the context, it is evident that the post-genocide authorities very promptly prioritized the reconstruction of rule of law, security and fair justice; this was expressed in the establishment of a wide range of transitional justice mechanisms. In parallel to the *Gacaca* courts reinitiated in 2001, the government enacted a new ideology toward unity and reconciliation; it admirably reorganized the security paying attention to a proper management of the demobilization process and integrating the army; reorganizing the national police. At the same time it built a solid legal

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177.United Nations - The Economic and Social Council, *Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law*, ECOSOC Resolution 2005/30, 2005, pp 7-8.
(http://www.un.org/en/ecosoc/docs/2005/resolution%202005-30.pdf (consulted, September 20, 2014).
178. Lederach, J.P., *Building peace : Sustainable reconciliation in divided societies*,Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace, 1998, p. 20.

framework to contain divisionism and genocide ideology. With regard to the governance dimension, the government adopted tough policies for transparency, accountability and equitable opportunities for all. Criminality and insecurity decreased to a large extent, although isolated cases of violence against individuals occasionally still occur, mainly perpetrated against the genocide survivors (witnesses)[179]. The survivors the members of the association of survivors, *Ibuka* regularly mention the insecurity issue in parallel to their demands for material reparation; they keep advocating the prosecution of the most important suspects of genocide settled abroad in Western countries.

At this stage, it is worth mentioning that material and immaterial reparation are closely interrelated. For this reason, it makes sense to look at them simultaneously. Coming back to the definition of "human security" that the United Nations Development Programme publicized, it is important to remark that no belief in a peaceful and fair future can be developed by the victims of genocide if minimum material conditions for a decent livelihood are not guaranteed. Future means nothing when one survivor does not know if she/he will wake up the next morning *or die* because of hunger, untreated sickness or damaged habitation.

In addition, there is one aspect of symbolical reparation which has been left aside in our reflection up to now: the restitution of immaterial 'advantages' to the victim such as specified by the United Nations' definition, i.e. "restoration of liberty, family life…"[180] while these patterns relate to the establishment of rule of law and security mentioned above, they simultaneously engage very subjective perceptions on the part of the victims. Survivors question who they are in comparison to the perpetrators, to what extent the latter are serious about their demands for forgiveness, whether they as victims enjoy full liberty of expressing their sentiments, etc. The recognition granted by the State to the survivors of their sufferings, losses and status of victims through the FARG acts as important symbolical reparation. But the question of who is actually *paying* for the reparation due is fundamental in the eyes of the survivors.[181]

5. The need for a State-owned compensation fund

As already mentioned, the FARG is not perceived by most of its beneficiaries as a reparation mechanism, essentially because it does not cost anything to

179. If the former cases of violence seem to have become very rare, the aggressions perpetrated against genocide survivors, including FARG-assisted students were recurrent especially during the first years of *Gacaca* courts.
180. United Nations - The Economic and Social Council, *Op. Cit.*
181. Shyaka, Mugabe, A.. *Op. Cit.*, 2011, p. 381.

the perpetrators in person; the Rwandan government is paying for it. This reality leads to a lively debate among scholars and authorities over the consequences induced by the perpetrators' withdrawal/incapacity from paying on the possibility of social cohesion and reconciliation within the society. Some consider that perpetrators should be required to pay something from their pockets as a way to express regrets and re-create a sentiment of solidarity toward the victims. Equally, the victims would more easily accept a renewal of communal living with their former aggressors if they feel a minimum of commitment and 'effort' realized on the latter's side. In its contemporary configuration, the FARG is rather an impersonal and bureaucratic State-managed tool.

Some informants are aware of the impossibility of obliging all perpetrators to compensate their victims because they have limited assets or none at all. Indeed, it would be unrealistic and even counter-productive to expect each and every person responsible for genocide can pay the reparation due to worsened family poverty resulting for many from the prolonged imprisonment of male heads of households. The author's own field experience shows that the majority of the perpetrators are as poor as the victims themselves; they have nothing to offer. In such a context, an overzealous search for reparation would damage any community rapprochement[182].

The responsibility to acknowledge the harm and damage caused for reparation to take place face the challenge of the fragile economic context for many people responsible for genocide. The situation makes the post-genocide Rwandan situation particularly complex, complicated and the reconciliation process fragile. The situation of extreme poverty for many genocide perpetrators calls for innovative strategies that would advance individual responsibility for crimes committed while preserving social harmony.

From field research, a bill on a "Fonds d'Indemnisation" (FIND) or Fund for Indemnification - which was to become later the Fonds de Soutien et d'Appui aux Rescapés du Génocide (FSARG) - was drafted in 2001 and since then has been waiting in the office of the Parliament. Was FIND delayed because of its objectives that sound too ambitious? Was it because of the difficulty in categorizing who should be indemnized (the bill proposed on one hand the survivors of the genocide, and on the other hand, those unfairly arrested for genocide who were later on acquitted) ? While the cause of FIND seems noble, its ambitions to respond to all kinds of reparation demands in a society deeply affected by violence could be seen as disturbing.

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182. Shyaka, M., A., *Op. Cit*, 2011

Indeed, the existence of different categories of population who can claim compensation for losses endured in the context of the 1994 Genocide, even though the different types of losses cannot be compared, is a reality. Viewed from this perspective, the State would gain in reopening a reflection on the creation of a 'Compensation Fund' staffed with a large apparatus of administrators, investigators and accountants. The fund's responsibility to compensate would include the task of tracking down the dishonest defaulters in the camp of the crimes perpetrators. The spread of Information Technology use in Rwanda as well as the systematic land registration process performed by the National Land Centre since 2010 could help the agency in charge of compensations in double-checking information provided by the perpetrators and victims on their (former) land properties[183].

More than just material compensation, the government's direct implication in the process of reparation would certainly bring along symbolical reparation for the victims who still too often feel insufficiently cared for by their State. Clearly, if the National Compensation Fund comes into existence, the procedures of reparation, transparent state-managed investigations of the defaulters, a good field presence at community level of its representatives would create more confidence and trust of the genocide survivors. Likewise, any citizens wrongly accused would have interlocutors to address their grievances. In all, the public perception of the rule of law and righteousness of the government in regard to post-genocide concerns will gain in quality, raising the chance that social cohesion and solidarity among communities can be improved.

Finally, the State presented in this study as bearing the overall responsible for reparation, not just assistance provider, could gain in trust from the victims if they adopted a humble attitude acknowledging that they don't have enough resources to satisfy all claims for reparation. Far from today's discourse which promises to address the challenges and yet fails to do so, the authorities would be right to admit the impossibility of responding adequately to everyone's demand for reparation ; after all the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi was a huge tragedy, and the government which took over was left to rebuild a new nation from

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183. In its Recommendations published in 2009 Penal Reform International (PRI) already advocated for a «compensation structure». PRI recommended that the civil society participate in the reflection on how to tackle the involvency of the convicts. PRI also recommended that local leaders be trained on seizures and execution of judiciary rulings, and that national authorities perfom a strict follow-up of the executions «in order to assess irregularities and generate appropriate solutions» (PRI, 2009: 62).The reflection on reforming or even doing away with the FARG to replace it by another structure has been ongoing up to now, as a recent discussion held within the Rwandan Parliament showed (*New Times*, 2011d).

scratch. Indeed, as rightly described by Arendt, genocide is one of those crimes that one can neither "punish nor forgive".[184]

Situated somewhere between an official declaration and a public apology[185] such a confession would appear as a collective reparation and probably be interpreted as a relief for many frustrated awaiting genocide survivors. At a meta-discursive level, the latter could perceive that the confessed weakness of the State is echoing their own struggles. They would gain 'satisfaction' and feel not only their status of victims was recognized (which the FARG already ensures for the genocide survivors), but also that they never recovered - nor will recover - what they have lost.

6. Conclusion

In this chapter the author first demonstrated how the issues of the often unaccomplished and insufficient material reparation granted to the genocide survivors combined with a situation of misery of the latter is causing major obstacles to reconciliation. In this context, the FARG plays an important role. But immaterial means of reparation are similarly important to all kinds of victims, namely the genocide survivors and the eventually wrongly jailed suspects. Lastly, the chapter argues that a State-managed compensation fund would meet at best the expectations of all victims, especially if the fund also has the authority and the courage to confess its limits to properly accommodate all claims of reparation.

This last point is indeed essential. Yet, because it wanted to avoid the debate on the hierarchy of the victims and their pleas, and because it chose the option of unity among all Rwandans, the government decided to create mechanisms parallel to the FARG's and designed to offer to all the population, social protection, growth-oriented programs and policies toward the poorest citizens so as to cement the common identity togetherness of all Rwandans. The many examples include, One cow per Poor Family, the *Ubudehe,* the community health insurance scheme, *Mutuelles de Santé*, the twelve-year basic education, the SACCO *Umurenge*, local cooperatives, even many projects initiated by the NURC. All these are certainly vital for post-genocide Rwanda to navigate in a socially collaborative way as the attention is progressively shifted away from the tensions inherited from the genocide. But in the framework of the need for reparation, alleviation of entrenched frustrations and openness to reconciliation, the claims of specific portions of the population should not be left unaddressed.

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184 Arendt, H.,*The Human Condition*, Chicago U.P., 2nd edition, 1998.
185. United Nations - The Economic and Social Council, *Op. Cit*., 2005.

Penal Reform International rightly warned in 2009 that «the execution of agreements and reparation orders, along with community service, will be one of the major challenges of the post-*Gacaca* phase. The smooth running of these procedures could influence the success of the reconciliation process.[186] Targeted actions of a State-managed compensation fund and a once-for-all governmental apology appear to be indispensable parallel mechanisms to allow durable social cohesion among Rwandans.

About reconciliation, the present author believes that no 'automaticity' can be established between reparation on the one hand and forgiveness and reconciliation which sole the survivors offer to the crimes perpetrators. The State should offer the best possible conditions for reconciliation through well-designed reparation schemes. Reconciliation and forgiveness, as « conditional and contested processes»[187] imply very personal actions and rationales at the individual and community levels. Innovative State-policies and programs can at best *promote* and sustain the reconciliation process, not *impose* it.

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186. PRI, Op. Cit., p. 2009.
187. Hamber, B., 'Forgiveness and reconciliation: paradise lost or pragmatism', *Peace and Conflict : Journal of Peace Psychology*, 2007, 13(1): 115-125, p. 123.

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The *Gacaca* Justice : The Challenge of Economic Reparation in Post-Genocide Rwanda

Dr. Kazuyuki Sasakiand & Serge Muvunyi[188]

1. Introduction

The issue of economic reparation for genocide survivors through the *Gacaca* justice system is crucial in the pursuit of justice and reconciliation in the aftermath of the genocide against the *Tutsi*. Drawing from the ethnographic fieldwork conducted in a rural community in April – May 2017, this study describes the major factors that contributed to a delayed process of realizing economic reparation for survivors and the ways both survivors and offenders/families of offenders attempted to move the process ahead under difficult circumstance and the way forward. Despite increased enforcement measures by the government authorities in recent years, the study revealed a significant number of hidden unresolved property cases 10 years after they were pronounced. The study findings suggest that further strengthening coercive measures would not be a solution, given that many of those impoverished families of offenders are too poor to pay the compensation for which they are held responsible. A more viable option left for the concerned parties is to seek amicable settlements based on a genuine, down-to-earth dialogue between the two sides. How such a dialogue can be best facilitated and promoted at different levels of society stands out as a critical theme in Rwanda's pursuit of the reconciliatory justice endeavor.

The *Gacaca* justice was developed as Rwanda's home grown solution to meet the challenge of justice and reconciliation in the aftermath of the genocide against the *Tutsi* in which over a million people were brutally slaughtered in April – July 1994. Through G*acaca,* a traditional mechanism of participatory conflict resolution, ordinary members of the local population across Rwanda

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played critical roles as judges, jurors, witnesses, and administrative officials of the court for the objectives of revealing the truth about the genocide, speeding up the judicial process and reconciling the people of Rwanda (NSGJ 2012).

While the regular and military courts retained jurisdiction over the most serious cases of planners, organizers and leaders who are responsible for the genocide at the national level (Sub-Categories 1 and 2 of Category 1), the *Gacaca* courts have tried all the other cases. These involved local level organizers and leaders (Sub-Categories 3 and 4 of Category 1), those who committed rape and sexual torture (Sub-Category 5 of Category 1), grassroots perpetrators who took part in killing, attacking or torturing (Category 2) and those who only committed property offences (Category 3)[189]. During the period between June 2002 and June 2012, over 12,000 *Gacaca* courts completed nearly two million genocide-related cases (NSGJ 2012).

Redressing the damages suffered by survivors through various means of economic reparation was a crucial element for 'reconciliatory justice' (*ubutabera bwunga*) pursued through the *Gacaca* system. It was believed that the process would help the survivors not only reconstruct their lives economically but also 'restore the dignity they lost by acknowledging the suffering they have been subjected to' (REDRESS 2012) . The *Gacaca* courts judged over 1,320,554 cases of property offences out of which 1,266,632 cases were found guilty (Brehm, et al. 2014, 340). Most of the property offenders received reparation orders from the *Gacaca* courts, and they were held responsible for paying compensation for or returning the properties they looted during the genocide (ibid, 340-42). However, even after the official closure of *Gacaca* courts, it was reported that a significant number of survivors' reparation awards remained unresolved (REDRESS 2012). According to the Ministry of Justice (MINIJUST), during the period of the 23rd commemoration of genocide against the Tutsi, over 64,000 cases remained unresolved (Data from MINIJUST on 27 May 2017).

Before Rwanda, no nation or international body had ever attempted to address the needs of the genocide survivors for economic reparation in such an extraordinarily large scale. Constrained by the limited financial ability among the offenders and their families held responsible and urged to make economic reparation, the people of Rwanda faced a formidable challenge. Despite its significance in the pursuit of justice and reconciliation in post-genocide period, Rwanda's effort to guarantee economic reparation for survivors through the *Gacaca* justice

189. See Bornkamm (2012) for details about the structure, procedures, sanctions imposed by the Gacaca system.

has thus far attracted scarce attention from academic researchers. As a result, little is known about what particular challenges it faces[190].

Drawing on the fieldwork conducted during April – May 2017 in one rural community (cell) in Kirehe district, this study attempts to shed light on :

1) the major reasons why a significant number of reparation awards to survivors remain unresolved for several years after they were granted by the *Gacaca* courts;

2) the ways the parties directly concerned at the grassroots level have responded to the difficult challenge of realizing economic reparation in an impoverished rural community; and

3) the measures these parties consider to be the way forward.

2. The Conceptual Framework

Reparation may be best understood as encompassing a range of concepts and measures geared towards repairing damage – not only physical and economic, but also emotional or psychological – which was inflicted by the wrongdoer on the victims and the community at large (Vandeginste 2003, 145). There are different forms of reparation. Authors such as Vandeginste (2003) and Govier (2006) seek terminological clarification of reparation-related concepts. In this study we follow the conceptual framework proposed by Govier (2006, 178-80), to which we now turn.

Restitution and redress

As the first step to clarification of terms referring to various forms of reparation, it is useful to make a distinction between *restitution* and *redress*. Restitution is generally referred to as the act of giving back to a person something that was lost or stolen (Vandeginste 2003, 145). Since there are many things that can never be given back or restored, there are many cases in which restitution is impossible. Therefore, in a strict sense, rendering restitution to victims is impossible in the wake of serious violent crimes. When restitution is impossible, redress

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190. See the report of Penal Reform International (2007) discusses various challenges it attributed to the gap between the theory of reparation and social and economic reality in Rwanda based on field observations of *Gacaca* trials over property offences in early 2007. Many of the issues and problems discussed in this report were also confirmed during our fieldwork.

may be considered to be an important form of reparation as 'an attempt to do something to right the wrong' (Govier 2006, 179).

Symbolic, rehabilitative and compensatory redress

Redress may take three distinctive forms: symbolic, rehabilitative and compensatory (Govier 2006, 179). Symbolic redress is 'fundamentally a matter of expressing recognition that what was done was wrong and that it should not have happened' (ibid). At the centre of this symbolic redress is the acknowledgement of wrongdoing and of the human beings injured by it. This acknowledgement is of paramount importance in addressing the fundamental needs of victims discussed above. Symbolic redress may take a variety of forms: efforts to establish the truth; apologies; sanctions against offenders; and various forms of commemoration such as building memorials and observing a day of remembrance to pay tribute to victims (Vandeginste 2003, 146).

Rehabilitative redress is geared towards the improvement of the physical and mental health of victims (ibid). It may entail a range of measures to provide victims with medical and psychological care, as well as legal and social services that can help them recover from their physical and psychological wounds (ibid). Compensatory redress may be understood as a response to recognize and mitigate the negative effects of damage inflicted on victims. Although compensation usually takes the form of monetary payment to victims, some of the things it attempts to 'compensate' cannot be translated into monetary value, particularly in the wake of serious crimes, as they usually entail irreparable damage which money can never remedy (Govier 2006, 179). Thus, the value of compensatory redress often lies more with the symbolic significance of acknowledging the injuries and losses suffered by victims, and in effect, the wrongs which caused them, than with its actual capability to reduce their negative effects (Minow 1998, 93-4).

In this study we refer to the term 'economic reparation' as the concept which encompasses compensatory redress and restitution in the forms of 1) monetary payment to victims/survivors to compensate the property damages the offender caused, 2) carrying out the work to compensate the whole or part of the value of the damaged property and 3) returning the stolen property or its equivalent.

Figure 1. Conceptual Framework of Reparation
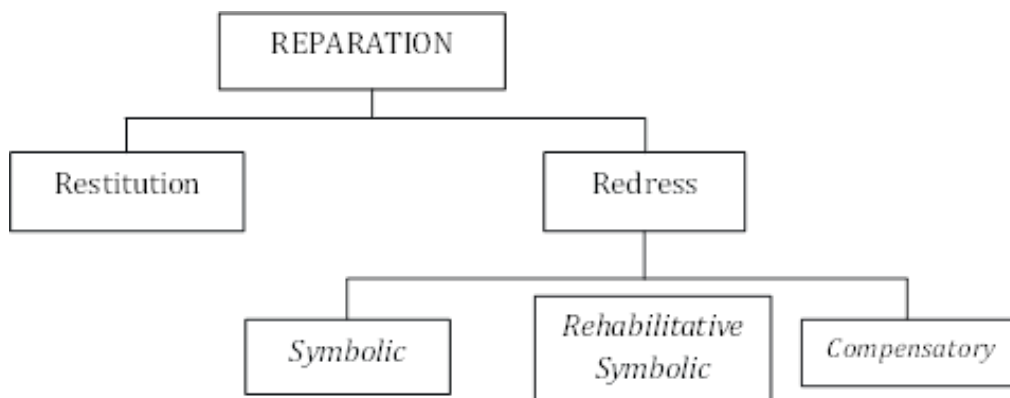
Source: Govier (2006, 178).

3. Methodology

This study is a descriptive case study of a rural agrarian community on the challenge of realizing economic reparation for survivors at the grassroots level. The study draws primarily on the ethnographic fieldwork conducted during April and May 2017 in the community composed of three villages (*imidugudu*) within the boundary of the former Rugando cell in Kirehe district, the southeastern part of Rwanda. The primary reason why we selected this particular research field is that we had already developed a good understanding about social relationships in the community based on our prior experiences of field research and practical peace-building activities in the community. The sensitive nature of information we tried to obtain dictated that it would be wise to carry out fieldwork in an area where we already had fairly a large circle of acquaintances.

Data collection and research participants

We conducted semi-structured interviews with 22 individuals falling into two different categories: 12 primary research participants from the case study community and 10 key informants familiar with the research subject. As indicated in Table 1, the primary research participants consisted of eight males and four females from three categories : genocide survivors (5), genocide offenders (5) and members of offenders' families (2). They were chosen from a network of people connected with each other around the property cases judged by the *Gacaca* court established at the former Rugando cell. We purposefully chose

them in a way that the variations of experiences and perspectives with regard to the challenge of realizing economic reparation were maximized in this study.

Table 1 : Research participants

I.Research participants involved in the property cases judged by the local Gacaca court	Male	Female	Total
Survivors	2	3	5
Offenders	5	0	5
Offenders' families	1	1	2
Sub-total	8	4	12
II. Key informants	Male	Female	Total
Officials of Ministry of Justice	2	2	4
Local government leader	1	0	1
IBUKA[191] leaders	2	2	4
Field coordinator of local NGO	1	0	1
Sub-total	6	4	10
Total	**14**	**8**	**22**

As listed in Table 1, we also interviewed 10 key informants from outside the community to seek their views about various issues around the challenge of realizing economic reparation for survivors. During the interviews with the officials from the Ministry of Justice, we obtained official records concerning the executions of the *Gacaca* courts' reparation orders at different administrative levels.

Data analysis

Content analysis was employed as the primary data analysis method for identifying, coding, and categorizing the primary patterns in the data collected. We organized and then coded transcriptions of field notes according to their themes. Data coded with identified themes was further classified into sub-themes, thereby developing a hierarchical category system – a classification system of the data, based on the themes that emerged. It was this category system that formed the basis of descriptions and interpretations in this study. Commonalities and differences between the data sets from different categories of research participants were examined and then presented through presentation tables and narrative descriptions.

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191. IBUKA is an umbrella organization of genocide survivors' associations in Rwanda.

4. Findings

The findings were organised into five sub-sections. The first sub-section presents a brief profile of the case study community and a summary of proceed-ings and the judgements of the local Gacaca courts both at cell and sector lev-els, which provide contextual information for our analysis in the remaining part of the section. The second sub-section presents a summary of field data concern-ing the type and amount of economic reparation either received (in the case of survivors) or made (in the case of offenders or their families) by the primary re-search participants. The information presented in this sub-section provides the basis for our analysis and discussion in the last three sub-sections focusing on the causes of the failure to fulfil reparation orders according to the Gacaca court judgements, the ways the concerned parties responded to the challenge of realis-ing economic reparation for survivors and the measures they consider to be the way forward.

4.1 The profile of the case study community and the judgments of the local *Gacaca* courts

The information in this section was collected from the accounts provided by several of the primary research participants one of which was FJG who served as president of the *Gacaca* court in the former Rugando cell. As already stated above, this case study is an agrarian community in Kirehe district, the southeast-ern part of Rwanda. Residents of this community participated together in the cell *Gacaca* court, the lowest structure in the *Gacaca* justice system, from early 2005 to early 2008.[192]

A series of genocidal massacres against local *Tutsi* residents were perpe-trated in this community during the period from the 14th to 18th April, 1994 until the time genocidal forces began to flee to Tanzania as the liberation forces of the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) rapidly advanced to the local area. According to several research participants, not only local Hutu residents but also soldiers from the military camp in a nearby area and internally displaced people from the northern provinces took part in the genocide.

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192. The main duties of the cell *Gacaca* court consisted of 1) collecting information about the offences committed the damages inflicted on victims, 2) classifying defendants into one of the three categories according to the nature of their offences, and 3) putting on trial and judging cases for the defendants classified into Category 3, a category for those accused of property offences. Files of the first and second category defendants were transferred to the sector *Gacaca* court.

Table 2 : Households in the case study community

Category of household	No. of HHs before the genocide in 1994	No. of HHs in May 2017
1.HHs of residents targeted in the genocide against Tutsi	22	9
2.HHs of residents not targeted in the genocide against Tutsi	150	536
3.HHs of old case returnees	0	46
Total	172	591

Source : Fieldwork data collected in April 2017

As indicated in Table 2, before the genocide in 1994, there were 22 households considered as those of Tutsi out of the 172 local households in the community. A total of 58 members of these *Tutsi* households were killed during the period the genocide took place in the locality. At the time of fieldwork in April - May 2017, only nine households of survivors were living in the community that comprises 591 households in total. A larger proportion of survivors from the community, including three of the primary research participants, chose to live in nearby villages outside the community or on the outskirts of small towns in Kirehe district. Among the 591 local households, 46 of them were those referred to as the 'old case returnees', who had fled Rwanda to escape the older anti-Tutsi violence in 1959 and early 1960s; they returned from their exile in Tanzania after the RPF victory in July 1994.

In Table 3, the number of local residents convicted of genocide-related crimes consisted of five category 1 offenders, 78 category 2 offenders and 127 category 3 offenders who were ordered to make economic reparation. A good majority of the category 2 offenders confessed their crimes and then were provisionally released by the presidential decree in January 2003.

Table 3. Local residents convicted of genocide-related crimes by category

Category of offenders	No. of local residents convicted
1	5
2	78
3	127
Total	210

Source: fieldwork date collected in April 2017

All the 127 category 3 offenders and most of the category 1 and 2 offenders were individually held responsible by the cell *Gacaca* court for the properties they damaged during the genocide. Furthermore, apart from the households of survivors, all the local households who were in the community during the genocide (150 households) were held collectively responsible for making economic reparation for the damaged properties of survivors and their families whose individual offenders were not identified by the *Gacaca* court.

According to the records we obtained from MINIJUST in May 2017, Kirehe district had 1,895 unresolved reparation claims and was ranked the ninth from the bottom of the list of 30 districts in Rwanda. Compared to 12,949, the figure of unresolved reparation claims in Nyanza district which ranked first from the top of the list, the figure for Kirehe was very low. This suggests that its achievements in securing economic reparation for survivors of the genocide was much more advanced than Nyanza and the other 21 districts. The Kirehe's figure was also much higher than the other eight districts of the Eastern Province including Nyagatare where there was no single claim, no case unresolved in May 2017.

The official figure of unresolved reparation claims in the community was 10 in April 2017 (Interview with FJG on 17 April 2017), which was reduced to three in May 2017 (Interview with FJG on 14 May 2017). As discussed below, unresolved reparation claims were found to be significantly underreported in the records of local government authorities.

4.2 Data concerning the pursuit of economic reparation in the community

Table 4 presents a summary of the data set about the pursuit of economic reparation which directly concerns the six survivors whose names are replaced with 3-character codes. The data set presents key following information :

• The types of property damages the *Gacaca* court identified in their reparation orders include: house with household items, cows, smaller domestic animals (pigs and goats), crops in the field and the money paid by the family of survivor to offenders.

• The determined value of the damaged properties per person ranges from RWF 50,000 to RWF 2,700,000. The amount seems to depend largely on the wealth of the household each survivor belonged to at the time of the genocide.

• The number of offenders held responsible for making economic reparation for each of the interviewed survivors ranges from 15 to over 50 people.

• The most common type of reparation awards the survivors received was monetary payment, while working in the field and returning stolen items were also done to compensate the damages suffered by one survivor. Furthermore, although these were done outside the scope of the *Gacaca* court's reparation orders, the houses of three survivors were built by offenders through a voluntary house construction initiative supported by an NGO.

• Apart from one person (SVM), all the participants in this category asserted that a significant amount of compensation had not been paid by the offenders responsible for payment even though they had never exempted them from their obligation to make reparation as ordered by the *Gacaca* court.

• All of the six survivors exempted a few or more offenders fully or partially from the responsibility for making economic reparation. They reported that many of those offenders/families of offenders who got partial exemption never came back to pay the remaining amount or seek further exemption.

Table 5 presents a summary of the data set about the pursuit of economic reparation which directly concerns the five offenders and two members of offenders' families whose names are replaced with 3-character codes. The first five participants with the codes with 'O' in the first letter are offenders while the last two participants with the codes with 'F' in the first letter are individuals whose husband or father are offenders held responsible for genocide crimes including offences against properties. Examining the data set has entailed the following key observations :

• Six out of seven research participants in the categories of debtors (OSG, OFG, OTH, OER, FSN, FJG) were held responsible for making economic reparation for multiple houses with household items. Two of them (OSG, OER) were also ordered to compensate for the cows that were stolen or butchered.

• Five participants in these categories (OSG, OFG, OTH, OER, FSN, FJG) were held collectively responsible for the pillaged properties whose offenders could not be identified by the *Gacaca* court. In these cases, each person was ordered to pay only his/her share which is equal to the total value divided by the number of local households at the time of the genocide excluding those of survivors.

• Both the two participants in the category of offender's families (FSN, FJG) were obliged to make economic reparation for their families convicted of genocide-related crimes (the husband for FSN and the father of FJG).

• The amount of compensation each of the research the participants was ordered to pay ranged from RWF 8,000 to RWF 235,000.

• Economic reparation made by the research the participants from these categories took two forms: payment of the whole or part of the compensation ordered (All the participants in these categories) and participation in the house construction for survivors through a voluntary initiative supported by a local NGO (OSG, OTH, OER).

• Two of the participants (OSG, FJG) reported that they had been exempted by survivors from the responsibility for making economic reparation while the other five participants (OXN, OFG, OTH, OER, FSN) reported that they had never had such an experience.

• Five of the seven participants (OSG, OFG, OTH, OER, FJG) claimed that they had completely fulfilled the reparation orders made by the Gacaca court in 2007-2008, while two of them (OXN, FSN) reported that they still had to pay about the half of the amount ordered by the Gacaca court (RWF 15,000 and RWF 26,300 respectively).

Table 4 : A summary of information concerning economic reparation : Survivors

Code	Sex	Age	Damaged property	Total value determined (RWF)	Parties ordered to make reparation	The type and amount of reparation received	Exemption practiced
SVM	F	54	1 house with household items, 1 pig, 2 goats	< 129,000	20 people	1) Payment of RWF 127,500 2) Work for 12 man-days 3) Returning items in kind	exempted 50% for 2 women in the same village.
SSM	F	54	Money paid by her mother to offenders for saving her life	50,000	15 people	1) No monetary compensation 2) A house built by offenders with NGO support	exempted 100% for 2 offenders whose wives apologized.

SJM	F	54	1 house, 20 cows, 4 goats, beans in the field	665,000	15 people	1) Payment of RWF 15,000 2) A house built by offenders with NGO support	exempted 30% for 1 offender who apologized.
SAK	M	57	2 houses, 40 cows	2,620,000	Over 50 people	1) Payment of less than RWF100,000 2) A house built by offenders with NGO support	granted exemption to many offenders.
SBN	M	35	2 houses with household items	2,700,000	34 people	Payment of RWF 105,000	granted exemption fully or partially to all the offenders, apart from 4 who have not come to him.

Source : Fieldwork data collected in April – May 2017

Table 5. A summary of information concerning economic reparation: Offenders and members of offenders' families

Code	Sex	Age	Property damages held responsible	Total value ordered to pay (RWF)	Actual economic reparation he/she has made	Exemption granted by survivors	The remaining compensation payment (RWF)
OSG	M	49	2 houses, several cows, 1 bicycle, other household item	235,000	1) Payment of RWF 59,000 2) Took part in the building of 5 houses of survivors.	Granted a partial exemption by all the concerned survivors.	None
OXN	M	42	1 house with household items	30,000	Payment of RWF15,000	Neither sought nor been granted exemption.	15,000

OFG	M	70	5 houses with household items	31,800	Payment of RWF31,800	Neither sought nor been granted exemption.	None
OTH	M	52	4 houses with household item	8,000	1) Payment of RWF8,000 2) Took part in the building of 6 houses of survivors.	Neither sought nor been granted exemption.	None
OER	M	44	6 houses with household items, many cows	216,000	1) Payment of RWF216,000 2) Took part in the building of 6 houses of survivors.	Neither sought nor been granted exemption.	None
FSN	F	54	4 houses with household items, sacks of beans	46,800	Payment of RWF20,500	Neither sought nor been granted exemption.	26,300
FJG	M	43	5 houses with household items	31,800	Payment of RWF4,800	Granted a partial exemption (RWF27,000) by one survivor.	None

Source : Fieldwork data collected in April – May 2017.

At the time of the fieldwork, while none of the four survivors (SVM, SJM, SAK, SBN) was openly complaining about the matter; they indicated that many of the reparation awards they were promised from the *Gacaca* court remained unresolved. According to their accounts, some of their debtors never paid compensation while others never came back to them after partially paying compensation partially. However, they stopped taking their petition for the enforcement of reparation orders to the local government authorities after getting tired of going back and forth between their home and the cell office for several years. The information provided by the survivors sharply contradicted the figures of unresolved reparation orders we obtained from the executive secretary of the Rugarama cell (the cell in which the case study community is located) and the person who served the cell *Gacaca* court established in the former Rugando cell (FJG). Through the examination of all the information we obtained together, we came to understand that the cases of the four survivors and possibly other

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survivors from the case study community were not included in unresolved property cases recorded by the government authorities in the Ministry of Justice and local governments at different levels.

Even though this study does not allow us to determine to what extent these hidden unresolved cases actually existed in other communities, our findings suggest that the government's records fail to report a significant number of unresolved cases. The official reports exclude the cases from the survivors who no longer openly complain about non-executions of the reparations orders rendered by the *Gacaca* courts. Ten years after the concerned judgments were pronounced, economic reparations remained a promise unfulfilled for many survivors.

4.3 Causes of the failure to pay economic reparations ordered by *Gacaca* courts

What are the major causes of the failure to provide economic reparation to survivors as ordered by the *Gacaca* courts in the community? In response to this question, the research participants attributed the failure primarily to three causes.

4.3.1 Poverty among households of offenders

Ten participants from all the three categories identified poverty as a large obstacle for many offenders and their families as the biggest obstacle to the fulfillment of the reparations ordered by the *Gacaca* courts. FSN, the wife of offender who was held responsible for paying RWF42,000 of compensations on behalf of her husband in prison said, 'People do not have the money to pay it. Some people had to sell their pieces of land while others had to sell iron sheets (from the roof of their house) to make that money' (Interview on 13 May 2017).

The case of OFG, a 70-year old cultivator, illustrates clearly how challenging it is for impoverished offenders like him to pay compensation as ordered by the *Gacaca* court. OFG is ranked among the poorest in *ubudehe*, the socio-economic classification by the local government. He survives on a tiny income from the crops he grows on a small piece of land he rents from his neighbor. The *Gacaca* court ordered him to pay a reparation of RWF 27,000 in 2007 as one of the offenders who looted a house of *Tutsis*. He finally paid the money in 2016 after selling seven pieces of corrugated iron sheets from the roof of his shed. As a consequence, he currently lives in a very small section of the shed of less than 4 square meters, a half of its original size.

The main factor contributing to poverty among households of offenders is their dependency on a small-scale rain-fed agriculture with limited sources of farm income. While the average land held by the seven debtors among the informants who participated in this research is 0.26 ha, one of them is landless and two others own less than 0.1 ha. Furthermore, some offenders were physically too weak to work hard to generate income that can go beyond meeting their daily subsistence needs.

4.3.2 Low level of commitment by those held responsible for reparation

Another cause of the failure identified among the informants from all the three categories is the low level of commitment of debtors; those who were held responsible for making economic reparation for survivors do not show sufficient commitment to do so. Most of the judgments concerning property offences were pronounced by the *Gacaca* courts in 2007 and yet many among the offenders who got reparation orders showed 'a wait-and-see' attitude (interviews with OER and OTH on 14 May 2017). It was only after April 2013 that the local government authorities started putting strong pressure on them, for example, threatening to imprison them unless they complete the payment of the compensations, that some started to move.

The data collected from the offenders and members of offenders' families suggest that the following practices of the *Gacaca* courts could have contributed to lower the level of commitment to respect the reparation orders: i) trying defendants in absentia; ii) transferring the liability of offenders to their families; and iii) holding local households collectively responsible.

Trying defendants in absentia

Many of those who participated directly in the genocidal killings (Category 2 offenders) were handed down judgments in absentia as they were serving either a prison term or compulsory community service called TIG (French acronym for Travaux d'Intérêt Général). They were allowed neither to defend themselves against accusations of property offences during the trial nor to appeal the judgments of the *Gacaca* court. Furthermore, there is an accusation that some of true offenders who were present during the trial, falsely implicated some persons who were serving the prison or community term in order to 'share the burden' (Interview with OXN on 17 April 2017). Three out of five offenders interviewed (OSG, OXN, OER) testified that all or some of the property offences they were held responsible for were wrong accusations.

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Transferring the liability of offenders to their families

During the fieldwork, we confirmed that in some cases of the offenders who had died or were in prison or in exile, the burden of paying the compensations fell on the shoulders of their families. Three of the informants, FSN, FIG and OSG were in that category, on behalf either of a husband, father or brother who looted a property during the genocide.

A sense of indignation held by some families of offenders in this situation was clearly demonstrated by FSN, a 54-year old cultivator who had not completed paying the compensation on behalf of her husband, still imprisoned. The offender had participated in mob attacks (*ibitero,* sing. *igitero*) and buried a child alive with his co-offenders. The woman was still held responsible for paying RWF 26,300 as the balance of the payment for the property damages her husband was accused of (Interview on 13 May 2017).

Holding local households collectively responsible

During the trials of property offences, the *Gacaca* court failed to identify specific individuals who were involved in the looting of several houses owned by genocide victims in the community. As briefly discussed in section 4.1, the genocidal killings and destructions which took place in April 1994 in the area were perpetrated by multiple actors including soldiers from the military camp in the neighboring cell, internally displaced people from the northern provinces, and people from nearby areas. This posed a special challenge to the *Gacaca* court in determining the individuals responsible for the property offences committed in the locality. In the face of this challenge, the *Gacaca* court made somehow a controversial decision: holding local households collectively responsible for paying the compensation for the damaged properties. All the households who were in the community and not targeted as victims during the genocide were made collectively responsible for paying the total value of the properties ransacked by unidentified offenders.

Among the seven participants from the categories of offenders and offenders' families, five of them reported that they had paid their contribution to the compensation of these properties. For example OTH, a 52-year old offender, was convicted of taking part in mob attacks, but was never accused individually of property offences. However, he was obliged to pay RWF4,800 as his share to compensate for the damages of four houses of genocide victims (Interview on 14 May 2017). FJG, a 43-year old man serving a local Catholic church as its catechist, also reported the payment of the same amount as his share for the compensation of the four houses destroyed, even though he asserted that the houses

were looted and destroyed by offenders who came from outside the community (Interview on 14 May 2017).

4.3.3 Inadequate follow-up by the government local authorities

Eight of 12 primary research informants from all the three categories identified inadequate follow-up by local government authorities as a major cause for delayed progress in the payement of the economic reparation for survivors. According to FJG who served the *Gacaca* court as its president, a significant number of offenders and their families paid compensation within two years after the judgments were pronounced in 2007, but without an adequate follow-up of the cell government authority to whom the files of unresolved property cases was handed in 2008, many of the concerned local households stopped paying compensation to survivors (Interview on 15 April 2017). This situation changed in April 2013, the local government became active and doubled its effort to enforce the reparation orders. Local government authorities across Rwanda had come under fierce criticism from organizations representing genocide survivors such as *IBUKA* (Interview with the executive secretary of *IBUKA* on 8 May 2017, Kigali).

Even after April 2013, the local government's campaign of enforcing *Gacaca's* reparation orders has been limited to the period of a few months during the annual genocide commemoration. All the survivors interviewed accused the government authorities of their lack of commitment to enforce the *Gacaca* court orders. They said that they have become so tired of navigating between their homes and the cell office for little result.

4.4 Grassroots Responses to the Challenge for Realizing Economic Reparation

We have so far presented people's perceptions of why the process of realizing economic reparation for genocide survivors has taken for a long time and a significant number of reparation cases remain unresolved. Now we turn to the question of how the parties directly concerned at the grassroots level responded to the difficult challenge of realizing economic reparation in an impoverished rural community.

4.4.1 Seeking and granting exemption

The first response concerns an interactive process of seeking exemption from the obligation to make reparation on the part of offenders/families of offenders

as debtors and obtaining the survivors to grant it as creditors. Struggling with chronic poverty, a significant proportion of offenders and their families requested survivors to release them from the burden of reparation at least partially. As indicated in Table 5, two of our informants from the debtors categories (OSG and FJG) were released from their obligation to pay compensation to the survivors in response to their requests; all the five survivors agree to exempt their debtors from the obligation to pay compensation either partially or totally.

The case involving SBN and OSG illustrates this interactive process between the two sides. In 2009, OSG paid SBN RWF 40,000, two thirds of the amount ordered by the Gacaca court, and then begged SBN to exempt him from the obligation to pay the rest (RWF 20,000). At that time, OSG came to the home of SBN with one judge of the *Gacaca* court and asked for forgiveness on behalf of his brother who was involved in the killings of SBN's families. The money OSG paid on that day was the compensation for the property of SBN's father who was killed by his brother still in prison. SBN accepted the request of OSG (Interview with SBN on 14 May 2017). Several other stories of this nature were recorded during the fieldwork.

Exempting offenders from their obligation to make reparation is certainly not an easy decision for the survivors to take; they also have limited income in addition to being severely hit by the genocide. However, they decided to do it empathically for the impoverished families of offenders. All but one of the survivors in this case study acknowledged that many families of offenders in their community are too poor to pay the whole amount of compensation they were held responsible for. For example, in one interview, SJM, a 54-year old female survivor, repeatedly expressed her empathy with families of offenders who have a tiny amount of land to cultivate. She said, 'I cannot be responsible for making their children hungry… They are suffering too, they have so many children'. She shared with us a heartbreaking story about the plight of one offender in her neighborhood who committed suicide in 2012 after being pressurized to pay compensation. His wife and her five children had to move out from the village to her father's place after their land was confiscated. Then she said, 'I lost many people due to the genocide, so I don't want to cause the loss of lives to other people' (Interview on 14 April 2017).

According to the accounts we collected, many of those who got an exemption first showed their commitment to make reparation through paying a limited amount of compensation and/or working in the field of a survivor for certain number of days. 'Doing whatever they can do' according to their ability was emphasized by the survivors interviewed as a condition for getting an exemption. In

this regard, SVM, a 54-year old female survivor, shared with us her experience. She accepted the request for exemption made by two women in her neighborhood. Facing the difficulty to pay the whole amount of compensation for households' items they took away from the house of SVM, these women first paid half the amount due; then they asked for an exemption from the rest. She accepted their request (Interview on 14 April 2017).

4.4.2 Abandoning reparation claims

Four survivors among those interviewed above, said they have many unresolved reparation claims; but because of the long delay, they have stopped complaining over the matter. Two major reasons have been advanced as preventing the survivors pursuing the navigation between their homes and the local government office to renew their reparation claims.

First, some survivors abandoned their reparation claims after realising they had better move on so that they would not be 'consumed by the problem and have peace of mind' (Interview with SBN on 14 May 2017). SBN, a 35-year old survivor who became an orphan because of the genocide, attempted to get the compensation he was entitled to following the Gacaca judgment; however, many years of reclaiming the compensation, he yielded only RWF 105,000 out of of RWF 2,700,000 reparation awards due. One day as he was wondering if he should continue with this fruitless effort, he made up his mind to give up and move on (Interview on 14 May 2017).

Secondly, in some cases, survivors felt compelled to abandon their reparation claims as their survival strategy of conflict avoidance. In the vast majority of rural communities in Rwanda, including the case study community, survivors live as a tiny minority surrounded by households of the offenders. SSM, a 54-year female survivor said, 'If I insist for the money to be paid, they might kill me. […] I don't know what they would say if I try to get that money from them… I abandoned it for my security (Interview on 14 April 2017).

4.4.3 Initiating the act of reparation outside the Gacaca process

As reported in Section 4.2, in the case study community, offenders and their families held responsible for making economic reparation by the *Gacaca* court used three different measures to repair the harm inflicted on the victims/survivors of the genocide: the payment of monetary compensation; working in the field of survivor to replace the monetary payment; and returning stolen items to the survivor.

In addition to these ways of repairing the material damage they were held responsible for, a group of offenders in the community initiated something different, constructing houses for survivors. This voluntary act of reparation conducted outside the scope of the *Gacaca* processes was supported by a local NGO who provided construction materials such as sacks of cement, stones for foundation and corrugated iron sheets for roofing. The number of houses built by the voluntary group of 22 offenders including OSG, OTH and OER reached seven during the period from 2009 and 2012.

OSG, a leader of this house construction initiative, told us that the initiative provided the offenders the opportunity to meet and talk on various issues with the survivors, thereby gradually rebuilding social relationships between the two sides (Interview on 14 April 2017). Asked about her view of the offenders' house construction initiative, SSM, one of its beneficiaries, said, 'It made them easier to come to me and ask for forgiveness' (Interview on 14 April 2017). After pointing out the problem of offenders' including fear of the survivors, she observed that this kind of voluntary act of reparation would pave the way for offenders to approach survivors and apologize to them, and for survivors to soften their hearts to accept offenders' apologies. She added, however, 'just building a house cannot replace an apology' (Interview on 14 April 2017).

5. The Way Forward

We asked all the primary research participants what measures should be taken as the way forward for advancing the process of realizing economic reparation for survivors. The followings emerged as key measures they proposed.

5.1 Strengthening the enforcement of the *Gacaca* judgments

Many of the respondents from all the three categories said that the government must strengthen the enforcement of reparation orders given to the offenders or their families. According to the concerned provision of *Gacaca* law, local government authorities can seize the property of those responsible for reparation payment in order to execute reparation orders (Bornkamm 2012, 87). None of the offenders and offender's families interviewed in this study experienced seizure of their property as an enforcement measure. However, as reported in sections 4.3.1 and 4.4.1, our fieldwork confirmed that very poor families of offenders were pressurized to sell their properties (e.g. land, corrugated iron sheets) to make the money for compensation payment, which further impoverished them. Knowing that most of their neighbors live in poverty, the survivors interviewed

in this study seemed to accept the reality that they have little prospect of seeing their compensation awards paid in full. This realization led them to see an amicable settlement as a more feasible option for them and their debtors.

5.2 Promoting amicable settlements

The survivors and offenders interviewed in this study both emphasized the need for seeking an amicable settlement between the survivor and the offender or his family. From the point of view of the survivors, offenders have to pluck up the courage to approach survivors and negotiate the matter of reparation they were obliged to make. While acknowledging that many offenders are too poor to fulfill the whole reparation orders imposed by the *Gacaca* court, three of the five survivors expressed their desire to see offenders taking a step forward for showing their commitment to paying whatever small amount they can afford, and then apologizing for the rest (SBN, SSM and SJM). Equally the survivors expressed the willingness to 'forgive' such offenders. They invited the offenders to overcome their fear and approach the survivors because the later are ready to forgive.

5.3 Establishing a mechanism for dialogue

What became apparent in our study was that sides, the survivors and the offenders or their families understood well the need for meeting and talking about the issue of unresolved compensations. Both sides see amicable settlement as the sole viable option rather than coercive measures. However, we never found any evidence of a down-to-earth conversation on this matter. Paradoxically, neither side, the offenders or their families, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the survivors, is ready to make a step forward for such a dialogue to take place.

Both the survivors and offenders stressed the importance of setting up a mechanism for a genuine dialogue between the two sides. OSG said, 'Both sides have to start a dialogue. In each village, there is a committee in charge of unity and reconciliation; it is a body which can help to promote such a dialogue (Interview on 14 April 2017). This idea of community-level dialogue on the issue of economic reparations was supported by the *Ibuka*'s executive secretary. He endorsed the suggestion of setting up a mechanism to facilitate the dialogue between the two parties at different levels (village, cell and sector). With regard to the critical aspect of facilitation of such a dialogue, the Executive Secretary of *Ibuka* proposed the idea of turning to the *Abarinzi b'lgihango* (members of community who rescued the *Tutsis* during the genocide) (Interview on 8 May 2017).

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6. Conclusion

The data presented and discussed above have shown that despite increased enforcement measures by the government in recent years, the real number of unresolved property cases seems to be much larger than officially recognized. This study unveiled the major causes that delay the payment of economic reparation for the survivors including : chronic poverty in the households of the offenders; low level of commitment of the offenders; moving the burden of payment of the compensations to impoverished families of the survivors; the condemnation per absentia and inadequate follow-up of the compensation orders by local government authorities.

The study also described the ways the parties directly concerned at the grassroots level responded to the challenge of economic reparation under difficult circumstances. Despite increased enforcement measures by government, the economic reparation for survivors remains critical in the pursuit of justice and reconciliation in Rwanda today. The findings strengthened the idea that coercive measures would not be a solution, given that, as many of our research informants understood, impoverished families of the offenders in rural communities do not have a means to pay the compensation for which they were held responsible. Therefore, they evoked the idea of dialogue in the search for exemption, abandoning reparation awards which supposes initiating reparation outside the *Gacaca* process. This is an amicable settlement based on genuine, down-to-earth dialogue between the two sides.

For such a dialogue to take place, the two parties must overcome psychological barriers which make it difficult to come together, listen and talk to each other. This is critical to the pursuit of reconciliatory justice. Therefore, for such a dialogue to take place, identification of facilitators at different levels of society is critical. The study was restricted to one rural community in the Kirehe district, eastern Rwanda; its findings cannot be generalized; however they give us useful insights about the root causes of the difficulties within an agrarian community that make it impossible for the survivors of the genocide to receive the economic compensations they are entitled to.

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Ubudehe and Diaconia : Theological and Moral Perspectives for Social Solidarity in Rwanda

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Introduction

The concept and practice of *ubudehe* is rooted in the belief and experience that individuals and groups can effectively work together to solve problems. In the traditional and contemporary Rwandan society *ubudehe* works with the deep conviction that the socioeconomically weak must be cared for through collective and participatory action. Practices of diaconia in the long tradition of the church reflect the same trend to care for the needy. The present contribution develops in three stages. First, it explores the practice of the *ubudehe* in the Rwandan traditional society and in the current situation of our country. Second, it demonstrates that similar ideas and actions of care to the needy and economically disadvantaged lie at the heart of Judeo-Christian traditions and find expression in the concept and practice of diaconia within churches. Third, the contribution proposes some theological principles to build a bridge between the current practices of *ubudehe* program as initiated by the Rwandan government since 2001, and the tradition of diaconia as attested in various forms in Protestant churches in Rwanda. This final step points out how a well theologically articulated and organized *diaconia* can bring about socioeconomic development and spiritual encouragement among its beneficiaries and the community at large.

This study combines a documentary research with a qualitative approach using interviews with open-ended questions to collect data from key informers.

1. The practice of *ubudehe* in the traditional Rwandan society

Ubudehe is a traditional practice based on a strong understanding by Rwandans on the effectiveness of working together to solve problems.[193] It

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193. http://www.newtimes.co.rw/section/article/2008-07-14/40234/

existed for many centuries (Habiyonteze & Mugunga, 2012) as a cooperative mechanism which enabled Rwandan communities to sit together to analyze their problems and help one another to find solutions (Sabates-Wheeler et al., 2015). In the village the households worked together to ensure that everybody would plant crops in due time during the planting season. This practice united people and made them collaborate in cultivating fields together before the start of the rainy and planting season (Ansoms, 2009). The people of the village worked together and ensure that even the lands of poor and vulnerable people like aged people, widowers, orphans and the infirm are cultivated before the planting season (Ezeanya, 2015). The village community assisted the households of the vulnerable by cultivating their land for free. This precious culture helped the needy to get the opportunity of planting crops in due time. In this way *ubudehe* practice led the Rwandan traditional society to ensure food security.

This form of social solidarity almost disappeared in Rwanda during and after colonial times. It was rediscovered after the 1994 genocide against Tutsi as one of the major tools to reduce poverty among Rwandans. It was restored to revive and foster the culture of collective action starting from the smallest administrative entity which is the "village level" (Habiyonteze &Mugunga, 2012). The details of the modern practice are discussed below.

2. The current *ubudehe* Program

The Government of Rwanda has re-invented the traditional form of social solidarity known as *ubudehe* which consists in several initiatives. The re-invented *ubudehe* has been seen as a suitable way to fight poverty. It allows communities to collectively define priorities and pursue joint development activities. In this perspective, the local communities construct and care for the village infrastructure like water plant, roads and so on, with funds administered at the grassroots level (Randell & McCloskey, 2014). In practice, the households at village level meet and classify themselves into different clusters called "*Ibyiciro by'ubudehe* (*ubudehe* categories)". Those categories are based on the socio-economic status of the households. All members of the same household are put in the same category. The community considers that the members of the household who are able to generate income support the vulnerable members of the same household. This is the case of parents and children. The parents share their income with their children by meeting their various needs. The children who have income also help their parents. The socio-economic categorization of village households helps the local governments to identify the vulnerable people within the community who need special assistance. The *Ubudehe* program normally targets the poorest and

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vulnerable households. Those households are put together and start small projects to be financed by the government funds allocated to the *ubudehe* program.

Ubudehe consists of eleven implementation stages (MINALOC, 2002; MINALOC, 2006; Ezeanya, 2015). The first stage is the determination of the level of poverty among the village members according to community perception. For the second stage, the community identifies the causes and consequences of poverty. In the third, all the community households are categorized in social and economic clusters following the criteria set by the Ministry of Local Government. In the fourth stage, the social map of the village is made. The fifth stage deals with the identification of all the common challenges facing the village and then sets priorities among those challenges. In the sixth stage, they formulate the collective action plan to tackle the most pressing challenges for the community. The seventh stage is the election of the members of a committee for the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the selected collective action. As for the eighth stage, they analyse the relevance of identified challenges and the selected strategies for handling challenges. The ninth stage regards the signing-off of the community strategy by the village members and a request for funds from the nearest government administrative unit. For the tenth stage, the bank account is opened and the funds are transferred to it and the last stage is the repetition of the cycle and learning from implementation mistakes.

Through the *ubudehe* program, the Rwandan government was able to determine household inequality across the country. The data obtained from the 3rd step are used by policy makers to determine the eligibility to a variety of social benefits (Sabates-Wheeler et al., 2015). Different supports are provided in different ways based on the *ubudehe* clusters. In higher education students from poor families get scholarships. As for health services, the poor families classified in the first category of *ubudehe* get free medical insurance from the government, while other categories pay the insurance at different costs depending on their categories. The poor families in the village are put together and make collective projects which are financially supported by the government (Ezeanya, 2015).

Since *ubudehe* was reintegrated into Rwandan Society in 2001 until 2015, it included six categories. Rwandans were classified into those categories indicating the level of the socioeconomic status of each individual.

Category	Characteristics
Umutindi nyakujya	Destitute. Have no land, no animals, no adequate shelter, clothing and food. Not respected in society. Discriminated against in the community. She/he lives by begging for his/her livelihood or working on other people's land. No medical care access.
Umutindi (Very poor)	Physically able to work but have a very small piece of land with low harvest and no livestock. Live from working on others people's lands and has no access to schooling and healthcare.
Umukene (Poor)	Households have land to produce food but no surplus for market. They have shelter and have access to healthcare but their children do not always go to school.
Umukene wifashije (resourceful poor)	Poor with a bit more land, few animals, and the children can study up to primary school. Besides, there is a little income which can satisfy a few of other needs.
Umukungu (Food rich)	Have large farms with fertile soil and enough food. Have livestock and employ others in their own farms. They have access to paid jobs, have savings and access health care.
Umukire (Money rich)	The group has large land, livestock, good houses, vehicles and paid jobs or do trading. They have high income and do their saving in the banks. They often migrate to urban centres.

Source : Ansoms (2009), Ezeanya, (2015)

In February 2015, the government of Rwanda revised *ubudehe* categorization from six to four categories. This revision of categorization was based on the dramatic rise of the general economic status of Rwandans since the previous categorization. It was also based on the fact that many people in the previous categorization resisted being classified due to the names given to different categories. For instance, the expression "*umutindi*" in Rwandan culture refers to someone who has nothing and who is unable to do anything. It is considered as an insult. This is why they refused to be called "*abatindi*" and the government revised the entire categorization structure.

New categorization of ubudehe

Category	Characteristics
Category 1	Very poor and vulnerable citizens without a house and unable to feed themselves. They always need assistance.
Category 2	Who have a house of low class or are able to rent it. Able to afford the food to eat once or twice a day.
Category 3	Who are employed or employers. This category includes the small farmers or owners of small and medium scale enterprises.

Category 4	Citizens who are chief executive officers of big business, employees who have full-time employment with organisations, industries or companies, government employees, owners of lockdown shops or markets and owners of commercial transport or trucks.

Source : Ezeanya-Esiobu (2017)

Different studies showed that *ubudehe* program contributes to poverty reduction and involves local communities in taking decisions concerning their daily problems (Sabates-Wheeler et al., 2015; Ntakirutimana & Ngendahayo, 2018). *Ubudehe* categorization contributes to the governance system of bottom-up structure. The local community assesses challenges and opportunities, then tries to find appropriate solutions. The people of the village together make their own plan based on what they consider as priorities. This practice enhances participation of the citizens in decision making processes developing in them the spirit of ownership. They make the projects which enhance their socio-economic development and the government supports them financially at the village level. In the implementation of those projects, people from categories one and two are the first to be employed in order to help them raise their financial income. Those projects help them to improve their standards of living. They become able to educate their children, possess livestock, exploit their lands, pay medical insurance, etc.

Through the *ubudehe* program, transport was improved[194]. The roads in the rural areas were created or repaired and the production from different rural villages is easily carried to the markets. The trade and exchange of products is being developed as there are roads which link villages. The people work together and construct the water plants and now have access to potable water. They have consolidated their land and keep some livestock together to fight against the shortage of food in their respective villages. This solidarity experienced in the implementation of the *ubudehe* program is building mutual trust among Rwandans which fosters peaceful co-existence in society.

The *ubudehe* categorization has also been used as the information basis for implementing different government policies such as health insurance policy, scholarship grants distribution, providing domestic animals to poor families, etc. (Ezeanya, 2015). In implementing health insurance policy, people pay health

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194. There must be a clarification about the complementary role played by both *ubudehe* and *umuganda.* In this context, *ubudehe* comes in as a government program set up to empower the people in categories 1&2, to lift them out of poverty; it consists in job creation, particularly offering paid job at least to one active member per family of households in these two categories. Jobs are found in public socio-economic government programs including roads construction, anti-erosion terraces; reforestation, construction of social infrastructures etc. *Umuganda,* as we well know is one per month day voluntary contribution each active citizen offer to his country.

insurance fees differently depending on their social economic category and the government pay for the poorest people's category. This policy made access to medical services possible for all Rwandan citizens including the vulnerable ones. In the field of education, students are awarded grants to study in public higher learning institutions based on *ubudehe* categories. The government provides loans to the best students admitted to public universities and higher learning institutions, but this is only one for parents who are not able to pay school fees and living costs for their children in higher education. In addition, *ubudehe* contributed to the success of 9 and 12 years basic education program implementation. Through this program, many classrooms were built across the country in a short time. From 2008, the community has built thousands of classrooms to help their children have access to 9 and 12 years basic education.

To conclude, as affirmed by the World Bank in 2016, *ubudehe* together with other Rwandan home grown solutions contributed to poverty reduction and to the stability of high economic growth from 2005 to 2014 (Mutesi & Kayigire, 2017). This solidarity of village members contributed to poverty alleviation through working together to find appropriate solutions to their local and daily problems. Through the categorization of citizens, support is provided to the individuals in need and it becomes easy to ensure that each one is progressing socially and economically. This led to the improvement of the welfare of Rwandan citizens.

As Rwandan Christians, one of our contributions to the success of the *ubudehe* program in the country where the Christian faith and religion in general play an important role in people's thoughts and behavior is to provide it with a strong biblical and theological foundation in addition to its cultural grounding.

3. Social solidarity in the Old Testament and early Judaism

The Old Testament contains many stories and statements exemplifying service to and care for others, especially the socially and economically disadvantaged. God himself takes the lead in this struggle while his several agents perpetuate his commands and actions. The foundational reference to God as the defender of the weak is found in Exodus where we learn how God delivered the people of Israel from bondage in Egypt (Ex. 3.7-8). This is rightly called "the Gospel of the Old Testament" (Ndikumana, 2017: 10). Therefore, the main task of a leader in Israel remains the defence of the weak (Ex. 18.15-16; Dt. 17. 14-20).

It is from the backdrop of God's intervention to liberate and protect the people of Israel that all the commandments about the rights of the orphans, widows, immigrants, the poor and other vulnerable individuals and groups need to be understood (Ex. 22.25; 23.6-9; Lev. 25.36; Dt. 15.1-11; 23.19; 24.14). The prophets, who are not only called "seers but also watchmen of the city" (Ez. 3.33), over and again remind political and religious leaders as well as the population in general of their responsibility to ensure social justice in daily dealings (Ndikumana, 2017: 12). Among the prophets Amos remains the champion of protest against social injustice (Amos 2.6; 4.1-5; 8.4-8). In the same vein prophets like Micah, Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel denounced social injustices which had invalidated worship in God's sight (Mic. 6.10-11; Amos 3.4-12; 5.12-14, 21-24; Is. 1.11-17; 3.4-24; 5.11-12).

In some instances it is even said that sacrifices are unnecessary (1 Sam. 15.22; Ps. 50.12-15; Prov. 21.3; Isa. 1.10-17; Hos. 6.6; Mic. 6.6-8; Jer. 7.21-23). For instance, in Isa. 1.10-17 it is declared that the abundance of sacrificial offerings was null in the eyes of God and that what counted was the pursuit of justice to be expressed through the care of orphans and widows. Isa. 58.6-10 goes further and says that true fasting means setting free the oppressed, providing food to the hungry, shelter to the homeless, clothes to the naked, comfort to the afflicted (Weinfeld, 1995: 18).

The people of Israel are not only exhorted to assist the needy, but are also warned against God's judgment which awaits those who mistreat the weak (Isa. 1.23; 3.13-15; 10.1-3; Jer. 5.26-29; Ezek. 22.29; Amos 2.6-7; 4.1; 5.11-15; 6.4; 8.4-6; Mic. 2.1-2; 7.11). It is remarkable that prophetic condemnation of various types of injustice done to the poor is an essential characteristic of Jewish communal ethic (Dunn, 2009: 936).

In this context of advocacy for social justice, two terms come up several times in the Hebrew Bible : tsadaq and shapat. The root tsadaq conveys the idea of what is straight, in a fixed position and is what it is supposed to be. In this sense it can mean "something by which other things can be measured" (Lev. 19.36; Dt. 25.15) (Wright, 2010: 90). In human dealings, it means what is in compliance with what is right or expected in a concrete situation. Righteousness is not an abstract concept, but consists in doing exactly what a given situation demands. As for the root shapat, its broadest sense connotes the idea of intervening in a situation which has gone wrong in the sense of oppression or being out of control, and putting it right. It is in this sense that the root refers to judicial processes at various levels and rescue (thus the judges as saviors in the book of Judges). Its verbal form can indicate "to act as a lawgiver; to act as a judge by

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arbitrating between parties in a dispute; to pronounce judgment by declaring who is guilty and who is innocent respectively; and to execute judgment in carrying out the legal consequences of such a verdict." (Wright, 2010: 90). The substantive form *mishpat* can depict the whole process of litigation as well as the verdict and its execution (Wright, 2010: 91). On a personal level, the noun can indicate one's legal right or the case one brings to the elders of the community against possible mistreatments by others.

It is in this respect that *mishpat* is rendered by "justice" with an active connotation while *tsedaqah* has a relatively more static dimension. One can rightly say that although both terms are often interchangeable, *mishpat* should be understood as what needs to be done in a given situation in order to restore people and circumstances in conformity with a right state of affairs, *tsedaqah*. The pairing of *tsedaqah* and *mishpat* can be approximately rendered in English by the single complex idea of social justice. It always has an ethical dimension and is related to the ways of God, i.e. the ways he acts towards his people by saving them from all that alienates them from him and oppresses them.

The Greek translation of the Bible (LXX) translates *tsedaqah* by *dikaiosunè* to mean moral uprightness (Gen. 18.19; Isa. 5.7; Isa. 9.4; 32.1; Jer. 4.2; 23.5; 33.5; Amos 5.24; Mic. 6.8; Prov. 21.21). Prov. 21.3 uses *dikaia* which is synonymous with *dikaiosunè*. In the Greek translation of Ben Sira *eleèmosunè* means almsgiving (3.14, 30; 7.10; 12.3; 40.17[cf. Ps. 112.1-9], 24) (Garrison, 1993: 48).[195] It is important to note that in Greek, this word is not restricted to almsgiving, but encompasses any good works of kindness or mercy. Ben Sira accords remarkably more value to the care of the poor than to ritual sacrifices. Whereas the offerings of those who mistreat the poor are worthless (34.18-22), almsgiving remains a sacrifice of praise (35.2). Moreover, Ben Sira expresses the view that almsgiving effects redemption from sin and provides protection from any existential harms (3.3, 4, 14, 15, 30, 31).

The book of Tobit is another clear example where almsgiving (*eleèmosunè*) has both philanthropic and theological dimensions. Charity remains the central theme of this book (Weinfeld, 1995: 225; Longenecker, 2010: 110). Its first-person narrator is introduced as a man who accomplishes different kinds of charitable deeds such as providing food for the hungry, clothing the naked, exercising hospitality, and burying the dead (1.3, 16-17; 4.16). The high value conferred to almsgiving is clearly reflected in the conviction that it is much better than any

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195. The references are found in *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew: A Text Edition of all Extant Hebrew Manuscripts and a Synopsis of all Parallel Hebrew Ben Sira Texts*; edited by P. C. Beentjes (1997), Leiden, 23, 24, 30, 39, 70.

other religious practices such as prayer and fasting (12.8-9), and above all effects redemption from sin and death (4.7-11).

Awareness of the binding character of social solidarity in early Judaism is attested at Qumran and in Philo's writings. The pooling of personal property permitted the community to address the needs of its members equally (Kim, 1998: 235 n. 61).[196] The strong awareness of the centrality of charity in Judaism is reflected in the sect's emphasis on good works (Nickle, 1966: 98-99). The members of the community had the obligation to exercise hospitality towards travelers, redeem captives, provide for brides, escort and bury the dead, love one's neighbor, etc. (Weinfeld, 1995: 19). In Philo generosity is presented as the most laudable of the attractions of the Mosaic Law. He enumerates the virtues which Jewish Scripture instills into people. The last moral attribute on the list which he considers the crown of those virtues is "the love of mankind, goodwill, equality beyond all power of description, and fellowship" (*Quod Omnis Probus Liber sit*84). Philo finds that this moral principal is exemplified in a community whose description echoes that of the Qumran community (*Prob*. 84, 85-87). Philo advises the wealthy to use their possessions to care for the destitute since the beauty of one's wealth lies in its enabling the owner to assist those who are in need (*De Iosepho*144).

4. Social Solidarity from the New Testament times to the Reformation

Two cases deserve mention here. The book of Acts provides an account of the existence of a common fund within the early Church. We learn that the community of goods was put in place by the Christian community in Jerusalem to respond to the material needs of its members (4.32). The author of Acts writes that the early Christians' devotion to the apostles' teaching and fellowship, the breaking of bread and the prayers was reinforced by the distribution of the proceeds of private possessions to all. The same account tells us that as a consequence of this

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196.The existence of private property is suggested by the Damascus Document known also as the Zadokite Work (CD 9.10-16; 14.12-13; *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations* 2*: Damascus Document, War Scroll and Related Documents*; by J.H. Charlesworth (1995), Tübingen/Louisville, 43, 57), but is absent from the Manual of Discipline also called the Community Rule (1QS). However, both documents agree on the existence of a common fund "out of which the poor, the orphans, the homeless and widows were provided for". The discrepancies between both documents probably indicate that although they belong to the same circles, they may have sprung from different settlements or periods in the history of the sect (Ferguson 2003[3], 467-468).

practice, the Church experienced growth in terms of membership and gained the favor of the people (2.42-47). The second example that shows that social solidarity was at the heart of the emerging Christian Church stems from Paul's collection that the apostle conceptualizes so elaborately in 2 Cor. 8-9. Paul spells out to the Corinthians five motivations for them to give to his collection for Jerusalem (Habarurema, 2017: 169-170) :

• Divine grace (*kharis*) produces generosity within the believer's life as manifested among the Macedonian Christians (8.1).

• The imitation of the Lord Jesus Christ whose self-impoverishment is a generous act which benefitted the Corinthians (8.9).

• The belief in the possibility that in the future the Corinthians would benefit from the generosity of the Jerusalem Church in case of a reversal in economic conditions (8.13-15).

• The conviction that God will continue to provide for the needs of joyful givers (9.6-11).

• Dynamic fellowship expected from the collection: it will relieve the needs of the poor Christians in Jerusalem and drive the Jerusalemite Christians into longing and intercessional prayers for the Corinthians and worship to God (9.12-14).

Apart from the obvious relief of needs to be achieved among the Jerusalem Church, the apostle expects the collection to set in motion a dynamic of fellowship not only among humans involved in it, but also between them and God. In this way, he redefines the notion of sufficiency (*autarkeia*) by putting God and others at the center of the believer's life. The apostle of the Gentiles highlights the communal essence of the Christian faith.

Some values are required in practices of social solidarity. As noted earlier, the community of goods put in place by the Christian congregation in Jerusalem aimed to respond to the material needs of its members (4.32). In Acts 6 the writer implies that the apostles were distressed by the way the daily distribution had gone wrong. They expected the value of **fairness** to transpire in this activity which was vital to the life of the community. They then asked the community to appoint seven men to perform this duty. The men to be nominated had to be of "good standing" and "full of the Spirit and of wisdom" (6.3). We can then confidently conclude that the handling of community resources is a highly spiritual duty for which spiritual abilities are essential in the same way academic qualifications are.

Paul's collection also highlights the highest care expected from anyone who is in charge of social solidarity. We read in 2 Cor. 8.16-9.5 that the apostle put in place a network of collaborators to ensure a correct management of the money he had been collecting from his Gentile congregations. A bit further, in verses 20 and 21, Paul states clearly that he did so to avoid anyone from blaming him and his collaborators about the collection that they were managing. He explains that he intends "to do what is right, not only in the Lord's sight but also in the sight of others". Paul takes seriously Cicero's advice to avoid any "suspicion of self-seeking" in the management of public affairs (Furnish, 1984: 434). In addition to Paul's concern for the poor, we must note his insistence that networking, team-work, integrity, transparency and accountability are essential to the handling of community assets.

From the second century, various charity practices developed into institutionalized funds (Schmidt, 2004:124-126). The Middle Ages Church knew various experiences of such funds. In the Reformation times, John Calvin insisted on creating a solidarity fund to be supplied jointly by the Church members and the State. He strengthened official social medicine for those who could not afford health care. While in Geneva, he and his friends initiated a system of care for Protestant refugees from Roman Catholic areas which finally grew into a social welfare institution known as the *Bourse française* (the French Fund for poor foreigners) whose mandate was to care for those who came to settle in Geneva to live according to the Reformation principles. Calvin emphasizes that the poor have a right to be assisted. In his comments on 2 Cor. 9.1 where the apostle calls the collection a *diakonia* to the saints, he explains that Paul chose this term purposively to indicate what believers "owe to their fellow-members" in the same Church (Smail, 1964: 120). For Calvin, negligence towards the needy is more than unkindness and must be equated with defrauding them of their due. He feels that assistance to the poor is a form of righteousness (Smail, 1964: 124).

5. Diakonia : Social solidarity in the Church

5.1 Definition

The noun *diakonia* derives from the Greek verb *diakoneô* which means to act as an agent or a go-between for someone, to accomplish specific obligations, to meet somebody's needs or help, to discharge official duties, and to take care of things and people (Danker et al., 2000: 229-230). Paul often uses the term *diakonia* as a designation of his ministry (Rom. 11.13; 1 Cor. 3.5; 2 Cor. 3.6; 4.1; 5.18; 6.3; 11.8, 23). The same word refers to a single function or a collective term for

various functions or ministries in a Christian community viewed as the body of Christ (Rom. 12.7; 16.1; 1 Cor. 16.15) (Panikulam, 1979: 41). The term covers both the ministry of preaching and serving others including the poor and those who are in need (Lindsay, 2010: 321). The New Testament concept of *diakonia* takes up the values of social solidarity in the Old Testament and early Judaism as a response to the plight of the poor and needy in the community. It also integrates the notion of advocacy which transpires in the sermons of the Old Testament prophets in their fight against social injustice for the sake of the socio-economically vulnerable. The example of Paul pleading with Philemon about the latter's slave, Onesimus, can be read through these lenses.

5.2 Various forms of diakonia in Protestant Churches

5.2.1 Diakonia as the distribution of charity

Care for the needy has been a mark of Christianity throughout the history of the church. The missionaries who brought the Gospel into Africa in general and into Rwanda in particular were convinced that charitable activities were integral to their missionary work (Bosch, 1995: 581).[197] This type of *diakonia* was mainly limited to punctual interventions short term activities such as the distribution of food, clothes and some domestic materials (Gatwa and Karamaga, 1990: 98).[198]

5.2.2 Diakonia and self-reliance

The conceptualization and practice of *diakonia* has undergone important changes among both Protestant churches and the Roman Catholic Church in general. Instead of restricting it to the distribution of charity, churches are focusing on various initiatives which help individuals and groups to strive for self-reliance. The first survey conducted by PIASS in 2016-2017 on diaconia in Protestant churches has pointed out that a tremendous change in the understanding and

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197. However, this limited engagement with social problems has been criticised. The rise of liberation theologies in the Majority World was a reaction against the inability of Western churches and missionaries, both Protestants and Catholics, to address structural injustice. The letter generally thought that their enterprises had to tackle social ills but without engaging with social structures at a macro level (Bosch, 1995:581, 583).

198. In 1990 Th. Gatwa and A. Karamaga could summarize this type of diaconia in Rwanda as follows: "Le descente dans les collines par le conseil diaconal ou la Caritas n'a pas varié au-delà d'une sortie ponctuelle offrant une houe à une vieille veuve ou un kilo de haricots aux orphelins convoqués pour la circonstance. Le groupe de diaconie dans les églises se constitue pour collecter les vivres et les habits 'second hand' à l'étranger.".

practice of diaconia is taking place (Gern, 2017: 172-173).[199] One of our inter-viewees said in substance: "Diaconia occurs in all aspects of church life because we have understood the concept of holistic development; this means repentance and hard work" (Gern et al., 2017: 115). He went on to explain that their diocese had organized in the recent past a big spiritual conference on the theme "To work hard and pray much", in other words "To pray as you work" or "Pray and work" (Ibid).

Diakonia means care for people in need, counseling and compassion. People in the ten regional churches surveyed feel that diaconia remains part and parcel of church mission. Caring undertakings start at the grass roots level and call all the members of the congregation to join their efforts and financial means for a common purpose. Diakonia covers a variety of concrete actions: care for the sick and the aged, support to vulnerable children for schooling, assistance in terms of contribution for health insurance for poor families, being with and support-ing the genocide survivors, widows and orphans; visiting prisoners, hosting and entertaining refugees, providing food to the hungry, supporting families affect-ed by natural disasters, and so on. The survey revealed that different structures and names are used to signify diaconal work within churches. It is called diaco-nia, social service or community development. In some cases a church has a de-partment for diaconia which oversees and promotes diaconal activities within the entire geographical entity covered by the respective church. There is even an ex-ample of an autonomous diaconal institution with well trained and skilled per-sonnel. This is the case of Protestant sisters known as "Abaja ba Kristo" (serv-ants of Christ) who operate within EPR and run several projects and activities of socioeconomic promotion. This testifies to the fact that professional diaconia goes hand in hand with diaconia carried out by lay people at the grass roots lev-el. Another precious lesson learned from the above mentioned survey is that local action for people in need should be supported by advocacy work at the regional and national levels. In that respect it was mentioned several times in all denomi-nations that a consistent partnership with governmental organs and NGOs is ben-eficial for all stakeholders.

It is remarkable that all the churches surveyed "are striving for self-sup-port and self-reliance" rather than waiting for donations from foreign sponsors (Gern, 2017: 173). Many initiatives reflect the trend which combines the tra-ditional form of diaconia consisting in the distribution of charity, and the new perspective of diaconia focusing on the promotion of individual and collective

199.The results of this survey were published in Kinyarwanda in PIASS Series Publications nᵒ 9 in 2017.

income-generating projects, as well as advocacy. Much emphasis is being laid on several forms of saving and credit schemes. Another way of encouraging such initiatives from grassroots level is perceptible in church leadership. In one church with a department of diaconia the latter is making laudable efforts by investing in farming and real estate to generate funds in order to support more and more projects from church members striving for self-reliance (Gern et al., 2017: 77).

5.3 Building a bridge between state *Ubudehe* and Diaconia in Churches

It has become clear that current initiatives implemented in the framework of the *ubudehe* program as a way to eradicate poverty, and the diaconal ministry carried out by churches pursues the same ideal. This remains the commitment to care for the needy and help them to care for themselves. As Rwandan Christians, two sources of inspiration for the *Ubudehe* program and diaconia offer important insights. These sources of inspiration remain the traditional Rwandan values of social solidarity and the Judeo-Christian tradition. Some principles are needed to help the processes of identification of beneficiaries of *ubudehe* and diaconia and the implementation of the agreed programs achieve their primordial goal that is to help the needy become the actors of their own liberation.

5.3.1 The selection of beneficiaries

It has been noted that the categorization of people in the four ubudehe categories is done according to their socioeconomic condition. The ideal is that the work is conducted at the village level since people know one another. The criticism often formulated about *ubudehe* categorization is that many people claim to have been classified in a wrong and higher category.[200] It is often said that in some cases people were put in a higher category in order not to give a negative picture of a village, cell, sector with a high number of poor people while previous reports had indicated that there was a tangible socioeconomic development among the inhabitants. In some other cases it was done arbitrary by local leaders without the involvement of the population. It is true that some people tend to seek a lower category in hope of getting funds from the government. Moreover, the criteria set by the government are not always clear. For instance, if owning or being able to rent a house is taken as an indication of someone with financial means, this cannot indicate clearly that people owning or renting houses in urban and rural areas will automatically fit in the same category assuming that

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200. http://www.ukwezi.com/mu-rwanda/Politiki/Umuyobozi-wa-Transparency-Rwanda-ntiyumva-ukuntu-ari-mu-cyiciro-cy-ubudehe-nk-icya-Makuza, accessed on August 3, 2016.

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they reflect the same socio-economic conditions. These observations remind the Government that there is still a long way to go to get it right. Clearer and accurate criteria should be formulated to make a categorization which reflects the real socioeconomic condition of everyone. Moreover, the process of education of the population and their participation in the process of decision making needs to be emphasized. We therefore suggest that the values of integrity and transparency need to be applied. Examples from the early church which we noted earlier remind us that the whole management of care to the needy requires high standards of integrity and transparency. They also show us that social solidarity carries a strong spiritual and moral dimension.

5.3.2 Care to the needy, a socioeconomic and theological undertaking

As noted earlier, Christian communities in Rwanda understand more and more diakonia beyond the distribution of charity. They seek to engage their members in small socioeconomic projects with a view of making them self-dependent. However, care to the economically disadvantaged cannot be reduced to its socioeconomic layer. Diakonia is an expression of God's love for humans and the love the latter demonstrate to their fellows as a sign of gratitude to their Creator. In a Christian perspective, diaconia always refers to human experience of God's salvation. In addition to relieving the needs of the poor Christians in Jerusalem, the apostle Paul expected that his collection might cause its beneficiaries to long and intercede for the Corinthians, and worship God (2 Cor. 9.12-14). So he hoped that this collection would trigger a dynamic of fellowship not only among humans involved in it, but also between them and God. In this way, Paul understands sufficiency (*autarkeia*) as that state of affairs where one who receives material things joyfully shares them with those who are in need.

We esteem that the government should partner with churches in the *Ubudehe* program. Churches can be involved in the process of categorizing the population and the selection of beneficiaries. Very often Churches are called upon to raise funds, for instance, to pay health insurance for poor families while it would be better if they were associated with the entire process from the beginning. The type of joint action advocated for here does exist in education and health sectors and in several governmental programs like reconciliation and the commemoration of the genocide against *Tutsi*, for example. These services have a highly spiritual dimension as well. This collaboration can fill in the gap of spiritual provision that the good socioeconomic policies from the Government cannot provide, and trigger a dynamic of sharing experiences as both partners strive to help people live a better life as intended by their Creator. Such a joint management of

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the *ubudehe* program should include a clear monitoring and evaluation strategy in order to constantly improve the program and optimize its benefits to the population. There are examples of successful stories of initiatives of social solidarity initiated by some members of the church to support their fellow members which indicate that churches can contribute in the strengthening of the governmental *Ubudehe* program.

5.3.3 One successful story from the Presbyterian Church in Rwanda[201]

In 2007 the celebration by the Presbyterian Church in Rwanda of a centenary of presence and ministry in the country triggered a deep reflection on diaconia. A group of some members from the church expressed their need to see tangible signs of a church siding with the weak. The idea came from two individuals Prof. Tharcisse Gatwa[202] and Paul Mubiligi[203] who thought to raise the awareness of the economically stable members of the Church to take the responsibility to help poor members to work for self-reliance. The initiative was given the name "Jumelage d'Espoir". The name literally means "Partnership of hope". The motivation behind the initiative is that those who have been granted a chance to study or have acquired some means of making money thanks to the generosity of people in various ways should return their gratefulness to God through support to those who are in need. The dream was to mobilize a hundred people who could engage in this undertaking. The number was quite symbolic of the 100 years of existence of EPR on the Rwandan soil. The idea was then welcomed by the EPR leadership and all stakeholders began together to seek how it could be implemented. At the beginning a group of 12 people began to give their annual contributions between 100.000RWF and 300.000RWF. Since then the selection of beneficiaries has been done at the parish level following the criteria set by the governing committee of the partnership to ensure impartiality and transparency. The candidates selected are helped by their parishes to prepare a small size income generating project worth between 100.000RWF and 300.000RWF. These projects are submitted to the partnership governing committee for funding. The members of the initiative then examine the projects and each decides which project to support depending on their domain of interest whether in farming, breeding, commerce, etc.

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201. Interview on the phone with one of the pioneers of the partnership held on January 29, 2018.
202. Tharcisse Gatwa, the current Director of Research at PIASS, is a lay person and an active member in the Presbyterian Church in Rwanda. He was then appointed in the organizing committee of the jubilee.
203. Paul Mubiligi was and still is the chairperson of the Synod and the Synod Council.

The decisions made on the projects to be funded and the amount allocated to them are communicated to the applicants through the regular channels in the leadership of the church. In fact the funds collected are remitted to the Church through its department of development. It is the same department which monitors the implementation of the sponsored projects and ensures that reports are submitted in due time. To avoid the traps of social practices of gift exchange whereby the beneficiaries of these funds may feel obligated to express their gratitude to their sponsors with material gifts and the like, the names of the benefactors are kept secret and codified by the Church administration in collaboration with the governing committee of the partnership.

The number of people who have so far joined this initiative to offer sponsorship varies between 60 and 70 since some make a commitment for a limited number of years. The dream of reaching 100 members remains. Since the intention is to involve as many people as possible in this dynamic diaconia, the governing committee is looking into the way of formalizing a rotative system whereby those who have benefitted from sponsorship will return it by sponsoring other needy people identified in the framework of this scheme. This would increase the number of the beneficiaries of funds and make people more and more responsible and learn to count on local potentials rather than relying only on foreign donors. The members of the partnership feel that the main challenge they have faced so far remains the lack of a systematic and regular system of monitoring the funded projects within the church's department of development. Moreover, more involvement is expected from the church leadership to use this precious opportunity of local sponsorship which supplements traditional funds from foreign partners. Another hindrance which needs to be overcome lies in the involvement of parishes, presbyteries and church related institutions in raising funds. The idea was proposed in recent years but has not been fully endorsed by pastors since some see in it a kind of tax imposed on them.

As can be seen from this example, churches need to be aware that in their midst there are people who are ready to participate in the socio-economic development of their fellows. It is then possible to mobilize these forces in a well-organized system of diaconia which empowers the economically weak toward self-reliance. Also, it is obvious that this form of diaconia can succeed if it starts and is monitored from the grassroots level. It requires a transparent system of selecting the beneficiaries and equipping them with the necessary tools to embark on the road of self-reliance instead of begging subsidies. The number of those who commit themselves to sponsoring this form of diaconia can increase significantly if the church puts in place a systematic program of teaching and

sensitizing the members on the nature and meaning of diaconia in the framework of its overall mission.

5.3.4 Theological education on diaconia in Churches as an imperative

While many Rwandan Protestants understand that it is important for a Christian to help the needy, not everyone sees that this service is as important as proclaiming the Gospel from the pulpit or giving offering and tithes. The survey on diaconia in Protestant churches referred to earlier in this work has revealed that there exist theological perceptions of diaconia in relation to the church mission (Gern, 2018) :

> *Some consider it as a must because faith and love belong together and cannot be separated from each other. Others reflect diaconia as a possible asset but do not consider it as a priority of church and congregational life. Finally, there is a wider range of opinions about the churches' participation in society and in community development.*

Therefore, there is a pressing need to educate the members of churches on the value of diaconia in the church. This was strongly expressed by all the people interviewed in the survey on diaconia in Protestant Churches in Rwanda mentioned earlier. In was highlighted that it is important to continue, in collaboration with local and international partners, to provide appropriate training to church ministers and all the members in general and ensure that the comprehensive understanding of diaconia is disseminated (Gern et al., 2017: 115). Tharcisse Gatwa and André Karamaga write that from Jesus' threefold commission to his disciples comprising preaching, teaching and healing (Mt. 10.7-8; 28.19-20), one can speak of "a diaconia of the cross"[204] (Gatwa and Karamaga, 1990: 101). This type of diaconia consists in siding with the oppressed in their cry and struggle to liberate themselves from all alienations (Gatwa and Karamaga, 1990: 101). Understood in that sense, the practice of diaconia acquires its proper meaning and cannot be reduced to mere philanthropic interventions. This liberating perspective on diaconia is in fact undergirded by some theological principles inspired by the Scriptures.

4.3.4.1 Faith and love go hand in hand

While faith means trust in God's saving kindness through Christ, love remains the way believers live with their fellow human beings. Taking inspiration from Martin Luther's "Treatise on Christian Liberty", Wolfgang Gern concludes that "faith and the fruits of love belong together" (Gern, 2018). This explains

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204. "Une diaconie de la croix".

why the work of caring for the needy is inseparable from other pillars of its over-all mission in the world. Paul could then exhort the Galatians to use their free-dom to provide mutual service in humility and love (Gal. 5. 13). To emphasize this view of diaconia, Gern quotes the statement made by the churches' delegates at the first assembly of the World Council of Churches in Amsterdam in 1948 and calls it "the Magna Charta of diaconia" (Gern, 2018). The statement indicates that churches committed themselves to asking God to teach them to resist all that contrasts the love of Christ and support all that promotes it.

4.3.4.2 Jesus' solidarity with the weak

The four canonical gospels report that Jesus defended openly those who were marginalized in his society. This attitude is what theologians call "God's preferential option for the poor" (Drescher, 2017: 50) expressed in Lk. 1. 52-53. As Gern (2018) put it, Jesus' disciples were sometimes tempted "to keep their own company" and withdraw from and flee a disturbing, uncomfortable or dangerous situation (Mt. 16. 13-24; Mk. 10. 35-45). But Jesus always knew how to recall them to their responsibilities in a specific situation. This remains the struggle of each individual believer, groups of believers and churches. Jesus' calling remains the same and reminds his followers that solidarity with the disadvantaged in society forms the essence of their calling to follow and serve him.

We see now a clear picture of the local congregation where believers meet to worship and care for the vulnerable and empower them for self-reliance (Gern, 2018) :

> *The local congregation is also always the place where those who are strong take responsibility for the weaker ones. It is the task to do both – to offer compassionate help but also to campaign for social justice. Diaconal church must be the voice of the voiceless, helping them to find self-respect and to enable them to be self-reliant.*

It is particularly notable that Jesus, according to Matthew, stated that at the final judgment the fate of people from all nations will be determined by the way they have behaved towards the needy (Mt. 25.31-46). It turns out that the Matthean Jesus presents cares to the needy not as an option in a Christian's life but an obligation in the latter's daily life. Catherine Day notes that by setting care to the needy as a criterion for the final judgment, Jesus emphasizes the practical perspective of his teaching about the double great commandment: the love for God and the love for the neighbor (Mt. 22.37-40). She explains that in fact, Jesus combines what we often tend to separate by focusing either "on one or the other" whereas both essentially go hand in hand (Day, 2017: 51-52). The only way

to love Jesus and the One who sent him is to imitate and act like him following the priorities he set for his public ministry (Lk. 4.16-19). His agenda was about "care for those who were hurting, oppressed, needy, and out casts, those we have called the marginalized, who live on the fringe of society but not with us" (Day, 2017: 53). Jesus says clearly that service to that category of people was the purpose of his anointment by the Father, fulfilling the long-awaited coming of the messianic era anticipated by the prophet Isaiah (Is. 61.1-3).

4.3.4.3 Advocacy for social justice

In addition to the distribution of charity when circumstances require it and socio-economic support for self-reliance, diaconia involves speaking out to defend the cause of social justice and human rights in general. Advocacy is grounded in the firm conviction that the Old Testament and the New Testament testify to the God who intervenes in human history when the gap between the promises of the Gospel and the reality of daily life raises the outcry of human beings. It is notable that in these interventions God always uses humans not because their efforts are necessary to supplement divine power to bring about salvation, but only because God values his partnership with humans (Gatwa and Karamaga, 1990: 4).[205] Earlier in this study we noted that the Old Testament prophets' audacious activity remains a good example which illustrates the necessity for God's servants to speak for the voiceless and oppressed. In the New Testament Paul's initiative to plead with Philemon for a much better treatment of his former fugitive slave, Onesimus, indicates that advocacy is integral to the Christian faith and practice (Habarurema, 2017: 25-26). Lutz Drescher indicates that the type of Protestant theology and congregations which emerged in the 1970s South Korea ruled by a severe military dictatorship remains relevant in other contexts. Although the term diaconia was not used in that context, the 'social mission' carried out by the Korean Minjung[206] congregations gathered "workers, farmers,

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205. "Car, en fin de compte, les promesses évangéliques concernent les êtres humains dans la réalité historique concrète. C'est à travers cette réalité qu'on voit les signes et qu'on se rend compte que Dieu est présent et agissant. Il s'agit là d'une vérité incontournable qui se vérifie même à la lecture de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament car la Parole de Dieu raconte, en effet, comment Dieu s'est engagé, à plusieurs reprises auprès des êtres humains pour les faires sortir des impasses des situations aliénantes. Et cette intervention de Dieu s'accomplit toujours dans le cadre d'une coresponsabilité dans laquelle les individus et les collectivités sont invités, en quelques sortes, à participer à leur propre salut. C'est- à- dire que l'œuvre de la création commencée et garantie par Dieu nécessite le concours de l'être humain non pas parce que ce dernier soit fondamentalement indispensable à la puissance divine, mais parce que le Seigneur du Ciel et de la Terre tient par sa grâce à une relation de partenariat. S'engager en faveur de la justice dans ce monde, c'est s'engager pour et avec Dieu.".
206. In Korean history, the term was used for the first time during the *Yi dynasty* (1392-1910) to mean anyone outside the elite, the *Yangban* ruling class. In the 1970s it could designate all

urban poor and all those intellectuals who, because of their struggle for human rights and democracy, lost their jobs and/or have been imprisoned" (Drescher, 2017: 46). This form of diaconia which consists in denouncing all forms of oppression brings about a counterculture against the dominant spirit of competition and crates new spaces where "coexistence becomes possible and everyone can contribute" (Drescher, 2017: 48). It is a "critical Diakonia", inspired by a "Theology of the cross" which emphasizes "God's preferential option for the vulnerable and suffering" (Drescher, 2017: 50).

Conclusion

The traditional practice of *ubudehe* was a cooperative mechanism which, for many centuries, helped Rwandan communities to solve socioe-conomic problems. This form of social solidarity among households enabled people to collaborate in making shelters, farming and so on. By the same practice the vulnerable were assisted to meet the same needs as other members of the community. In addition to its tangible achievements in farming and making shelters, *ubudehe* enhanced the spirit of togetherness and interdependency among individuals and households. One understands why this practice was revived in 2001 by the Rwandan government as one of the processes of socio-economic development. The reinvented *ubudehe* program seeks to foster the ethics of hard work among underprivileged of our society by fructifying what has been granted to them in the form of material support. This becomes possible since individuals learn to work together for one another for their social and economic development, instead of receiving material assistance for one's entire life. The present study has demonstrated the benefits of the government *ubudehe* program and insisted that there is still some room for improvement.

It was observed that care to the needy lies at the heart of Jewish and Christian traditions. However, it is noticeable that the only way the people of Israel and the apostolic Church used to implement social solidarity was the provision of material assistance to the needy, from the generosity of some members. The same approach to care to the poor dominated the Medieval Church's teaching and practices. Important insights from some Reformers to broaden the scope

those who had experienced the pain of dehumanization through "exploitation, poverty; socio-political oppression, and cultural repression throughout the ages." [A. Sung Park, *Minjung Theology: A Korean Contextual Theology* (https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/pdf/ijt/33-4_001.pdf)]. As is the case in many societies, graduates from universities are highly respected while people working with their hands like farmers are despised. But Minjung congregations understood that one is to be valued primarily as a human being.

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of diaconal ministry and help the beneficiaries of charity become self-independent were limited in time and space. So the perception of diaconia in Christian settings as the distribution of charity prevailed in Western churches and missionaries in the 20th century. The recent change in the perception and practice of diakonia in Protestant churches in Rwanda gives hope that it will change the living conditions of many since much emphasis in being laid on small income generating initiatives both at individual and collective levels, as well as on advocacy. While it is important to sensitize their members to get actively involved in the governmental *ubudehe* program, churches need to promote this new understanding of diaconia among their members and encourage them to put their financial means together and support their diaconal ministry. Such local funding from church members can also encourage foreign partners who are eager to see the fruits of the financial support they have been providing to our churches hoping that they will be one day self-reliant. To this end, a systematic program of education in diaconal spirit with a strong biblical and theological grounding needs to be enhanced in churches. Recognizing that churches have a long tradition of caring for the needy, it would be beneficial for the government of Rwanda to cooperate with churches in the *ubudehe* program. The fact that care to the needy cannot be reduced to its socio-economic dimension explains why this collaboration is needed to fill in the gap of spiritual provision that the good socio-economic policies from the Government cannot provide. Such a joint management of the *Ubudehe* program should include a clear monitoring and evaluation strategy in order to constantly improve the program and optimize its benefits to the population. On the one hand, it must be clear that there is no competition at all between churches and the government as far as care to the needy is concerned. On the other hand, it might not be a mistake to affirm that the new perspective on diaconia in Protestant churches in Rwanda as discussed in the present study reflects that values of the Rwandan traditional value of social solidarity are incarnated by *ubudehe*. Therefore, Rwandan churches as institutions from grassroots level and their members taken collectively and individually should value diaconia as a precious treasure from both our cultural values and the Judeo-Christian tradition that we share with the universal church. By doing so, Rwandan Christians will prove that they have understood that diaconia is not an option but a moral duty in their daily life. If they fulfill that obligation joyfully out of the trust in and love for the Triune God and for the neighbor, they can confidently wait for that unique and glorious moment when the Lord Jesus Christ will say to them :

Come, you that are blessed by my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world; for I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me something to drink, I was a stranger and you welcomed

*me, I was naked and you gave me clothing, I was sick and you took care of me, I was in prison and you visited me (*Mt. 25:34-36).

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8

IMIHIGO

Does tradition matter in the adaptation of African countries to global trends ? When *Imihigo* reinvigorates "new public governance"

Dr Masengesho Kamuzinzi[207]

1. Introduction

Colonial powers dismissed African traditional modes of governance as incompatible with modernity and replaced them by 'borrowed' models of public administration. However, some practices drawn from the traditional culture of *Imihigo* that were introduced in public policy implementation by the Rwandan government in 2006 have proven to be powerful instruments of policy effectiveness (Kamuzinzi, 2016) and public accountability (Kamuzinzi & Rubyutsa, 2018). This chapter investigates to what extend *Imihigo* have contributed to reinvigorating four dimensions of collaborative governance mainly active citizenship, networking, horizontal distribution of power and collaborative management. This chapter is written in the form of a theoretical reflection supported by empirical evidence from a series of studies started in 2016 at the University of Rwanda. Even if these different traits constitute the foundation of an emerging paradigm that is "New Public Governance", they succeeded in the Rwandan context because they were imbedded in traditional political culture. By looking into the matter carefully, one can find that the philosophy behind the success of *Imihigo* is self-reliance and resourcefulness. As most traditional African societies promoted such mechanisms (though in different forms), there is a need to track similar mechanisms in other cultures that could help other African countries to adapt the functioning of public institutions to global trends.

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Since March 2006, Rwanda introduced a new approach of public policy implementation labelled as *Imihigo*. Traditionally, *Imihigo* referred to acts of outstanding courage, voluntarism to achieve public good (e.g protecting the homeland against invaders) that could result in self-sacrifice (Minaloc, 2010). *Imihigo* (which is the plural of *Umuhigo*), were generally expressed as public vows to overcome tremendous challenges faced by the nation or the community. Hence, *Imihigo* were fundamentally expressed as shared goals and involved collective actions to achieve the desired ends. However, its driving force was individual self-commitment to perform promised actions or to face public shame. No one was forced to vow what he was not willing or motivated to perform!

Since the current *Imihigo* scheme is operating in a modern state designed on the basis of Weberian bureaucracy, it has been progressively amended to adapt it to the functioning of bureaucratic systems. Furthermore, in this "post-modern"[208] and increasingly interconnected world, public policy implementation involves cross-border networks of actors who are not necessarily linked by hierarchical ties. Hence, present-day *Imihigo* is very different from its traditional ancestor. Some empirical findings published recently show clearly that the current *Imihigo* system has evolved into a "Hybrid" model that associates principles inspired by Rwandan tradition and new public management (See Kamuzinzi, 2016). The traditional influence brought in intrinsic motivation (the desire to make a difference or to achieve more than others), while the new public management stance brought in the idea of quantifiable results and performance based management. This last influence can be observed in the efforts made in the definition of indicators of performance, the effort to link the expected outputs with expenditures, the reinforcement of external evaluation and auditing mechanisms, the insistence on value for money and public accountability (see Kamuzinzi & Rubyutsa, 2018).

A part from the attempt to hold each intervening actor personally accountable for the specific policy target he proposed to include in the district *Imihigo* framework, the current system is very different from its traditional counterpart. Since traditional *Imihigo* applied mostly in atypical circumstances like in war or other tremendous threats, it worked a little like the Goliath myth where courageous fellows (like David) promised the final result without necessarily displaying their strategies and means. Involved parties chose freely or invented their means of implementation. Hence, they were held accountable for the results than for the method or process followed to achieve these results.

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208. Even in African societies that have not yet really embraced industrial mass production, some refer to our times as more characterised by post-modernism due to the development of new technologies and subsequent complex networks, the influence of global trends, etc.

Traditional *Imihigo* promoted intrinsic motivation to make people willing to set and achieve tremendous public actions for which they had not necessary a model of reference or means for implementation. Things seem to work differently in the contemporary *Imihigo* System. In a modern state, actors are not supposed to set policy targets for which they have no resources for implementation. Since in Rwanda, most local governments are operating in a context of dependence on external financial resources (mainly from central government and external development agencies), mayors of districts have limited power in defining their political agenda and hence in setting their own *Imihigo* targets. In some circumstances, they can even align some of their targets to policy options defined by "others", mainly those who provide financial resources. Furthermore, the use of funds provided by others goes hand in hand with the loss of internal autonomy which constituted the ethos of the traditional *Imihigo* system. Despite these apparent contradictions in the two systems, the subtitle association of traditional and modern traits has contributed to making the current *Imihigo* system not only an original but also a successful tool of public policy implementation.

Its traditional stance infuses competition in the sense that the new system still encourages each district to attempt to achieve more than other districts while its new public management features oblige local entities to increase their efficacy and effectiveness in the implementation of selected policy targets. Yet, the current *Imihigo* system displays further unexplored characteristics suggesting that the new system holds a great potential of reinvigorating active citizenry, networking and collaborative management which are among the dominant traits of the "new-governance movement". No need to say that this last undertaking is becoming one of the dominant symbols of globalisation. Before we examine whether the "new *Imihigo*" system matters in the adaptation of Rwanda to global trends through the promotion of collaborative governance, it is important to have a brief look at the different paradigms that mostly influenced the conception of public administration and how they got contextualized in Africa. In this chapter, three dominant paradigms are discussed mainly procedural bureaucracy, new public management and new public governance.

2. The eve of bureaucracy in the West and in Africa: one system two intentions !

The development of procedural bureaucracy in western countries at the beginning of the twentieth century benefited from two favouring factors : the emergence of states of law that contributed to the formalisation of public services and the development of industrial mass production that contributed to the

standardisation of work. The founding works of pioneers like Frederic W. Taylor, Henri Fayol and Max Weber on scientific, administrative and bureaucratic organisation of work show clearly that procedural bureaucracy is underpinned by two dominant traits: the rational division of work and formal coordination of tasks. Furthermore, procedural bureaucracy brought in the idea that the power of decision should not be concentrated in the hand of one person and his courtiers as it was in dynastic organisations. To prevent any abuse, advocates of procedural bureaucracy proposed that power and subsequent authority be hierarchically distributed in different administrative units and be closely associated with the responsibilities of each worker inside the organisation (for a synthesis, see Mintzberg, 1980).

These fundamental features contributed to the structuring of moderns states on the basis of bureaucratic institutions that were supposed to serve rationally and equitably anonymous citizens with equal rights to public service (Dreyfus, 2000). Since the beginning, procedural bureaucracy brought in the idea that public administration should be politically neutral. As far as the recruitment of new workers is concerned, his advocates proposed to focus on professional competences necessary to perform technical duties associated with each post. Hence, they thought that the best organizational structure should be departmentalized on the basis of the principle of unit of direct. With regard to public policy implementation, procedural bureaucracy valued mostly the top-down approach limiting civil servant's discretion as much as possible (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000).

The popularisation of the procedural bureaucracy resulted in its exportation into different domains. For example, the bureaucratic logic influenced significantly the design of industrial enterprises, post offices, banks, etc. in the sense that the instrumental rationality behind contributed to the standardisation of work in these different types of organisations (for deep analysis see the seminal work of Mintzberg, 1980, 1989, 1993). Even though in Europe and America, bureaucracy could be dysfunctional and sometimes self-serving (Bourdieu, 2004), its development was associated with the idea of progress and rationality.

Things worked differently for Africa, which at the time, was being conquered violently by colonial European powers. An apparently similar system but with a distorted purpose was exported to Africa to serve what could be called "exported states". In most colonized African countries, procedural bureaucracy was brought in to control and tame the colonized people (Badie, 2000). This could explain why many Africans tried their best to resist or bypass official bureaucratic procedures in their ordinary lives. Many tales and stories on how the first generations of Africans attended colonial schools, health centers and public

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administration show clearly how colonized people were suspicious of the new system. Chinua Achebe's famous novel "Things fall apart" illustrate eloquently this state of spirit. Many authors support that independence did not bring significant change because many newly independent countries fell into the hands of political pawns of former colonizers. Consequently, the bureaucratic systems inherited from the colonial era turned to be instruments of control where the new ruling classes strived by all means to dominate and alienate the ruled (de Sardan, 2004).

Since the Nineties, the procedural bureaucratic paradigm started being contested for its dysfunctional aspects that induced poor achievements, inefficacy, inefficiency and ineffectiveness in public policy implementation. Alternative ways of managing public affairs were proposed. These included results-based management, performance based management, management by objectives, value for money, etc. All these new forms of public management were promoted thanks to a paradigm shift from bureaucracy to new public management. The changes observed in Rwanda in 2006 seem to have been induced by the similar reasons. The move from procedural bureaucracy to a new system labelled as *Imihigo* emerged from the persistent observation that implementing public policies through the old system was not producing expected changes while the improvements promised by the government required more responsiveness (Minaloc, 2010). Although originally, its initiators conceived *Imihigo* as a home-grown solution inspired by tradition, the new system evolved in the form of a hybrid prototype associating traditional and new public management traits (Kamuzinzi, 2016). The influence of new public management philosophy on the new *Imihigo* system is discussed further in the following section.

3. The new public management and its influence on the design of the new *Imihigo* system

After a century of promotion and exportation all-over the world, the procedural bureaucracy idealized as an apparatus of modernity started showing significant indicators of exhaustion. These included poor link between the financial means and end-results of public policy implementation. People started challenging openly the inefficiency and ineffectiveness in the use of taxes, the high rate of unit cost compared to private enterprises, the poor quality of service and goods provided by public enterprises and institutions, etc. All these shortcomings were mostly induced by centralisation of power of decision in the hands of officials situated very far from the ground where the problems to be solved were

experienced. Furthermore, due to excessive departmentalisation associated with heavy and very long procedures, it is difficult to separate personal responsibility from institutional dysfunctionality in the observed failures. The twenty-first century came in with a great deal of ideas attempting to respond to the above weakness associated with the procedural bureaucratic model.

These included decentralisation of power of decision and financial means in order to empower local actors; the advocacy for more accountability, transparency and responsiveness, etc. These new trends advocated for undersized procedures and for more results-based or performance-based management in public sector. Theoretically, these evolutions were associated with the emergence of a new paradigm. Within this new framework, many scholars proposed that procedural bureaucracy sometimes referred as "old style public management" (Terry 2005; Vigoda-Gadot and Meiri 2008) be replaced by an alternative approach usually referred as the "new public management" (Aucoin 1995; Christensen and Lægreid 1999; Lynn 1998, 1999; Cunningham, 2000).

The dominant view shared by authors who theorised this new approach is that public management requires more efficiency and effectiveness that procedural bureaucracy cannot offer (see for example Hood 1991). They suggested to public managers to pay less attention to formal procedures and to focus more on indicators of performance and on final results (Lynn 1998, 1999; Johnsen 1999, 2004; Helden and Johnsen 2002; Hernes 2005). In the nineties, this new paradigm was so popular that some authors like Osborne and Gaebler (1993) talked about "new public management" as a reinvention of the government (see also Osborne and Plastrik, 1997). Furthermore, this new model suggested borrowing successful management principles from private enterprises in order to increase efficacy and efficiency in public institutions. Hence, the "new public management" is underpinned by a market oriented philosophy aimed at improving value for money, productivity and public service delivery.

In practice, the "new public management" became a credible alternative to procedural bureaucracy when some powerful countries incorporated its principles in real management of public affairs. This was for example the case when President Bill Clinton signed the Government Performance and Results Act of 1993 (GPRA) into law. Federal agencies were obliged to align their managerial practices on this new trend. Many of them started developing strategic plans that were performance and results-based. Their strategic planners started paying more attention to the link between goals, expenditures and final results. Hence, in the American perspective, the aim of this integrated process was to establish

a performance measurement scheme that would guide the on-going monitoring and reporting of progress made towards pre-established ends-results.

A few years later, Tony Blair's administration embraced this new trend by using a different but close terminology: 'Evidence-Based management'. As in the American case, new public management principles were adopted by the United Kingdom as a way of modernising public administration and making it more results-oriented (Parsons 2002). The adoption of management principles inspired by this new approach was preceded by intense scientific debates. During this period, two important conferences were organised, the first one by the Association of Research Centres in the Social Sciences, and the second by the University College of London in association with the Cochrane Centre in Oxford. The results of this last conference were published in a special issue of the Journal of Public Money and Management (see Vol. 19, No 1). This issue was specifically dedicated to evidence-based policy-making. Since that period, new public management principles have proliferated all-over the world. Some countries like France applied selectively this approach in some public enterprises, while others institutions continued to rely on procedural bureaucracy (Kobia & Muhamed, 2006).

The African continent was not spared by this wave of public reforms. Some countries like Kenya opted for "Results-Based Management' in 2001 to ensure that public institutions are delivering targeted results by efficiently using public taxes and other financial supports obtained from other stakeholders (Kobia and Muhamed 2006). As stated above, Rwanda embraced this new trend through a new system called *Imihigo* that evolved in a sort of hybrid model associating traditional and new public management traits in public policy implementation (Kamuzinzi, 2016). As highlighted above, this hybridization helped Rwanda to increase not only self-commitment of local leaders but also to adapt the performance-based management to the post-genocide reconstruction context. In a recent research on how the new system positions itself vis-à-vis bureaucratic, peer and democratic accountability, findings suggested that, far from being weakened, these three accountability mechanisms gained new vigor in the new system (see Kamuzinzi & Rubyutsa, 2018).

While in the old bureaucracy, principals had no other possibility than tracking the respect of procedures, within the new *Imihigo* system, bureaucratic accountability allows evaluators to track the origin of failure back to the specific responsibility of each individual involved in the implementation of a specific policy target. Peer accountability works especially in the case of inter-institutional cooperation through Joint Development Action forums. As for democratic

accountability, the new system promotes more transparency than it does for democracy understood as a political system encouraging competing views on the same policy choices. Further research showed that relying on new public management principles in *Imhigo* significantlyimproved public service delivery (see McConnel, 2010; Rwiyereka, 2014) and planning, monitoring and reporting of results attained by public institutions (see for example Scher, 2010).

The incorporation of new public management traits in the new *Imihigo* system induced also some negative impacts. While most advocates of new public management claim that it promotes decentralisation, resorting to strong external evaluation mechanisms of results promotes implicitly a new form of centralisation. Likewise, the strong auditing system associated with the new system reduces actors' creativity which was the driving force of its traditional ancestor. Furthermore, the greater emphasis on measurable indicators of performance increases transparency and fights corruption, but also put a lot of pressure on public managers. As observed by Chemouni (2014), this atmosphere creates a sentiment of carrier vulnerability among local elites. The psychological insecurity created by this pressure to deliver more than "others" can generate other kinds of unethical and cheating behaviors (Mongkol, 2011).

4. An emerging paradigm: "New Public Governance"

Since the new public management was underpinned by the spirit of entrepreneurial management, it was accused of encouraging lobbies' interests rather than promoting shared interests and citizens' benefits (see For example Dunn &al, 2007; Osbone & al, 2013). Hence, an increasing number of influential scholars in public administration, including those who previously supported the new public management started advocating for a paradigm shift in order to recast public administration to citizens' expectations. While many theoretical approaches were proposed, one seems to have persisted and to have gained more credibility among scholars in public administration. This is "New Public Governance" (see Alford, J., & Hughes, 2008; Bingham, Nabatchi, & O'Leary, 2005; Denhardt, & Denhardt, 2000; Lynn, Heinrich & Hill, 2001; Kickert, 1993; Kooiman, 1999; Osborne & al, 2013; Pestoff, Brandsen, & Verschuere, 2013; Peters & Pierre, 1998; Rhodes, 1997; Salamon, 2002; Stoker, 1998). The premises of this new trend are discussed in the following section.

The first attempt to develop a coherent theory of "New Public Governance" that can be considered as a credible alternative to procedural bureaucracy and new public management can be traced up to Osbone (2010). Compared to

procedural bureaucracy and new public management, the new public governance framework proposes four important theoretical evolutions: the move from passive to active citizenship, the move from a vertical model of distribution of power to more collaborative and horizontal regulation mechanisms, the move from hierarchal structures to complex networks and, finally the move from "intra-organisational" towards "inter-organisational" management principles.

The first fundamental distinction between new public governance and previous approaches lies in the nature of citizenry promoted by each approach. In this new approach, citizens are neither considered as passive public service users (as in the procedural bureaucracy) nor as customers fighting for their own interests (as proposed by new public management) but as "co-producers" of public services (for more details see Osborne & al, 2013). These authors criticise the new public management approach as still underpinned by managerial principles developed in manufacturing enterprises. Hence, new public management conceives public service as a 'product' while the new public governance considers it as a process co-produced by governmental actors and citizens. New public governance theoreticians are the ones who showed that citizens' satisfaction is neither determined by the rationality of the procedure nor by the quality of the 'product'. They are satisfied only when they feel actively involved in the process of production of desired services and most importantly when the final ends of this process meet their aspirations (Cooper & al, 2006). To sum up, this new approach advocates to place citizens at the core of policymakers' preoccupations, not just as part of the audience, but as agents of their own transformation (Bourgon, 2009; Holmes, 2011).

As for the distribution of power and resources, new public governance challenges the top-down model of allocation of authority, responsibility and means inherited from the procedural bureaucracy. Advocates of this new approach show that the power and resources to make things happen are scattered in different organisations or agencies which are not necessary linked by hierarchical ties. Hence, the new public governance promotes a more collaborative approach where the power of influence, authority and resources are negotiated among intervening organisations and actors (Cooper, & al, 2006). It considers that power and resources are imbedded in the nature of inter-organizational relationships rather than in single administrative units (Osborne & al, 2013; Villanueva, 2015;). Within the new public governance framework, ministries and other governmental agencies are no longer conceived as self-sufficient institutions able to make their own policy choices and implement them accordingly by using internal resources. To be successful, governments are advised to initiate diverse partnerships with multiples actors in order to gain supplementary capabilities,

resources and legitimacy (Ansell & Gash, 2008; Booher, 2004; Donahue, 2004; Emerson, Nabatchi & Balogh, 2012; Freeman, 1997).

This thinking on the variables of power, authority and resources has direct influence on the conception of organisational structures. The dominant predicate underpinning new public governance is that nowadays, we are living in pluralistic states, where multiple inter-dependent actors contribute to the delivery of public services and where multiple processes inform the policy making process. As a consequence, public managers navigate in complex inter-organisational networks. New public governance challenges traditional ways of understanding governments as unitary systems directed and legitimated by ministerial responsibility (Stoker, 1998). This approach no longer considers hierarchical structures brought in by the procedural bureaucracy as relevant organisations arrangements through which public policy implementation should be channelled. These traditional ways of organising public work have been progressively replaced by complex networks involving a diversity of actors from public and private institutions and from local, national and supranational spheres who are interconnected through complex matrixes structures and channels.

Finally, the new public governance approach opened up a new way of understanding the concept of management. Apart from being inspired by management principles drawn from manufacturing enterprises, procedural bureaucracy and new public management relies also on intra-organisational management principles that are not adapted to the management of complex networks. Advocates of the new public governance propose to move from intra-organisational to inter-organisational approaches that focus more on the management of interfaces and linkages.

How does the current *Imihigo* system deal with these new features brought in by the new public governance ? Our assumption is that some traits borrowed from precolonial political culture help to contextualise these new trends and to make them functional. In the following section, we discuss specifically how traditional traits of the new *Imihigo* allow public institutions to instil active citizenry in public policy implementation; promote inter-organisation collaboration including public institutions, non-governmental organisations and private enterprises in public policy implementation and; manage successfully complex inter-organisational interconnections. Empirical evidence used to illustrate our position on each aspect were drawn from a series of empirical investigations in different of districts of Rwanda that were part of a broad study on *Imihigo*.

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5. Does *Imihigo* help to reinvigorate "New Public Governance"?

With regard to the nature of citizenry promoted by the new system, one can note that the philosophy of traditional *Imihigo* was underpinned by active citizenship. As stated in the introduction, traditionally, *Imihigo* involved acts of courage and self-sacrifice aiming at overcoming tremendous national challenges (Minaloc, 2010). Practically, volunteering citizens formulated the oath to perform acts of bravery aiming at responding to these threats. Rwandans resorted to this mechanism in exceptional circumstances, for example when the homeland faced external invasion. For such atypical actions, no model of action was generally available. Hence, people and their leaders associated their efforts and encouraged each other to attain the desired ends. Actions initiated through traditional *Imihigo* aimed fundamentally at shared goals and were naturally participative. Hence, the traditional *Imihigo* system promoted active citizenry. But this concept is multidimensional and one can wonder dimensions are really promoted by the new *Imihigo* system. Cooper & al (2006) identified five active citizenry styles and ranked them on a continuum starting from more adversarial to more collaborative conception of citizens' participation. These authors situate social movements that openly contest public choices on the extreme side of adversarial participation, then comes the electoral conquest of citizens' votes, the legislative and administrative listening to citizens (exchange of information model), the active attempt to influence public choices by civil society and then the citizen-centred approach that is based on more unitary and collaborative mechanisms.

Our empirical findings suggest that among the five dimensions, traditional features of the current *Imihigo* system promotes citizen centred civic engagement. Traditionally, citizens were the ones who started the process of *guhiga*[209] and set their own targets, even though each individual promise concurred to achieve a shared goal. Hence, the criteria of evaluation of their achievements were explicitly expressed in self-defined oaths, which mean that those who participated in *Imihigo* were evaluated according to self-defined criteria of success. Their failures were psychologically felt as personal disaster. That is, once an oath of achieving something was publically pronounced, it became a personal duty that kept you alert and constantly remembered you that you have a promise to fulfill. Those who pronounced their oath could not have their mind at rest until they achieved these self-defined public goals. This traditional trait is still at work in the current *Imihigo* system. This feature can be captured from this excerpt

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209. In Kinyarwanda, *guhiga* can be literary translated as promising a significant public achievement aiming at public good.

from an interview with one mayor of a district conducted the southern province in 2016 :

> Imihigo *philosophy is so special that it incites you to break barriers, to over-come fear of failure and to promise more than you could probably achieve using ordinary way of implementing public policies. Even now, when you have in-cluded a policy target in* Imihigo*, you do not calm down until you make sure you have performed it. That is why policy targets included in* Imihigo *are performed at a high rate.*

Traditional *Imihigo* philosophy was so special that it did not consider the availability of means as the starting point of public action. Citizens were not only involved in defining the desired ends but also in setting the strategy and mobilising the resources necessary to perform projected actions. In our view, this philosophy was in line with the conception of citizens as co-producers of public services. This traditional trait is still at work in the current *Imihigo* system, especially in the implementation of urgent policy targets that have no budget line. This trait has changed radically the responsibility of districts officials and civil servants in local governments. While in procedural bureaucracy, no one could be blamed for not having achieved a public action that has no provision in the budget, the un-availability of internal budget is not necessary an excuse in the current *Imihigo* system. Nowadays, public policy implementation involves a wide range of actors who do not necessary rely on the districts' budgets to perform public policy targets. Hence, in the current system, successful mayors are the ones who are able to mobilise diversified actors and incite them to join efforts and use detained resources in implementing public policy targets.

As for the variables of power, the philosophy underpinning traditional *Imihigo* system was at the opposite of the top-down approach guiding public policy implementation in procedural bureaucracy. While in procedural bureaucracy, few members of the strategic apex are the one who define the method and avail resources, in *Imihigo* system, citizens were at the centre of the whole process. Since that system applied in atypical circumstances, where no resources and no trusted model on the "how to do" were available, people could not rely on a top-down approach. Citizens participated not only in the assessment of the problem but also in the invention of the strategy and the creation of needed resources. If we use modern metaphors of public policy implementation, one can say that traditional *Imihigo* system was underpinned by a bottom-up approach. Hence, its management style was more close to decentralisation than to centralisation. Important initiatives were not hierarchically imposed by leaders to citizens, but rather came from active and volunteering citizenship.

Let now assess the variable of structure and subsequent management style promoted by the new *Imihigo* system. As highlighted in the previous section, we are living in an increasingly interconnected world. Most public policies are no longer implemented by single institutions, but rather by complex networks involving multiples actors from public and non-public organisations. Hence, hierarchical structures and subsequent intra-organisational management principles are not adapted to public policy implementation involving multiples actors. A quick assessment of policy targets included in *Imihigo* framework by districts investigated show that more than 80% involved at least two or more institutions that collaborate partially in the implementation of specific actions. If we consider that last year most districts selected around seventy policy targets, this means that hundreds of organisations participate in the implementation of the annual *Imihigo* agenda. This could pose a tremendous challenge of coordination if districts officials rely on intra-organisational arrangements. How do *Imihigo* system deal with such complexity? The response to this issue of multiples constituencies came from an executive secretary of a district interviewed during this research.

Having multiples actors involved in the implementation of policy targets included in Imihigo *is not an issue. Within the current framework, actors intervening in similar domains work in clusters and, each organisation share voluntarily with its counterparts where it intent to invest its efforts and resources. We do not impose our own targets but rather listen to these diversified proposals and incite them to align their initiatives on the district* Imihigo *agenda which function as an annual operation of national policy priorities. Once policy targets are agreed on, they implementation involve active collaboration and continuous mutual adjustments among involved actors.*

To sum up, the success observed in public policy implementation observed since 2006 and most importantly since 2010 by local governments could be attributed to four key factors: the promotion of active citizenship based on self-commitment to achieve policy targets, the move from hierarchical structures to more network interconnections, the promotion of horizontal mechanisms of distribution of power and authorities that oblige intervening actors at local level to build consensus and the promotion of unitary and collaborative management.

6. Is the Rwandan experience transferable in other African countries ?

The development of a new paradigm is not "culture free". As highlighted in previous sections, each of the three paradigms discussed in this paper raised from a specific context and was fed by the culture of the time it emerged. Procedural

bureaucracy was induced by the eve of modern states and mass production prompted by the second industrial revolution in America and Europe. It was also fed by the spirit of positivism that dominated the scientific thinking at the beginning of the twentieth century. New public management rose from citizens' request for more efficacy, effectiveness and value money. The recent development of new public governance is an appeal to more collaborative management in an increasing interconnected world. The process is underpinned by the "culture of globalisation" which is progressively affecting all spheres of life. With regard to the new *Imihigo* system, its cultural roots were decisive in its relative rapid acceptability as new tool of public policy implementation. Once, the new system was launched in 2006, people embraced it enthusiastically because it was rooted in their cultural way of conceiving public performance.

Once a model has proven to be successful, people start thinking about the possibility of its transferability. Can we export as such this model in other countries that are facing the same challenge of poor achievements in public policy implementation? Our response is that its mechanistic transfer from one culture to another could alter its functionality. However, one can note other traditional societies promoted relatively similar apparatuses though in different forms. Hence, there is a need to identify these different mechanisms and to investigate their potential in reinvigorating policy implementation or other public initiatives in their mother countries.

7. Conclusion

While colonialist dismissed African traditional modes of governance as incompatible with the management of modern states and replaced them by other models of public administration such as procedural bureaucracy, this chapter introduced a theoretical discussion supported by some empirical evidences, showing that traditional features inherited from pre-colonial societies matter in the adaptation of African countries to global trends. This is the case of *Imihigo* in the promotion of "New Public Governance". The improvements observed since the introduction of the new system in public policy implementation could be attributed to its potential in boosting self-reliance and resourcefulness through active citizenry, networking and collaborative management.

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9

Imihigo [Performance Contract] : The *Guhiga* and *Guhigura* as motivation factors for Social Economic Development in Rwanda

By Tharcisse Gatwa &Penine Uwimbabazi[210]

1. Introduction

The institutionalization of the home grown solutions, particularly the performance contracts, *Imihigo* in 2006 boasted the reconstruction of Rwanda from the ashes of the 1994 genocide against the *Tutsi*. *Imihigo* is one of the endogenous tools for the planning and implementation of development policies. In the pre-colonial period, *Imihigo* were vows made in public by men to deliver in a competitive, collective and individual manners. *Imihigo* meant in war time, that people would collectively put their strength and bravery together to protect and defend the integrity of the nation. This was drawn from the spirit of bravery and patriotism that were characteristic to the Rwandan personality. Individuals making vows were ready if needed, to lose their lives in order to fulfil their vows. While in the old days the performance contract was mainly done at a central royal government and at chiefs and in clan's major events [*ibitaramo*], done exclusively by men, it is currently extended to individual family levels. Today *imihigo* are more inclusive : men, women and youth are involved in the performance contract. The renewed *Imihigo* concept is a performance contract based management tool built on a participatory approach towards development and good governance, at community and national levels with the aim to speed up an inclusive national development.

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The participation and contribution of citizens and other stakeholders are crucial. It is one of the indicators of the quality of the state - citizen's relationships, and it connects the performance in the political, social and economic development of the nation. Though a number of reports have highlighted the fact that the institutionalization of the performance contracts, *Imihigo* was a boost to the reconstruction processes role [RGB 2014], little is known about the perceptions of the population on citizens' participation in the planning and evaluation of *Imihigo* [RGB 2014, CCOIB 2014; Ndahiro 2015]. This study was conducted in the framework of the Protestant University of Rwandan Annual Scientific Research and Conferences to elucidate the perception of the population on the impact of *Imihigo* on social and economic development. This chapter introduces the general background of *Imihigo* in pre-colonial Rwanda, looks at key concepts and then at the impact of *Imihigo* in the lives of the people.

2. Background and conceptual framework

For several centuries, *Imihigo* and *ibigwi* were the backbone of performance, nation building and capacity building for younger generations; it imbued daily life of the people in all age groups from generation to generation. People used *Imihigo* both as a community or as individuals to define strategic goals and objectives committing themselves to their fulfillment and reporting the achievements through *guhiga ibigwi* to superiors, peers and the community in ceremonies. The *guhiga* ceremony presided over by the king, the chief or the head of the clan or family was characterized by sharing *inzoga y' Imihigo* (the "*Imihigo* beer" as anticipation to *inzoga yo guhigura*, the beer for lyric praises]. This beer was the monopoly of those vowing. Paramount to *Imihigo* was "publically setting challenging targets and committing oneself to their achievement. Generally, Rwandans resorted to this cultural practice when they sought to overcome a huge societal problem requiring voluntarism and commitment from an individual, an organized group or all the citizens. The community regarded such a commitment as an act of bravery and would expect committed individuals or groups to successfully achieve set objectives efficiently, whatever the objectives were" [RGB 2014: 85].

The processes involved the presentation of the achievements through ceremonies, *ibitaramo*, known as *guhigura*. Here again, the gathering shared drinks and proclaimed their achievements. During the *Guhigura Imihigo* or *Kwivuga ibigwi* ceremony, successful contenders were publically eulogized for their bravery; they were allowed to chant their bravery before the community leader, and the King at the highest degree, describing in lyrics all the stages and obstacles

triumphed over [Inteko Nyarwanda y'Ururimi n'Umuco 2015:30; also focus groups in Murundi : 13 July 2016].

Whilst all the community would share drinks, there was a special *guhigura beer* (the beer of achievements) that was exclusively and strictly consumed by those who achieved the goals set up during the *Imihigo*. Therefore *guhiga* and *guhigura* culture was instrumental in promoting activities including farming aiming at an unbeatable harvest to reach a record in the store houses [*ibigega; imitiba y'imyaka*]; military involving participation in expanding the country; committing to eliminiate the most dangerous threats to the country and the community even dangerous animals during the hunting expedition. *Guhiga* culture was highly valued in promoting patriotism, hardworking culture as opposed to laziness [*ibigwari, abanebwe*], the culture of courage as opposed to fear; the culture of social control and accountability as opposed to individualism, laxity and isolationism. Children were thus initiated to *Imihigo* during the *ibitaramo* ceremonies. The culmination of the event consisted in rewarding, such as nomination to senior positions, receiving herds of cattle, land grants, even spouses from renowned families; public praises, bravery recognition with official medals[211]. Hence, every Rwandan worked hard to be rewarded for bravery. In this regard "a failure was and still is an immense dishonor that brings shame not only on the individual but also on his or her community. *Imihigo* was a normative ethic that idealized a competitive spirit, bravery, courage, and admiration; it constituted a planning and evaluation philosophy done through public community participation. Hopefully, if "a person failed, they were given another chance to succeed" [MINALOC (2006 : 49).

Reintroduction of *Imihigo* as Performance Contract for Development

Imihigo were re-introduced by the President of Rwanda, Paul Kagame, for the first time on the 4th of April 2006 during the local government reform. They were assigned the following mandate : a. to reinforce the performance-based management; b. to improve on the rate and quality of execution of government programs and priorities [MINALOC 2006: xiii); c. to speed up the development

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211. There were three major categories of medals to reward bravery in traditional Rwanda : *Umudende, Impotore* [he would later be given *Umuringa*] and the supreme reward was *Uruti,* respectively for a bravery that dismissed 7 enemy targets at battlefield; 14 targets and 21 targets. In addition, the Uruti reward ceremony was conducted by the king in person; the laureate would be given flocks of cattle, districts to rule over and even knighted. See also www.gakondo.com/2012/11/rwanda-impeta-zubutwari-murwanda-rwo-hambere [accessed 11/01/2017].

through the implementation of the country's policies; d. to promote the culture of showing, publicizing and venting our achievements; e. to promote the culture of working on targets; f. to promote cooperation with partners in development programs; g. to promote the culture of competition and innovation; h. to use all possible energy with the objectives to meet targets rapidly; i. to promote the culture of continuous self-assessment in our activities (MINALOC, 2011:1; RGB 2014: 111][212].

Today, *Imihigo* focus more on government programs that are implemented by all citizens. Based on MINALOC's concept note, *Imihigo* is used to design a series of performance management contracts signed between the President of the Republic and each of the thirty District Mayors[213], ministries on behalf of their constituencies; and between individual public institutions and their hierarchy. The signing event is a double public ceremony conducted by the president of the Republic before both chambers of the Parliament. The ceremony consists in presenting the awards to the best performing Districts for previous year; then Districts and public institutions sign new *Imihigo* pledges for the coming fiscal year. The public engagement is recorded publicly in a written contract that presents a set of development targets backed by specific performance indicators over a period of one year" (2006: xiii).

The Districts mayors engage communities to realize development objectives; the President of Republic commits the central government to provide necessary resources in terms of human, financial and technical support. From a global picture, the *Imihigo* are the key drivers of the major areas of public engagement: economic development; social development, governance and Justice which are crucial to Rwanda long term Vision 2020 [and now 2050].

Preparation and Implementation of *Imihigo*

The preparation of *Imihigo* takes place in four steps, focusing on goals' definition and impact performance; relevance of activities towards the stakeholders; demonstration of the goal's relationship between the high performance and goal difficulty [Lock and Latham 2006; IPAR 2015:5]. Firstly, Ministries and Districts base the selection of activities to be pledged for *Imihigo* on 4 pillars: economic development, social welfare, governance and Justice [IPAR 2015:5; MINALOC Concept Note 2011]. Conducted at central government level by an

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212. MINALOC guidelines for the preparation of *Imihigo* (MINALOC, 2011:1; RGB 2014: 111.
213. Rwanda is divided into five major entities, four Provinces [South, North, East, West] plus the City of Kigali each under the leadership of a Governor, counting altogether 30 Districts, each under the leadership of a Mayor.

inter-ministerial panel, the preparation is informed by national and international objectives of the MDGs, the national long term Vision 2020; the EDPRS, GoR Programmes and policies, Leadership retreat resolutions, National Dialogue, Cabinet resolutions; the District Development Plans (DDPs)[214] [IPAR 2014/15: 5; MINALOC 2011].

Secondly, the priorities identified in central government are communicated to local government authorities [District and Province] and discussed in the forum of central government and local government leaders. Thirdly, the Districts consult their respective DDPs [District development plans] through a consultative meeting of all stakeholders representing the District, sector and cell and village. The fourth and final level, the draft, consolidated at District and Province levels, is submitted for discussion and approval by quality assurance technical teams (Presidency Office, Prime Minister's Office, MINALOC and MINECOFIN) [IPAR 2015: 6]. When the *Imihigo* contract has been approved by this quality assurance technical team, then the ministers, and district mayors sign with the President of the Republic [IPAR 2015 p. 6] within the Parliament.

Preparation- implementation and delivery of Imihigo
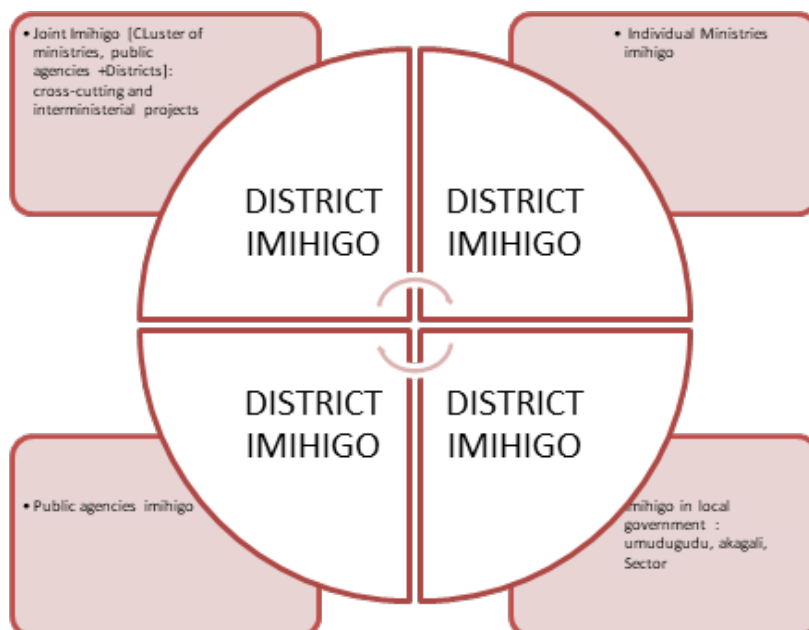
Sources : author adapted from Desk Review

214 The District Development Plans (DDPs) are developed by the districts in consultations with Ministry of Local Government (MINALOC) and Local Administrative Entities Development Agency (LODA).

As it appears in the illustration, each of the 30 Districts is the convergence of all activities from above and from below. From above, all programs and projects of individual ministries and clusters of ministries, public agencies are implemented at district level; and from below all local government planning, at *Umudugudu (Village)*, *Utugali* (Cell) and *Umurenge* (Sector) levels are also channeled within the District *Imihigo* and development plans. This convergences of planning, implementation, and constant monitoring and evaluations of activities at District level puts persistent pressure onto the staff and impacts on the outcomes.

a. Joint *Imihigo*

The joint *Imihigo* consists of seven cross-cutting key sectors between several ministries and public institutions: agriculture, energy, exports, and job creation, service delivery, social protection and urbanization. The line ministry signs the *Imihigo* with the President of the Republic but the implementation concerns members of that cluster down to Districts [MINECOFIN, *Imihigo* 2015-2016]. For example, for the fiscal year 2014-2015, the Agriculture sector received a budget of 80,042,284,950 Frw. Ministries partnering in this cluster beside the ministry of agriculture include: the ministry of *Trade and industry*, of *Finance and economic planning*; of *Infrastructures*, of *Education*, of *Natural resources*, the ministry of *Public works*, the *Rwanda Development Board*, the *Rwanda Export Board* and all 30 *Districts*. Altogether, these ministries and public institutions were assigned seven outcomes during the period: increased agriculture productivity; increased animal resources productivity; ensured households food security and nutrition; increased growth of agriculture exports; increased private sector investment and financing; improved post-harvest infrastructures and finally, strengthened institutional capacity[215].

The energy sector was assigned the following outcomes: increased access to electricity from 500,000 to 560,000 connections; increased electricity from 160MW to 235.075 MW and diversify energy sources; improved energy efficiency, increased fuel and promote alternative energy solutions. The Export sector had a five points mandate: increased growth of traditional exports by 35% [tea, coffee, mining]; increased growth of non-traditional exports by 37% [manufacturing, agro-processing; fruits and vegetables; flowers; others]; to increase growth of exports from services by 10% [tourism; transport; others]; re-export

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215. Republika y'u Rwanda. *Amasezerano y'Imihigo 2015-2016.*

and cross-border trade; and finally, improved access to export finance for 25 firms.

With regard to job creation, the ministries partnering with the Ministry of Employment and Public Services were the ministry of trade and industry; finance and economic planning; local government; education; youth and ICT; gender and family promotion; Rwanda Development Board; private sector and all district mayorships. The sector was mandated to improve hands-on skills among youth outside regular education systems; to increase off farm jobs through entrepreneurship development, for access to finance and technology; to foster employment opportunities for vulnerable households; to enhance efficiency and effectiveness of employment programs through NEP secretariat and employment tracking.

Because under Vision 2020, Rwanda vowed to promote service delivery not only as a philosophy of governance but as a brand to promote in the region, the ministry of local government in partnership with the ministry of justice, the ministry of employment and public services, the ministry of youth and ICT, RDB, private sector and the City of Kigali plus all District mayor ships as always were given a two key point mandate: a. to improve services delivery in public sector [increase accountability at local level with national identification and systems integrated on line authentication]; b. to increase online services provision and information accessible at community level.

Then comes the social protection, a sector where the Local Government is the leading ministry in partnership with the ministry of natural disasters and refugees; finance and economic planning; agriculture; education; employment and public services; gender and family development; sport and culture; all district mayorships. The Sector had to increase the assistance to the extreme poor and vulnerable citizens [various socio-economic programs providing households labor capacity; campaign to eliminate malnutrition; community based insurance; school feeding in 12YBE; reintegration of refugees; sustainable graduation out of poverty]. And finally, urbanization sector with the ministry of infrastructure in partnership with the ministries of trade and industry; agriculture, local Government; natural resources; finance and economic planning; RDB; private sector; all districts had a three point mandate on the period to: harmonize policies, legal and regulatory frameworks; increase percentage of populations living in urban areas of secondary cities beyond Kigali; to increase integrated urban and rural settlement[216].

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216. *Republika y'u Rwanda.Amasezerano y'Imihigo* 2015-2016.

In 2015-2016, this group of implementers for this joint *Imihigo* received more or less 20% of the total budget, in nominal terms, 297,109,464,695 Frw to cover seven key sectors of the economic and social development, governance and justice.

The organization in clusters brings added value wherever resources are needed in the implementation of *Imihigo* at the District level, avoiding work both in isolation and duplication is crucial. The coordination of actions improved the speed of social transformation[217].

b. *Imihigo* of the Ministries

Apart from the joint *Imihigo*, individual ministries and public institutions pledge to achieve specific objectives through projects and programs for which they receive budgets from the Ministry of Finances and Economic Planning. The Minister presents a detailed and well elaborated document comprising outputs and outcomes, indicators, baseline, timeframe quarterly, activities output, re-sponsibilities and budget for each *umuhigo* commited for and signed jointly with the President of the Republic.

c. *Imihigo* of the Districts

By far the most popular *imihigo* are those elaborated, contracted and imple-mented by the Districts [Mayors and District Councils]. These are solemnly co-signed by the Mayor with the President of the Republic before the Parliament. As said before, the event is also a celebration of the achievements of the previous year, certified by the evaluation done by an independent body across the country. All the national leadership come together to celebrate the achievements, to re-ward the three best performing districts and to pronounce and sign new contracts for the coming year. It is expected that *Imihigo* promote capacity building for lo-cal government officials, become a practical school in action planning, self-mon-itoring and evaluation as well as help the authorities to involve the population in the planning, implementation and evaluation of all actions and plans of their family, village, cell, sector and District.

Implementation and Monitoring

"The implementation is done by the Ministry and district's by the District and other sub-district level entities namely the sector (*Umurenge*), the cell

217. Prime Minister, Dr Edouard Ngirente to Parliament of Rwanda. On Agriculture sector growth on upward trend. April, 3, 2018.

[*Akagali*], then *Umudugudu*. To fully implement a target, all decentralized levels need to work together. The citizens are expected to contribute to covering funding gaps, collaborate with partners who have engagements in the district. The citizen participation in all expected and unexpected implementation of *Imihigo* passes habitually through *ubudehe, umuganda*, mutual assistance through *mutuelles de santé; Girinka* and other program-activities. Therefore, motivating them to participate is crucial; they must see direct benefits like construction of schools for their children, land use consolidation and fighting erosions; the commitment of the Districts and other administrative bodies to discuss with the citizens the choices, progress of *Imihigo* targets and the challenges ahead to take up is a crucial moment the citizens implore for [FDGs Gishyita & Murundi].

Reporting on *Imihigo's* implementation is done quarterly (MINALOC Concept Note of *Imihigo*). The reporting shows the progress in the implementation and the action plan for the management at respective levels – village- cell-Sector- District- Province- to take decisive action to ensure that the targets are on track, being implemented accordingly[218] . Each level of authority monitors their *Imihigo* whilst the evaluation is done by the hierarchical superior body..

The funding of *Imihigo* comes from 30% of the state's resources and is channeled through the intergovernmental fiscal transfers broadly categorized into six sources: own revenues of the district, earmarked transfers, block grants, transfers from LODA, contributions by development partners, and borrowing [IPAR 2015: 6]. The *Imihigo* pledges are organized through the national budget provisions and conducted by the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning under the supervision of the Office of the Prime Minister. The *Imihigo* are grouped into three categories: a. Joint *Imihigo for many different public offices*; b. *Imihigo* for the ministries and; c. Imihigo of the Districts. Leaders on every category prepare and sign the *Imihigo* with the President of the Republic in and before the Parliament.

Evaluation

Previous evaluations, from 2006 up to 2013 were conducted by the Ministry of local government. The shortfalls and concerns to be addressed were identified by previous evaluations and studies which have resulted in the change of approach leading to contracting an audit agency, IPAR in 2013[219].

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218. Concept note 2010: 12.
219. *Imihigo* Evaluation Report 2013-2014; Byamukama and Makonnen 2010 ; Gatari 2013; Scher 2010; Versailles 2012.

3. Literature Review

"Colonized people tend to adopt their colonizer's perspective" wrote Frantz Fanon. Many pan African thinkers have persistently searched to reverse this crisis with innovative approaches: "decolonisation of the mind"; "endogenous" solutions; "moving the center"; "auto-dafé"; "African humanism"; "moratorium"; preservation and promotion of [indigenous knowledge systems]; "authenticity"...to mention a few frameworks initiated by thinkers including Kwame Nkrumah; Amilcal Cabral, Joseph-Ki-Zerbo, Ngùgǐ wa Thiong'o[220], John Gatu... in the quest for home grown solutions. Paulin Hountondji and Ali Mazrui persistently denounced the "African intellectual and epistemological dependency" manifested in modern school books and curricula still reproducing European realities. From a gender perspective, Hanne Adriansen rightly suggested that, "knowledge production is never neutral; it is neither objective nor power free. The women's narratives about their journeys in academia and various professions show how the power and politics of knowledge are intrinsically linked to gender, race and history.

In Rwanda home grown solutions like *imihigo, umuganda, ubudehe, itorero, ingando, gacaca, abunzi, umushyikirano, girinka* ... have become familiar and mandatory tools of social, economic, cultural and political development planning and management (EDPRS I & II; RGB 2014). As indicated above, from 2006, the planning and management of development public programs and activities of *Umuganda, Girinka, Ubudehe,* are done and implemented under *imihigo* signed between the districtmayors and ministers with the President of the Republic before the Parliament. ARGB study of *Girinka, Ubudehe, Umuganda and Imihigo shows* that the *Girinka* program gave 186,641cows to households during the period 2006-2013 and aims at giving cows to 350,000 families by 2018. In nominal terms, during that period, *umuganda* contributed RWF 66,722,460,699 through the construction of houses for vulnerable people, water supply projects, classrooms for primary and secondary schools, health centres, offices, roads maintenance, tree planting, radical terracing, soil erosion control. *Ubudehe* and *Girinka* have contributed significantly to reducing extreme poverty for 31.4% of households sampled[221].

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220. Kwame Nkrumah: Africa must unite ; Joseph Ki-Zerbo 1988 Développement clés en tête; Ngùgǐ wa Thiong'o, 1993. Moving the Centre.The struggle for cultural freedoms. London: James Currey; John Gatu [1971 Maratorium in Aid from churches in the North to South]; Eboussi Boulaga 1981 Christianity without fetishes Orbis books 1984].

221. The household's classification in *ubudehe* categories showed that in 2012 there were 58.280 families [2,77%] up from 96,976 [10% in 2010] who lived in abject poverty]; whilst 1,248,418 households [59,38%] were poor up from 403,110 or 41.74% in 2010 [RGB 2014].

However, indigenous knowledge systems have their limitations too, including lack of openness to critical observation and analysis and flexibility to constructive changes. This challenge too, is being addressed by countries like South Africa which created IKS policy or Rwanda which has just inaugurated a Research center for the promotion of HGS, part of the National Agency of Museum of Rwanda. The district reference tool for *Imihigo* planning is the District Development Planning [DDP]. Karongi District won *Imihigo* performance in 2012-2013, scoring 97%.

Since then, it descended into mediocrity ranking in the bottom 3 [there was the accusation that previous achievements were engineered through *gutekinika* or presenting cooked data to embellish the achievements. With extreme poverty at 39.8% compared to the national average of 24.1%, Karongi ranks 3rd highest in poverty after Nyamagabe and Nyamasheke [Development plan 2013-2018], the district Development plan vowed to take advantage of the potentialities of: Lake Kivu fish, gas methane as a source of energy, tourism opportunities, land favorable to tea and coffee, source of Nile and other tourist sites, water transport on Lake Kivu which might connect Karongi-Rusizi, Karongi-Rubavu, Karongi-DRC [Karongi DDP 2013: p.23]. For the period 2015-2016, Karongi,signed performance contracts for 69 projects worth 4, 506,536,259[222]. Huye for the same period signed a performance contract of 77 projects for a budget of 10,867,222,827 Frw. Basically, major outputs and outcomes are similar for both districts; Huye identified 27 outcomes including increased: agriculture productivity; animal resources productivity, growth of non-traditional exports; access to electricity, improved energy efficiency; enhanced urbanization and development of cities; access to clean water; road network and sustainability, etc. In social development, the District planned to improve the well-being of the extreme poor and vulnerable and to sustain their graduation out of poverty; to improve the access to 9 & 12YBE and to improve quality learning; access to health insurance services; fight against GBV; enhance citizen's participation; avail *Imihigo* booklets at households levels; enhance public accountability.

In the early years of *Imihigo*, there was excitement with unrealistic and ambitious planning with the districts and public institutions presenting many projects but achieving less. For example, during the periods 2009-2010 and 2012-2013 10 Districts [Gakenke, Gasabo Gicumbi, Gisagara, Kirehe, Muhanga,

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222. 14 agriculture *imihigo* projects; 5 tourism projects; 2 of energy; 3 of urbanization; 2 of water and sanitation; 1 of transport; 7 of production; 1 in financier sector; 1 environment; 1 of public finance management; 13 of social protection; 6 in education; 3 in health; 1 in gender & family promotion; 1 of sports and culture; 5 of government and decentralization; 3 of public finance. [Republika y'u Rwanda, Karongi, *Imihigo* 2015-2016].

Nyagatare, Nyaruguru, Nyamasheke, Rubavu] presented 2866 [an average of 286 projects per district per year to achieve]; in 2009-10 these 10 Districts presented 1218 projects [average of 120 projects each], still were a lot to achieve in one year given the limited human resources and the factor of procedures. The following years, they became more realistic with altogether 641 projects [2010-2011]; 462 [2011-2012] and 545[2012-2013]. The major categories of challenges to *Imihigo* include : difficulties of setting proper targets and lack of baselines; poor filing and reporting: general weak practice of consistent tracking implementation progress, reporting, filing and general lack of communication; poor prioritization: routine observed among the District officials who were not yet *Imihigo*-focused and finally, limited involvement of external stakeholders who delay the disbursement of the funding they have committed to. This said, the study concludes that "*Imihigo* instilled a competition spirit between districts leading the mayors and the citizens to strive to be the best". For better, the approach in managing *Imihigo* from top down should be reversed; rather to involve the population in planning and evaluation[223].

Citizen's Participation in the planning

The success of any community development process is dependent on the energy and commitment of the local community willing to be self-reliant. Introduced as a managerial technique, the performance contracts *imihigo* are planned, implemented and evaluated at all levels of administration; local authorities elaborate the projects, articulating the aims to achieve, defining objectives and targets, intentions, obligations, participation of the citizens, responsibilities and pledges by all parties. Like all contracts, the success and failure of the *Imihigo* depends on the role the signatory parties, the population, stakeholders and the authorities play and how they interact. *Imihigo* have a legal effect : as a contractual obligation tying the signatory parties for a given period [Rotish et al 2014; Ndahiro 2015:9]. The processes are guided by triple principles : voluntary; ambition and excellence; introduced in the context of EDPRS I & II; Vision 2020; MDGs, it built on 4 pillars: economic development; social development, governance and Justice. The decentralization reforms introduced in 2001 intends to consolidate accountability, citizen participation and to improve confidence in decision – making processes [Rwiyereka 2014: 688; Ndahiro: 17]. The citizen participation is the leitmotiv of the government's philosophy.

"Citizen participation" is a "power sharing and influence over major decisions in a community as opposed to public involvement; it is taking part in

223. RGB Special Issue Nov 2014.

collective decision within an organization" [Andre et al 2012; Ndahiro 11]. Participatory development is often constrained by funding limitations, rigidity, the state's inability to respond effectively to the felt needs of the populace, resistance of local, national government bureaucrats as the instruments of nation state very much in a hierarchical mode of thinking which undermines the people's own governing abilities". Botes and van Rensburg 2000:41].

Citizen participation requires a management founded on accountability in the democratic process to prevent it being used as a manipulative tool by corrupt leaders [ex: *Ubudehe, Girinka* programs) to build and strengthen their networks. According to the UNDP [2010:9], authority or hierarchy who were entrusted with power and resources by the population are accountable for, upward, downward, horizontally and vertically [Ndahiro 2015: 13].

4. Objective and Methodology

By assuming that the participation of the population at grass-roots in all development processes is critically needed for *Imihigo,* it is important to investigate how the population perceive their role in the planning, evaluation and follow-up in local governments. Two Districts, Huye and Karongi were chosen. Both Huye and Karongi are Districts where the Protestant University of Rwanda is located [Huye hosts the main campus; Karongi hosts the second campus]. Huye has persistently performed well in the Imihigo evaluation, always among the 3 best performers since 2013 when professional agencies were hired by the government to evaluate *Imihigo*. At the same period, Karongi performance has evolved sawtooth with ups and downs [see table on District performance ranking 2013-2017]

This qualitative study was concerned with an ethnographic description of the *Imihigo* practice; it proceeds with data collection and analysis using key strategic documents and surveys from different actors [RGB, CCOIB, ODI, MINEFICOM; IPAR; Vision 2020 strategic planning; EDPRS I and II]. It combines semi-structured face to face interviews, conducted at various levels of the *Imihigo* processes with experts, managers, implementers, local leaders, evaluators and critics including independent organizations, members of the public, reports of focus group discussions; it engages in a participation observation in four Sectors, Gishyita and Murundi in Karongi and Taba and Simbi in Huye. In Karongi, the research teams conducted interviews and focus group discussions in the two Sectors and at the District Office, whilst in Huye, the Research focused on evaluation processes. In both districts the emphasis was citizen's participation. Officials interviewed include a mayor, 1 Vice-mayor in charge of economic

planning; 1 director of economic planning at District level; Head of the evalua-tion agency; a head of community planning and advocacy in team leader of eval-uation company; 1 head of an evaluators' team; the head of planning, community development and advocacy in a grass-roots organisation, CCOIB. We also in-terviewed many stakeholders of projects evaluated in 2016 in Tumba, Huye and Simbi Sectors. 5 focus group discussions were organized for men and women aged between 18-55, chosen randomly, two in Gishyita sector [one with 11 wom-en and another for 12 men]; 3 FGDs in Murundi [13 men for 12 women; a sepa-rate group for 5 senior staff of the Sector][224]. The participation observation con-centrated mainly on how evaluation of *Imihigo* was done[225].

5. Findings, When Processes Inform Meanings : the Scope of *Imihigo*

From 2006 when *Imihigo* was reintroduced they were expected to speed up socio-economic development, promote the culture of managing development programs by objectives; promote a culture of working by objectives to meet the targets; compete and innovate, to mobilise the participation of the citizens as stakeholders, to mobilise cooperation with partners, and above all to promote a culture of monitoring and self-assessment. The following sections focus on the perception of the population with regard to the ways *Imihigo* are planned, organ-ised, implemented and evaluated.

5. 1 Planning and Organisation of *Imihigo*

In the old days it is well known that *Imihigo* were planned mainly at the roy-al palace by elites such as chiefs and the king's entourage, military command-ers and *intore; Imihigo* were also planned during big events and ceremonies at the chief's and influential family residences. In as much as the event was elitist and only men's business, the common people would not contract *Imihigo*; there-fore they had little knowledge of the processes and how they would be imple-mented. The philosophy of traditional *imihigo* was built on individual bravery and performance. Understandably, for the warrior country that Rwanda was, the

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224. Though insuffieent in number for a proper FDG, a separate group for 5 staff officers was necessary to avoid any possible intimidation of the citizens in the case they were mixed.

225. The evaluation had three major parts: the auditors from IPAR [the contracting company] spend a whole day meeting, talking and proceeding to a desk review of the office [staff and the District councillors]. The next day, the delegation in groups, pursue the evaluation on the field visiting each single project recorded and presented by the District for evaluation. Standardized forms help the experts to give marks.

key elements of *Imihigo* were military oriented. The problem today is the lack of knowledge about *Imihigo* expressed by respondents, particularly women and youth who thought that *Imihigo* were forced labour in the colonial period, while others think that it is a new concept of the post genocide government (FGD, Karongi). This absence of understanding of *imihigo* as a cultural value links to their characteristic of being men's business only. A small number of respondents are aware of the difference between traditional Rwandan *Imihigo* and today's. They well noted that in pre-colonial Rwanda, *imihigo* were executed at national level and ordinary citizens were not associated. The situation is changing: "we are now starting to understand what it is" (both Focus groups Gishyita and Murundi). The understanding of "what it is" was described in a way that *Imihigo* are planned at the family and *Umudugudu* levels. Participants seem to be comfortable in explaining this. However when it comes to Sector, Cell and District, little was seen to be understood from the population.

Citizen's participation versus top-down model

According to both our respondents and the Executives of the Sector, *Imihigo* are conceived at different levels from national to *Umudugudu* (village) with little consultation with the population : "there is *Imihigo* elaborated at the ministry level and those done at the district level and are all expected to be implemented by local organs" (interview, 13 July). The participants in the focus groups addressed the issue of having a top-down model with their local authorities signing for *Imihigo* and yet failing to take account of the local realities and to involve the citizens in the preparation processes. This was put in the following terms :

> *Urugero, mu minsi ishize abayobozi bahize guhinga ama hectare y'ibirayi mu gishanga mu kwezi kwa 12, kandi ibirayi ntibishobora kwera mu gishanga muri uko kwezi kubera imvura nyinshi"* [in recent days leaders vowed to cultivate hectares of Irish potatoes in marshes during the month of December; that period of heavy rain is not good for Irish potatoes ! (FGD, Karongi).

The respondents added: "when we received the order to plant whatever, we can only complain but we will still cultivate them anyway; because the orders of the authorities must be respected" (FGD, Karongi). The World Bank has commended systems of decentralization as a tool both to improve services and to strengthen democracy by bringing decision-making closer to the people. In response to political and fiscal decentralization, local governments assume greater responsibility for budgets allocated to their Districts and can be held more accountable for service delivery (Gerland, 2000:5).Some scholars think that, while community participation has the potential to challenge patterns of dominance,

this may also be the means through which existing power relations are entrenched and reproduced (White, 1996:14). There is however, the possibility 'that popular forms of participation can counter the top-down prescriptive and often arrogant knowledge transportation and communication style of program planning and management that tends to be imposed on communities by outsiders '(Theron, 2008: 7-8). Because the top down model allows little room for interaction, understanding at the local level suffers and the consequences are increased resistance of the population to choices imposed without consultation. [Interview with director of planning, District a][226].

The rigidity of bureaucrats and the top-down thinking, identified above by the FDGS can be an inhibitor to people's participation [FGDs Murundi; Gishyita March 2016]. As noticed by FDG Murundi major concerns to be addressed in the preparation process include lack of strong synergy between national priorities, local population priorities, local development plans and Imihigo; this happens due to some break down in the planning chains, data gathering and the design of clear indicators; this makes it difficult to track progress towards the desired outcomes [FDG Murundi; see also IPAR 2014/15: p. 3].

Accountability requires that local authorities inform the population of the projects and actions to be implemented and encourage them to participate in the Imihigo process. There is a crucial point consisting in the paradigm shift of the mindset at bureaucracy structure level. The government's priorities combine reconciliation and nation-building, gearing towards "fast-tracking economic development" which necessitates a "greater central government planning and decision-making" requiring officials at district level implementing national policies and planning at the cell and village level. Consequently, the citizen's participation remains procedural [electing local leaders at village and cell levels. "More substantive participation through engaging in planning processes, community agenda prioritization and decision-making is missing". With regard to *Imihigo* planning, our informants said that all cell committee meetings are used to communicate directives from upper levels, and the leaders report upward for decisions ; in the end, it's not clear how prioritization is done and how final decisions are made. This lack of downward accountability impacts on the performance contracts. These are signed by all leaders at all levels from villages to districts. The agreements signed increase pressure for the leaders to meet the targets as the government encourages competition among communities and pushes to improve

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226. One example is the resistance to cultures imposed by local authorities out of season or in inappropriate region. For example, against the instructions of the District, the population in Ruganda Sector resisted against the terraces; they created them and waited for 2 years without planting any crops and the authorities had no other option. Then the populations decided to plant sorghum.

service delivery. The research found that increased pressure on leaders consolidates upward accountability but reduces top-down accountability and public participation[227].

A CCOIB study found that the mobilization for *Imihigo* implementation appealed to people's participation and helped to achieve many goals: a. the change of the mindset of the population in fighting poverty; b. gradual integration into households of work by goals, *Imihigo*; c. improvement of the planning of development activities of the local populations; e. self-reliance in the farming industry for households; f. an increase of basic infrastructures; g. increased possibilities and willingness to access to financial institution loans for income generating projects; h. education reform, particularly the 9YBE then 12YBE; i. increased access to medical treatment through health insurance. Above all, *Imihigo* helped to provide assistance to the most vulnerable and the poor including shelter, health insurance and the means of subsistence [CCOIB, 2014].

However, the possibility of citizens' participation in planning, selecting priorities, monitoring and evaluation is extremely weak [CCOIB interview; FGDs Murundi; Gishyita; Ndahiro 2015: 15]. 86% of the interviewees complained that they never receive any feedback on the ideas and suggestions they express in local community meetings [CCOIB 63; 65]. Prime Minister Anastase Murekezi corroborated CCOIB findings when he said: "the population must appropriate *Imihigo;* the fact that some *Imihigo* are not realized is due to the absence of the participation of the citizens in the planning. When you approach them they say, 'we hear the authorities saying they are going to prepare and sign the *Imihigo* but never involve them. The population must have a special role in the planning of *Imihigo*[228]. According to the director of IPAR, this is only a matter of time [interview 2016]. Gaynor reminds us that all citizens have a constitutional right to participate in various ways to safeguard peace, democracy, social justice and equality and to participate in the defence of the country [Gaynor 2013].

5.2. The Impact of *Imihigo*

According to MINALOC (2011:1) *Imihigo* are guided by three principles: a. aligning with government policies and targets that speed up the development; b. achieving good results/indicators giving pride to the implementers and to stakeholders; c. aspiring to get what you do not have or increase on what you already have. In this regard, the impact of *Imihigo* can be observed on the social

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227. Isaac Munene Ndereba, Lessons from Decentralization in Rwanda.
https://communityleddev.org/2017/06/27/lessons-from-decentralization-in-rwanda/.
228. Prime Minister A. Murekezi, Igihe.com, 16.04.2015.

economic development transformation; on a governance prioritizing citizen's participation, and finally on how they provide ideological justification and satisfaction of political options.

5.2.1. Impact on Social and economic Development

From 2000, vision 2020 guide policies in Rwanda with the view that economic and social development underpinned by the fact that adequate public goods is the feasible way to overcome division and other historical shortfalls that have characterized the county. The study reported among other achievements the following: on the period 2008-2013, the population living in poverty decreased from 57% [2006] to 44.9% [2011]; soil protection against erosion increased from 40% [2006] to 87.3% [2011]; good road network increased from 11% [2006] to 59.9 % [20011]; social access to health insurance increased from 70% [2006] to 89 % [2011]; safe drinking water from 64% [2006] to 74% [2011]. These indicators and others put the citizen's satisfaction in governance at 74% [2011] up from 65% [2006]229.

Theron (2008 : 7) suggests that the main goal to reach in development is 'humanness', which means striving towards social justice, participation in decision-making, alleviation of suffering, and sustainable development. Participants to focus groups said that beyond socio-economic development, *Imihigo* brought about reconciliation: "when we implement *Imihigo* through an *umuganda* given to a widow or any other genocide survivor, we meet and work together, we socialize and know better the person we are assisting" [FDG Gishyita].

A group of women told the story how they vowed to buy mattresses, to pay mutuelle de santé, to creating kitchen garden, to connect to electricity and other domestic needs. This was given more value, looking at the discrepancy between locals' priorities and *Imihigo* done at the district and national level. The women's achievement can be equally appreciated in relation to the process of building community cohesion. Many researchers agree that social development needs to be consistently defined in a way that maximizes diverse skills, knowledge, experience, and resources that exist within the community (Brenna, 2004). Having community members use their little and available local resources to improve their social condition was noted in all sites of data collection.

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229.http://www.worldbank.org/en/results/2016/07/12/rwanda-achieving-food-security-reducing-poverty-moving-up-the-value-chain.

5.3. Synchronize the *Imihigo* Planning and implementation

Throughout the developmental strategic plan underway, the Rwandan authorities look at the economic and social transformation aimed at reaching middle class income by 2020 as the path towards eradicating poverty. The respondents showed that they understand well that the socio-economic transformation at community and national levels underlies their full involvement. They give examples of where family members vow to send their kids to school, to strive for hygiene and farming change, while at village level people vow to build small roads connecting to their neighbourhood. However, they observe that from local public institutions to the higher levels the processes become centralised. At the District level, the leaders may commit to land consolidation while at the ministry level they commit to cultivate acres of maize without consulting local populations, who are the most concerned, and knowledgeable about the realities and are the implementers (FGD, Gishyita a nd Murundi).

The Concept Note that guides the elaboration of *Imihigo* commends taking into consideration: activities impacting positively on the welfare of local populations (water access, transport, energy access, schools, etc); activities that create jobs for the local populations; generate income to both the local population and local government; impact on poverty reduction; have synergy with the development of other areas; result in sustainable development; favor ownership by the local population; achieve national targets and are on line with international and national priorities of programs like MDGs, EDPRS, Vision 2020; produce quality results with minimum resources; improve service delivery with reduced costs; promote social cohesion [unity and reconciliation]; reduce social disturbances [insecurity, drug abuse, prostitution, environmental degradation, conflicts, corruption]; address cross cutting issues [gender, HIV/AIDs, environment, social inclusion, youth]. And finally, the concept note suggests that the sources of funding must be determined[230].

In that regard, the structure of the *Imihigo* stands as follows : Part I concerns the economic sector giving prominence to agriculture and food processing industry, entrepreneurship, investment, environment protection and job creation; Part II: concerns the social sector with the accent on education for all, health, social protection; Part three concerns governance, particularly reinforcing decentralization, justice, security, then public finance management.[231] Understanding the impact of *Imihigo* on social and economic development depends to a large extent on the definition of development that one is using. While many identify development

230. MINALOC 2010 : Concept Note, Preparation of *Imihigo*.
231. MINALOC Concept note Planning and Evaluation 2011 pp 22-28.

with the growth of gross national product (GNP), the rise in personal income or with industrialization and technological advance, Kuratne (2009) argues that development is a social phenomenon that involves more than increasing per capita income. Beyond statistics and financing of the achievements through *imihigo* as recalled above, economic growth could be seen both from general or government level to individual economic opportunities.

One participant in the focus group recounted how he has been concentrating on banana plantation and now is able to sell in other Districts [FDG Murundi]. He said he takes pride in being a model farmer who partners with Rwandan Agriculture Board in training other farmers. In Gishyita the focus group unanimously agreed that *Imihigo* helped them to concentrate on coffee and banana plantations which improved their well-being. Clearly, the success in the implementation of *Imihigo* depends on the quality of motivation the citizens see and their participation in discussing the choices (construction of schools, land use consolidation, fighting erosions, etc) [FDGs Gishyita & Murundi]. In the planning and implementation of *Imihigo* many of our informants fear that there may be a psychological factor influencing the position of local authorities towards a bias, standing automatically with the top rather than the bottom, influenced by national and international priorities rather than pushing forward the concerns of the local populations; it is an issue that needs to be addressed for *Imihigo's* spirit and substratum to be transmitted from generation to generation.

5.3.1. Impact of **Imihigo** *in Governance*

Year after year**,** many different stakeholders have accumulated information that buit up experiences to interpret the success or failure of *Imihigo*. According to IPAR, in 2015, there were drivers of good performance and causes of low performance.

Drivers of good performance and Causes of low performance

Drivers of good performance	Causes of low performance
1) Setting targets of high magnitude in areas with higher potential for spill-over effects (agriculture, road construction and rehabilitation, access to electricity and water, job creation, etc).	1) Target setting that is not in line with DPP priorities and soft targets with limited potential spill over-effects *(Imihigire)*.

2) The highest successful achievement in economic cluster targets weight (50%) in the overall score.	2) Low performance in core areas such as in the agriculture, infrastructure, access to clean water and electricity.
3) More focus in foundational issues mostly connected to the needs of citizens (e.g. health posts, maternal health, and health insurance).	3) Low performance in targets set.
4) Striving for high performance in all Imihigo supported with some innovative activities.	4) Construction of infrastructures that are below the standards (such as the Integrated Craft Centre (*Agakiriro*), road rehabilitation) compared to the budget invested.
5) Strong partnership with the private sector reflects the District's ability to mobilise resources beyond government budget transfers.	5) Performance of most of spot-checked activities not consistent with what was documented and reported as achieved.
6) Respect of commitments by the partners and contract management with the service providers	6) Inconsistency in documentation and information provided during the evaluation, making difficult to trace their authenticity.
6) The ability to engage citizens and citizen's satisfaction.	7) The change of leadership and staff turnover in the course of *Imihigo* implementation.
7) Strong consistency and quality of information with reported achievements.	8) Inability of the top District leaders to engage peer officials and citizens, leading to breaks in the collaboration chain.
8) Competent and collaborative District Council.	9) Moderate to lower performance in citizen's satisfaction
9) Prevailing good leadership	10) Delays in transfer of funds
10) High to moderate citizen's satisfaction	11) Targets without clear budget allocation
	12) Delay in procurement processes and service delivery by service providers
	13) Some adhoc *Imihigo* from the central government
	14) Emergencies such as natural hazards in some places
	15) No respect of commitments by development partners

[Source IPAR Evaluation Imihigo 2014-2015, p.31][232].

5.3.2. Ideological satisfaction of **Imihigo** on Political options

During the evaluation, three important steps take place: first is a desk review at the District level: the documentation and proofs provided by the District on the achievements are scrutinized for a score of 30%; the questions evolve around whether *Imihigo* targets respond to district priorities as set in the DDPs, what

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232. This study was not in the position of investigating changes that took place in the planning and implementation processes of *Imihigo* since the establishment of this list of drivers in 2014.

challenges were taken into account during the planning and implementation, how the coordination is made, how the citizen's participation was factored and what changes are intended in the socio-economic transformation of the District. Secondly, the evaluators visit the projects one by one to contrast the documentations provided with the actual reality; this item is noted 70%[233]. These two aspects are complemented by the citizen's scorecard report (CRC) produced by the Rwanda Governance Board (RGB) through compilation of a survey of feedback from individuals and communities on the quality of service received and the performance of the public sectors. The final marking stands as follows: a. economic achievements: 50%; b. social welfare achievements with a score of 30%; c. and governance & justice with a score of 20%. This score of 3 items is brought to 85% within the final mark: the scorecard from the citizens' perceptions: 10% ; the satisfaction of the District Council: 2.5% and finally, the satisfaction of the Joint Action Development Forum, JADF at 2.5%.

Balanced Marking of District *Imihigo's* evaluation
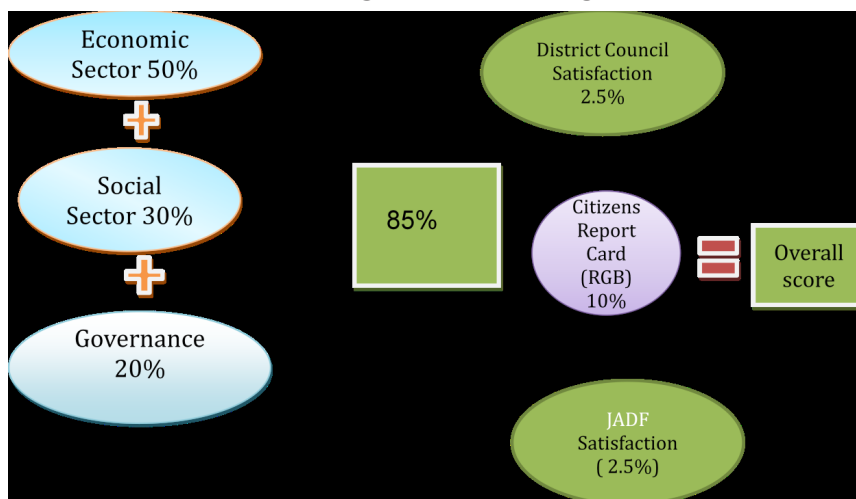
IPAR 2015: 14

  The assessment of the Districts' performance with this procedure from 2013-2014 stands as follows :

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233. During the 2014/2015 evaluation, they conducted 5 focus group discussions per District that comprised of the District Executive Committee (DEC), the District Council (DC) and the Joint Development Action Forum (JDAF) and 2 Focus Group Discussions were conducted with citizens (male and female) in communities that benefited from sampled *imihigo* targets.

Districts' Performance Ranking *Imihigo* Between 2013-2017

Province/year / Ranking	2013/2014	2014/2015	2015/2016	2016/2017	Comments
Western					
Karongi	11	29	25	13	Poor
Ngororero	3	3	14	17	decline
Nyabihu	22	22	23	24	Stable Poor P
Nyamasheke	17	16	9	11	Stable middle
Rubavu	25	15	21	30	Poor P
Rusizi	12	27	4	14	Variation
Rutsiro	11	23	29	12	Variation/instable
Northern					
Burera	20	6	24	8	Variation/instable
Gakenke	15	30	27	4	Poor/variation
Gicumbi	14	19	2	10	Middle
Musanze	27	13	30	2	Variation/P&G
Rulindo	25	21	8	29	Poor
Estern					
Bugesera	13	25	12	22	Poor
Gatsibo	30	24	11	5	Variation/P&G
Kayonza	6	20	26	23	Poor
Kirehe	5	14	16	7	Variation/ middle
Ngoma	2	2	19	20	Poor
Nyagatare	9	9	28	18	Poor/ variation
Rwamagana	28	11	17	1	Variation/ G
Kigali City					
Gasabo	28	8	1	9	Variation
Kicukiro	1	5	20	25	Variation/P
Nyarugenge	19	26	18	5	Poor/Variation
Southern					
Gisagara	7	12	15	26	Poor
Huye	3	1	3	3	Stable/Good
Kamonyi	26	28	13	19	Poor
Muhanga	23	10	6	16	Variation/M
Nyamagabe	21	7	5	27	Poor
Nyanza	7	4	7	21	Variation/G&P
Nyaruguru	9	17	10	15	Middle
Ruhango	24	18	22	28	Poor

Source : author's : adapted from Igihe.com 2017

The practice of *Imihigo* performance contract are a good way of connecting people to the national politics and orientations, and therefore creating

new citizen's – State relationships based on mutual trust and empowerment. Explaining development in the African context, Kinyinga (Gibson, 1995:69) points out that the alignment of development initiatives and organizations with the State is of the highest political importance. *Imihigo* have proved to be a powerful ideological tool that brought a quick socio-economic transformation in post war, post genocide Rwanda.

The sustainability of any practice requires that people identify with it culturally, then commit to what they understand and are able to pass on to the following generation. However, this study observed that the spirit of "*guhigura*" that characterized traditional *Imihigo* has been lost. Though the populations are aware of the importance of *Imihigo*, they play no role in the evaluation. "The authorities at different levels are the ones who monitor and evaluate" [FDG Murundi; Gishyita]. About the monitoring: "the authorities visit village to village, even house to house" [Gishyita Executive; FDG Murundi: men group]. The population is informed of the mark concerning the achievements of *Imihigo* [FDGs Gishyita] during a public meeting, a communication they consider insufficient. For them, the core of *imihigo* in the "*uguhiga" and "uguhigura*" ceremony was more than a duty to achieve, but a "pact" between the people and between the people with their leaders; a factor of cohesion that linked members of the community together and sealed the legitimacy of the authority as they strengthened the trust between the people and their leaders. To develop as a nation, each community of human beings needs a unifying ideology or myth told as a narrative that brings people together; *imihigo* and other virtues that shaped the uniqueness and "triplehood" of *Abanyarwanda* fulfill well such an important role. Because many among present day generations have no knowledge about the origin and continuation of *Imihigo* [FDGs Gishyita & Murundi], the challenge needs to be addressed for citizens to appropriate the practice.

Connecting to cultural background, they propose that local authorities organise a proper "*guhigura*" ceremoy where the laziest person would be blamed [*abanebwe bagahwiturwa*] and the best performers rewarded [FDG Murundi][234]. In as much as traditional *inzoga yo guhigura* can be considered as replaced by

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234. Many respondents say that the families' achievements through *Imihigo* are a visible reality. One respondent [Gishyita] said: fter a long break at the end of high school, I resumed my studies at the university level because of *umihigo I vowed*. A young man said: "I undertook to protect all my property against the erosion, to plant improved banana trees and to achieve more. "I took *Imihigo* seriously; I decided to settle in *Umudugudu,* to connect my house to electricity and to drinkable water. And I achieved". Most of the respondents from both Murundi and Gishyita have vowed to paying regularly mutuelle de santé; to install biogas power production and to connect to water system. [Focus Group Discussion, Gishyita].

Imihigo rewarding and signing at national level; the event needs to be strength-ened at local level as well [Men FDG, Gishyia, Murundi] to involve the imple-menters, the population. This could be an important motivation factor: *"bifite in-tege nke, bikwiriye kongerwamo ingufu. Si kenshi bikorwa ku mudugudu"[it's too weak; there is a need to reinvigorate the process. Citizens are not often in-volved at village level"* [Murundi].

6. Suggestions

6.1. Improving the role of the population in the evaluation

Mounting complaints that *Imihigo* at the household level are not well coor-dinated [planning, implementation, evaluation), and that their role is restricted to being called in meetings to be informed of the *Imihigo* signed by authorities, was constantly reassessed by the respondents. Commenting an "unsatisfactory» an-swer on the role of the population in planning and evaluating *Imihigo*, journalist Munyaneza of *Isango Star*, asked whether the population had a role in the con-ception and evaluation of *Imihigo*. Instead of calling the people to implement, they should be associated to conception and evaluation. The approach should start right from the beginning and at the bottom in villages, collecting the citi-zens' ideas and needs and compiling in programs at District level.[235] Another gap that needs to be addressed is the active and free participation of the population in evaluation without the pressure from local authorities. During the evaluation of *Imihigo* in 2016, one of the projects visited by the evaluators was a fountain set up by a water connection project in the *Simbi* Sector, Huye Distirct; the evalua-tors were surprised to hear from members of the community praise for the pro-ject, at the same time, voicing a plea for water to run permanently in the fountain. They said : at the same time, a plea for water to run permanently in the fountain. They said :

Twaherukaga amazi umunsi bayafunguraga ku mugaragaro ubu hashize ib-yumweru nka bibiri. Uyacunga yahise ajyana urufunguzo. Twongeye kuyabona uyu munsi" [the last and only time we had the water in this fountain was when it was officially inaugurated two weeks back. The fountain manager took away the key and we never saw him again, except only today [locals Simbi: 2016].

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235. *Isango Star* radio program : « Emission Club de la Presse : *Urubuga rw'Itangazamakuru* » of 18/09/2016 interviewed with the Secretary of State in the Ministry of Finance, Dr Uzziel Ndagijimana and Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Local Government.

If well involved, citizens and citizens' representatives could be a potential partner to sensitise and motivate their neighbours more, to mediate between the authorities and the population throughout the processes.

Figures no 3: Need to include the populations in **Imihigo'***elaboration*

[Source : authors]

234
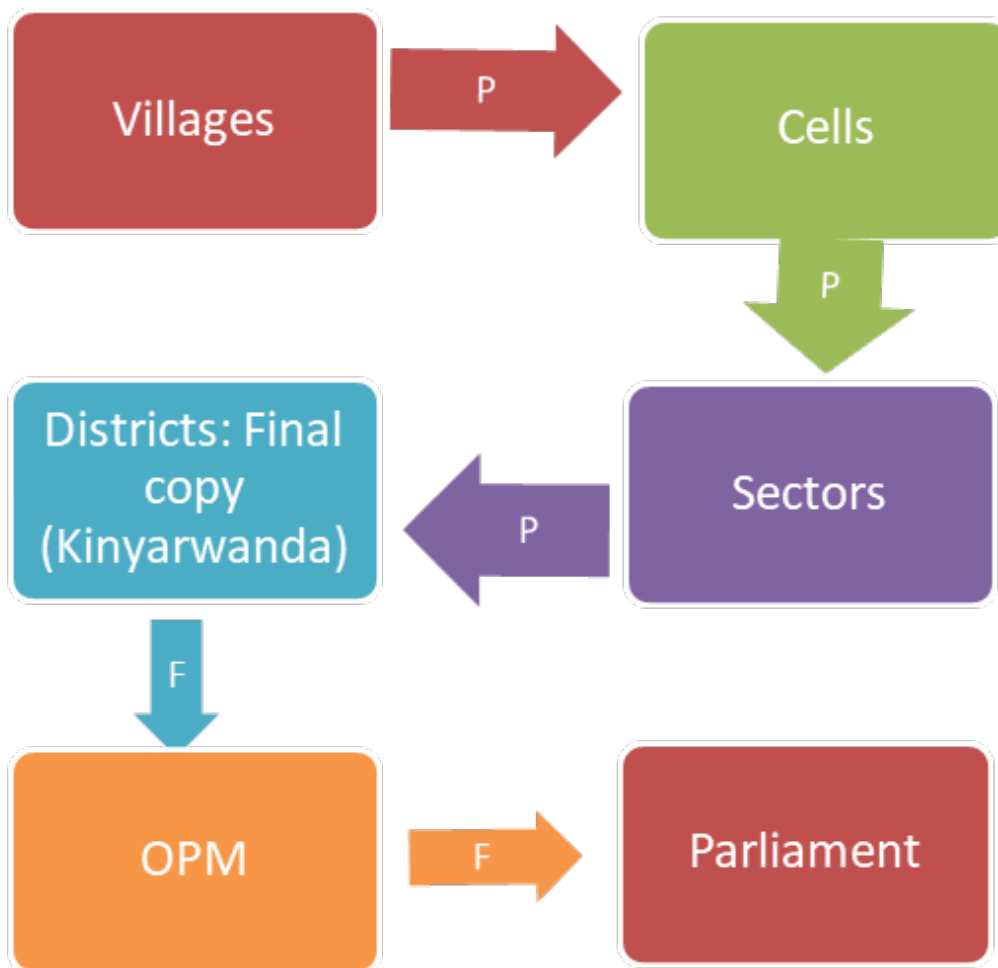
Imihigo *elaboration and implementation process* Imihigo *elaboration and implementation process*
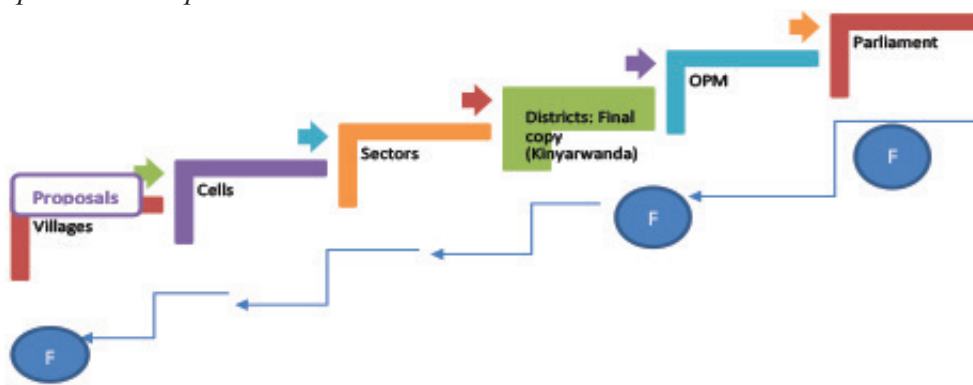
F: final copy; OPM: Office of the Prime Minister.

Legende : P= proposition of the needs. First expressed by the citizens through the *Imidugudu* [Village] assemblies, then taken up to *Utugali* [Cells], propositions from different *Utugali* are coordinated at *Umurenge* [Sector], then transmitted to the District for validation by a meeting composed of an intermin-isterial team of experts, the OPM, the Province and the District. F: Final copy. Once the *imihigo* are approved by the assembly at District level, the Mayor signs the contrats *Imihigo* with the President of Republic in the Parliament. The re-spondents requested that copies in *Kinyarwanda* are widely circulated to the population.

Figure nº 5: **Imihigo** *Evaluation: Suggestion for a new approach*
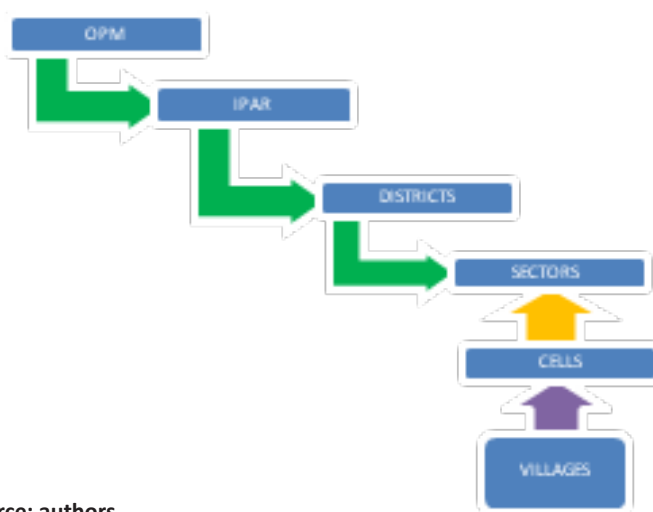
Source: authors

Comment : The researchers propose a new approach in the evaluation of Imihigo. Experts from IPAR to meet representatives elected by the population at District level to engage in the evaluation at Sector level. Respondents said: representatives of the population, fully entitled members of the teams, will be able to brief both their neigbhors and the evaluators from above ; they know better the contexts and the impact is greater.

People have to be seen as being actively involved from the planning stage, given the opportunity to shaping their own destiny, and not just as `passive recipients of the fruits of cunning development programs' (Sen 1999:53). This requires a marriage of models searching an intersection between the top-down and the bottom-up, to give better participation and full responsibility to the population.

6.2 Curbing the *Gutekinika* practice

Local leaders have been accused of giving false reports, a phenomenon known as *Gutekinika* or presenting cooked data. The researchers assume that there has been an increase of *gutekinika* made possible at the beginning of *Imihigo* implementation by the insufficiency of human and technical resources, the absence of earlier planning and the pressure put onto the officials to provide reports at short notice. The professionalization of the tools, planning and hiring professionals for evaluation have increased accountability and transparency. A change in mindset is taking place but needs to be sustained :

The evaluation is no longer the matter for the mayor but all staff and the citizen. Before, we would spend two days and two nights and still needed additional time because the staff did not know what they were expected to do. This time, each staff knew what they were expected to provide as information or document. Equally, the population increased the ownership. Before, you would tell the Mayor that you wanted to go to the field; they would hang onto your to control the responses of the population. This is no longer the case; if it was, the population knows how to contact us and provide alternative information [a head of delegation in a District evaluation, 2016].

Eugenia Kayitesi, the Director of IPAR, said: "we come from far but we have achieved a lot thanks to Imihigo". For imihigo to be sustainable she pursued, there is a need to speed up the capacity building for the population and local authorities for a precise, a realistic planning and evaluation in a participatory approach[236]. A detail raised by some focus groups is whether it could make a

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236. Interview, Kigali... 2016.

difference for the independent evaluation agency to proclaim the results directly instead of transmitting its report to the Prime Minister's office.

6.3 Challenging the odds

With the rehabilitation of traditional values as factors of socio-economic development, Rwanda undertook to challenge the odds. The success of this enterprise will have a huge impact on the now seemingly classified debate whether African cultural values are permissible to development or not. The success of *Imihigo* as a key factor in the social and economic transformation of Rwanda has disproved old arguments regarding the African cultures to be relics and myths of the past. Clearly the rehabilitation, modernization and co-option of Rwandan traditional values as tools for development contrasted with the static approach referred to above. *Imihigo* have regained political philosophical credentials for Africa; *Imihigo* have become a powerful factor of emulation at institutional and individual levels of the struggle for poverty eradication.

6.4. Caring for time pressure and climate change

The majority of the population concerned by the implementation of *Imihigo* are farmers; therefore, one of the daunting challenges recurrent in the focus group discussions was keeping the promise like providing to farmers improved seeds and fertilizers on time. Working to avoid losing a farming season requires that the Rwanda agriculture board (RAB) works closely with the farming industry to avoid lost seasons, to improve irrigation techniques, to promote greenhouses countrywide, to increase land vocation and specialization and many more actions around the annual *Imihigo* being carried out taking into consideration the time variable.

Figure no 4 : Cost of Quantity and Time pressure on **Imihigo** *performance*

Source : Authors

237
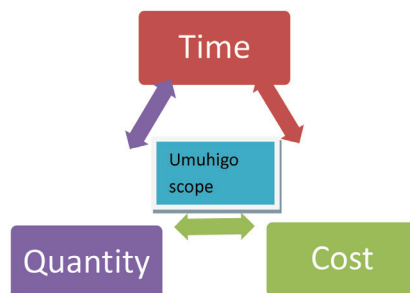
Working under this pressure has created dishonesty among some leaders who attempted to present false reports embellishing the achievements [*Gutekinika*]. There should be room for flexibility whereby due to other different factors *Imihigo* were not realized as planned. A degree of honesty is needed so that mutual learning for improvement and empowerment is part of the culture for development.

Figure no 5 : Putting forward Quality to Improve **Imihigo** *performance*
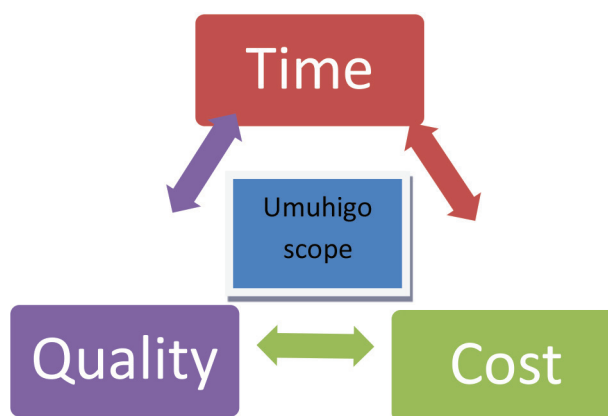
Source : authors

Quality of production needs also to be regarded not only in terms of what has been achieved but also how empowerment of the participants to *Imihigo* is done to ensure sustainability for any development practice.

6.5 Poverty and Gender dimension

In Rwanda, because of demographic pressure (more than 450 persons on a square mile), millions of households have very little, or even no piece of land to cultivate. Poor people, particularly vulnerable categories like single mothers and widows, survivors of the genocide, find so difficult to have their own *Imihigo* or anything to achieve; many of them still have no freedom and rights in household resources management. Some women said that men still do not want their wives to join small business associations, or even attend meetings. "*These men expect their wives to stay at home, look after livestock, and their children*" (FGD A). For them this hinders the realization of *Imihigo* as per family or *Umudugudu one* woman said :

I had joined a women association where we exchanged money. My plan was to buy mattress for my children. But when my husband knew that it was my turn to receive the money, I went through troubles a whole night until he got the money in his hands. So my plan had failed'' (FDG Gishyita).

Sen believes that freedom of different kinds can strengthen one another (Sen 1999:4-11). Household and community development means improving the quality of people's lives and expanding their ability to shape their own future through access to opportunities (Kuratne 2009). Gender equality, in this context is a process to work on, raising awareness of both men and women on the benefit of women's participation [women FDG Gishyita].

Conclusion and prospects of *Imihigo*

Central to this study is the hunger of the population to participate in the planning, the implementation, the monitoring and evaluation of *Imihigo*. The transfer of cultural substratum from traditional to modern *Imihigo* can be conceived through a renewed *guhiga* and *guhigura* event the stirs up competitiveness at different levels of local government and households.

This study voiced the call of the population for the development agencies, NGOS and districts to increase the capacity building of the populations through the dissemination of *Imihigo* into the language of the population, *Kinyarwanda.* This could clearly democratise knowledge and know-how so that *Imihigo* continue to be a tool of both culture and civilisation. Finally, the study voiced popular thirst for *Imihigo* policy makers to include exchanges of visits between farmers of different villages, cells, sectors, and districts to learn from successful stories as an integral component. Engaged consistently and constructively, these processes will sustain *imihigo* as a powerful factor of reconciliation, reconstruction and modernization that can inspire generations in Africa. Since Rwanda has recently inaugurated a Center for home grown solutions and a museum dedicated to Rwandan traditional practices, sharing experiences with others becomes a strong possibility.

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10

Le programme *Girinka* : puiser dans sa culture pour une stratégie de développement

Dr Olivier Militery Ngamata & Pr Déo Mbonyinkebe

1. Introduction

    Dans la culture rwandaise, la vache est un signe de richesse et de prestige. En économie la vache est un actif physique productif. Elle est aussi considérée comme un capital naturel utile à la production économique. Le programme *Giririnka* « *aie une vache* », « une vache pour un ménage » a été mis en place en 2006 à l'initiative du Président de la République. Le choix des bénéficiaires du programme *Girinka* tient compte de la capacité d'entretenir la vache en stabulation, une pratique obligatoire depuis 2006 (EDPRS, 2008). En définitive, pour recevoir une vache, il faut posséder des terres dont la surface est comprise entre 0,23 et 0,75 ha (RADA, 2006) afin de produire le fourrage et disposer d'une autre partie pour les cultures vivrières. La possession d'une vache permet d'améliorer l'alimentation, de produire des fertilisants, de créer des emplois et d'activer des échanges par la vente de la production laitière, de bœufs,… bref, d'augmenter les revenus des ménages. Comme la vache est un actif, elle sert également d'objet d'hypothèque dans les institutions financières. Il faut enfin reconnaître que les échanges de vaches par donation ou lors de la remise de la dot pour le mariage facilitent la cohésion sociale, l'unité et la réconciliation de la population de la population très utile dans le Rwanda post-génocide. Entre 2006 et 2017, un total de 298.859 vaches a été distribué aux ménages pauvres du Rwanda (RAB, 2017). Ceci constitue un investissement important du capital productif pour les ménages bénéficiaires.

    Après la tragédie du génocide perpétré contre les *Tutsi* en 1994, le gouvernement du Rwanda a élaboré et mis en œuvre différents régimes et interventions dans le secteur de la protection sociale afin de réduire la pauvreté de la population vulnérable et d'atteindre les Objectifs du Millénaire pour le Développement

(OMD). Ces programmes prennent les racines dans la culture rwandaise de l'entraide (*Ududehe*[237]), de la donation des vaches (*kugabirana, kwitura*) et de l'assistance mutuelle aux personnes en situation de vulnérabilité. Dans ce dernier cas, le Gouvernement du Rwanda a mis place en 1994 un fonds d'assistance aux rescapés du génocide perpétré contre les *Tutsi*, le FARG[238], …

Cet article se penche sur le programme *Girinka* qui signifie littéralement « aie une vache », « une vache pour un ménage pauvre ». En outre, *Girinka* est en kinyarwanda, la langue locale, est une formule de salutation qui signifie «Puissiez-vous avoir beaucoup de vaches.» En effet, la vache a une importance capitale dans la culture ; elle est un symbole important dans la tradition rwandaise. Dans les récits populaires des historiens « le tambour et la vache » sont présentés comme des éléments qui justifient la création du Rwanda (Byanafashe et Rutayisire, 2011). Ainsi, ajoutent ces auteurs que « le héros est *Gihanga[239] cyahanze inka n'ingoma (*Gihanga *qui est à l'origine des vaches et de la royauté) ».* Pour Vansina (2001), les *Inyambo*, une des races locales de vaches « ankole » au Rwanda, symbolisaient « *la beauté royale, son autorité mystérieuse ».*

237.Traditionnellement, l'*Ubudehe* était un système d'entraide mutuelle au niveau de la communauté, surtout à travers des travaux agricoles collectifs. Les paysans labouraient les terres ensemble afin de préparer leur saison culturale. Ils étaient tous mobilisés pour s'aider les uns les autres, et ils devaient collectivement s'assurer que chaque ménage était prêt pour les travaux des semailles. Ils organisaient aussi des rencontres au niveau du village, au cours desquelles ils discutaient de leurs problèmes et identifiaient les personnes pauvres ayant besoin d'une assistance. Le système de l'*Ubudehe* traditionnel est peu utilisé actuellement, puisque les ouvriers sont plutôt payés monétairement. Par contre, il est mis à profit pour permettre les activités collectives dans le cadre de la réduction de la pauvreté parmi la population au niveau local. Pour le Gouvernement du Rwanda, l'*Ubudehe* est adapté en vue de promouvoir la participation de la population au développement et à la résolution des problèmes au niveau local. A travers cette approche, la population réalise des activités de développement par le biais de travaux collectifs (construction d'école, routes de desserte agricole, centre de santé, terrasse radicale pour la protection du sol…) en utilisant les moyens disponibles et en faisant appel, le cas échéant, à l'assistance du gouvernement et aux bailleurs de fonds. Selon le MINECOFIN (2003) et le MINALOC (2006), les travaux collectifs réalisés dans le cadre du programme « *Ubudehe* » permettent de renforcer le capital social, la citoyenneté et la construction d'une société civile forte.

238 Le Fonds d'assistance aux rescapés du génocide (FARG) est une initiative du gouvernement du Rwanda. Il a pour objectif de porter assistance aux rescapés du génocide les plus démunis. Le Fonds de soutien et d'assistance aux rescapés du génocide perpétré contre les *Tutsis* et autres crimes contre l'humanité a été établi par la loi 02/98 du 22 janvier 1998 dans le but de fournir une assistance aux victimes du génocide et des massacres perpétrés au Rwanda entre le 1er octobre 1990 et le 31 décembre 1994. Cette loi a été révisée par la loi 69/2008 du 30 décembre 2008 (*Journal officiel du Rwanda,* numéro spécial du 15 avril 2009)

239. Les traditions du Rwanda, sans aucune exception, affirment explicitement que *Gihanga* fut le fondateur de la dynastie. Les Mémorialistes lui dédient la formule louangeuse de *Gihanga cyahanze inka n'ingoma = Gihanga* lequel a inauguré la vache et le tambour. Le terme « tambour » symbolise aussi bien royaume et dynastie que royauté. Consulté le 26/07/2018 sur https://rwandaises.com/2010/02/rwandahistoire-gihanga-1er-roi-du-rwanda-1091-1924/

Elles étaient « *l'expression la plus concrète du montant inouï de richesses que le peuple attribuait au roi et celle de l'étendue de son pouvoir puisque les* Inyambo *mobilisaient tant de terres, tant de personnels et requéraient tant de soins* ».

Pour l'IFAD (2009), souligne que l'élevage est un moyen d'existence essentiel pour les pauvres. Il est une source d'emploi, un moyen de thésaurisation, une forme d'assurance. Il favorise l'égalité entre les sexes en créant des opportunités pour les femmes. Il contribue à la fertilité des sols et il participe à la lutte contre les ravageurs. Les déchets d'élevage peuvent aussi servir de source d'énergie pour la préparation des aliments et à ce titre contribuer à la sécurité alimentaire.

Cette recherche analyse les données empiriques puisées dans différents rapports des institutions publiques et dans les recherches sur la thématique *Girinka*.

Ensuite, elle analyse un cas d'une coopérative des veuves rescapées du génocide perpétré contre les *Tutsi* de 1994 et bénéficiaires du programme *Girinka* dans les districts de Rwamagagana.

2. Présentation du programme *Girinka*

Depuis 2006, le Ministère de l'Agriculture et des Ressources animales (MINAGRI) exécute le programme de distribution des vaches aux ménages. Il a été initié par le Président de la République comme une des stratégies de la réduction de la pauvreté. En effet, pour la croix la croix rouge du Rwanda (2015), *Girinka* a été initié pour répondre aux taux de pauvreté et de malnutrition infantile alarmants. Les résultats de l'enquête intégrée sur les conditions de vie des ménages 2 (EICV 2), menée en 2005, faisaient état d'un taux de pauvreté rurale de 62,5%. L'analyse globale de la sécurité alimentaire et de la vulnérabilité et l'enquête sur la nutrition ont montré que 28% de la population rurale au Rwanda se trouvait en situation d'insécurité alimentaire et que 24 % était très vulnérable face à l'insécurité alimentaire. Dans certaines régions du pays, notamment à Bugesera, jusqu'à 40 % des ménages se trouvaient dans une situation d'insécurité alimentaire. L'enquête démographique et sanitaire de 2005 indiquait que 45% des enfants du Rwanda âgés de moins de cinq ans souffraient de malnutrition chronique modérée et 19%, de malnutrition chronique grave. Selon l'EICV 2, en 2005, 90 % des Rwandais appartenaient à des ménages possédant des terres agricoles, et plus de 60 % des ménages cultivaient moins de 0,7 hectare de terres. Ce sont ces facteurs qui ont motivé la mise en place du programme *Girinka,* un programme qui a la particularité de s'inscrire dans la tradition rwandaise consistant à donner une vache soit en signe de respect et de reconnaissance, soit au titre de dot (Mugabe, 2014).

Le programme *Girinka* vise en outre, à remplacer à long terme, les vaches de type *ankole* par des vaches exotiques ou de race améliorée pour renforcer la sécurité alimentaire grâce à la génération de revenus par la vente du lait, l'utilisation du fumier pour les cultures et l'amélioration du régime alimentaire via la consommation du lait. Ainsi, des vaches sont distribuées aux ménages considérés comme pauvres, mais présentant les capacités de les entretenir en élevage en stabulation permanente.

2.1 Les partenaires du programme *Girinka*

En 2006, le programme *Girinka* s'était fixé comme objectif de distribuer 257.000 vaches aux personnes vulnérables. En 2010, l'objectif a été revu à la hausse pour atteindre 350.000 vaches en 2017. En effet, comme le fait constater le rapport du Rwanda Agricultue Board (RAB), (2017), au début le gouvernement du Rwanda était le seul bailleur de fonds de *Girinka*, mais peu à près d'autres partenaires nationaux et étrangers se sont joints au programme. Nous pensons qu'ils ont été motivés par le fait que le programme présentait des effets multiplicateurs positifs aux ménages d'une part, et d'autre part, une demande énorme des bénéficiaires.

Les partenaires du programme se diversifient au niveau national qu'international. Parmi les plus importants figurent:

2.1.1 Institutions publiques :

- Le ministère de l'agriculture et des ressources animales,

- Rwanda Agriculture Board (RAB) operant comme agence de coordination,

- Ministère de l'admnistration local (représentés par les Districts, les Secteurs, Cellules and *Imidugudu*/Villages), notamment pour le choix de bénéficiaires,

- Ministère des finances et de la planification économique,

- Autres institutions publiques**:**

• *Ubudehe*, actuellement (LODA[240])

• *Akarima k'igikoni* (kitchen garden)

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240. LODA : Local Administrative Entities Development Agency

- Support Project for the Agricultural Transformation Strategic Plan (PAPSTA)
- One Cup of Milk per Child Program
- Milk Consumption Campaign Program

2.1.2 **Organisations Non Gouvernementales et Organisations Internationales**

Le rapport établit par la croix Rouge du Rwanda (2015) mentionne l'existence de plusieurs organisations d'aide au développement, parmi lesquelles Heifer International, Send a Cow, l'Organisation néerlandaise de développement, la Coopération belge, l'Agence des États-Unis pour le développement international (USAID), soutiennent le programme Girinka. A ceci s'ajoute également :International Fund for Agriculture Development (IFAD), Food and Agriculture Organisation, RWARRI[241], Christian Aid, World Vision Rwanda, The Global Fund (in a funding partnership with other NGOs), etc..

2.1.3 Les Banques, les entreprises commerciales, les écoles, les Églises…

Ces institutions soutiennent également le programme *Girinka* en octroyant des vaches aux ménages pauvres. Les vaches octroyant sont remises aux autorités qui doivent s'assurer du respect de règles de distribution en conformité aux critères d'éligibilité.

2.1.4 Pays amis ayant des vaches aux fermiers Rwandais

L'importance et les effets du programme *Girinka* se sentent au-delà de frontières nationales du Rwanda et même du continent africain. En effet, en 2005 le président du Kenya Mwai Kibaki[242] avait offert 256 vaches aux fermiers rwandais du District de Gatsibo, Province de l'Est dans le but d'augmenter leur capacité de la production laitière, améliorer la productivité en viande et le revenu du ménage.

Poursuivant le même objectif, lors d'une visite officielle au Rwanda en date du 24 juillet 2018, M. Modi, le Premier Ministre Indien[243], a offert 200 vaches

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241. RWARRI : Rwanda Rural Rehabilitation Initiative
242. Disponible sur https://www.newtimes.co.rw/section/read/5861 , consulter en date du 3/8/2018
243. Publié le 24.07.2018 à 17h53 par AFP, surhttps : //www.journalducameroun.com/le-premier-ministre-indien-offre-200-vaches-a-des-fermiers-rwandais/

- un animal sacré en Inde - à des familles pauvres du village témoin (*Umudugudu w'Icyitegerezo en Kinyarwanda)* de Rweru, au sud de la capitale Kigali. Le geste s'inscrit dans le cadre du programme gouvernemental *Girinka*, qui vise à lutter contre la malnutrition à ses débuts en fournissant aux familles rurales du bétail afin de garantir un accès au lait pour les enfants. Le programme *Girinka*, dont M. Modi a estimé qu'il «*aidait à transformer la vie des gens à travers le Rwanda rural*», a été salué pour avoir contribué à « réduire la pauvreté de près d'un quart entre 2000 et 2010 ».

2.2 Exécution du programme *Girinka*

Vu l'importance et la multiplicité d'acteurs actifs dans le programme *Girinka*, le Gouvernement a mis en place une structure cohérente dans son exécution. En effet, dans cette recherche, nous nous sommes servis des données collectées lors de notre recherche doctorale entre 2010 et 2013 sur la résilience des plus vulnérables au Rwanda. Afin de les rendre plus actuelles, les compléter ou les commenter, les données de recherches récentes ont été utilisées. La question centrale qui se pose est celle d'identifier les défis liés à l'exécution (sélection des bénéficiaires et distribution des vaches) et comprendre les mécanismes prévus pour les surmonter.

En définitif, la pérennisation du programme dépend en grande partie de la phase de préparation impliquant à la fois les bénéficiaires, les partenaires en développement et les autorités locales.

a) De la sélection des bénéficiaires

Des entretiens réalisés auprès des bénéficiaires et des autorités locales, lors de notre recherche doctorale (2012), ressortent que la sélection des bénéficiaires des vaches se déroule au niveau le plus bas de l'administration locale (*Umudugudu* - village). Ils sont choisis par les pairs les plus proches. Le fait d'impliquer la population dans le choix du bénéficiaire est vital parce qu'il facilite le contrôle direct du déroulement de l'action et le suivi de l'entretien de la vache. Les autorités locales président la séance de sélection et dressent les listes des ayants droit, puis les envoient à l'échelon supérieur pour exécuter la distribution. Il faut aussi noter qu'est signé un contrat tacite entre le bénéficiaire et l'autorité locale pour la redistribution *(Kwitura[244])* de la première génisse à d'autres

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244. *Kwiture* est un processus par lequel le bénéficiaire d'une vache redistribue la première génisse au second bénéficiaire du village qui remplit les conditions d'éligibilité. Cette pratique permet de perpétuer le programme et renforce la cohésion sociale entre la population.

ménages pauvres du village, afin de perpétuer la distribution et combattre effica-cement la pauvreté.

Pour être éligible, le bénéficiaire doit :

-   N'est pas être détenteur d'une autre vache,

-   Avoir construit une étable, puisque le respect de l'élevage en stabulation est obligatoire,

-   Présenter les capacités d'entretenir la vache. Le bénéficiaire doit dispo-ser d'une terre comprise entre 0.25 et 0.75 hectares. Une portion de terre in-férieure à 0.25 hectares est jugée insuffisante pour produire du fourrage et produits vivriers. De même, les personnes ayant une portion de terre supé-rieure à 0.75 hectare ne rentrent pas dans la catégorie de personnes jugées assez pauvre.

-   Être intègre, puisque la première génisse doit être redistribuée pour per-pétuer le programme au plus grand nombre de la population.

-   Être considéré comme pauvre par la communauté (village) et ne présen-tant pas aucune autre source de revenue.

Avant de recevoir la vache, les bénéficiaires reçoivent une formation de base sur la reproduction animale, la nutrition, l'entretien des étables, la santé de la vache. Elle est assurée par le RAB.

b) Vaches distribuées

Selon le rapport du RAB (2017), entre 2006 et 2017, 298.859 vaches ont été distribuées aux ménages pauvres du Rwanda. Les vaches qui leur sont confiées sont de la race locale *ankole*, des hybrides et des frisonnes (race pure ou pur sang). Les races exotiques sont importées d'Afrique du Sud et d'Europe, notam-ment d'Irlande du Nord. Par estimation, le coût d'acquisition d'une vache hy-bride est de 500 000 Frw, contre 250 000 Frw pour la race locale et 1 000 000[245] pour une frisonne.

Bien que nous ayons présenté des statistiques globales des vaches distri-buées, il a été difficile de trouver des données récentes consolidées par province. Le tableau ci-dessous présente les statistiques jusqu'en 2013.

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245. Entretiens avec les gestionnaires du *Rwanda Animal Ressources Development Authority* (RARDA) en juillet 2012 lors de notre recherche doctorale.

Tableau 1. Nombre de vaches distribuées de 2006 à 2013

Province	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	Total
Kigali city	236	331	467	375	166	495	514	266	2.850
North	648	1.384	3.567	6.557	8.962	3.038	2.207	905	27.268
South	1.561	5.028	8.924	9.779	2.992	4.570	3.768	2.021	38.643
East	102	4.191	12.189	6.094	3.585	3.566	8.259	1.280	39.266
West	463	3.005	3.552	16.136	3.622	4.350	8.715	1.355	41.198
Total	5.016	15.946	30.707	40.950	21.337	18.030	25.475	7.840	149.225

Source : Statistiques de RAB (2014)

Du fait de l'existence de la diversité d'acteurs dans *Girinka*, les statistiques sur les vaches distribuées diffèrent selon les sources consultées. Ainsi, le rapport produit par la Croix Rouge du Rwanda (2015) indique que 186.441 vaches ont été distribuées jusqu'en 2013, parmi lesquelles 149.925 par une distribution directe au premier degré et 36.716 par le processus *Kwitura*. Ce qui est très important, à mon avis, n'est pas la différence statistique, mais plutôt des résultats significatifs montrant des vaches distribuées directement aux bénéficiaires potentiellement pauvres. Mais, en ce qui concerne la production de génisse, ces données montrent une faible efficacité du programme. Le ratio entre les vaches du processus *kwitura* et celles distribuées au premier degré est seulement de 24% et cela huit ans après le lancement du programme. L'on imagine qu'existence du taux d'échec[246] d'insémination artificielle, mode privilégié pour la reproduction ou au décès important de la génisse. De même, les données sur les masses monétaires investies dans le *Girinka* ne sont pas indiquées dans différents rapports. Cela pourrait également être attribué à la diversité d'acteurs, à une faible coordination du programme et au fait que certains partenaires présentent des vaches sur pied à distribuer aux bénéficiaires.

Les données statistiques en rapport avec l'origine des vaches pour l'année 2010 indiquaient que 49,96 % proviennent des institutions publiques (les ministères, les entités décentralisées et les entreprises publiques). Les ONG fournissaient à concurrence de 25 %. Les autres acteurs, c'est-à-dire les particuliers, les Églises, les Banques et les IMF finançaient le projet à hauteur de 24,9 % (RARDA, 2010).

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246. Une veuve à Munyiginya avait été bénéficiaire d'une vache laitière en 2008 dans le cadre du projet Send Cow Rwanda. Lors de nos enquêtes en 2010, 2011 et 2012, elle n'avait mise bas. En effet, l'insémination artificielle avait durant toute cette période. Mais, elle avait le plaisir de la garder comme symbole de richesse. Elle a engagé beaucoup des dépenses, elle a néanmoins bénéficié les fertilisants.

On doit cependant noter que, dans la province de l'Est, c'est surtout *Send a Cow*[247] qui y opère depuis 2005. Nous verrons, dans l'analyse des données de terrain, ses réalisations à travers une étude de cas dans le district de Rwamagana. Le graphe ci-dessous présente l'évolution du nombre de vaches distribuées aux ménages pauvres au niveau national, entre 2006 et 2013.

Figure 8 **: Distribution des vaches aux pauvres : 2006 à juin 201*3*
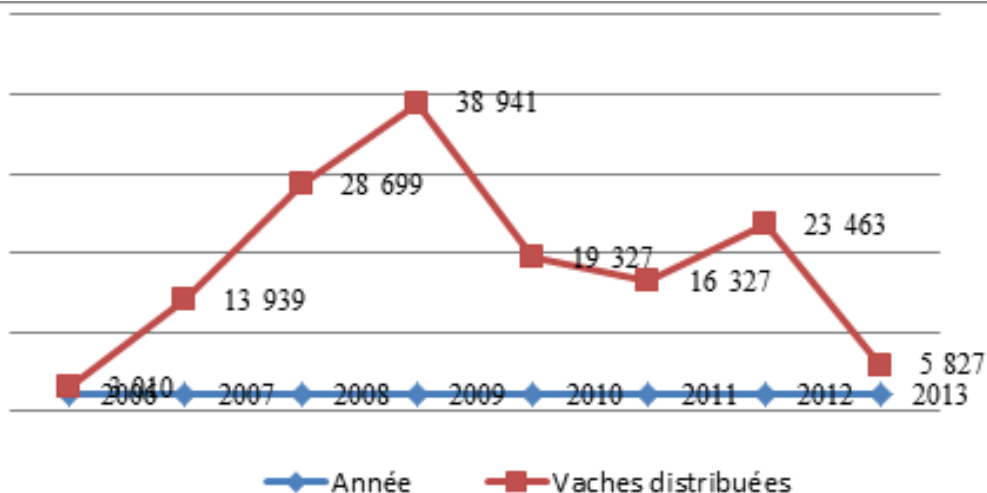
Source : Établi par l'auteur sur la base des rapports du programme *Girinka*

De manière générale, l'on remarque une tendance croissante de la distribution des vaches jusqu'en 2009, puis une inflexion suivie d'une décroissance. Après 2009, le programme mise davantage sur la redistribution des bénéficiaires aux autres ménages pauvres, *Kwitura*.

Nous avons voulu estimer l'investissement total lié au renforcement du capital physique « vache ». Pour ce faire, nous avons travaillé sur une hypothèse faible, en considérant par exemple que le coût moyen d'acquisition de la vache peut être évalué à 350 000 Frw (valeur proche de celle de la race locale). A ce prix, on trouve qu'environ 106 milliards de Frw (soit 128 millions de dollars US)

247. *Send a Cow* est une ONG fondée par un groupe des fermiers chrétiens britanniques. Elle est opérationnelle au Rwanda depuis 2006. Elle travaille avec plus de 3 000 fermiers vulnérables dans six districts comme Gasabo, Rwamagana, Kayonza, Bugesera, Kikukiro, Kirehe et Nyanza. Son objectif est d'éradiquer l'extrême pauvreté en assurant la sécurité alimentaire par le développement socio-économique, intégrant l'élevage et l'agriculture, tout en préservant l'environnement. Dans le district de Rwamagana, *Send a Cow* a distribué 197 vaches laitières dont 60 aux VRG de l'association *Ababerarugo.*

seraient déjà investis dans le programme *Girinka* depuis 2006. A ceci s'ajoutent les formations sur la gestion de l'élevage et les projets en général dont bénéficient les éleveurs, qui renforcent aussi leur capital humain.

On peut, au sujet de ce programme, se poser différentes questions. Quels sont les acquis du projet *Girinka* ? Les bénéficiaires sont-ils capables de les entretenir ? Quelle productivité et rentabilité d'une vache ?

3. Les acquis du programme *Girinka*

Comme nous l'avons montré plus haut, le programme *Girinka* a eu un impact positif sur l'augmentation de l'effectif de l'élevage bovin, de la production laitière et d'autres produits dérivés. Le tableau ci-dessous présente, de façon générale, l'évolution du cheptel bovin et la production laitière au Rwanda, dans le contexte d'une évaluation progressive.

Tableau 2. Évolution des vaches et productions dérivées pour la période 2006-2011

Désignation	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Total bovin	1 059 000	1 147 000	1 195 000	1 218 000	1 334 820	1 143 230
Bovin importé	231	852	2 943	4 035	3 936	
Bovin exporté		2 944	2 472	4 493	11 039	
Production laitière	144 888	166 733	145 000	145 000	183 000	183 000
Production laitière importée	140	169	226	116	165	
Production de viande	28 600	31 200	36 960	35 360	36 400	34 840

Source : Statistiques FAO (2013)

Note : La production laitière est exprimée en tonne.

L'importation des vaches intervient depuis 2006, une année au cours de laquelle le programme a été mis en place. Elle vise l'acquisition des races potentiellement productives. Puisque la race pure coûte cher et est difficile à entretenir, les vaches distribuées aux pauvres sont souvent des hybrides (Militery, 2014). De plus, elles s'adaptent mieux aux conditions climatiques que les vaches de race pure. Le tableau montre aussi que c'est à partir de 2007 que commence l'exportation intensive des vaches. Ce sont les races locales qui sont généralement

écoulées à l'Est de la République démocratique du Congo et au Burundi, pour diminuer le cheptel afin de s'adapter aux pratiques de l'élevage en stabulation.

•   En ce qui concerne l'impact du programme *Girinka,* les résultats de l'étude menée par Jonathan Argent et *al.* (2013) montrent que les vaches octroyées aux pauvres ont permis d'améliorer l'alimentation par la consommation du lait et de diversifier les revenus par la vente d'une partie du lait produit. Les vaches leur ont également permis de produire des fertilisants utiles pour l'agriculture et également d'augmenter les actifs productifs grâce aux nouvelles progénitures. Les auteurs ont aussi constaté que seulement 31% des vaches reçues sur une période d'une année produisaient du lait (alors que les prévisions étaient de 67%). Ces différences s'expliquent par le fait que *Girinka* a permis de distribuer beaucoup de vaches de la race locale *ankole*, qui a une potentialité laitière faible (à peine 2 litres par jour) mais qui s'adapte bien au climat. Par ailleurs, pour les races exotiques (hybride et pure), à potentialité laitière supérieure, le fourrage et l'eau ne sont pas en quantité suffisante.

•   Il faut enfin remarquer que plus de 95% des bénéficiaires du programme *Girinka* utilisent des fumiers organiques dans leurs champs, et 20% disent qu'ils arrivent à en vendre une partie. Globalement, 90% des bénéficiaires affirment que leurs conditions socio-économiques se sont améliorées grâce à la vache. Schématiquement, les acquis du programme peuvent être résumés comme suit :

Figure n° 1. Implication du programme **Girinka**
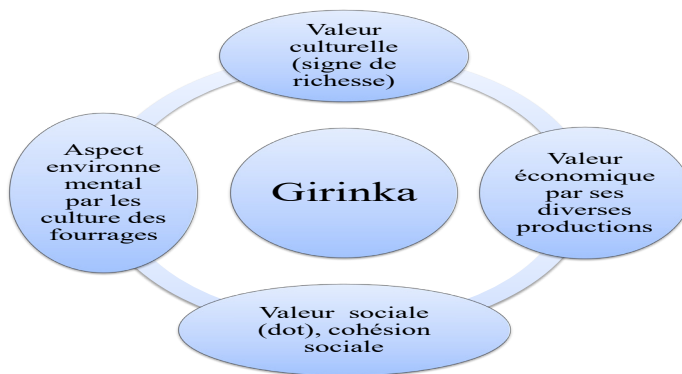
Source : Établi par l'auteur sur la base du cadre conceptuel (2018)

•   Pour la Croix Rouge du Rwanda (2015), le programme *Girinka* est l'une des stratégies de réduction de la pauvreté au Rwanda. En effet, les résultats

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d'une étude menée sur trois districts Huye et Gisagara, dans la Province du Sud, et Kayonza, dans la Province de l'Est, indiquent que « la valeur actualisée nette de l'élevage de vaches a été établie à 3.383.290 francs rwandais (4 663 dollars É.U.) pour la période 2008-2015 et à 7.462.243 francs rwandais (10 286 dollars É.U.) pour la période 2008-2020. Les résultats des huit dernières années révèlent une hausse moyenne de 10 % des coûts d'entretien des vaches par famille et une hausse moyenne de 20 % des bénéfices totaux issus notamment de la vente de lait, de viande et de fumier. Ces résultats ont permis de faire des projections précises sur les bénéfices et les coûts à l'horizon 2020.

• En plus de la valeur économique et financière, la remise de la dot au Rwanda se fait par la donation d'une vache. Cela permet, en effet, la cohésion sociale entre les familles qui s'unissent par le mariage. Il faut aussi reconnaître qu'aujourd'hui la possession d'une vache est un gage d'accès au crédit bancaire. Elle est considérée comme une garantie par le débiteur.

• Enfin, l'échange des vaches par donation *kugabirana, gutanga Inka* et la redistribution *kwitura* doit être considéré comme une stratégie potentielle pouvant contribuer à l'unité et réconciliation de la population du Rwanda post-génocide. En effet, selon *Mudingu* (…), « *pendant la période coloniale, la vache était un actif accessible par la seule classe d'élite ».* Aujourd'hui, la vision du programme *Girinka* se veut de distribuer des vaches aux pauvres pour les rendre riche. À cet effet, *Girinka* met fin à l'ancienne perception qui entoure la possession d'une vache par une seule classe sociale. La composante «transmission-*Kwitura*» de *Girinka*, par laquelle un bénéficiaire offre le premier veau à un voisin, a aidé à reconstruire les relations sociales détruites pendant le génocide perpétré contre les *Tutsi* en 1994. En effet, il s'établit une relation d'amitié et de fraternité entre celui qui et qui reçoit une vache.

• En définitif, la donation des vaches est une pratique culturelle appréciée par une grande communauté des éleveurs en général. Chez les éleveurs Turkana, un peuple pasteurs au Kenya, le cheptel est à la fois fondement des relations sociales et facteur essentiel de résilience. Cantoni et Lallau ont observé que « *la viabilité de leur mode de vie reposait sur de fortes relations sociales entre membres d'une même famille, d'un même clan, voire de clans différents. Durant les années de prospérité, une famille développait son réseau social par le don, le prêt d'animaux, l'hospitalité, l'échange d'animaux. Ces liens permettaient de prévenir les crises en facilitant les pratiques de confiage d'animaux et donc la dispersion du cheptel, mais il jouait également un rôle fondamental en cas de crise et de perte du cheptel, dans le processus de reconstitution de celui-ci »* [Cantoni et Lallau, 2010].

4. Étude de cas d'une coopérative des bénéficiaires[248]

Ababerarugo est une coopérative est constituée de 60 veuves de l'association AVEGA[249]. Elles sont rescapées du génocide perpétré contre les *Tutsi* en 1994 du secteur Gishari et Munyiginya à Rwamagana. Elles ont bénéficié de vaches laitières du projet *Send a Cow*-un partenaire du programme *Girinka* au Rwanda. Les bénéficiaires ont également obtenu, du même bailleur, un crédit de 150 000 Frw pour la construction d'étables, remboursable sur six ans, sans intérêt. Le projet met aussi à leur disposition un vétérinaire qui fait le tour des villages pour soigner les vaches et qui s'occupe de l'insémination artificielle.

Photo 1 : Vaches d'une veuve du génocide à Munyiginya

Ces vaches appartiennent à Ingabire Joselyne (44 ans), veuve du génocide. Elle est présidente de la coopérative Ababerugo. Au début, quand l'animatrice du développement de l'AVEGA est passée pour les sensibiliser à recevoir des vaches, les veuves n'étaient pas d'accord. Elles étaient désespérées et ne voulaient pas qu'on leur parle du projet générateur de revenus. Lors de notre passage, cette veuve était très confiante en l'avenir avec ses deux filles adolescentes (5e et 3e secondaire). Les vaches permettent de fertiliser les champs, de produire du lait. Le lait améliore l'alimentation et permet d'avoir un revenu régulier. Joselyne contracte des petits crédits qu'elle rembourse grâce à la vente du lait et de la production agricole.

Source : photo prise par l'auteur sur le terrain (2011)[250]

Les veuves sont formées par l'ONG pour l'entretien des vaches, sur le diagnostic et l'administration des soins primaires en attendant l'arrivée du vétérinaire. Dans la culture rwandaise, l'élevage est une activité réservée souvent aux hommes. Mais, quand on est veuve, disent-elles, on doit tout apprendre et tout faire ; c'est cela le *coping strategy*, la résilience *(kwigira, kwiyubaka, ...)*.

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248. Ce texte a été rédigé en grande partie sur base des entretiens menés avec les responsables de l'AVEGA au niveau National et ceux avec les bénéficiaires et gestionnaires de la Coopérative *Ababerarugo* pendant recherche doctorale en entre 2010 et 2014.

249. AVEGA est l'Association des Veuves rescapées du *Génocide-Agahozo*. Elle a pour mission d'œuvrer pour l'épanouissement et la réintégration des veuves du génocide par l'amélioration de leurs conditions psychosociales et socio-économiques dans la solidarité, la justice et la paix sociale. Elle poursuit les objectifs suivants : (i) promouvoir la solidarité entre les membres ; (ii) mener des activités susceptibles de contribuer à l'amélioration des conditions de vie des veuves ; (iii) promouvoir l'éducation des orphelins du génocide ; (iv) perpétuer la mémoire des victimes du génocide...

250. Joselyne est la responsable de la coopérative des veuves-éleveurs de Munyiginya. Nous avons eu l'autorisation préalable de sa part pour publier sa photo et citer son nom dans notre thèse.

Au début, les veuves avaient un problème d'écoulement de la production laitière. En effet, selon les entretiens avec des veuves, les vaches produisent entre 7 et 9 litres de lait par jour en moyenne. Pour couvrir les charges liées à l'alimentation et au salaire du berger, une partie du lait doit être vendue. Mais, le prix de vente était jugé insignifiant. Le litre coûtait 150 Frw, alors qu'à 35 km de là, à Kigali, il revient à 450 Frw en 2013. La baisse du prix du lait dans le milieu rural s'explique par le faible pouvoir d'achat[251] et l'inexistence des infrastructures de collecte et de stockage du lait.

Nous avons assisté un soir, pendant l'enquête à Munyiginya, à l'appel d'une veuve qui demandait aux enfants de ses voisins de venir consommer gratuitement le lait qu'elle venait de traire, de peur qu'il ne se détériore. Bien que le partage fasse partie de la culture rwandaise, essentiellement pour les produits laitiers, dès lors que la vache n'a pas de pâturage et qu'il faut cultiver ou acheter le fourrage, il faudrait penser ou agir autrement pour vendre la production laitière.

Pour remédier au problème de la vente du lait, les veuves qui ont reçu des vaches dans le cadre du programme Girinka se sont associées aux autres paysans de la région, dans la coopérative *Dukorera Igihugu Famer's Cooperative* (DUFACO)[252], pour la construction d'un centre de collecte et de commercialisation du lait. Après une étude de faisabilité du projet, la Banque Rwandaise de Développement (BRD) a octroyé à la coopérative un crédit de 54 000 000 de Frw pour la construction du bâtiment et l'achat des machines de conservation. Au total, les membres ont contribué à concurrence de 12 000 000 de Frw, constitués de parts sociales ; 10 000 000 de Frw ont servi de garantie à la BRD et 2 000 000 de Frw constituent le fonds de roulement de la coopérative. Le projet *East Africa Dairy Development* (EADD) a accepté de financer 20 000 000 de Frw pour l'appui technique. Les prévisions de prix de vente du litre de lait étaient estimées à 300 Frw lors de l'étude du projet, ce qui devrait permettre au centre et aux éleveurs de réaliser des marges significatives si l'on compare avec le prix de 150 Frw.

Elle emploie trois personnes : une réceptionniste qui pèse le lait des fournisseurs, un vendeur-comptable et un agent qui s'occupe de l'hygiène. La capacité du centre dans les prévisions était estimée à 5 000 litres mais, actuellement, il

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251. À part les éleveurs qui consomment du lait et les populations urbaines (Kigali et centres ruraux), la population rurale considère le lait comme un produit de luxe. En effet, la saisonnalité du revenu et le pouvoir d'achat sont des facteurs qui limitent la consommation du lait en milieu rural.

252. DUFACO : regroupe 876 éleveurs (statistiques d'août 2011) des trois secteurs frontaliers que sont Munyiginya, Gishari et Musha.

peut seulement recevoir 3000 litres. Le centre reçoit le lait, le conserve et le vend aux marchands de Kigali. Le prix d'achat du litre est fixé à 250 Frw. Les coopérateurs approvisionnent la coopérative tout au long du mois, et les paiements sont effectués à la fin du mois.

Les marges de la coopérative se montent à 50 Frw par litre, ce qui permet d'assurer son fonctionnement (paiement des salaires, des factures d'électricité, d'eau, amortissement de ses équipements).

Il faut enfin mentionner l'État a aussi encourager les investissements dans la filière laitière (collecte, transformation et commercialisation des produits laitiers) dans tout le pays pour remédier au problème de marché du lait.

5. Évaluation de la pratique de l'élevage par les veuves

La pratique de l'élevage en stabulation par les veuves rencontre des difficultés de disponibilité et le transport des fourrages. En effet, les veuves vivent dans les agglomérations *(Imidugudu)*[253] considérés le mode d'habitat au Rwanda post-Génocide (Kayigema, 1997). Le fourrage est cultivé dans des champs le plus souvent distants de l'habitation. En plus, de fourrage, les fertilisants doivent aussi être transporté du village au champ. Cela requiert une main d'œuvre permanente pour assurer ces travaux. En plus, de fourrage, les vaches nécessitent une quantité importante de l'eau à puiser. Selon, les entretiens avec les veuves, le berger s'occupe aussi de travaux agricoles. Sa rémunération est estimée en moyenne entre 8000 Frw et 10.000 Frw par mois. Des autres charges d'exploitation de la pratique de l'élevage de bovin sont notamment : l'insémination artificielle est une charge annuelle, sauf en cas d'échec. Elle est évaluée à 5000 Frw par des veuves.

Les revenus issus de l'élevage comprennent essentiellement du lait, du fumier et la variation de stock élevage par les nouvelles naissances. Puisque nombre du bétail est limité, il varie entre 1 et 5 pour les enquêtés, nous avons jugé bon de considérer le seul revenu issue de la vente du fumier est aussi insignifiant. De

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253. Traditionnellement, l'habitat rwandais [comme celui de la région des Grands Lacs d'Afrique] était dispersée sur les collines et ne connaissait pas le type des villages type agglomération qu'on rencontre dans d'autres parties de l'Afrique. La pression démographique, la rareté des terres agricoles et les besoins d'accélération du développement socio-economique ont conduit à une politique de réforme de l'habitat et de l'agriculture, consistant au regroupement de la population en agglomérations appelées, *imidugudu* et a la consolidation des sols pour la production agricole extensive ainsi que l'implémentation de la politique de zéro grazing [élevage dans les étables] pour les familles qui n'ont pas assez de terres pour créer des ranches.

même la variation de stock n'est pas aussi important du fait de l'effectif du troupeau. Pour le calcul, nous avons travaillé avec les seules données recueillies à huit éleveurs de Munyiginya.[254] Les autres veuves possèdent des vaches de la race locale moins productive.

Tableau 21 : Production laitière pour les veuves de Munyiginya (to be corrected)

Veuve	Production journalière	Prix du litre	Revenu journalier	Revenu mensuel
1	6	250	1.500	45.000
2	8	250	2.000	60.000
3	4	250	1.000	30.000
4	10	250	2.500	75.000
5	7	250	1.750	52.500
6	5	250	1.250	37.500
7	8	250	2.000	60.000
8	7	250	1.750	52.500
Total	55	250	13.750	412.500
Moyenne	7	250	1.750	52.500

Source : auteur, sur base des données d'enquête (2018)

La production laitière de la vache dépend essentiellement de qualité et de la quantité de fourrage consommé et d'autres aliments complémentaires tels le sel, de l'eau, …

Les données ci-dessus ne comprennent pas les quantités du lait consommées par les ménages et les vaux. Ce sont celles livrées au centre de collecte « DUFACO » pour la vente. L'approvisionnement se fait se fait chaque jour et les paiements sont effectués sur des comptes des veuves ouvert dans *Umurenge* Sacco à la fin du mois. En moyenne, le lait produit 1.750 Frw par jour et 52.500 Frw par mois. Après déduction de la rémunération de la main d'œuvre et charges diverses d'exploitation, le revenu net de l'élevage est estimé entre 20.000 et 25.000 Frw par mois par les enquêtés. Cette somme régulière sur 10 mois de l'année (période pendant laquelle la vache produit du lait) est importante pour ménage en milieu rural.

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254. Ces veuves ont été bénéficiaires des vaches laitières du projet S*end a Cow* Rwanda. Elles sont membres de la coopérative « DUFACO » et génèrent des revenus important à partir de la vente du lait.

À part le revenu monétaire, la possession de la vache permet d'augmenter le rendement agricole par l'utilisation des fertilisants et a une considération sociale au Rwanda.

Conclusion

L'importance de l'élevage et du programme *Girinka* est démontré dans divers rapports des Institutions Publiques. Le programme *Girinka* est l'une des stratégies de réduction de la pauvreté développée au Rwanda. Il a eu divers impacts sur la production agricole, surtout la filière laitière. Dans une recherche récente conduite par RWARRI entre Janvier et Juin (2018) dans les Districts de Kirehe et Kayonza, Province de l'Est du Rwanda, ses principales conclusions sont les suivantes : (i) le programme a largement atteint ses objectifs de réduction de la pauvreté par une réduction significative de la présence de la malnutrition chez les enfants, (ii) une augmentation de revenu et une amélioration du bien-être des ménages bénéficiaires, (iii) une cohésion sociale entre les populations par la donation (*Kwitura, kugabirana*) et la dot, … (iv) l'usage des fertilisants produits par compost a boosté la production agricole.

La même recherche, souligne quelques défis à relever dans ce programme *Girinka* : (i) le taux élevé de mortalité des vaches élevé. Il est évalué en moyenne à 14.3%. Une meilleure prise en charges des vaches par les vétérinaires devraient permettre de réduire le taux de mortalité. (ii) Dans certains cas, la phase préparatoire (formation des bénéficiaires, construction des étables et la santé de l'animal, ..) devraient être améliorée. (iii) Les fourrages, l'accès à l'eau pour les vaches posent des problèmes surtout pendant la période de sécheresse. (iv) L'accès à l'insémination artificielle et son coût pose de problème auxquels une attention particulière est importante.

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Pastoral Care of the Family, a Mission   of the Churches
Framing a church contribution to Home Grown Solutions in Rwanda

By Rev. Prof. Elisée Musemakweli

1. Introduction

Today, the family is undergoing rapid changes that affect both its definition and its functions. In all societies of the world, the family has always been regarded as a "social institution" which regulates the relations between its members and society on the other.[255] It is a basic element for the viability and stability of any society. However, the tradition that has always been the basis of the family seems to have lost momentum; modernity is increasingly felt on families in terms of freedom and individual responsibility, but also in terms of meaning. Families today have a variety of lives and forms depending on the meaning they are given. These changes undoubtedly lead to problems that must be resolved if we are to safeguard the integrity of family and that of society.

The definition of the family goes with its composition. Usually it is made up of father, mother and children, known as "the nucleus family". In most cases this nucleus family is joined by other close relatives and the family then becomes the "extended family." The definition varies from one culture to another and from one context to another. In some cultures, the nucleus family is considered as the true definition of the family, in others it is rather the extended family.

Today, even this double definition (nucleus family and extended family) is challenged by modernity, especially in terms of structure and status. In fact the landscape of the family changes as a result of new notions introduced into family life, such as individual freedoms, gender balance, re-definition of responsibilities

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255. See Richard Bondi, " Family ", *A New Dictionary of Christian Ethics*, James F. Childress & John Macquarrie, eds. London, SCM Press Ltd, 1986, p. 224

for each member, and so on. All this results in new family structures and legal status; this inevitably causes problems. On this point, Clement I says: "In the modern period, the institution of the family is undergoing rapid changes and modifications. Along with the changes, there are problems as well that are being confronted by a modern-day family"[256].

In Rwanda, the family is not immune to those changes that affect it positively or negatively. The traditional Rwandan family itself has evolved over time, first under the influence of colonisation and then that of modernity. But with the genocide of the Tutsi in 1994, it was completely disarticulated even dismantled. The government of Rwanda has put the stability and well-being of the family at the core of its reconstruction action because the future of the country necessarily goes through the family. It then undertook the task to develop policies, laws and strategies to protect and promote the family as a whole and family members individually. In this process it is inspired by its culture and genius to set some programmes aimed at protecting the family against disintegration.[257] Civil society, through non-governmental organizations and other associations, also strives to safeguard the integrity of the family.[258]

What is the role of the Church in all this? What is its mission vis-à-vis the family? What support does it provide for families in crisis? Unlike Catholicism, which developed a theology of the family, Protestantism rather developed the theology of marriage and the couple at the expense of that of the family. There does not seem to be much biblical and theological emphasis on the family ministry. In any case, Protestant churches have a responsibility to care pastorally for families, firstly for the stability and cohesion of the families themselves and then for their own stability and growth and finally for the cohesion and development of our society.

In this joint effort to rehabilitate the family, the churches, initiated several actions to promote holistically the integrity of the family. But the hypothesis that can be made is that these actions are sporadic and have no well-developed biblical and theological or cultural basis. Yet these tools already exist. Unlike Catholicism, which has developed a theology of the family, Protestantism does

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256. Clement I, *Sociology of Nurses*, Pearsons, Delhi, Chennai, Chandigarh, 2010, India, p.139

257. Although there is a specific Ministry in charge of the family issues (Ministry of Family and Gender Promotion), but given its importance, the protection and promotion of the family has become a cross-cutting issue for all ministries including the police.

258. Some of these organisations are, for example, *Rwanda Men's Resource Centre* (RWAMREC) whose goal is to promote gender equality through positive masculinity, *Pro-Femmes/Twese Hamwe* (PFTH), an umbrella of Civil Society organizations aiming at the promotion of Women status, peace and development in Rwanda.

not seem to have put much theological emphasis on the ministry of the family. It seems that the churches did not develop systematically, either before or after the genocide, the pastoral care of the family. While churches make a great effort to mentor families, they need a coherent pastoral framework that would be the driving force behind their efforts.

This article attempts to examine how churches respond to these issues destabilizing today's families. What support do they provide to families in crisis ? How do they understand and interpret their mission vis-à-vis families ? And finally, what are the possible shortcomings that they should address. The issue of the family since the end of the genocide against the *Tutsi* in Rwanda has become complex and multi-faceted, so churches should think about action in a coherent and inclusive way from a well-defined theological and pastoral basis.

The churches already have important tools, including a biblical and theological basis, traditional values that have been the pillars of the traditional Rwandan family system, but also the family laws and policies of the Rwandan government that place gender and family among its top priorities. Churches should therefore use and capitalise on these tools for their pastoral action towards the family. Otherwise they would lose a great chance in accomplishing their mission and thus pay a high price for this negligence. This paper proposes to examine where the Church in Rwanda stands in relation to this crucial question.

2. The Definitions of the family today

Today the family has several definitions given the changes it has undergone over time. The nuclear family to which we are accustomed has undergone profound changes in recent decades. It has become more and more unstable and disjointed. For Mussa W. Dube, what disrupts and disintegrates is the inequality between its members. She argues that the family is "a space and place of relationships marked by gender, age, religious, cultural and sexual identities, most often characterized by hierarchy and inequalities".[259] And this necessarily affects the stability and development of the family. So for her, without equality of all its members, the family is doomed to be disunited and unstable and therefore fragile.

But what is more disturbing is that these changes affect both the conception and the very nature of marriage as well as the relationship of the couple.

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259. Moussa W. Dube, *Families today : One Ecumenical Perspective,* Presentation at the International Ecumenical Conference on Families Today, Wuppertal, 2014, p.2 (not edited).

Goffs School Sociology mentions some of these changes: people marry a little later compared to the past, partnership relationships are no longer marriage-related because more and more people live together without being married (cohabitation), the couples of the same sex are also increasing, the conception that we had about children has changed, indeed the family with many children no longer has an audience, there are even couples who prefer not to have children at all (childless family).[260]

In the same line, Frank Furstenberg also describes the decline of so-called conventional marriage and how it no longer regulates the lives of individuals. He says: "In a matter of thirty years, we have gone from a time when nearly everyone married, usually in late adolescence or early adulthood, to a time when a growing minority will never wed, and most postpone marriage until their mid twenties or later. Marriage is no longer the master event that orchestrates the onset of sexual relations, parenthood, the departure from home or even the establishment of a household. These events have become more 'independent of one another-discrete moment in the life course".[261]In addition to this, the revolution of the gender roles has tremendously modified the landscape of family: the patriarchal system is being challenged, women are no longer confined to domestic duties, they are also assuming more and more public and professional roles, the focus is on the personal autonomy and responsibilities of all family members rather than on one person considered as *Pater familias*. These changes are mainly embodied by other forms or types of families that appear today: single-parent families, unmarried couples or unconventional families, blended families, widowed families, etc.

Thus, the traditional conception of family, marriage and kinship is reshaped. The nuclear family which has long been the norm of the family is therefore no longer adapted to modern times. For Pauline Irit Erera, the traditional two-parent family ideal for the 1950s has ceased to be the norm.[262] There is a shift from a nuclear family to a non-conventional family, where people consent to live together in mutual respect, assuming their responsibilities to each other freely without

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260. Goffs School Sociology, Changing Family Patterns (Family Diversity), retrieved from https://goffssociology.worldpress.com/changing-family-patterns--family-diversity/
261. Frank F. Furstenberg, *Family Change and Family Diversity* (1999), University of Pennsylvania, p.148
262 Pauline Irit Erera, *Family Diversity: Continuity and Change in the Contemporary Family,* Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications, 2002, p. 214, in The Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare, September, Vol.29, Western Michigan University

being bound by marriage. The "Family is where people stand by and bear responsibility for one another over the long term and across the generations".[263]

For some sociologists, the family in modern rather postmodern times, should be defined in the light of individual freedom and not according to what society wants or expects to have from family. Because of equality between men and women, people are more and more free to choose the kind of life they want to live. In this regard, Anthony Giddens, says that "the reasons for marriage and having families have changed from 'doing what society expects' to 'doing what you want and like'. You can now choose to live together, to break up, to have or not have children as you please and not have the pressures of tradition or social expectation".[264]

As we can observe, the family is today diverse; its definition is controversial. For some, it is in decline for others, it is rather a normal evolution because, like any normal institution, it must evolve over time. The nuclear family can no longer adapt to post-modernity. Whatever its definition, the question remains, the traditional or nuclear family has undergone profound changes. But how to manage these changes ? How can the family, whatever its form, be a place of peace and serenity for its members ? This should be the concern of the churches today. In fact, these changes have an ambivalent role: they are good in themselves because they enhance the dignity of each member of the family as well as their responsibility for the well-being of all, but at the same time they can be sources of conflict and crisis if they are poorly managed.

3. Methodology

To this end, the consultation of the literature on the family, both biblical and sociological, allowed us to obtain some information on the family in the Bible and the evolution of the structures and functions of the family over time. Thanks to this information, we have found that the family is an institution that evolves very rapidly and that the pastoral care of the family must also evolve with it. In Rwanda, the documents and studies on the traditional family, its evolution through the times and on the family today showed us that the family as it was in the traditional Rwanda has radically changed in contact with modernity, but seriously damaged with the 1994 genocide committed against the *Tutsis*. That is why we have processed literature and activity programs the Rwandan government has

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263. Evangelische Kirche von Westfalen (EKvW), Families Today…2012, p.7.
264. See Goffs School Sociology, *Changing Families Patterns* (Family Diversity)

put in place in its effort to place the family at the centre of its efforts to rebuild the country.

On the church side, we examined the role of the churches in the pastoral accompaniment of families. We focused on three churches, the Presbyterian Church in Rwanda (EPR), the Anglican Church, Kigali Diocese (EAR/KD) and the Association of Baptist Churches in Rwanda (AEBR), which are similar to other mainline churches in Rwanda, in terms of both governing bodies and structures. On top of that they are all three members of the National Council of Churches (CPR) and hence have the same understanding and the same analysis of the Rwandan reality. The choice of these three churches is for two simple reasons: their experience in family-related issues and their availability to provide information. The written documents obtained from EPR and EAR (narrative reports, statutes, journals, proceedings of governing bodies) and the interviews with two of the church leaders and the heads of family services[265] have shown that the work which is being done by the church is appreciable, but still some shortcomings need to be addressed. The activities carried out need to be better articulated and based on a solid biblical and theological ground.

4. The family in the Bible

The family in the Old Testament is a community of people linked together by a bond of marriage and kinship. It includes the father, mother, children and grandparents. But the family in the Old Testament also includes all those under the father's authority, namely slaves, concubines and foreigners (Gen. 17:23,27). It is worthwhile to note that the family in the Old Testament is often called "household" (*bayit*) to insist on this inclusiveness. (Gen. 45:10; 46:5-7).[266] The primary function of the family is to convey the faith and traditions of the people of Israel to children and future generations. It is the perpetuation of the lineage (Dt. 6:20-25). It is also the main goal of marriage for procreation so that Israel has sons to guarantee this continuity.[267]

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265. We were able to get the interview with the Right Reverend Louis A. Muvunyi, Bishop of the Anglican Church, Kigali Diocese, the Rev. Corneil Gato Munyamasoko, Legal representative of the Association of Baptist Churches in Rwanda, the Rev. Immaculée Nyiransengimana, Head of Mother'sUnion in the Province of Anglican Church in Rwanda, the Rev. Cedric Kanana, Head of Father's Union, Anglican Church, Kigali Diocese and the Rev. Rose-Marie Ibyishaka, Head of Department of Woman and family.

266. O.J. Baab, "Family", *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol.II, New York, Nashville, Abingdon Press, 1962, p.238

267. Lisa Sowle Cahill, « Famille », *Dictionaire Critique de Théologie*, Jean-Yves Lacoste, editor, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1998, p.455

But the family also has a duty to transmit to children and future generations traditions of Israel and faith in God. This is the task of parents who have to do it through teaching (Exodus 13: 8,9, Dt. 4: 9,10, 11:19, Psalm 78: 4-7). Here it is important to note that this teaching also concerns other family members, the household (Gen 18:19). All must know what God has done for the people and keep it for more fidelity and trust in God.

The family is thus a small religious community where the Covenant between God and his people takes roots. "The Old Testament family is firmly founded on the covenant established by God between him and his people, and in the covenant relationship the family is clothed with its special character, which makes it possible to reveal its primordial role in Israel".[268]

But paradoxically, there are practices in the Old Testament that can endanger the integrity and stability of the family and threaten its functions in society and in relation to God. Such are the tense relations between husband and wife, violence between brothers or members of the same family, rivalry between the wives of the same husband, rape, lust and sexual harassment (David covets Bathsheba and orders of her husband), murders, human trafficking (the sale of slaves), etc. All this is a real threat to human dignity and the family as a whole.

Fortunately, in the face of these threats, there are measures to preserve and protect the family. In the Ten Commandments we find this desire to protect the family from disintegration. The 5th Commandment says: "Honour your father and your mother, that you may have a long, good life in the land the Lord your God will give you," while the seventh states: "You shall not commit adultery." The 10th also declares: "You shall not envy your neighbour's house, you shall not sleep with his wife, you shall not want to own his slaves..." [269] These three commandments stick to the integrity of the family by preserving the relations between parents and children on the one hand and relations between husband and wife on the other and social relations as well.

In the OT, we can also read how God cares for widows, orphans and foreigners (Deut. 10:18; 14:29; Jer.7:6). It is obvious that despite the threats that can destabilize and destroy the family, the OT places safeguards to protect it, for it is the space where human life must prosper and the relations between God and his people be materialized. Anything that could threaten or destroy its integrity was

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268. R. Bergey, « L'alliance et la famille au travers de l'Ancien Testament » in *La Revue Réformée*, Article 220, Nov. 2002 ; http://larevuereformee.net/article/n220/lalliance-et-la-famille-au-travers-de-lancien-testament, p.1
269. Evangelische Kirche von Westfalen (EKvW), *Families today, The Keynote Presentation at the General Synod,* Bielefeld, 2012, p.20 (not edited).

vigorously combated.[270] In the New Testament there is no specific teaching about the family except the continuation of what the Old Testament says. The family is often considered as a covenant and elsewhere it is compared to the church of Christ. (Matt 19:13-15). The apostles speak of the family in terms of husband and wife. The novelty of the New Testament is the level of value given and the role assigned to each member of the family in the whole of social life, especially members who previously did not have much esteem. Jesus includes everybody without distinction, in particular women and people with disabilities. Often women are found in his entourage and Jesus does not hesitate to speak to them (the Samaritan woman), to visit them (Mary and Martha) or to entrust to them important missions, like the announcement of his resurrection. Jesus was moved with compassion for people with disabilities and their families. The Gospels show that he cares passionately about them (see John 9 and Luke 14).

Jesus, in reinterpreting the Old Testament divorce law, no doubt wants to protect married women since they could be divorced for whatever reason.[271]Children also regain their status as full family members. Jesus compares them to the citizens of the Kingdom: "Let little children come to me," says Jesus. In this regard, the duties of each member of the family are also specified and this, in order to safeguard the harmony of the family.

Yet Jesus does not hesitate to ask his followers to separate from their families for the benefit of God's wide family.[272] He goes even so far as to say that the physical family can be an obstacle to the realization of the Kingdom of God. The family thus becomes a framework that obviously illustrates new relationships based on Christ. The family becomes a community of faith. In this new family, there is no more discrimination based on race, gender and social status (Galatians 3: 27-28).[273] We therefore find in the New Testament both forms of family: the family in its sociological sense (classical form of family as stated in the Old Testament), but also in its broadest sense, as a community of faith (spiritual family).[274] Here, the family receives a new definition that enables it to fulfil its functions adequately with mutual respect, culture of complementarity and responsibility.

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270. O.J. Baab,1962, p.238

271. David Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage in the Bible, The Social and Literary Context*, Grand Rapids, Michigan/Cambridge, 2002, p.141-145

272. See Frank Crüsemann, 2014, p.4

273. Evangelische Kirche von Westfalen (EKvW), *Families Today*, 2012, p.22

274. This second meaning of the family in the New Testament (community of faith) can also be compared to that of the Old Testament (religious community) where the covenant between God and his people is concretized.

5. The Traditional Rwandan family

5.1 Structures

The traditional Rwandan family is of three types. The first type and the most prevalent is the restricted family or nuclear family as is the case in many cultures around the world. It is constituted by marriage and composed of parents and children not yet married. But this nuclear or narrow family may be enlarged by other persons closer or for whom it is responsible, such as the widow of one of the spouses, the children of the brother or sister of one of the spouses or even adoptive children. This is called *urugo* (household).[275] For D. Byanafasha, the specificity of the nuclear family is its openness because it can include people from outside the biological circle (Byanafashe 1997: p.8). It is important to note that a polygamous man had as many households as the number of his wives. The second type of family which is the extended family is a group of several households, descendants of a common ancestor, related by blood and having the common heritage. This group of households is called in the Rwandan tradition *inzu*, the minor lineage. The members of *inzu* are generally united, they are in solidarity. But sometimes they can be in conflict even in opposition. Then comes the major lineage or *umuryango* which is a set of several of these agnatic groups called *inzu* and spans several generations (Charles Ntampaka 1997).

It is important to note that the traditional Rwandan family is patriarchal. Monogamy was most widespread, but not excluding polygamy, which was mainly related to prestige and economic power. Polygamy allowed the family to have many children and hence the power, but also the manpower for the economic health of the family (Nyirasafari H. Gaudence 1987). Indeed the number of women and children was the symbol of the wealth and power of the family. No poor or middle-class man could afford to marry more than one woman.

5.2 The functions of the traditional family

Naturally, like other cultures around the world, the traditional Rwandan family's main function is procreation to perpetuate the lineage, but also to be respected in society. A childless couple is often despised and sometimes a sterile woman can be divorced. To this function is added that of the education of children.

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275. See Jacques Maquet, p.94 ; Déogratias Byanafasha, « La famille comme principe de cohérence de la société traditionnelle rwandaise » in Cahiers, Lumière et Société, Histoire II, Août 1997, p.7 ; Charles Ntampaka, « Family Law in Rwanda » in Andrew Bainha (Editor), *The International Survey of Family Law, Martinus Nijhoff (Publishers), The Hague, Boston, London, p.416)*)

Parents are responsible for raising and educating their children. Generally, the mother deals with the education of the girls while the father takes care of that of the boys. The mothers prepare girls to become later model wives and mothers. Similarly, through different physical exercises, the fathers prepare boys to become strong and instil in them cultural values such as courage, integrity, solidarity, respect of adults, love for neighbour, etc. On both sides, children receive sexual education. But this division is not rigid because both parents together must take care of the education of their children. Also since children belong to the extended family, even to the community, education is also a matter of other family members (aunts, cousins, uncles, etc.) and the community at large. That is why a child who is guilty of any fault can be punished by any adult whether he is a member of the family or not.[276] Education embraces all areas of life (socio-economic, cultural, religious, etc.)

Economic is another function as important as education. The head of the family is responsible for feeding his family, increasing its wealth and making it respectful to society. Indeed the family is respected in society according to its economic capacity. The wealth of the family is not evaluated in monetary terms, but in terms of land ownership and livestock ownership. This is why each family strives to increase this heritage as much as possible through careful and continuous work involving all members of the family. This economic function ensures primarily food security and prosperity of the family, but can sometimes extend to individuals, outside the family with a few means, either by offering them a paid job or by giving them a free piece of land or livestock by solidarity.

Another important function of the family is to ensure the peace and security of all members of the family. This means that vulnerable people whose children and especially the youngest, the disabled are the subject of special care. When there are disputes or conflicts, the family leader must resolve these conflicts. When two families from the same neighbourhood are in dispute, they resort to the conflict mediation committee set up by the village. In the traditional Rwanda like many other societies, families were therefore considered as the foundations and pillars of society. Strong economic families, steeped in cultural and human values, interdependent and peaceful families were symbols of a viable and prosperous society.

The economy of society was based on the system of exchange of goods because of lack of a monetary system. This trade has contributed significantly to

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276. Gaudence Habimana Nyirasafari, « La Famille dans les Structures Historiques, Economiques et Sociales. Le cas du Rwanda », Organisation des Nations Unies pour l'Éducation, la Science et la Culture, 1987, p.11-12

the development of interactions and social symbiosis of Rwandan society. To avoid the break-down of the family, the rules for regulating every detail of life were fixed (the rights to cattle, the rights to property, the rules of succession in case of death of the head of the family, rules of socialization, etc.).[277]

5.3. The traditional family in the face of colonisation and modernity

The structures and functions of the Rwandan family outlined above will undergo changes over time, some are minor but others are deep. First, in contact with colonisation along with Christianity the traditional family will be weakened for the benefit of the nuclear family. Missionaries will, for example, impose monogamy because for them polygamy and divorce are against the conjugal fidelity advocated by Christianity.[278] Charles Ntampaka also certifies the dominance of the nuclear family on the extended family until it is recognized as the only form of family in the Rwandan family code. Referring to the Article 24 of the Constitution of 1988, he writes :

"The Civil Code introduces and establishes the nuclear family of a man, a woman and their children. It is the only form of family protected by law. Byplacing this article alongside the other laws, one can understand that the family referred to is exclusively the domestic".[279]

But, as Charles Ntampaka says, even if the nuclear family is the only one legally recognized, lineage relations have not completely disappeared. For example, marriage is an extended family affair. Also the functions previously assigned to the family will also be modified by the introduction of new and foreign elements. The introduction of the school, the monetary system, will substantially alter the functions and habits of the traditional family. Nyirasafari states that the traditional family shifts from a subsistence economy to a market economy. She learns to cultivate not only for consuming but also for selling. Also, the barter system gradually disappears. In the same way, the education of children is shared between the family and the public institutions, the high fertility and the improvement of the sanitary conditions cause the demographic question, (G. Nyirasafari 1987 p.14-19). Later this will force the government of Rwanda to adopt the birth

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277. J.J. Maquet, 1954, p.109-114
278. J. & P. Tringaz, *L'éclatement de la famille africaine, Religions, Migrations, Dot et Polygamie,* Collectif de travail sur la famille, Document n° 2, Office de la Recherche Scientifique et Technique d'Outre-Mer (ORSTOM), Kigali, 1982, p.3
279. Charles Ntampaka, Rwanda : Family Law, p. 2

control policy. [280] This policy contradicts the traditional family view that many children are a sign of power and wealth. But the genocide committed against the Tutsi in 1994 will be the most destabilizing factor of the Rwandan family, as we will see in the following section.

6. Families today in Rwanda

6.1 The Rwandan family undermined by the genocide

With the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, new forms of the family accompanied by new functions will appear, the roles will also be reversed with serious consequences for family members and the Rwandan society as a whole. The most striking of these cases is that of children's households or children living alone *(abana bibana).* These children are orphans of the genocide; they live under the same roof; the one who is a little older automatically becomes responsible for the others. In their study on this phenomenon, Claudine Uwera Kanyamanza and Jean-Luc Bracklaire write: "These children, these adolescents, these young people, live out a difficult life in the households created. To listen to their testimonies, there is a price. We are impressed by how they always resist, they talk about their heavy responsibilities assumed at a very young age, the feeling of not having a childhood that is accompanied by feelings of abandonment, loneliness and constant anxiety."[281]

Never before has such a phenomenon existed in Rwanda where orphans could be cared for by other members of their immediate or distant family or even by neighbouring families. That is why the Rwandan government has tried to sensitize people to integrate these children into their own families. In the Old Testament, as we have seen above, God protects orphans. This is why He commands His people to give them food and clothing and not to oppress them (Deuteronomy 10:18, Jer. 7: 6). An unprecedented situation, children become prematurely responsible for their small and unexpected family, some women bear

280. See also E. Twagirayesu, *LaPastorale de la Famille et le Planning familial au Rwanda*, Mémoire présenté pour l'obtention de Diplôme d'Études Supérieures, Kinshasa, 1990, pp.81-90

281. Cl. U. Kanyamanza & J. L. Brackelaire, « Ménages d'enfants sans parents au Rwanda, récréation d'une structure familiale après le génocide perpétré contre les *Tutsi* », in *Cahier de Psychologie Clinique*, 2011/2, n° 37, Ed. De Boeck, p.14 retrieved from www.cairn.info/revue-cahiers-de-pyschologie-clinique-2011

alone the social and economic weight of the family deprived of the father, killed during the genocide or in prison because of the involvement in the genocide.[282]

Also the case of single-parent families usually consisting of widows or widowers is accentuated by the women and girls raped during the genocide and who gave birth to the unplanned and thus unwanted children. Jonathan Torgovnik, a journalist at the Telegraph reports: "Among the survivors, those who are most isolated are the women who have borne children as a result of being raped. Their families have rejected both them and their offspring. An estimated 20,000 children were conceived during the genocide in Rwanda, and many of their mothers contracted HIV during the same brutal encounters that left them pregnant. These women feel they have lost their dignity, are alone and utterly powerless".[283]

Some of the raped girls who became mothers against their will have been traumatized, they also feel that they have lost their identity, two of them narrate: "Rwandan women also experienced a loss of identity because marriage and sex are considered a rite of passage between girlhood and womanhood. Coming of age and losing one's virginity are celebrated with marriage. Thus, women who were raped lost their identity and could not be considered women or girls which damaged their sense of belonging in their communities further. Another adds, "With that rape I lost my identity as a girl. When a friend of mine invites me to a party I can't go. . .I don't know if when I go I have to be with the girls or with the women. I am not a girl and I am not a woman (Mukamana 2008: 381)".[284]

In some cases, raped women were rejected by their husbands. Children born of these mass rapes are also, in most cases, rejected by their mothers (Violet K. Dixon, (2009), Vol. I, N°12, A Study in Violence: Examining Rape in the 1994 Rwandan Genocide,). These children themselves are traumatized because they think they do not have a normal family. These genocide rapes have drastically affected the family and society of Rwanda. On the socio-cultural level, intra-familial and family-to-family relationships have deteriorated. In fact, during the genocide of the *Tutsis*, some people did not hesitate to denounce or kill members of their own family and their closest neighbours, thus making the family a place of fear and death instead of being a centre of peace as it was before.

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282. See Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion, *National Strategic Plan for Family Promotion*, 2011-2015, p.3

283. J. Torgovnik, "Rwanda: Legacy of genocide", in Telegraph of 06 October 2007

284. Mukamana D. and Brysiewicz P. 2008 The Lived Experience of Genocide Rape Survivors in *Rwanda, Journal of Nursing Scholarship* 40 (4), 379-384, p. 381

With this, Rwandan values, such as respect for the elderly and women, especially pregnant women, solidarity, love of others, mutual aid, etc., values that were once the guarantor of cohesion and family stability, transmitted through the education of children, collapsed during the genocide. The genocide completely left the Rwandan family in a desperate situation. In their collective study on the legacy of the genocide to the family in Rwanda, Lidewyde H. Berckmoes et al, clearly show that the direct or indirect consequences of the 1994 genocide, such as poverty, family conflict (in most cases due to death or imprisonment of one of the spouses), the different understanding of genocide for mixed couples, etc., social exclusion, family responsibilities felt as a burden, physical illnesses resulting from trauma, etc., affected seriously the relationships of the family members and hence undermined its stability.[285]

But what is sad is that the genocide did not have only the direct effects on families but also indirect effects on the second generation. In their conclusion, these authors emphasize that genocide and related events affect the socio-economic environment of the second generation, that is, children. This is experienced in their everyday life, marked by extreme poverty, dependence, compromised education, but also difficult communication between them and their mothers.[286]The Rwandan genocide completely disrupted the Rwandan family by amputating it of its members, creating structures that were previously nonexistent, such as the families of orphaned children, by reversing the roles and causing trauma and injury, as well as the feeling of loss of identity and abandonment.

6.2. Challenges facing Rwandan families today

The Bible does not hide the problems that are plaguing families and may destroy them. Unfortunately, these problems have not disappeared over time, they persist until today. Families today worldwide and in Rwanda have almost the same problems as families in biblical times even if the contexts are different. Family violence, conflicts between brothers or members of the same family, divorce, marital infidelity, rapes, murders, just to name a few, threaten the stability of families today as it was in biblical times. The challenges facing the family in Rwanda today are in most cases due to modernity, but especially to the genocide as we have just outlined them above. They are the direct or indirect consequences of it.

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285. Lidewyde, Berckmoes, et al, (2017) "How Legacies of Genocide are Transmitted in the Family Environment : A Qualitative Study of Two Generations in Rwanda", in www.mdpi.com/journal/societies, Amsterdam. See also Rwanda Strategic Plan 2005
286 Lidewyde & Berckmoes et al, pp.13-15

Poverty

On the legacy of the genocide on the family Lidewyde Berckmoes et al. point out the collapse of the family economy, the family burden and the decline in productivity as some of the consequences of the genocide on the family (Lidewyde Berckmoes et al, p.5-7). According to the Rwandan Ministry of Family Promotion and Gender, poverty threatens the safety and well-being of the family and as a result disintegrates it. It manifests itself in several situations or areas: "hunger and malnutrition, poor health, absent or limited access to education and other basic services, high morbidity and mortality rate due to diseases, social conflicts, violence risks, drug abuse, lack of decent housing, discrimination and social exclusion. Poverty is also among the factors that lead young people to delinquency and prostitution, thus putting their families in trouble".[287] Poverty is thus one of the factors that destabilise and weaken families. Families with lower incomes or no income have a hard time living. When parents do not have enough to support their families, they accuse each other and often conflicts can occur. Children are the first to suffer from this situation, they do not have enough to eat, they drop out of school due to the lack of resources, or they do not succeed well in class. As a result, their development is affected. This factor deeply destabilizes the harmony of the family. In the Old Testament as in the traditional Rwanda, one of the functions of the head of the family was to ensure the economic security of each member of the family.

In traditional Rwanda, a poor family had no esteem in society, although, on the other hand, solidarity could work. The government of Rwanda has made the fight against poverty one of the top priorities of its policy. Through the EDPRS programme, it has put in place various strategies to fight against poverty, including "home-grown solutions" such as *girinka* (a cow for a poor family), *umuganda* (communitydevelopment work), *ubudehe* (collective action and mutual support), *agakiriro* (small and mediumenterprises), etc. All these practices take root from Rwanda culture and genius. Statistics show that this policy has positively impacted the society.[288] Furthemore, it has encouraged the emergence of organisations like Pro-femme *Twese hamwe* for socio-economic empowerment of women; AVEGA *Agahozo* which empowers socially, psychologically and economically the widows of the genocide.

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287. MIGEPROF, *National Policy for Family Promotion*, December 2005, p.4
288. In 2000/2001 poverty in Rwanda was 59.9% and extreme poverty 40%. In 2013/2014 poverty was only 39.1% and extreme poverty 16.3% (Source: Enquête Intégrale sur les Conditions de Vie (EICV), NISR, 2013

Domestic Violence

These are all types of violence that put family safety at risk whether it be marital conflict, sexual and gender-based violence or violence against children. As E. Munyantwari and I. Nkundabatware write that the consequences of domestic violence are many and dramatic. "Domestic violence in general generates many consequences, including insecurity in the vicinity, the destruction of family unity, lack of security, separation, injuries, killing, imprisonment, poverty, orphanhood, hatred, suicide, egoism, truancy and failure to eat".[289]

As can be seen, domestic violence not only affects spouses, it also has a negative effect on school performance and children's attitudes, both covert, such as low self-esteem, hopelessness, anger, disgust, overt, such as aggressiveness, social isolation, hence incapacity of interacting with others.[290] In the same line I. Mukashema and Roger Sapsford point out that marital conflict is at the root of juvenile delinquency, poverty, malnutrition, lack of supervision of adults which leads to bad behaviour, such as drug addiction, etc.[291] For the Ministry of Family and Gender Promotion, the scale of domestic violence "is alarmingly increasing in Rwanda due to the violation of victims' physical and moral integrity, but also, and their impact on the social and economic flourishing of the Rwandan family ". [292]It must be emphasized that adults continue to commit violence against children, including abusing them, raping them despite the policies, laws and dissuasive measures taken by the Rwandan government to protect them.[293]

Child-headed household

Indeed, the genocide of the Tutsi of 1994 left the Rwandan family unstructured. First, socially speaking, the nuclear or extended family that was once considered a haven of peace where each member felt safe was seriously shaken and even disfigured. Some people killed members of their own family, the genocide

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289. E. Munyantwali & I. Nkundabatware, "Causes and Forms of Domestic Violence" in *Violence and Conflict Management in Families and Communities,* PIASS Publications Series, Huye, October 2014, p.127

290. E. Niyibizi & J.Nyirakamana, "Domestic Violence and Children's Behaviour", in *Violence and Conflict Management in Families and Communities,* PIASS Series, N° 6, Huye, October 2014, pp.156-157

291. I. Mukashema & R. Spasford, "Marital Conflict in Rwanda: Points of View of Rwandan Psycho-Socio-Medical Professionals", in Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences, 82 (2013), pp. 149-168

292. MIGEPROF, 2005, p.6

293. Especially Law 27/2001 on Rights and Protection of the child against violence; Policy on Orphans and other Vulnerable children (2003); Integrated Child Policy (2011). There are also Police Gender Desks and One Stop Centres capable of responding to any violence against children and women.

caused a large number of widows and orphans, and then a new phenomenon of "children's households" appeared as outlined above. These children live alone and are responsible for themselves. The child who is older than others automatically becomes their leader.

Street children

Another phenomenon that is directly related to the genocide, but also to poverty and violence in families is the street children. A few years ago this phenomenon was unthinkable in the country. A large number of these children live in the city of Kigali to a lesser extent in satellite cities. In most cases these children come from abused or poor families without enough resources to live decently. But some of them are orphans.

In many occasions, the president of Rwanda, Paul Kagame has challenged Rwandan public authorities to be more proactive in giving them their rights and caring for the street children. The Ministry of Local Government places street children among vulnerable children who deserve special care.[294]

Single-parent families

The phenomenon of single-parent families also increased after the genocide (widows or unmarried mothers or single mothers). During the genocide, many women lost their husbands and remained alone with or without children, also many raped girls had unwanted pregnancies and suddenly found themselves responsible for children against their will. But other factors that cause this phenomenon are worth mentioning, such as early pregnancy among the youth, "divorce, polygamy or absence of the husband".[295]

Rape

As we already mentioned above*,* during the 1994 genocide, rapes were massive. Unfortunately today the rapes still exist even if it is not on the same scale as in the genocide. Rape remains a serious threat to the safety of families even though the rate tends to drop. The World Data Atlas, Knoema reports that in 2008 rape rate in Rwanda was 3.9 cases per 100,000 population, in 2013 it was only 2,4 cases per 100,000 population.

According to the 2016 statistical Yearbook, cases of rape in 2010 were 1,661, whilst in 2015 they were 1,442 across the country. The National Police in

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294. See National Policy for Orphans and Other Vulnerable Children, 2003
295. MIGEPROF, 2005,p.4

2017 reports that "cases of rape dropped from 284 to 147 cases across the country in 2015". [296] However we should note that some cases are not reported due to cultural considerations or the lack of evidence.

In the Bible rape is considered as a murder (Deut. 22:26). Crüsemann asserts, *"Rape is therewith legally equated with a crime of killing and must be treated accordingly…The point of comparison between killing and rape is also the injury of the nefesh, of life, of the soul. Because this entity is permanently damaged in rape the occurrence has the same weight as the physical extinction of life".[297]* Rape is thus among the factors that destabilize families from the dawn of time to today. There is reason to welcome the decline in rape cases in Rwanda, but the fight against rape must continue until it is eradicated.

Separated or divorced couples

Similarly, it should be noted that the number of separated, divorced or living in concubinage couples continues to increase. The study conducted by Jean-Christophe Nsanzimana shows that "the proportion of divorced women has increased rising from 1% in 2005 to 5%in 2010".[298]

Absentee parents

Parents' absence is a phenomenon which is tremendously increasing in Africa.[299] This is due to professional reasons or studies of one or both parents. Nowadays working away from the home has become a necessary way to earn a living. When both parents have full-time employment, family life combined with work is challenging for both parents.[300]But what is more disturbing is when one spouse is separated from his or her family for several days or even months for working reasons (living apart together). This is the case of truck drivers, but also young couples where one spouse does not find a job in his/her geographical area. There are many dangers that can befall the life of the family, including the risk

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296.http://www.knoema.com/Atlas/Rwanda/Rape&http://rwfacts.com/rwanda-national-police

297.Frank Crüsemann, *Basic Biblical Assertions about Families Today*, Lecture at the International Ecumenical Conference on Families Today, Wuppertal, 2014, p.8

298. J. C. Nsanzimana, "Marriages and Divorces in Rwanda, Numbers vs Comments" in NISR

299. Zitha Mokomane, "Role of Families in Social and Economic Empowerment of Individuals" prepared for United Expert Group Meeting on "Promoting Empowerment of People in Achieving Poverty Eradication, Social Integration and Full Employment and Decet Work for All", 10-12 September 2012, United Nations, New York, p.8

300. Annette Kurschus and Martin Dutzmann, "Foreword", in *Families Today : The Keynote Presentation at the 2012 Synod of The EvangelischeKirche von Westafalen,* p.9

of extra-marital sex, education of children not provided by both parents, etc. It is also worth noting the absence of parents due to studies.

Today everyone wants to go to school not only to have a diploma or to acquire further knowledge and skills but above all to meet the demands of modern society.

There is no longer any age limit to studying. One can even go to school on the eve of retirement age. This is a good thing, but the stability of the family suffers. Again, the children suffer from this repeated absence of parents and their education is at risk since it is in the hands of housekeepers as it is the case in many households in Rwanda. Peterson Tumwebaze points out that "Parents have a major influence on a child's achievement, more importantly in the field of education. Experts say the absence of a parent in a child's academic guidance makes them insecure, which affects their well-being in general. Sadly, today's reality has accentuated absence of parents in their children's upbringing, especially due to work-related commitments. Whether a parent's absence is short-lived or long-lived, the fact remains that it negatively affects their child's education".[301] This phenomenon of absentee parents is not only limited to Rwanda, it is global. But in Rwanda even if there are no reliable statistics, the phenomenon is increasing with serious consequences that affect the stability of the family.

Alcohol and Drug abuse

High alcohol consumption and drug use are other factors that impoverish and destabilize families, but with particular effect on young people and a negative impact on family life globally and in Rwanda. The statistics provided by the Rwanda National Police show an upward trend. "Between December 2015 and April 2016, about 1000kg of cannabis were seized and 604 people arrested in connection with either trafficking or abusing drugs, with 63 of them women. During the same period, police also seized close to 4000 litres of locally made illicit brew and banned gin and arrested 554 people including 108 females over the crime. At least 363 of those arrested with illicit drinks were the youth aged between 18 and 35 years. The Police also find that drug use leads the youth to engage in criminal acts such as theft, prostitution, violence, murder, etc".[302] Rwanda Initiative against Drug Abuse and Related Crimes (RIDARC), a non-profit association involved in the fight against drug abuse among youth of Rwanda, reports that "In Ndera Neuropsychiatric Hospital patients who presented with alcohol

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301. Peterson Tumwebaze, "Absentee parents : How it affects your child's studies" in *The New Times of March 08, 2017, A Daily Rwandan Journal.*
302. Source RNP News,"How drug abuse contribute to child abuse", 15 June 2016

and drugs induced mental illness ranged from 746 out of 3,278 (22,6%) in 2010 against 989 out of 3,332 (29,6%) in 2011".[303]

A report commissioned by the Ministry of Youth and ICT (MYICT) in 2013 revealed that 52.5% of young Rwandans have tried a drug, including alcohol, and among them 5% tried an illegal substance, mainly marijuana. The report also revealed high levels of alcohol consumption (34%) and tobacco (8.5%) among youth aged between 14 and 35. It is further estimated that one young man or woman out of every 13 is alcohol-dependent. The report concludes that drug use impacts negatively on the health and education of the Rwandan youth.[304] For Dr Ngamije et al, "The use of alcohol and other drugs by children and youths is not just an issue of criminal activity in Rwanda but also has long-term economic and social repercussion and thus, a need to address the problem at individual, family, school and community levels".[305] It is obvious that alcohol and drug use is a serious threat to the harmony and stability of the family.

Prostitution

Prostitution was fiercely repressed in the traditional Rwandan family, today it has become commonplace. Young girls are often caught in the nets of immoral men and thus ruin their lives by becoming prostitutes. Some of these girls are orphans or from poor families or families where domestic violence is prevalent. But as we have just seen, drug abuse is also one of the causes leading to prostitution. Face to these challenges, the Government of Rwanda adopted a policy promoting the family with a focus on its cohesion and stability; policies and laws that protect family, especially women from domestic and marital violence, and those that protect children and define their rights against child rape (Law No. 59/2008 of 10/09/2008 on Prevention and Punishment of Gender-Based Violence, National Policy against Gender–Based Violence, July 2011) Rwanda: Law 27 of 2001 Relating to the Rights and Protection, August 2011 National Integrated Child Policy). Moreover, it is well known that many programmes like EDPRS also place special emphasis on the rights of women and children and the fight against all forms of violence against them.

303.Joseph Mushyikirano, "RIDARC : Three years Experience in Fighting Against Drug Abuse Among the Youth in Rwanda" in *Drug Abuse and Addiction in Rwanda: Can Rwanda win the war on its own?* PIASS Publication, Series, no 4, Huye, March 2014, p.53

304. Source : United Nations Development Programme Rwanda (UNDP), Breaking Habit for a Better Life, 19 June, 2014

305.Dr Ngamije et al, "Drugs Use Among the Youths in Rwanda: A Public Health Concern and Family", retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/307947875, p.4593 [accessed June 06 2018]

Most of these measures refer to Rwandan culture and genius. For example, raising orphans in families and not in orphanages. In the traditional Rwanda orphans were raised in the extended families or by other relatives. *Umugoroba w'ababyeyi* or "parent's evening". This platform gives parents and couples the opportunity to discuss issues related to family life. Similarly poor families have been empowered through the programme of "a cow for a poor family", in reference to the solidarity that has always been one of the key values of Rwandan culture, etc. In addition to this, the Government of Rwanda launched an education campaign for the preservation and protection of the family and a fight against everything that destroys it, through various trainings and workshops, lectures and broadcast programmes on radio and television.

The Ministry of Family Promotion and Gender is implementing policies and programmes that address the challenges threatening the cohesion and stability of the family. It works jointly with other bodies and services involved in the protection of the family in overseeing and implementing strategies and actions towards the family protection. On the church side, how do they respond to the challenges that families face? What pastoral accompaniment measures have they put in place to help families in crisis or to prevent situations that destabilize families? This is the subject of the following section.

7. The church in Rwanda and Pastoral care of the family

7.1 Actions undertaken by the churches towards families

For a long time, the churches have known that they have the responsibility to offer pastoral care to families. They know that without a stable and secure family, there is no ecclesial community either. That is why even since the time of the missionaries, family work was part of the activities of churches. In the aftermath of the genocide of the Tutsi in 1994, all churches understood the need to strengthen action towards the genocide-stricken family. However there is no systematic teaching established to guide marriage and family. For our investigation, we have considered three historical and well-established churches in Rwanda for several decades. These are the Presbyterian Church in Rwanda (EPR), the Anglican Church in Rwanda, Kigali Diocese and the Association of Baptist Churches in Rwanda (AEBR).

The Presbyterian Church in Rwanda (EPR)

Family work in the EPR began at the time of the missionaries, especially with the training of women on various activities related to the household by the missionaries' wives.[306] After its independence, the Church created what it called *Women'sDepartment* whose mission was to promote the status of women. In the aftermath of the 1994 genocide, the EPR undertook action to rebuild the family, implementing a number of programmes for church rebuilding, including a women's component."The women's service is responsible for the reorganisation of women and the creation of a movement that can help them support each other to overcome trauma and crisis, while the diaconal programme is mandated to care for widows, orphans and other needy people."[307]

The women's service and *diakonia* were mandated to put in place concrete actions for vulnerable people, starting with orphans and widows of the genocide. The most important of these actions were the following:

- provide decent housing for the widows of the genocide ;

- payment of tuition fees for genocide orphans and children whose families are vulnerable ;
- creation in 1998 of a centre for training and rehabilitation of street children whose main objectives are school reintegration, family reunification, and vocational training (CPAJ).

At the 35th Ordinary session of the General Synod, held from 10 to 15 December 1996, the EPR adopted a new constitution granting parity of women and men in the decision-making bodies of the church. [308]Today, the family service operates under the name "Woman and Family Programme". The programme aims to strengthen complementarity between men and women by focusing on the harmony of family and boosting its economic capacity through various activities for women, youth and children. Specifically, the programme focuses on training to combat violence against women and children and the initiation of small income-generating projects and creation of tontines and savings and credit associations.[309] The Women and Family Department fulfils these activities through the union of Presbyterian women called "*Abatwaramucyo*" literally "light bearers".

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306. Michel Twagirayesu et Jan van Butselaar, *Ce don que nous avons reçu*, EPR, 1982, p. 164-165.
307. Source: *Bâtissons*, Quarterly Journal of the Presbyterian Church in Rwanda (EPR), 1995, N° 1, pp. 3-4
308. Source: Journal *Twubake*, January 1997, n° 10, p.1
309. See EPR Narrative report 2014

According to Rose-Marie Ibyishaka, head of this department, after the first stage which focused mainly on women and children, the second step was the organization of training for couples to encourage spouses to have the same understanding of life fostering a positive dialogue in the family and thus strengthening its unity. At the parish level, a family week is organized once a year, during which couples, children and young people take separate training courses for them. At the end, they meet in plenary to draw lessons from the different activities of the week. Also in some parishes, wedding anniversaries are celebrated monthly by offering bouquets of flowers as a token of appreciation and encouragement to couples of all ages.

The third step was the creation of *EPR Men's fellowship* in 2016. The goal is to take care of family life in a complementary way by awakening each family member to his or her responsibilities. The *EPR mens fellowship* is somehow a counterpart of *Abatwaramucyo*. It develops positive masculinity and reflects on how it can contribute to promoting complementarity between men and women and hence to the unity of the family. Also, it is important to note that the last general synod held from 20 to 22 December 2016 took the decision to endow the family ministry with structures ranging from the central church to the parish level.[310]

However, it should be noted that despite all these family-friendly actions that contribute immensely to the rebuilding of the Rwandan family, there is a lack of studies to measure their impact on the lives of families.

The Anglican Church (EAR) and the Mothers Union programme

Within the Anglican Church Communion (EAR), family affairs are primarily the responsibility of Mothers' Union. It has been implanted in the Church of Rwanda since 1965 and plays an important role in the pastoral care of families. The main objective of this movement is to promote the well-being of the family spiritually, socially and economically.[311] According to the Reverend Immaculée Nyiransengimana, Head of the Mothers' Union of the Province of the Anglican Church in Rwanda, the general objective and mission of that ministry is to promote the stability and well-being of the family. Specific objectives include promoting the lives of couples, education and child protection. This involves providing assistance to families going through difficult times (families of prisoners, refugees, single-parent families), training workshops to prevent domestic

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310. Interview with the Rev. Rose-Mary Ibyishaka, head of "Women and Family Programme", on 1st June 2018.

311. Historical background of Mothers Union, posted on 17/08/2016 on https://wwww.ear.org,

violence and concrete actions to strengthen the economic capacity of women and through them that of families. To the question of whether other forms of family, as single mothers, divorced, are integrated in the action of the Mothers Union, I. Nyiransengimana specifies that this movement concerns only the couples having contracted their marriage before the state registrar and celebrated at the church. Apart from the sporadic aid and training provided to these families who do not qualify for admission to the Mothers' Union, there is no specialized ministry to accompany them, she said.

According to the Right Rev. Louis Muvunyi, the Bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Kigali, the mission and goals of Mothers' Union are generally the same in the Anglican Church in Rwanda and the world Anglian Communion. But for the family to be truly at the centre of the Church's concern, the Diocese of Kigali has set up Fathers' Union to work hand in hand with Mothers' Union for the benefit of the family. The two unions complement each other for greater efficiency. The Fathers union began in one of the parishes of the diocese of Kigali (Remera) in 2010 and since 2014, it operates at the level of the whole diocese. Its structures are found in all the parishes of the diocese. The purpose of the Fathers union as stipulated in their statutes (p.3) is to promote the holistic life and stability of the family based on Christian values by identifying the problems that hinder the harmonious life of the family in order to find them solutions, strengthening couples' counselling and parents' ability to educate their children and helping families improve their living conditions.

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Association of Baptist Churches in Rwanda (AEBR)

The Association of Baptist Churches of Rwanda has a department at the national level that deals with family issues. This department accompanies parishes in the pastoral care of families. Every two months, each parish organises a family forum on different topics, including sexuality, financial management, education of children, extended family life, hygiene, etc. According to the Legal Representative of the AEBR, Rev. Corneil Munyamasoko Gato, in this action of accompanying the families, it has been observed that the problems that destabilise and even destroy families in order of importance are: sexuality, wealth management, the extended family that encroaches on the life of the nuclear family. Often, these problems lead to divorce. Many cases of divorce are found mostly among young couples from 1 to 5 years of marriage. The Church prepares a didactic document that includes all aspects of family life that will help parish pastors to accompany families. The pastoral care of the family within the Association of Baptist Churches of Rwanda is limited to training on burning questions about the life of the nuclear family. The other structures of the family as found today in Rwanda are not taken into account. In addition, it should be noted that family capacity building actions appear to be neglected or at least unstructured.

7.2 Suggestion of way forward

To better systematise the work done and make it more effective, churches should take certain additional steps, among others:

1. To put in place a true catechesism of the family where biblical and theological principles on the family are well defined. As we have seen above that the Bible places the family at the centre of the life of the people of Israel. It is the community of faith in miniature. It is in the family where one learns to respect the covenant between God and his people. Throughout his ministry, Jesus gave back to all members of the family their value and dignity, protecting in particular those who were vulnerable (women, children, people with disabilities).

2. In the same line reference to culture is essential. Speaking of the pastoral care and counselling that the church in Africa must provide to the family, Mathews Tshapaka Kapolo states: "Within the entire African continent, the family system is changing due to urbanization and industrialization. Nevertheless, old habits die hard. Thus, African family crises cannot be dealt with adequately within the framework of western family systems,

especially those of Europe and North America."312For Tshapaka Kapolo, it is obvious; the church cannot deal with the family issues without cultural reference.

3. Some important and sensitive issues on family such as divorce and re-marriage require in-depth biblical and theological study which can help churches to address this issue pastorally.

4. Pastoral care of family must be inclusive. The accompaniment of single mothers and prostitutes is not well structured. Single mothers and prostitutes were discredited in the traditional society, today it is in the church where they are despised. Set up a well-structured programme to combat prostitution and drug use among the youths. Churches should also think of the elderly.

5. For child-headed households, churches should do more than a sporadic assistance provided through diaconal service; there is no specialized ministry for these children.

6. Churches do not have well-defined programmes for pastoral care for families. There are certainly departments or services, but there are no policies or strategies to cope with family issues..

7. Churches should create grassroots communities where they do not exist and reinforce the existing ones because family life begins with these small entities.

8. Churches should strengthen young people's preparation for marriage to prevent domestic violence and divorce.

9. Set up support programmes and training sessions for couples where all the problems related to family life would be treated without taboo.

10. Put in place multidisciplinary teams composed of theologians, sociologists, psychologists, marriage counsellors and others to support the departments and services in charge of family life.

11. Set measurable indicators that provide reliable statistics and measure progress made to better plan future activities.

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312. Mathew Tshapaka Kapolo, "Premarital Pastoral Care and Counseling: A Quest for an African Model in Word & World, Volume XXI, Number, Spring 2001, Lutheran Seminary, Saint Paul, Minnesota

Conclusion

Today, the family in Rwanda is experiencing a troubled situation. Challenges that affect it, as mentioned above, are numerous and tough. In this regard, the Church must be ready to respond pastorally to these challenges. It must be a church where families find advice, guidance, hope and refuge in time of need. For this reason, it must reform its theology and interpretation of the Bible, says Musa W. Dube.[313] Instead of insisting on theology which condemns, rather the church must develop a theology of grace and forgiveness, put in place a true ministry of pastoral care of the family, and engage in biblical and theological reflection on the question of divorce and remarriage.

The church must make a theological contribution to the question of gender balance in the light of the Bible and the Reformation. It must reflect theologically on the education of children and the issue of barrenness which deteriorates the lives of certain couples. The Rwandan Church is fortunate that the Rwandan government's policy promotes family stability and combats anything that may hinder its development and well-being. In this perspective, it should develop its own ministry of the family using all the existing tools. These tools are already an important asset on which it can rely. It does not need to tackle the changing structures of the family. What is important and urgent is how to make them more human in order to preserve the stability of the family. This requires identifying the available resources, adapting them and transforming them if necessary for the needs of the Ministry of the Family.

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313. See Musa Dube, Families Today : One Ecumenical Perspective,2014, p. 7-9

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12

Youth Employment Opportunities: The Role of Urban and Rural Informal   Polytechnic Centers, *Agakiriro*

Mrs Gloriose Umuziranenge; Mrs Jacqueline Muhawenayo; Mr Serge Muvunyi[314]

1. Introduction

The National Leadership Retreat[315] held at Gako in March 2012 emphasized making job creation a high priority in order to achieve the Vision 2020 target of 3.2 million off-farm jobs. The establishment of Integrated Craft Production Centers-ICPCs (*Agakiriro* : former *Agakinjiro* model)[316] in each district is one of the strategies recommended to achieve that goal. The establishment of the ICPC was born out of the need to absorb the largely underemployed youth, including young graduates from Technical and Vocational Education Training into a productive labor force and coordinate them so that they upgrade skills and embrace innovation. As Rubayiza S. (2015) highlighted, *Agakiriro* literally means, "a place where people can get rich". The name of "*Agakiriro*" is thought to have been selected to reverse the bad image of the former "*Agakinjiro*" (literally the place of butchers- where one can be slaughtered) that gathered various artisans but in a disorganized manner that posed threats to the customers due to the presence of many crimes such as robbery and drug abuse especially during the night.

The ICPC accommodates handcrafts such as carpentry, mechanics, plumbing, skin and hide works, welding, mechanical works, pottery, etc. It was

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315. The National Leadership Retreat is an annual gathering of the public Rwandan leadership from the government to local government authorities; chaired by the President of the Republic it consists in self-assessment over the service delivery to the population the ways the annual even long term planning is being executed; it set up strategies for improvement and may elaborate and submit new suggestions to the government in various domains.

316. Agakiriro is an Integrated Craft Production Center, literally means a place where people   can get rich

famously known for employing unskilled youth. The program expanded rapidly and the Government realized the need for standardizing, empowering and modernizing it. The centers are erected in each of 30 Districts across the country and offer state of the art facilities for businesses including modern buildings, infrastructure such as road network and are located in an area favorable for business, given its linkages with other city suburbs and enough space. This has facilitated the mushrooming of many shops and other trade businesses such as hardware stores and transport. However, some Districts have placed their centers in isolated areas which could affect the attraction of customers.

After the socio-economic crisis of the 1994 genocide against Tutsi which contributed to increased unemployment and underemployment, the labor sector was one of the most affected segments of national life (Republic of Rwanda, 2007). High unemployment and underemployment levels especially for the youth resulted in various consequences such as poverty, economic losses to society, youth risky behaviors and concomitant negative outcomes such as psychological scarring, crime, unplanned pregnancy, a lost future due to earning incapacity, all issues that had become a handicap to the country (Republic of Rwanda, 2007).

As Sebahara P. et al (2014) says, "Youth unemployment is increasingly recognized as a driver of instability and violence in many African countries and this is a disaster that can undermine country's economy, threaten the peace and destabilize its institutions if it is not addressed." There is a very widespread view that youth unemployment is a key cause of insurgency or civil war (Cincotta et al, 2003; Heinsohn, 2003; Urdal, 2004 cited in World Development Report 2011).

Referring to the Vision 2020 plan, at least 50% of the Rwandan population will be engaged in off-farm activities and 3.2 million jobs will be created while 200.000 off-farm jobs are to be created each year. According to the former Prime Minister, Anastase Murekezi (2016), unemployment can hinder the achievement of Vision 2020 and the objectives of EDPRS[317] II. In connection with this, the Murekezi put much emphasis on reducing the unemployment rate especially among women and youth.

It is in this line that the Government of Rwanda, through the process of reconstruction, initiated various programs (home-grown programs) including small and medium enterprises locally known as *Agakiriro*. Despite the governmental efforts for tackling the unemployment issue, it still persists amongst the youth of Rwanda. This is highlighted by the African Development Bank (2012), which states that more than 42% of youth are either unemployed or underemployed.

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317. EDPRS: Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy

And Zinhumwe C. (2012) argued that the effects of high youth unemployment include youth engaging in drug abuse, violence and crime, promiscuity leading to prostitution where they end up contracting HIV and AIDS and other sexually transmitted infections that can be detrimental to their health. Hence, this research aims to assess the impact of *Agakiriro* on youth unemployment and improvement of the wellbeing of the local population, thus promoting wellbeing in the long run especially in Huye, Kamonyi and Karongi districts. The present research was conducted in the framework of the 2016 Protestant University of Rwanda [PUR] Scientific Week, an annual research event and was expanded for this volume; it seeks to answer the following questions:

To what extent does *Agakiriro* promote youth employment ? What are the challenges that the *Agakiriro* program face in tackling youth unemployment ?

2. Background of the Study

Young people aged between 15 and 25 represent around 60% of Africa's population and about 45% of Africa's labor force (World Bank 2009). Due to high fertility rates, Sub-Saharan Africa is becoming increasingly youthful. Seven years ago, the World Bank (2009) argued that youth employment is a challenge to all African countries, and that the socioeconomic context dictates the nature and extent of the problem, making it more acute in post-conflict countries. Scholars have linked youth unemployment to conflicts and being prone to social unrest . Crisis in schooling and employment are the main factors affecting the willingness to participate in different forms of violence and unrest (Oyefusi, 2010; Azam, 2001; MacCulloch, 2003; Collier, 2000).

According to the International Labour Organization (ILO, 2015), young people are three times more likely to be unemployed than adults. Youth unemployment rate is over 20% in Sub-Saharan Africa and 43% worldwide. The Office of the UN Secretary General's Envoy on Youth gives a very pessimistic picture of the rise in youth unemployment :

In emerging countries, the unemployment rate is predicted to rise from 13.3 per cent in 2015 to 13.7 per cent in 2017 (a figure which corresponds to 53.5 million unemployed in 2017 compared to 52.9 million in 2015). In Latin America and the Caribbean, for example, the unemployment rate is expected to increase from 15.7 per cent in 2015 to 17.1 per cent in 2017; in Central and Western Asia, from 16.6 to 17.5 per cent; in South Eastern Asia and the Pacific, from 12.4 to 13.6 per cent (table 2) [1].

Notwithstanding the high youth unemployment rate, ILO (2010) stipulates that employment is a major contributing factor to achieving short-term stability, reintegration, social-economic progress and sustainable peace in post-conflict situations.

In fact, high rates of youth unemployment have become a structural problem in many countries. The situation denies opportunities for millions of youth to make their creative contributions to society, hence the weak labor market integration of youth is a threat to social cohesion and loss to development as a whole (UNESCO, 2015).

The Independent Evaluation Group (IEG, 2012) stipulates that "youth employment issues are a major concern for many countries because they have negative effects on the welfare of young people and may also adversely affect economic performance and social stability. In this regard, lack of growth and job creation contribute to higher youth unemployment in all countries. As the economy shrinks with the business cycle, youth, who are often the least educated, are the first to be affected by this economic crisis, most without a social safety system to protect them against the financial risk related to unemployment." According to Lisa K. (2010), early unemployment is stressful and can leave scars. Unemployed youth do not get a chance to build professional skills, and as a result they are at higher risk for adult unemployment, career downgrades and lower wages later in life which will result in a loss of lifetime earnings.

In connection with that, Sebahara, P. et al. (2014) agrees that young people are potentially a tremendous force for change in conflict-affected countries, both positively and negatively. Accordingly, it has been suggested that large rates of youth unemployment make countries unstable in general and thus more prone to armed conflict. If young people are left with no alternative but unemployment and poverty, they are more likely to join a rebellion as an alternative way of generating an income. In the aftermath of the 1994 genocide against the *Tutsi* in Rwanda, the labor sector was one of the most affected segments of national life. Limited employment opportunities was one of the major challenges in this important area of the national economy, which lead to high unemployment and underemployment levels especially for the youth (Republic of Rwanda, 2007).

According to the African Development Bank (2012), "the factors most affecting Rwandan youth unemployment are skills mismatch with an average skills deficit of 40%, and limited job growth and expansion. As a result, over 42% of young people are either unemployed or underemployed in subsistence agriculture. This can be explained by the limited employment in the public sector and an

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undeveloped private sector in the country which is unable to create paying jobs in significant numbers." The Integrated Household Living Condition Survey (EICV 4) revealed that the overall unemployment rate in Rwanda is 2% with 13.5% among graduates and 9% for youth who have completed secondary school. This situation can also be linked to the low level of education and skills which does not allow the large part of the population to access gainful employment.

3. Challenges to youth employment : Search for remedies

Young people face disadvantages in the labor market because of skills mismatch and lack of experience and therefore, they are exposed to inaccessibility to productive and decent jobs that match with their aspirations. In fact, young population constitutes the world's largest revoir of working age individuals for coming generation, and the majority of that population is young. Here comes the challenge of the transition from learning to labor market. On this issue, the problem is not that young people are not leaning, rather in a fast moving world where digitalization and globalization are transforming work, there is a mismatch between what is learnt and the skills required. According to ILO 2012, cross border and rural to urban migration places enormous pressure on the urban labor market to find jobs for youth. In Rwanda, Youth sector strategic plan 2013-2018 indicates that young people are facing different challenges for getting employment due to the low level of vocational and entrepreneurship skill among them. In addition to that, a negative mindset and attitude among youth where they are over looking office jobs, drug abuse among youth as well as lack of business capacity and access to finance, lead to the high rate of youth unemployment.

Agakiriro

Agakiriro aims at establishing standardized and modern business center to accommodate local artisans and traders. It has three missions: (1) to provide modern facilities for the production and marketing of local products, (2) to generate employment opportunities for the youth and facilitate their participation in economic development, and (3) to enhance technology development and technical training (MIFOTRA, 2013).

In addition, the modern *Agakiriro* offers market benefits to its adherents by creating new jobs for its main beneficiaries; among others, vocational education training (VET) graduates, informal craftsmen and artisans, women and youth, rehabilitated street children, and people with disabilities. The center aims at

creating business opportunities with an estimated number of small and medium enterprises, gender consideration by having at least 35% of women at the market, technological innovation and incubation centers which provide continuous training , and through TVET[318] and VTC[319] support and incubation center.

Notwithstanding the above targets, the following crafts will form the core of operations at the market while taking into account district potentials and specificities. These are metal crafts, wood crafts, carpentry, carvings, handcraft furniture, electrical fittings and computer maintenance, textiles, tailoring and knitting, shoe making and leather products, tourist products, artifacts, mechanics, equipment for mechanical repairs and maintenance.

As illustrated by the Asset Pantagon Theorem framework (ICA, 2007), people who are working together improve themselves through human capital and social capital. This confirms the target that *Agakiriro* have in promoting skills, knowledge, ability to labor, and improved relations between individuals within a network. The integration in *Agakiriro* leads to mutual benefit and the spreading of innovation and knowledge. As Baldoni J. (2012) argued, people are always striving to be better and use their talents in new ways. This is important because a person must be motivated to fulfill his needs and strive for the next level until s/he reaches self-actualization. These needs motivate humans to care for themselves and live a better life.

Well-being

Subjective well-being is a scientific term that is commonly used to denote the 'happy or good life'. It comprises of an affective component (high positive affect and low negative affect) and a cognitive component (satisfaction with life). It is proposed that an individual experiences happiness when positive affect and satisfaction with life are both high (Carruthers & Hood, 2004). According to O. Gokdemir (2015), Happinessis defined as the degree to which a person enjoys his or her life as a whole .Therefore, in this paper the term well-being and happiness are interchangeably used. In this study, *Agakiriro* is considered as a major source of income which improves the satisfaction of basic needs, and the increase of social cohesion as well as integration. Therefore, *Agakiriro* is a key pillar to the wellbeing of its members, a tool for social and moral reconstruction for youth togetherness in post genocide Rwanda.

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318. TVET: Technical and Vocational Education and Training
319. VTC : Vocational Training Center

Youth

As defined by the United Nations Program on Youth , "Youth" is best understood as a period of transition from the dependence of childhood to adulthood's independence and awareness of our interdependence as members of a community. Youth is a more fluid category than a fixed age-group. It can be based for instance on the definition given in the African Youth Charter where "youth" means "every person between the ages of 15 and 35 years". On the other hand, The Republic of Rwanda's Ministry of Youth, Culture, and Sports defines youth as those from age 14 to 35 years. (*Ministry of Youth, Culture, and Sports* 2005). The youth in general are affected by unemployment. The role of the youth in *Agakiriro* is to participate in the different activities offered by this center, and improve their life conditions

Unemployment

Unemployment refers to the number of persons who, during the specified short reference period, were: a) without work; b) currently available for work; and c) seeking work as a percentage of the total labor force (employment + unemployment), (ILO 2009). The modern *Agakiriro* offers market benefits to its adherents by creating new jobs, thus reducing the unemployment rate among youth.

4. Methodology

This research seeks to assess the impact of Agakiriro on youth unemployment and the improvement of the wellbeing of the local population, thus promoting peace in the long run. To attain our objectives, we employed both qualitative and quantitative methods through questionnaire and interview, as well as focus group discussion. Our sample consisted of one hundred and ten respondents selected randomly and purposively from three districts : Kamonyi, Karongi and Huye. The research used qualitative and quantitative approaches. Primary and secondary sources of data were used. These data were collected from the *Agakiriro* centers of the three districts (Huye, Kamonyi and Karongi)[320] which this study considered as case studies. The target population was 358 persons working with *Agakiriro* from which the sample size of 189 was calculated using Sloven formula as follows :

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320. Huye and Karongi: Data collection used questionnaire; while in Kamonyi we used focus group discussion.

$$n=\frac{N}{1+N(e^2)}$$

Where,
N= total population,
n= sample size,
e= error margin (0. 1)
Sample size $=\frac{358}{1+358(0.1)^2}$ **=78**

Due to respondents' availability and willingness to answer, our sample size became 110 respondents, thus emphasizing the reliability of the findings. The table below shows details :

Table 2 : Sample size and Sampling techniques

Districts	Population	Sample size employed	Category of respondents	Tools for data collection
Huye	80	42	**40** artisans, selected randomly	Questionnaire
			2 representatives of center selected purposively	Interview
Kamonyi	60	12	**10** artisans selected randomly	Focus group
			2 District officers of centers selected purposively	Interview
Karongi	218	56	**54** artisans, selected randomly	Questionnaire
			2: District officer in charge of cooperatives and the president of the center were selected purposively	Interview
TOTAL	358	110		

Source : Primary data (July, 2016)

5. Research Findings

Table 3 : Respondents Characteristics

Demographic characteristics	Classification	Huye (40 respondents) %	Karongi(54 respondents) %	Kamonyi (10 respondents) %
Education level	Primary education	38.1	5.5	70
	Secondary education	28.6	13	30
	Vocational training	33.3	81.5	
Sex	Male	85.7	70.4	100
	Female	14.3	29.6	
Marital status	Single	71.4	18.5	80
	Married	28.6	77.8	20
Age group	under 15	14.3	3.7	
	15-20	28.6	5.6	
	21-25	35.7	14.8	60
	26-30	14.3	59.3	40
	over 30	7.1	20.4	

Source : Primary data

Demographic characteristics of our respondents revealed that gender disparities are persistent among *Agakiriro* centers in all districts under study. Among the permanent employees in these centers, most participants are men, with 85.7% in Huye, 100% in Kamonyi and 70.4% in Karongi. Women participants are fewer with only 29.6% in Karongi who participate in tailoring, and 14.3 % in Huye District who are in carpentry and metal crafts while in Kamonyi no woman was present. However, the development and cooperative management officer of Kamonyi District said that there is only 1 woman out of 60 permanent members at the Kamonyi center. One of the reasons that hinder the level of women's participation is the under-estimation vis a vis physical work and hence are the most vulnerable to unemployment. One can also consider marital status differences among members, for instance the majority of Karongi participants are married while in Huye and Kamonyi the majorities are single. This emphasizes the difference in needs between both married and single individuals, and the age differences in all districts under the study. In fact, Huye and Kamonyi counts more

young people below 26 years; while Karongi counts more adult people (79.7% are above 26 years).

Figure 1: Perceived causes of Youth unemployment in Huye and Karongi Districts

Perceived causes of youth unemployment (%)
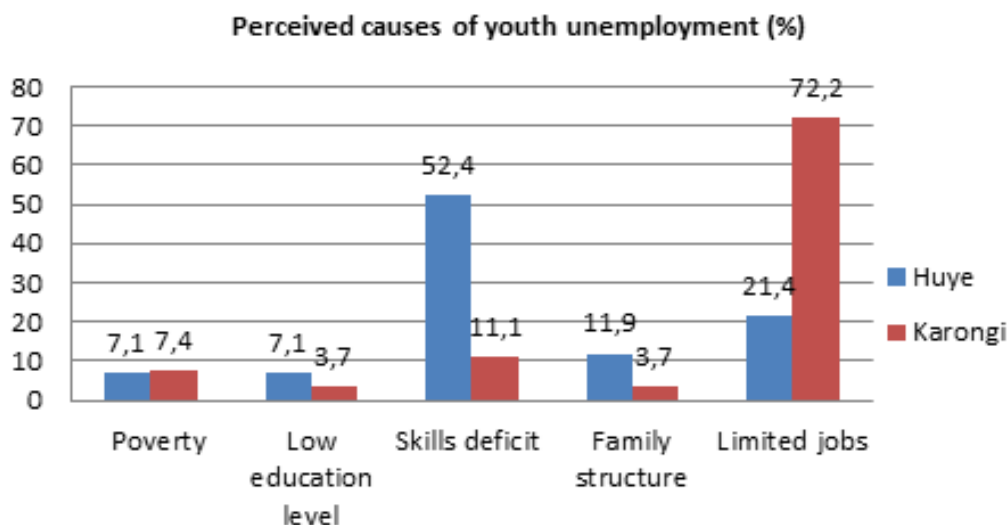
Source : Primary data

As indicated in the above figure (1), in both districts (Huye and Karongi), the prevailing major causes of youth unemployment are skills deficit and limited jobs, at 52.4 % and 72.2 % respectively. Our survey findings were confirmed by the president of *Agakiriro* in Huye District who argued that limited jobs and skills deficit among youth are major causes of unemployment[321] (Interview on July 07, 2016 at Huye). These results confirm the findings of ADB (2012) which stipulates that lack of skills and limited jobs are the major problems linked to youth unemployment. The fact that education level and family structure were not emphasized depends on the respondent's characteristics that did not complete their studies and hence believe that one can get employed whenever he/she is ready to do any casual work within the center. In addition, the results from the focus group in Kamonyi District show that limited jobs and employment competition among Rwandans and foreigners[322] are major causes of youth unemployment.

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321. As indicated in the demographic characteristics of our respondents the majority in Karongi (81.5%) undertook Vocational training while in Huye only 33.3% did vocational training, this is why skills deficit was identified in Huye while limited job opportunities was identified in Karongi.

322. Foreigners compete with Rwandans in the sense that they produce materials with good quality, and customers prefer to buy products from foreign companies that are in Rwanda or import them. Respondents highlighted Ugandans and Chinese to be among the most feared competitors present in

Lack of capital and youth inability to identify available job opportunities are also among the causes of unemployment (Focus group on July 08, 2016 at Kamonyi).

Figure 2 : Reasons to join **Agakiriro**

Reasons to join Agakiriro Center (%)
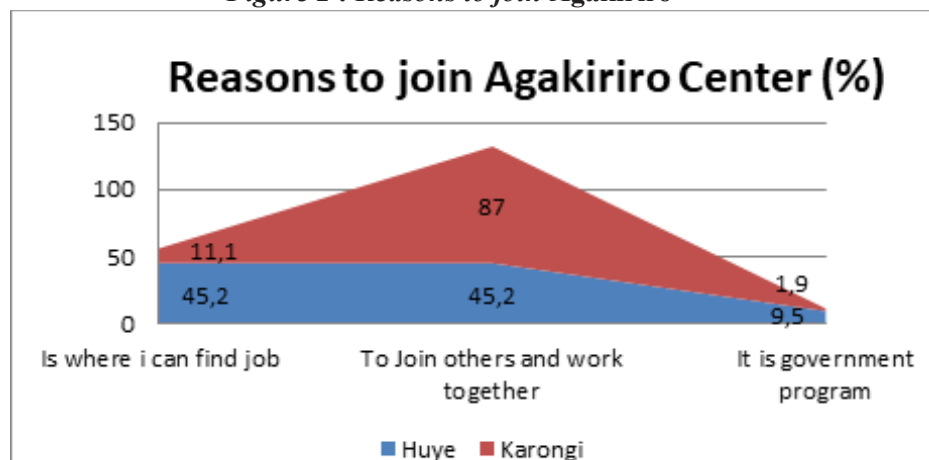
Source : Primary data

As revealed in figure 2, people are eager to join *Agakiriro* program not because of government influence but because they are motivated to join their colleagues and work together for better outcomes. Others join the center since they realized it is one of the major sources of work opportunities. This is also validated by the fact that the majority of *Agakiriro* members is of low educational level and attended vocational training under TVET. Hence, one can easily identify the link between *Agakiriro* and TVET in handling youth unemployment, where TVET provides training and skills and *Agakiriro* serves as an application milieu through both internship and job. However, in Kamonyi District, respondents said they only joined *Agakiriro* because it is a government policy and they were pushed to join this center.

Table 4 : **Agakiriro** *as a response to youth unemployment*

How does **Agakiriro** *respond to youth unemployment*	*Huye (Frequency)*	*Karongi (Frequency)*
Employment opportunities	35	50
Job materials	14	32
Working space	40	48
Market benefits	21	37
Technical trainings	8	15

Source: Primary data 2016

Rwanda.

According to the majority of respondents as indicated in table 3 (Findings from Kamonyi District are not in the table because data were collected via the focus group), *Agakiriro* tackles unemployment by providing to its members employment opportunities to both artisans and others like casual labors, and making tools for casual workers available in the centre. It also offers free working space and market benefits by searching for different markets at district level. However, respondents from Kamonyi district were not satisfied because they are asked to pay rent for their working spaces (Focus group, on July 08, 2016 at Kamonyi). This was contrasted by the Kamonyi District officer in charge of business and co-operatives who argued that paying rent is a way of raising self-reliance and ownership among members of *Agakiriro* (Interview, on July 08, 2016 at Kamonyi). Job materials and trainings are offered in collaboration with BDF (Business Development Fund) on the condition that artisans are grouped into cooperatives. Hence, some of the respondents (especially in Kamonyi) did not get that support because they are not in cooperatives. This has been confirmed by Baldoni J. (2012) who argued that a person must be motivated to fulfill his/her needs and strive for the next level until s/he reaches self-actualization, and ICA (2007) emphasized that mutual collaboration improves human and social capital.

Figure 3: Living standards before joining Agakiriro
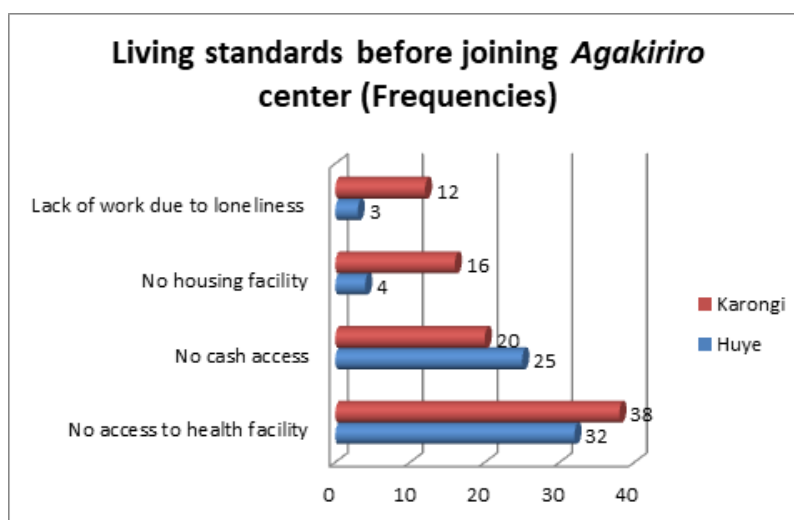
Source : Primary data 2016

Figure 4 : *Living standards after joining* Agakiriro

Living standards after joining *Agakiriro* Center (Frequencies)
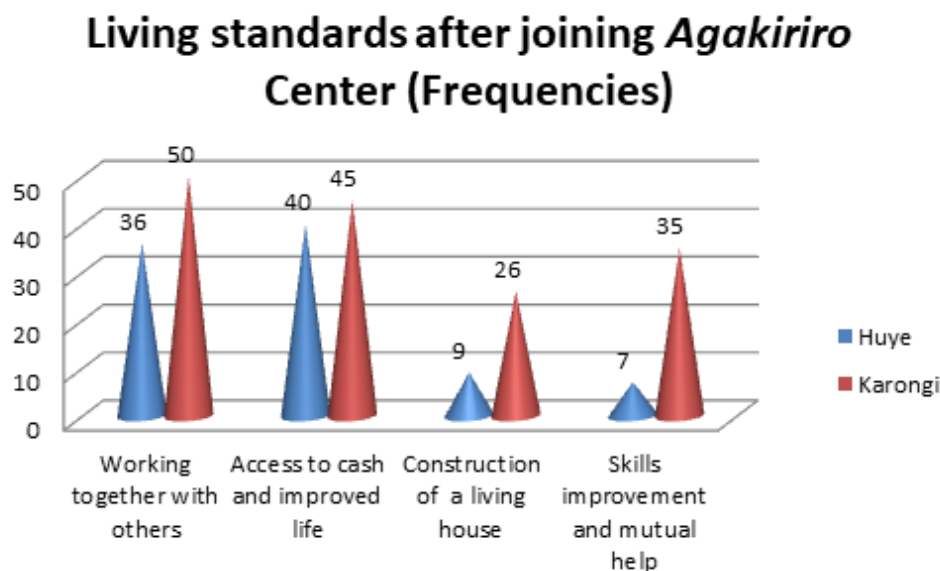
Source : Primary data 2016

Figure 3 shows that the majority of the respondents before joining *Agakiriro* were working alone and had no economic stability. After joining the center, their wellbeing was improved through new skills and team work. Respondents from both Huye and Karongi districts confirmed that now they are able to get some money which contributes to an improved standard of living by allowing them to access their basic needs and construct houses. This attests the great importance of *Agakiriro* in promoting social and economic wellbeing and stability. These results are confirmed by ILO (2010) which stipulates that employment is a major contributing factor to achieving short-term stability, reintegration, social-economic progress and sustainable peace in post-conflict situations. However, in Kamonyi districts, respondents are not satisfied by the *Agakiriro* program and activities within the center. Members of this center through discussion said that benefits within the center are at a low level compared with the time they were working outside (Focus group, on July 08, 2016 at Kamonyi). Since they joined the program, they said that cash access and work opportunities have been considerably reduced. From this perspective, one could wonder if there has been sufficient assessment of the program in the area before and during its implementation. At the time of our study, the *Agakiriro* in Kamonyi District was only more or less one year old; and is located at approximately 15 to 20 km from *Gacuriro* where the big *Agakiriro* of the capital city is situated, thus making its beginning more

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vulnerable to well established competition of the big center. However, the center is well situated in Bishenyi, alongside the main road to Kigali; therefore one can think that as time goes on and increased marketing strategies would change the fate of the Kamonyi Districts' *Agakiriro* and the perception of the population.

Figure 2 : Offences reduced by joining **Agakiriro**

Offences reduced by joining Agakiriro Center (frequencies)

	Drug abuse	Robbery	Prostitution and sexual violence	Delinquency
■ Huye	28	14	16	24
■ Karongi	45	9	11	30
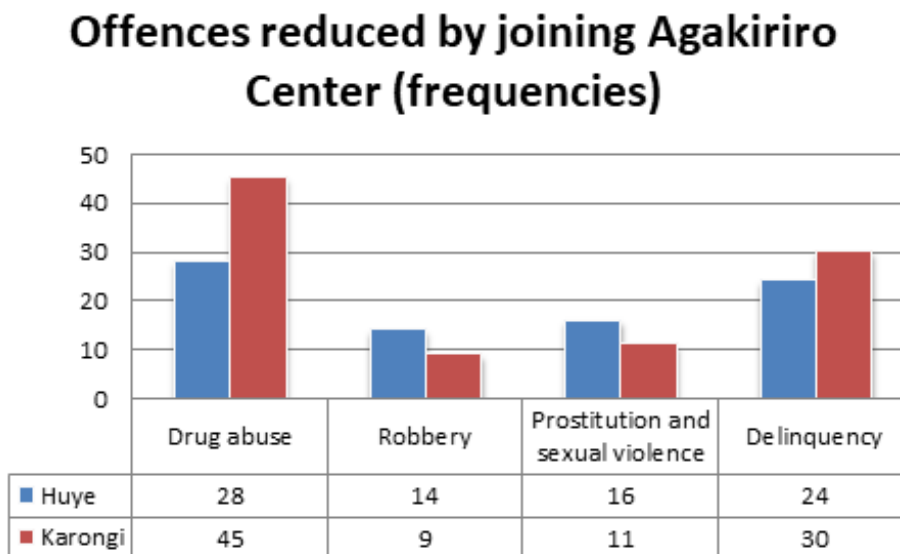
Source : Primary data 2016

As revealed by UNESCO (2015), countries with high youth unemployment levels are likely to be more instable and poor. This was confirmed by the development and cooperative officer of Karongi District who said that "the Government of Rwanda has put more emphasis on *Agakirio* programs to reduce social instabilities and conflicts among family members in particular and the country in general" (Interview on July 20, 2016 at Karongi). According to the perception of respondents as shown in Figure 5, *Agakiriro* reduces some social offences. For instance, 66.7% of the respondents from Huye District as well as 88.3% of respondents from Karongi District confirmed that drug abuse was reduced. In addition, the respondents from Huye and Karongi perceived that delinquency was respectively at (57.1% in Huye and 55.5% in Karongi).

Prostitution and robbery were also reduced. These findings were confirmed also by the president of *Agakiriro* in Huye District who argued that the center has created employment for youth who used to be engaged in drug abuse and

offences (Interview on July 06, 2016 at Huye). Therefore addressing youth unemployment will curb the adverse effects of youth engaging in drug abuse, violence and crime and promiscuity leading to the spread of HIV/AIDS (Cephas, 2012).

Figure 3 : Perceived challenges of Agakiriro
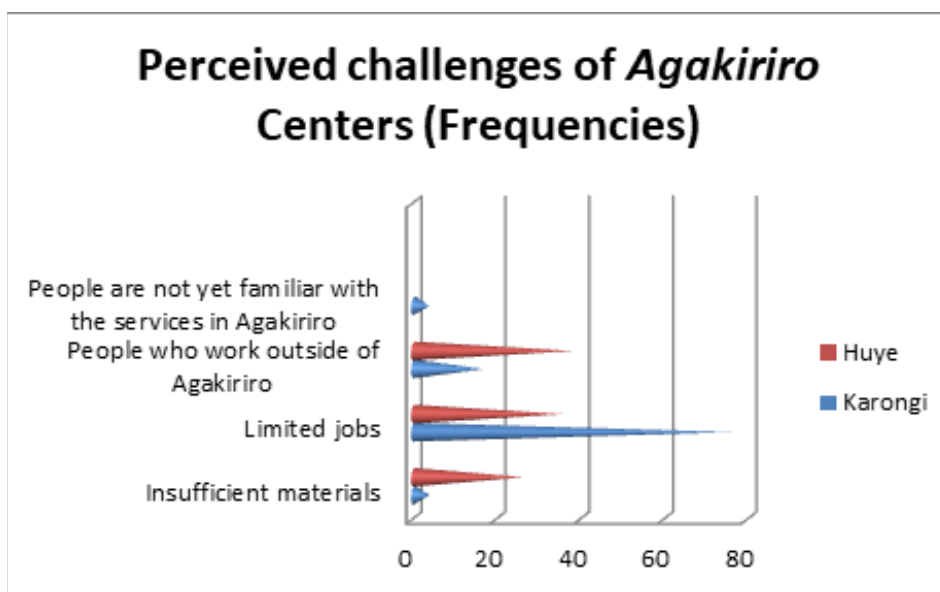
Source : Primary data 2016

Udukiriro centers are a response to youth unemployment and hence promote their wellbeing. However, the centers under this research are mostly challenged by limited jobs compared to work demand, insufficient materials, and related facilities. It is worth noting that even the available materials do not meet the required standards, hence affecting the center's outcomes not only in quantity but also in quality. In addition, people who resisted joining their workmates in the center and who continue working outside are also sources of work instability for the ones working in the center. Moreover, the president of *Agakiriro* in Huye District also pointed out some key challenges, among others, poor infrastructures, the large number of artisans who are still working outside of the center as well as low standards of the center (Interview on July 06, 2016 at Huye).

Furthermore, the director of business and cooperative in Kamonyi District confirmed the resistance of some people who do not join the center (Interview on July 08, 2016 at Kamonyi). Those who resisted joining the center, create a major

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source of competition and are likely to get large markets because they are easily reached by customers. The center's location is another major challenge since they are mostly built in isolated locations that are difficult for the local population to reach. Our findings from focus group discussion in Kamonyi District revealed that members are mostly challenged by underestimation of their capacity to produce materials of good quality and hence a lack of market for their products (July 08, 2016 at Kamonyi). High taxes and the large number of people who work outside the center are also a prevailing challenge to those members. Along the same lines, low standards of the center and plot rent also handicap its performance.

6. Conclusion

In Rwanda, both educated and non-educated youth are challenged by unemployment and underemployment. One solution for the majority of them would be learning technical skills to be job creators not job seekers. The establishment of Integrated Craft Production Centers-ICPCs (*Agakiriro-formerly Agakinjiro model*) in each District is one of the strategies recommended to achieve the goal of promoting job creation a high priority and achieving the Vision 2020 target of 1.8 million off-farm jobs.

This paper aimed at assessing the impact of *Agakiriro* in reducing youth unemployment and thereby promoting wellbeing in the long run. Conducted in three districts, Huye, Kamonyi and Karongi, the study's results reveals that *Agakiriro* has been of great importance to its members and provides different employment opportunities to all people who joined the center. It offers job and business facilities by offering work space, materials and equipment as well as market opportunities for their products. The centers also provides technical training to its members. According to our findings, the center has helped 82% of the respondents to improve their living conditions by accessing cash and through mutual collaboration with their workmates. Moreover, *Agakiriro* is a major solution to youth unemployment since it offers different job opportunities, not only to participants who attended formal or vocational education in areas like carpentry, metal crafts, tailoring, shoe making, and mechanics, but also to participants with no specific qualifications who casually do other available jobs within the center.

Furthermore, *Agakiriro* is a key element for peace promotion and conflict avoidance since it was highlighted as an area where people with different backgrounds meet and work together regardless of social and economic differences. Respondents confirmed the importance of the program in enhancing social

cohesion and mutual support. They managed to create cooperatives where they contribute some money for future use and they have support committees which are ready to handle any conflicts among members. Indeed, respondents perceive that some offenses have been considerably reduced among people who joined the center, among others; drug abuse, delinquency, prostitution and robbery were highly reduced in all districts under this research. Similarly, joining *Agakiriro* considerably reduced unwanted pregnancies among women.

However, our findings show that it will not be easy for *Udukiriro* [plural of *Agakiriro*] to continue their development path if people are still working and selling their products outside the center; it constitutes a strong factor of destabilization and discouragement to those participating in the program. The mismatch between product demand and supply within the center is also a prevailing challenge. This is due to the fact that potential customers are not familiar with the activities and products available in *udukiriro* and are buying from manufacturers who did not join the program. Hence they create a source of loss and lack of jobs among participants of *Agakiriro*. Unstandardized materials and the lack of facilities of udukiriro is another serious challenge to people within them. This creates a kind of disillusionment among its members who sometimes decide to leave the center. Notwithstanding the challenges mentioned above, the majority of the respondents still show optimism that the *Agakiriro* program is a sustainable solution to unemployment, especially for youth that makes up the majority of the Rwandan population.

7. Suggestions

Agakiriro is a suitable and sustainable response to youth unemployment in Rwanda. *Agakiriro* provides different employment opportunities to all people who join the centers. By offering job and business facilities by offering work space, materials and equipment as well as market opportunities for their products, *Agakiriro* is a powerful tool for youth empowerment and job opportunity. The center provides technical training to its members. And yet challenges still exist; the centers still face limited job opportunities compared to the increasing demand; the centers also face insufficient materials and facilities. The study noted that even the available materials do not meet the required standards, hence affecting the centers' productions both in quantity and quality. Some people resist joining their workmates in the centers and continue to work from outside, thus are a source of work insecurity for the centers.

The research suggested that improving *udukiriro* [plural *agakiriro*] out-comes by providing adequate materials is one of the major strategies to make the center more attractive and fruitful. The majority of respondents suggested that one strategy to improve *Udukiriro* outcomes is to provide adequate materials. Respondents confirmed that adequate materials would make the center more attractive, fruitful, and reduce dependence on imported goods which are inevitably expensive. It was also suggested that sensitization of the local population and collaboration may be a good support to the center as it increases awareness of *Agakiriro* activities and abilities thus contributing to the market for their products. It may also be a good tool for encouraging and motivating people to join the program and become active members, especially women since their participation is relatively very low.

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Part III

Memory and Reconciliation : Reshaping a Common Identity

13

La Contribution des Églises au Devoir de Mémoire et de Reconstruction d'une Identité nationale dans le Rwanda Post-Génocide

Par Rev. Prof. Viateur Ndikumana[323]

1. Introduction

La notion de la mémoire qui nous préoccupe aujourd'hui a été toujours placée au centre de l'existence humaine. À l'époque actuelle où le monde connaît des crises d'identité et subit de profondes mutations, bon nombre de chercheurs[324] s'attellent au devoir de mémoire. Celle-ci n'est pas seulement le souvenir ni la relecture de l'histoire événementielle ; elle permet aussi d'appréhender la conscience de soi (Ricœur, 2000, p. 117) et de retrouver son identité, que ce soit sur le plan individuel ou collectif. Alors, ne peut envisager un avenir plus ou moins sûr que celui qui maîtrise les tenants et les aboutissants de son passé. Car, un adage populaire africain dit : « c'est sur la vieille corde qu'on tresse la nouvelle ». D'après M. Meslin, le souvenir est « *une action volontaire porteuse d'une valeur particulièrement efficace, par laquelle l'homme part à la découverte de ses origines et de son être propre* » (Poupard, 1984, pp. 1305-1308.). Ainsi dans les moments de crises et de grandes mutations, les hommes sont

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323. Le Rév. Prof. Viateur Ndikumana est professeur d'*Ancien Testament* à Protestant Institute of Arts and Social Sciences-Butare et en même temps Vice-Recteur chargé des Affaire académique dans la même Institution.

324. Nous pouvons, à titre d'exemple, mentionner les travaux du sociologue français M. Halbwacks : *La mémoire collective*, Paris, Albin Michel, 1950, 1960, 1997 ; *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*, Paris, Albin Michel, 1928, 1994), le philosophe protestant français P. Ricœur, (2000)., *Mémoire, l'histoire, l'oubli*, Paris, Seuil.

Dans le domaine théologique, nous pouvons mentionner les articles de R. Martin-Achard (1988), « Souvenir et mémorial selon l'Ancien Testament », *RThPh* 15, 303-310 ; « Mémoire de Dieu », *ETR* 63,. 183-197 ; P. Bonnard (1980), « L'anamnèse, Structure fondamentale de la théologie chrétienne au Ier siècle », dans *Anamnesis, CahiersRThPh 3*:1-11 ; R. DRI (1999),Théologies de Mémoire historiques „ *COELI*, 100/101, 2 – 9), et l'ouvrage de D. Marguerat et J. Zumstein (éd.)(1991), *La mémoire et le temps*, Mélanges offerts à Pierre Bonnard, Genève, Labor et Fidès,.

incités à revisiter leur passé pour y puiser les expériences et les modèles leur permettant d'affronter les épreuves du présent et d'envisager l'avenir.

L'un des facteurs qui ont contribué à la crise sociopolitique dont le paroxysme fut le génocide perpétré contre les *Tutsi* en 1994 qu'a connu le Rwanda a été l'instrumentalisation et la manipulation des aspects de la mémoire collective. L'historiographie erronée fondée sur le mythe hamite a abouti à la division de la nation en deux peuples sans mémoire ni identité communes. Néanmoins, parmi les facteurs sociologiques qui prennent de l'envergure exceptionnelle dans la reconstruction du Rwanda nouveau après le génocide perpétré contre les *Tutsi* en 1994, figurent le devoir de mémoire et la reconstruction de l'identité nationale.

Se référant à cette importance de la mémoire et de son influence sur la vie sociopolitique d'un peuple, on peut se demander en quoi consiste la contribution des acteurs sociaux comme les Églises. Ceci étant fondé sur l'importance que la théologie chrétienne accorde aussi à la mémoire car la foi de chaque peuple ne peut être dissociée de son histoire.

Le développement durable auquel le peuple rwandais majoritairement chrétien aspire ne peut être atteint sans considérer sa foi, son identité et son histoire. Le christianisme rwandais saurait aider les Rwandais à recouvrer leur dignité en contribuant au processus du devoir de mémoire.

Après avoir brossé l'importance de la mémoire pour une communauté humaine en général, l'on essayera de comprendre le rôle de l'Église dans le processus actuel de la reconstruction de la mémoire et de l'identité du peuple après la tragique épreuve du génocide perpétré contre les *Tutsi* qui a indubitablement conduit à une nouvelle relecture de l'histoire nationale.

2. Importance de la mémoire dans la reconstruction de l'identité d'un peuple

Depuis la première moitié du XXe siècle, la notion de mémoire a particulièrement intéressé bon nombre de sociologues et de philosophes parmi lesquels Henri Bergson (1939), Maurice Halbwachs (1950)et Paul Ricœur (2000). Nous l'aborderons ici dans sa dimension collective où elle est comprise comme la « présentation qu'une société se fait de son passé en vue de la reconstruction de son identité » et d'envisager son avenir (Ossah Eboto, 2006, p.41). L'idée de la mémoire collective remonte au sociologue français Emile Durkeim (1915, 1961). Mais plus tard, elle a été plus amplement développée par son élève, Maurice Halbwachs dans ses trois ouvrages (les cadres sociaux de la mémoire (1925), la

topographie légendaire des Évangiles en Terre sainte (1941) et la Mémoire collective (1950)**.**

Dans ses œuvres Halbwachs distingue entre la mémoire individuelle et la mémoire collective. Il conçoit la mémoire collective en tant que représentations collectives, au sens de Durkheim, à travers les symboles publics d'une société ou d'un groupe tels que les rituels commémoratifs (Olick, 1999 :pp. 333-348). Sous cet angle, la mémoire d'un groupe social donné est constituée d'images qui ne se situent pas seulement dans l'esprit des individus, mais plutôt leur sont rappelés de l'extérieur. Le groupe social s'approprie des événements du passé et permet aux individus de reconstruire leurs souvenirs par des récits et des symboles véhiculés par des artefacts sociaux (Olick, 1999). Halbwachs établit aussi une importante distinction entre mémoire collective» et la mémoire historique», qui est une construction matérialisée et savante du passé.

Selon Pierre Nora la mémoire collective est « le souvenir ou l'ensemble de souvenirs, conscients ou non, d'une expérience vécue et/ou mythifiée par une collectivité vivante de l'identité dans laquelle le sentiment du passé fait partie intégrante » (Nora, 1978, p. 398). Si elle est constituée des souvenirs conscients, la mémoire collective est donc sélective ; elle retient les souvenirs pouvant s'adapter aux circonstances actuelles. Le présent est un filtre du souvenir. La mémoire collective s'appuie sur une partie de la réalité qui dure sur un espace qui est propre au groupe.

De ce point de vue, elle peut être facilement instrumentalisée ou manipulable surtout pour de motifs politiques. Le philosophe français, P. Ricœur a montré comment la manipulation de la mémoire collective en faveur d'une idéologie politique peut conduire à une tragédie comme celle qu'a connue le Rwanda en 1994 (Ricœur, 2002).

La mémoire collective est pour la société ce que l'âme est pour le corps. Cette importance apparaît aussi dans la théologie de toutes les religions où la foi est tributaire du passé qui rappelle la relation entre l'homme et la divinité ou le sacré. La révélation divine se conjugue principalement au passé.

À partir de la mémoire collective, un groupe se définit et construit ainsi son identité. La mémoire, surtout celle des événements douloureux comme le génocide, vécus ensemble par un groupe humain, est toujours l'occasion de mettre en question son identité. Des questions comme qui suis-je, qui sommes-nous, pourquoi c'est à nous que cela est-il arrivé, pourquoi nous ont-ils fait ça, comment pouvons-nous nous protéger pour que cela ne recommence plus, etc, se posent après un événement malheureux.

La mémoire douloureuse marquée par toutes ces interrogations, laisse ainsi des traces partagées pendant longtemps par ceux qui ont souffert ou dont les proches ont souffert de la même tragédie. Il a été prouvé que la souffrance en commun unit plus que la joie (Candau,1998, p. 147). Pour cette raison, les rescapés d'une catastrophe se voient former un groupe à part suite aux terribles épreuves qu'ils ont ensemble connues et pour un combat commun au nom du « Plus Jamais Ça ».

Pour une bonne part, l'identité se reconstruit en s'appuyant sur la mémoire des tragédies collectives (Candau,1998, p.148)... Dans la société inca par exemple, on constate que leur vision du monde a complètement changé après la destruction de l'Empire par les Espagnols (Candau, 1998, p.148). Leur vision du monde qui était en harmonie avec un certain type d'organisation sociale, devient belliqueuse après l'arrivée des Espagnols. Les Inca deviennent alors les grands guerriers luttant pour leur survie au moment où, à leurs yeux, l'Occident symbolise la mort et la destruction.

3. Le rôle du mythe dans la mémoire collective

Comme nous l'avons ci-haut signalé, la mémoire collective se nourrit nos seulement des événements historiquement avérés, mais aussi des mythes sur lesquels se fonde l'identité d'un peuple donné... Le mythe comme récit, est un monde d'expression propre à un groupe, à une société à un moment donné (Borgeaud, 2004, p. 23) ; son apprentissage, sa transmission dans le cadre d'une éducation ou d'une tradition, crée un type très particulier de lien entre l'individu et la collectivité, un lien où la part de l'imaginaire et du sentiment devient particulièrement important**.** Les penseurs grecs ont appelé ce lien « *sunbolos* », symbole. Par un symbole, on peut désigner une dimension réelle de l'existence, dont il est nécessaire de tenir compte dans la vie sociale et politique, une dimension dont l'actualité se charge de rappeler l'importance (Borgeaud , 2004, p. 23.).

Par un récit mythique fondateur, le passé cesse d'être évoqué comme seulement « ce qui fut », mais comme ce qui interpelle. Peu à peu, ce qui est vu comme mythe finit par être historicisé, et prend une forme linéaire dans la mémoire collective. Dire qu'un événement se situe dans un monde mythique n'enlève rien sur son impact mémoriel. Au contraire, cela lui permet d'avoir la possibilité de traverser l'histoire afin d'être exploité à chaque époque et dans chaque espace (Borgeaud, 2004, p.23).

Dans toutes les littératures du monde, le mythe, en commençant par les mythes cosmogoniques, occupe une place de proue. Dans la littérature orientale,

par exemple, la référence au passé sert le plus souvent de preuve de la continuité de ce qui fut instauré dès la nuit des temps, au temps primordial, à l'âge mythique par les dieux (Bauks, 2001.). L'historiographie biblique qui inspire la foi des trois grandes traditions religieuses dites abrahamiques s'insère dans ce contexte oriental antique et suit cette logique. L'histoire de l'homme biblique est en même temps celle d'YHWH le Dieu d' Israël. Le premier historien connu du monde antique, Hérodote a été le premier à remarquer les limites de cette historiographie qui ne distingue pas l'œuvre humaine de l'œuvre divine. Hérodote chercha à séparer les œuvres humaines et celles attribuées aux dieux pour produire une œuvre historique. Dans le prologue de son œuvre, il écrit : « Hérodote d'Halicarnasse présente ici le résultat de son enquête, afin que le temps n'abolisse pas les travaux des hommes et que les grands exploits accomplis soit par les Grecs, soit par les Barbares ne tombent pas dans l'oubli (Bauks, 2001). L'idéologie développée par les auteurs bibliques et plus particulièrement par le mouvement deutéronomiste auquel on attribue la composition du corpus des livres du Deutéronome au 2 Rois (Noth,1991; Römer, 2005) illustre bien la thèse selon laquelle une communauté ne vit et ne survit que quand elle reste attachée à sa mémoire collective qui lui rappelle ses origines dans lesquelles elle puise des forces nouvelles et la raison de son existence, de sa croyance et de son espérance. Ces origines sont généralement faites non seulement par des événements mais aussi par des personnalités éponymes. Ainsi le rôle d'Abraham pour les Juifs, les Chrétiens et les Musulmans, celui d'Achilles ou d'Alexandre le Grand pour les Grecs ne sont plus à démontrer.

Parlant d'Alexandre le Grand par exemple chez les Grecs, Nikos Kalampalikis s'est focalisé sur son personnage en étudiant la fonction du mythe dans la société moderne (Kalampalikis, 2002). Cet auteur a trouvé que le rôle du récit d'Alexandre dans la mémoire collective grecque avait déjà pris une couleur mythique dans l'historiographie et la littérature, en étant associé au monde des protagonistes des récits mythiques de la Grèce antique. De plus, la transmission orale et la diffusion écrite du récit d'Alexandre sous la forme narrative d'une légende, a fait de lui un mythe national dans la conscience collective hellénique, une métaphore identitaire pour une nation en quête d'une indépendance politique. Dans l'imaginaire populaire plusieurs légendes et contes ayant trait à sa mémoire ont commencé à se propager, juste après sa mort, dans des peuples aussi variés que ceux de ses conquêtes. Entre le XVIIe et le XIXe siècle, sa biographie mythologique fut répandue, rééditée, revisitée et reconstruite par la tradition orale, la mémoire collective et les contes grecs et balkaniques. Le personnage d'Alexandre devient ainsi symbole et synonyme de la lutte contre toute sorte d'ennemis (Perses, mais aussi Ottomans), incarnation de la beauté et

du bien, sa nature métaphysique et ses qualités divines s'accentuent. La tradition fait de lui une leçon morale et sa fonction sociale se détache complètement du contexte historique qui lui a donné naissance. D'après Kalampalikis (2002), le récit d'Alexandre a formé un message communicationnel hautement persuasif. Une narration apparentée à un récit historique et racontée sous la forme d'un mythe légendaire dans le système éducatif et la tradition populaire, a émergé sur la scène sociale grecque à un moment où l'enjeu sur la dénomination devenait menaçant pour l'identité nationale (Kalampalikis 61-86).

Ce type de récits se retrouve aussi dans la construction de récits de fondation des États-nations modernes. Il est ainsi devenu courant de parler de « mythes fondateurs » pour des nations telles que la France, la Suisse, les États-Unis, et d'autres qui se considèrent, « civilisées » - abusivement, il faut le dire, car si l'on compare leur histoire à celle de grandes civilisations qui ont édifié le mythe fondateur de l'humanité ces nations n'apparaissent nulle part. En France, on trouve ainsi ce type de récits identitaires à la limite mythiques ou légendaires qui se basent sur des événements sous la Troisième République avec la personne de Vercingétorix. Dans son ouvrage, *Vercingétorix et l'idéologie française* », André Simon (1989) met en lumière la façon dont ce chef gaulois s›imposa peu à peu pour devenir, au XIXe siècle et jusqu›à notre époque, le « premier des Français ». Vercingétorix fut l›un des premiers chefs ayant réussi à fédérer une partie importante des peuples gaulois, en montrant de réels talents militaires face à l'empereur romain Jules César l›un des plus grands stratèges de son temps, Il a été le premier à imaginer la stratégie de la « Terre brulée ». Alors que la royauté se réclamait de Clovis, fondateur de la monarchie chrétienne, les républicains, quant à eux, bientôt suivis de toutes les familles idéologiques, cherchèrent à ancrer la légitimité de leur pouvoir en Vercingétorix. Ce champion de l›indépendance, de la liberté, de l›unité nationale, représenta dès lors pour tous, la nouvelle incarnation de la patrie.

Vercingétorix fut presque oublié jusqu'au milieu du XIXe siècle. Cependant, sa figure de représentant de la civilisation gauloise fut restaurée et mise en avant sous Napoléon III. Dans le cadre de l'affrontement franco-allemand, le récit sur Vercingétorix présente une figure mythique et nationale de tout premier ordre pour la France, dans une partie importante de l'historiographie du temps. Entre 1870 et 1950, l'histoire de la France telle qu'elle est enseignée à des générations d'écoliers, fait de lui le tout premier chef et père de la nation (Vernet, 2017, en ligne)

En Suisse, le personnage de Guillaume Tell à qui la mémoire collective attribue un courage exceptionnel grâce auquel la Suisse acquiert son indépendance,

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constitue une sorte de référence implicite, toujours présente et à laquelle les Suisses peuvent constamment se référer (Battaglia, 2006, en ligne). Ce simple montagnard qui refusait de saluer le chapeau du tirant et orgueilleux, Gessler, chapeau hissé sur la place publique d'Altdorf rappelle l'histoire de l'esclave Mardochée du récit d'Esther dans la Bible refusant de s'agenouiller et d'adorer Hamann le petit fils d'Agag l'Amalécite (cf. Est. 3). Même si l'authenticité de Tell reste douteuse, ceux qui le considèrent comme leur modèle ne cherchent même pas à prouver l'historicité des faits. Tant que la mémoire collective considère Tell comme le héros national, son mythe garde un caractère construit, entretenu et fonctionnel. Tell est donc pris pour le garant de l'indépendance, le défenseur des libertés, le rassembleur du peuple et le porte-parole de valeurs dont les Suisses sont fiers aujourd'hui (Max Flisch, 2014).

Enfin, du côté des États-Unis d'Amérique on retrouve des mythes recyclés à l'instar du récit de l'Exode biblique qui inspire le mythe fondateur des États-Unis : en fuyant les persécutions religieuses et l'instabilité de l'Europe, les dissidents anglais traversent un océan vers une Terre promise d'où il faut chasser les autochtones. Les premiers groupes de colons britanniques, après leur traversée à bord du bateau Mayflower, vont d'abord conquérir un vaste territoire de toute la côte occidentale de l'Atlantique [orientale pour les États-Unis actuels] et lui donner le nom de Nouvelle Angleterre [New England] en 1620; c'est cette partie qui sera le berceau de la grande conquête des futurs États-Unis d'Amérique ; ils prendront plus tard au XIXe siècle le nom des Pères pèlerins (en anglais « Pilgrim Fathers »), expression apparue, pour désigner ces colons, en référence à un passage de la Bible (*Roussel*., n.d, en ligne)

4. Problématique du mythe fondateur et de l'identité commune au Rwanda

La complicité tacite de l'Église dans la destruction du mythe fondateur et la négation de l'identité commune.

Dans les différentes crises sociopolitiques qu'a connues le peuple rwandais, la manipulation consciente ou inconsciente de la mémoire collective a joué un rôle non négligeable. En effet, la théorie de l'inégalité des races en vogue en Occident fut appliquée à la société rwandaise. Les ethnologues occidentaux développèrent le mythe hamite-bantou (Gatwa 2001 ; 2005 : 65-69 ; Byanafashe et Paul Rutayisire éd. 2016 , p.21) qui divisa la population rwandaise en deux peuples complètement différents compte tenu de leurs origines. Deux grands

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défenseurs de cette théorie sont des membres du clergé catholique notamment le Père Pagès et le Chanoine De Lacger.

Décrivant les Tutsi Le Père Pagès écrit :

La communauté d'origine des Hamites avec les Sémites (Égyptiens ou Abyssins) semble hors de conteste. Leurs ressemblances physiques, leurs affinités des mœurs pastorales, l'identité de coutume, telles que la division en animaux purs et impurs (imiziro), la loi du lévirat, la mutilation d'un ennemi, leur organisation politique féodale), etc., sont autant de traits qui prouvent leur parenté avec cette race. (Pages, 1933,p. 21).

La théorie hamite faisait des *Tutsi* Rwandais et de la Région des Grands Lacs d'Afrique dans son ensemble, un peuple à part et fut un coup fatal à la mémoire collective et à l'identité commune. Les *Tutsi* seront présentés comme originaires de la Caucase et de surcroît cousins des Européens sous une peau noire. En tant que porteurs de civilisation et de par leur supériorité naturelle, ils doivent alors dominer sur les races inférieures les *Hutu* et les *Twa*. Cette interprétation de la réalité historique du pays a attisé les conflits socio-ethniques dont le paroxysme a été le génocide perpétré contre les *Tutsi* en 1994.

G. Van't Spijker, reprenant les thèses développées par bien d'autres chercheurs, considère que l'une des grandes erreurs de la mission chrétienne aux XIXe et XXe siècles, a été la caution de la classification des races qui a créé le sentiment de suprématie chez les uns et le sentiment d'infériorité et de révolte chez les autres [Gatwa 2001 : 49ss ; 2005 : 69ss ; Van't Spijker regrette que l'Évangile n'a pas mis en question le mal sous les apparences trompeuses de la stratification raciale des peuples (G. Van't Spijker, 2007, 98-99). A l'heure actuelle, l'ethnisation des consciences ainsi que les événements vécus par les uns et les autres ont fini par catégoriser tout le monde, sans scrupule, fermant ainsi la parenthèse sur le vrai débat concernant nos questions identitaires, sources des tragédies cycliques qui ne cessent d'endeuiller le Rwanda.

Il faut bien noter que les débuts de l'histoire du Rwanda se perdent dans la nuit des temps. Le Rwanda, qui existe comme nation depuis plusieurs siècles avec toutes ses composantes en terme de population, n'avait jamais connu une tragédie, basée sur une division "*ethnique*" quelconque. Car nos ancêtres, par le truchement du mythe, avaient songé comme toutes les autres nations à résoudre l'équation de l'unité et de l'identité sans oublier celui du partage du pouvoir. Dans cette réflexion, nous ne prétendons pas analyser les différentes versions du mythe fondateur des Rwandais. Nous retenons tout simplement que le mythe

fondateur rwandais n'a pas trahi la règle générale, qui confère aux ancêtres éponymes et leur organisation socio-politique l'origine divine.

Dans toutes les traditions les mythes sont d'abord véhiculés par la tradition orale avant la mise par écrit. Au Rwanda la tradition orale s'est conservée à travers l'*Ubucura-Bwenge* qui détient la chronologie des rois que contient le Rituel Royal transmis en principe inchangé de génération en génération l'*Ubwiru*. A. Kagame a mis par écrit l'essentiel de cette tradition orale dans des nombreux ouvrages dont «Un abrégé de l'ethnohistoire du Rwanda».

La principale version du mythe fondateur relate que l'existence du peuple rwandais commence avec le mythe de *Nkuba* (Shyerezo) et son fils *Kigwa* (littéralement : celui qui est tombé du ciel). Ainsi que des *Ibimanuka,* un petit groupe d'hommes, «descendus» du ciel, qui a fondé le royaume du Rwanda à une époque non encore identifiée. Dans son ouvrage « *Inganji Kalinga* », Alexis Kagame trace la généalogie ascendante des chefs de ce groupe. Dans un récent ouvrage publié sous le haut patronage de la Commission Nationale d'Unité et de Réconciliation, le feu Célestin Kanimba Misago analyse ce mythe jusqu'à dresser une liste chronologiques des *Ibimanuka* du Rwanda en citant différents auteurs tels que Pages Albert, Léon Delmas, Alexis Kagamé, et le rapport du gouvernement de 1926 (Kanimba Misago, 2016)

A. Kagame préfère la version des *Ibimanuka* et souligne que seuls les Banyiginya (le clan régnant), descendent des *Ibimanuka*. Ces mythes constituaient une idéologie visant la divinisation de la monarchie Tutsi en général et la dynastie des *Banyiginya–Bahindiro* en particulier (Gatwa, 2005 : 24). Baributsa Maniragaba et Delmas ont critiqué ce mythe et soulignent qu'il véhicule une idéologie justifiant la suprématie naturelle des *Tutsi* sur les *Hutu* et les *Twa* tout en légitimant le pouvoir de la dynastie régnante en lui attribuant une origine divine (Kanimba Misago, 2016, p. 25-76).

L'autre version du mythe fondateur rwandais relate que les Rwandais ont un ancêtre commun *Gihanga* (le fondateur ou le créateur) qui a fondé le Rwanda. Mais ce *Gihanga* aurait donné à *Gatutsi*, l'ancêtre des *Tutsi,* la prédominance sur ses frères parce qu'il s'est montré plus sage, plus intelligent et plus apte.

Ce mythe de *Gihanga* s'opposait en quelque sorte au mythe des *Ibimanuka* (les descendants du Ciel) qui réservait au clan régnant l'origine divine, afin de légitimer la domination sur les autres clans. Le mérite du mythe de *Gihanga* et qu'il cherche au moins à résoudre non seulement l'équation de l'origine des Rwandais mais celle de leur unité en conférant aux trois groupes un même ancêtre éponyme.

Les mythes stéréotypant les deux principaux groupes les *Hutu* et les *Tutsi* comme deux peuples étrangers l'un de l'autre n'ayant pas la mémoire collective ni une identité communes ont porté un coup fatal à cette vision des ancêtres à propos d'un peuple uni par les liens de sang. L'historiographie faisant des *Tutsi* un peuple hamite d'origine éthiopienne et d'Asie et les *Hutu* les Bantous, les nègres serviles originaires des environs du lac Tchad (Gatwa, 2001, p.117-118 ; Van't Spijker, 2007, pp. 92-96,) a détruit le mythe fondateur encré dans la mémoire collective qui faisait des Rwandais des trois groupes sociaux les enfants d'un même père, *Bene Gihanga* et de surcroît *Bene Kanyarwanda* les Fils de Kanyarwanda » .

Obnubilé par l'ethnisme, l'anthropologue belge Luc de Heusch fait une lecture étonnante du culte de Kubandwa. Dans son article, *Mythe et société féodale. Le culte du kubandwa dans le Rwanda traditionnel,* De Heusch affirme que le culte de *Kubandwa* était particulièrement répandu chez les *Hutu* puisqu'il était une contestation mystique de l'ordre féodal (*De Heusch 1964)

De Heusch démontre mordicus que le « message » de *kubandwa* caractérise une religion démocratique niant le régime des castes fondé sur la propriété du bétail, que dans l'exercice du culte les *Hutu* et les *Tutsi* demeurent rigoureusement séparés. Pour De Heusch, le message religieux de *Ryangombe,* nie le lourd édifice des castes ; le culte est un théâtre liturgique où les initiés s'identifient à la petite société libre que forment autour de *Ryangombe* ses compagnons et ses parents (De Heusch,). Le *kubandwa*, largement pratiqué par les *Hutu*, aurait pu être une force révolutionnaire. Tout lien de vassalité ou de servitude (conçu également sur le modèle de la relation père-fils) est ainsi renié.

Pour De Heusch, les événements de 1959, connus sous le nom de la *Révolution de 1959*, sont la matérialisation du message mystique véhiculé par le culte de Ryangombe. Il le dit en ces termes :

Ainsi la plus conservatrice des Églises coloniales africaines fut-elle amenée, pour sauver la mise, à défendre énergiquement la révolution sociale qui grondait sur les collines. La contestation populaire de la féodalité quittait définitivement le terrain mystique discrédité du kubandwa*. Au mythe de* Ryangombe *se substituait le Manifeste des intellectuels* hutu *catholiques.* (De Heusch , 1964 , pp. 133-146).

De Heush ne veut pas évoquer le commandement que *Ryangombe* avait lui-même formulé en stipulant que chaque *Hutu*, chaque *Tutsi*, que chaque *Twa* doit observer le culte de *kubandwa*. De Heusch essaie de contredire. J.J Maquet (1954) pour qui le culte des *Imandwa* constituait dans la société traditionnelle

une « force de cohésion sociale » (p.50), puisque les *Tutsi* comme les *Hutu*, et même les *Twa,* pouvaient se faire initier ensemble lors d'un même culte. Selon notre expérience ; aucun culte de *Kubandwa* ne devait se dérouler sans la présence physique des représentants de chaque groupe ethnique qui tous remplissaient des fonctions complémentaires.

5. Rôle des intellectuels Rwandais dans la négation de leur mythe fondateur et de leur identité commune.

Les premiers intellectuels Rwandais de tous bords n'ont pas porté un regard critique à ces théories manichéennes des anthropologues européens. Ils ont pris leurs écrits comme des sources scientifiquement fiables et ont ainsi affirmé sans ambages leur adhésion à ces théories en localisant aussi les origines géographiques des *Hutus* et des *Tutsis* respectivement en Afrique centrale et en Ethiopie. Monseigneur Alexis Kagame, l'un des premiers intellectuels et élève de l'école missionnaire (notamment des Pères blancs), a reproduit les théories en vogue. Selon lui, les *Tutsi* seraient arrivés en Afrique centrale en provenance de l'Asie. Mgr Kagame n'a pas nié la thèse selon laquelle les Tutsis étaient proches de européens (Kagame , 1959, p.65, 71). Les ouvres historio-graphiques et littéraires de Kagame reproduisant en quelques sortes ce regard européens sur la société rwandaise ont été longtemps lues et enseignées dans les écoles. Bien qu'il demeure le géant de l'histoire du Rwanda Kagame est critiqué par bon nombre d'auteurs pour son subjectivisme dans le traitement des traditions orales suite à son attachement à la classe régnante (Byanafashe et Rutayisire, 2016, p. 22).

À l'ère de l'indépendance, cette réalité ethnique instrumentalisée par les écrits coloniaux et missionnaires se radicalise à travers les écrits des élites indépendantistes issues de tous les groupes. Les Hutus dirigés par Grégoire Kayibanda, ancien séminariste et futur président publia « le Manifeste des *Bahutu* » 24 mars 1957. Le groupe *tutsi* répliqua par un document attribué aux *Abagaragu bakuru b'ibwami* (les serviteurs du roi). Cette réponse des 12 notables conseillers du roi publié en 1958 en réponse au manifeste dit des *Bahutu* et dans laquelle il était refusé aux *Hutu* de pouvoir aspirer aux mêmes droits que les *Tutsi* notamment en termes d'éducation, semble être actuellement occultée alors qu'il aurait aussi contribué à creuser la fossé entre les deux groupes antagonistes. Se fondant sur les mythes d'origine de deux groupes, ce document niait la fraternité entre les *Hutus* et les *Tutsis*.

Plusieurs générations de Rwandais ont grandi avec cette lecture erronée des éléments de leur mémoire collective et des déformations de l'histoire de leur

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société. Le régime républicain s'appuiera sur ces mythes pour entretenir la phobie populaire du retour au pouvoir des hamites oppresseurs. Il va exploiter à sa guise la mémoire collective intoxiquée par une historiographie erronée pour asseoir son pouvoir sur une politique ségrégationniste faisant du groupe tutsi sa bête noire , constitué des étrangers et d' envahisseurs dont il faut à tout prix se débarrasser. Cette idéologie était si bien enseignée de façon que les pauvres paysans qui vivent ensemble et partagent les joies et les peines au quotidien ont été obligés d'y adhérer.

Chaque fois qu'il y avait une crise politique dans lequel les membres de l'ethnies *tutsi* avaient un part active les récits faisant des *Tutsi* des étrangers, des sanguinaires ou des citoyens des secondes zones était racontés. Ainsi les *Tutsi* innocents étaient sauvagement massacrés. Selon T. Gatwa, les attaques des *Inyenzi* par exemple au cours des années 1960, 1966, 1973,1994 étaient un prétexte pour éliminer l'opposition interne en particulier celle de « *tendance Batutsi »,* (Gatwa, 2001).

La manipulation de la mémoire a eu pour résultat dans la diabolisation et l'exclusion de l'autre qui le placent dans une catégorie d'être dangereuse à éliminer inéluctablement. Rappelons-nous cela se passe dans une société était majoritairement christianisée où l'Église se félicite d'être une Église de réveil tant du côté catholique que du côté protestant.

À travers l'enseignement d'une histoire tronquée et par son silence face à la manipulation de la mémoire après les événements de 1959, l'Église a contribué, sciemment ou inconsciemment, à l'exhibition d'une mémoire diabolisant l'autre. Même si du côté de l'Église catholique. Mgr Perraudin, a condamné l'injustice sociale au départ, il a malheureusement peu après renforcé la coloration ethnique du problème (Gatwa, 2001, p.117-118).

L'Église a été insensible à la manipulation de la mémoire collective. Elle a été insensible à la manipulation de la mémoire historique de tout un peuple par des personnes travaillant pour une idéologie machiavélique. L'Église a raté le kairos de jouer son rôle prophétique raison pour laquelle certaines critiques la considèrent comme complice des régimes génocidaires.

Cette façon d'agir est contraire à la mémoire chrétienne qui, tournée vers un avenir meilleur, fonde l'être même de l'Église et doit par conséquent protester et démasquer le vrai visage d'une idolâtrie politique, d'une idéologie politique qui, *par la manipulation de la mémoire et évidemment des consciences, s'engage sur la pente du totalitarisme* (Metz, 1972, p.9-25).

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6. Le combat de Mgr Aloys Bigirumwami contre la manipulation de la mémoire

Quand plusieurs voix affirmaient que le peuple Rwandais est constitué d'ethnies d'identité et d'origines différentes. Monseigneur Bigirumwami est monté au créneau comme un vrai prophète pour fustiger et dénoncer haut et fort cette gangrène de haine destructrice. Les propos conciliateurs et unificateurs de ce premier prélat et intellectuel Rwandais ont été comme la prédication de Jean Baptiste dans le désert et ont été longtemps occultés.

Dans la nouvelle reconstruction de la mémoire des événements des années 1959, les propos considérés comme divisionnistes de Mgr Perraudin sont souvent évoqués comme si ce prélat était la seule voie de la hiérarchie catholique qui pouvait s'exprimer sur la crise sociopolitique que traversait le Rwanda à cette époque. Il sied de rappeler en passant que Mgr Bigirumwami avait été par ailleurs ordonné comme évêque de Kabgayi, le 25 mars 1956, par son confrère africain Mgr Aloys Bigirumwami. Ce sacre fit impression non seulement au Rwanda mais dans l'Église tout entière, car c'était la première fois qu'un évêque noir donnait la plénitude du sacerdoce à un évêque blanc en terre africaine.

Il est vrai Mgr Perraudin a toujours revendiqué la paternité de la révolution Hutu de 1959, mais comme le dit P. Rutayisire , il serait injuste d'affirmer que toute la hiérarchie de l'Église était gagnée par l'ethnisme (Rutayisire, 2014). Certains continuent même aujourd'hui de juger la position de l'Eglise catholique par rapport à la crise politico-ethnique de l'époque des indépendances, à travers les propos de Perraudin, ce qui a toujours donné l'impression que tout le leadership de l'Église catholique était adepte de la division ethnique .

Le combat de Mgr Bigirumwami prouve le contraire. Dans une lettre écrite en kinyarwanda en 1958 et publiee également dans *Témoignage Chrétien*, Journal missionnaire édité en Belgique, Mgr Aloys Bigirumwami démasque l'ethnicisation et démontre la complexité de la question raciale appliquée à la société rwandaise.

Il existe aujourd'hui un problème crucial pour ceux qui doivent développer notre pays, ce n'est pas autre chose, c'est le problème ethnique ou les relations entre les Tutsi*, les* Hutu *et les* Twa*. Voici le nœud du problème : qui est* Hutu *? Qui est* Tutsi *? Qui est* Twa *? Peut-on déterminer cela à partir de traits physiques, des origines, du pouvoir ou de la richesse ?... Je peux citer le cas des inter-mariages dans les territoires ou les régions de Nyanza-Nduga, Kigali-Busanza, Kibuye et Kinyaga ; le plaisir serait pour moi de savoir ce qu'en*

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pensent les habitants de ces régions. (Gatwa 2001 : 90-91; 2005 : 99-100 ; Shimamungu , 2009, en ligne)

Ceux qui veulent nier l'honnêteté de Mgr Bigirumwami dans cette affaire le considère comme un Tutsi qui plaidait pour les siens (Rutayisire 2014, p. 253-345), alors que lui se considère comme Hutu. Dans la même lettre, Mgr Bigirumwami surprend tout le monde au sujet de sa propre identité ethnique en ces termes :

Ce serait extrêmement difficile de distinguer Hutu, Tutsi *et* Twa *à partir de la ressemblance physique. Moi-même j'ai toujours cru que j'étais* Tutsi *(mais sans en être certain) j'ai été convaincu du contraire en lisant l'ouvrage du Père Delmas attestant que les Abagesera sont des* Hutu (Shimamungu, 2009, en ligne).

À partir des faits sociologiques, Mgr Bigirumwami voulait bien montrer que les Rwandais partagent la mémoire collective, l'identité et ainsi le destin commun entant que peuple.

7. Le fondement théologique et biblique de l'Action de l'Église en faveur du devoir de mémoire aujourd'hui

Relation entre histoire et théologie.

Pour le théologien R. Dri, *(*1999*),* la mémoire constitue l'homme comme sujet et joue le rôle central dans son existence aussi longtemps que l'homme se définit comme une conscience (p. 2-9) . Cette réalité se trouve aussi dans la Bible plus particulièrement dans l'AT où le devoir de mémoire est pris pour une loi divine.

La Bible raconte comment Dieu s'est révélé à son peuple dans son histoire. Dans le Pentateuque (les premiers livres attribué à Moise), le séjour en Égypte ou 'Exode en général constitue l'événement fondateur sur lequel est construite l'identité voire l'être d'Israël en tant que nation et la raison de sa relation avec Dieu et avec autrui. Au centre du livre du Deutéronome par exemple, on aperçoit la crise de cette identité dont la solution se trouve dans le souvenir des origines. L'insistance sur le souvenir exprimée par les verbes *lo' shakah* (ne pas oublier) » et *zakar* (se souvenir) utilisés en parallélisme synonymique permet au « théologien deutéronomiste » d'entretenir la mémoire des événements que les générations montantes risqueraient d'oublier parce qu'elles en sont de plus en plus éloignées dans le temps et dans l'espace. Mais plus encore, ce devoir de mémoire

aide le peuple à prendre conscience de la portée toujours actuelle de l'acte salu-taire de Dieu accompli d'une manière extraordinaire lors de sa sortie d'Égypte. D'après E. Jacob l'histoire marquée par l'exode peut être considérée comme le « sacrement » de la religion d'Israël (E. Jacob, 1955 : .149). C'est pourquoi en parlant des patriarches, Jacob semble être le plus important dans la vision deuté-ronomiste (T. Römer, *ETR 60*, 1985 : 1-18). Il est implicitement évoqué dans le « credo historique » comme étant le premier à connaître la révélation (cf. Dt 26, 5-10). Dans la mémoire, l'Égypte et le désert ne sont pas que des lieux de mi-sères, mais ils constituent aussi la « *forêt d'initiation* » pour les pères d'Israël.

Les recherches vétérotestamentaires sont d'accord sur le fait qu'une grande partie de la théologie vétérotestamentaire s'est bien développée à l'époque exi-lique. L'insistance sur le séjour en Égypte et l'événement de l'exode avaient ainsi une portée non seulement théologique mais aussi idéologique pour gérer la nou-velle donne. Israël doit supporter l'exil d'autant plus que ses origines se trouvent hors du pays. Il n'était qu'un peuple nomade, errant comme une brebis perdue dans le désert, comme le fait comprendre le *Credo historique* (Dt 26,5-11). Ainsi la terre de Canaan dont la perte est fortement angoissante n'est qu'un don. Elle n'est pas un héritage légué par les parents à leur progéniture. Le pays a été acquis suite au passage de l'errance à la servitude, de la servitude à la libération. Pour la communauté exilique et post-exilique à laquelle ce message est destiné, il y a toujours de l'espoir de retrouver le pays perdu, la seule condition étant de rester fidèle à l'Alliance. Ainsi, les questions de relations, d'intégration dans cet état de crise d'identité aux milieux des autres nations, qui se posent avec acuité trouvent ainsi une réponse appropriée

Dans le judaïsme, la loi du *zékhèrou* l'injonction de se souvenir, implique certes une référence au passé, mais elle ne se limite pas là. La référence au passé génère un processus dynamique et créatif qui enrichisse le présent et l'avenir et sache en prévenir les débordements (Ndikumana, 2012, p. 219). L'une des fonc-tions de *zekher* (souvenir) est de maintenir la tradition sur laquelle repose l'exis-tence du peuple de Dieu, de souligner l'actualité de son passé en permettant ain-si, à chaque génération, de participer à l'histoire du salut qu'offre YHWH. Ainsi chaque membre de la communauté juive s'identifie par rapport à cette mémoire collective qui lui inspire la manière d'être et d'agir.

8. La mémoire fondement de l'éthique des valeurs morales

Dans la théologie vétérotestamentaire, le pays d'Égypte occupe une place de choix. La référence au séjour et à la sortie d'Égypte encadre les stipulations régissant les relations entre Dieu et l'homme dans le Décalogue. D'une façon générale, la loi fait référence à ces deux événements quand il est question des défavorisés dans la société qu'il faut protéger (Pons, 1988, p. 169-182) à savoir l'émigré (Dt. 10, 19), l'esclave (Dt. 15,15), la veuve ainsi que l'orphelin (Dt. 16, 1. 17).

Le souvenir d'Égypte ne porte pas seulement sur le pays en tant que territoire, mais aussi sur ses habitants. Ainsi l'émigré égyptien est considéré dans un cadre particulier parmi d'autres émigrés. À ce propos, il est dit « *tu ne considéreras pas l'Égyptien comme une abomination car tu as été émigré dans son pays* » (Dt. 23, 8). Ce qui intéresse dans cette prescription, c'est de constater qu'à l'Égyptien, l'ancien oppresseur, est réservé le même traitement humain qu'aux autres. Il est au même pied d'égalité que l'Edomite appelé déjà « frère ». « *Tu ne considéreras pas l'Edomite comme une abomination car c'est ton « frère »* » (Dt. 22,8 cf. Gn. 25). Le lien historique qui unit les Israélites aux Égyptiens vaut lien de sang (J. Pons, 1988 : 169-182). La rancune n'a pas sa place. Plus Israël tourne son regard vers l'avenir, plus il purifie sa mémoire.[325] L'étranger n'est pas seulement traité avec respect et amour, mais aussi il a droit de cité et peut totalement intégrer la communauté La Torah devient le lieu même de la mémoire consciente de ce que l'on a vécu et de ce que l'on ne peut jamais recommencer.

Il apparaît que chaque événement vécu par le peuple était suivi d'un questionnement et d'une réflexion théologique aboutissant aux nouvelles leçons à enseigner aux générations futures. En général, la Bible est donc faite des documents produits à partir des réflexions historico-théologiques s'étendant sur de longues périodes.

L'un des caractères remarquables de la mémoire juive, c'est que le Juif n'est jamais dépourvu de la présence divine dans le malheur. Dieu écoute toujours le cri de son peuple et descend pour le sauver (Ex. 3, 7-9). Dieu accompagne Israël dans son malheur quand bien même ce malheur proviendrait de son châtiment comme il est le cas pour la catastrophe de la déportation babylonienne en 587 d'après la Tradition Deutéronomiste (cf. 2 R 24 : 20). Autrement dit, le peuple

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325. Malheureusement les Amalécites ne bénéficieront pas de cette purification de la mémoire, (cf. Dt. 25 : 15-17; 1S.15).

juif voit au bout de son histoire sombre le témoignage et la préparation de la rédemption finale. Ainsi « *le Juif exilé moqué, meurtri, errant, persécuté, peut tenir ferme à son Dieu : le Dieu vivant et le Dieu de toute l'histoire* » (Dupuy, 1974, p.11-21).

Ainsi, en se souvenant, c'est d'abord la présence de Dieu qui prime sur l'événement malheureux. Les rabbins ont bien compris cet aspect de la théologie de la mémoire. La plus grande force du judaïsme est bien liée à la capacité d'intégrer la théologie dans l'histoire des croyants. Dieu est le maître de l'histoire. C'est pourquoi on ne peut en parler à l'homme en ignorant son histoire, sans vouloir tenir compte de son passé.

Le christianisme comme religion de mémoire

Le chrétien fait partie d'une communauté de mémoire, une mémoire qui se matérialise dans le sacrement de la Sainte Cène, sacrement de la réconciliation ; que nous appelons ici *Sacrement de la mémoire* : Faites ceci en mémoire de moi. Pendant l'Eucharistie on commémore et fait mémoire de la mort et de la résurrection de Jésus comme événement fondateur de l'Église. L'Église est donc la « mémoire vivante » de la libération reçue en Jésus-Christ où il n'y a ni juif ni grec ni bourreau, ni victime ni coupable. Le fait que toutes ces catégories se retrouvent unies dans l'Église, ne signifie pas que leurs passés sont gommés. Elles s'intègrent et s'apprécient par rapport à la mémoire de la victoire de la vie sur la mort. Une mémoire qui n'est pas seulement faite de la résurrection, ni de la passion mais qui, au contraire, est constituée de deux à la fois[326]. Il n'y a pas de résurrection sans passion. Et la passion de Jésus n'aurait pas de sens si la résurrection n'avait pas eu lieu. Nous célébrons la vie tout en nous souvenant du temps de la passion. On ne peut donc pas avoir peur d'évoquer le passé, même si cela peut faire ressurgir les expériences douloureuses.

De la part des chrétiens, la Sainte Cène, le sacrement de la mémoire par excellence, est inclusive puisque tous les chrétiens, bons ou mauvais, la partagent. Elle rappelle les souffrances de Jésus, fait revivre l'événement fondateur de la foi chrétienne et concerne particulièrement le présent. C'est sur la croix symbole d'ennemi de la vie que les chrétiens fondent leur identité commune. La mémoire des souffrances de la croix fait penser à cet ennemi qui ne veut pas du bien au peuple de Dieu sur son chemin de liberté.

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326. Nous parlons de cela en tenant compte du fait que les protestants présentent la croix vide pour insister sur la Résurrection, tandis que les catholiques présentent Jésus toujours accroché sur la croix pour mettre plus d'accent sur sa passion.

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À travers la célébration eucharistique comme repas d'alliance et de commémoration, les chrétiens serrent leur pacte et affirme leur identité et leur destin commun en Jésus mort et ressuscité. Une fois réunis autour de la *Sainte Table*, les chrétiens célèbrent ensemble la souffrance ôtée, la liberté retrouvée, la solidarité désintéressée et l'espérance partagée d'un avenir meilleur. Chaque mémoire du passé devrait alors contribuer, à la manière de la Sainte Cène, à célébrer la vie et à faire revivre l'espérance (Altias et I. Abravanel, 1992, pp. 20-23)

9. Église et mémoire du génocide contre les *Tutsi*

Si le développement est compris comme l'ensemble des processus visant la transformation de la société pour un bien être holistique, il est toujours un projet qui implique nécessairement la maîtrise du temps et de l'histoire (le passé, le présent et l'avenir). Dans une société post conflit, le traitement de l'histoire est intimement liée à la politique et donc fortement influencé par elle : les représentations historiques sont subordonnées aux volontés de l'État et, le souvenir et la mémoire des événements passés sont organisés et contrôlés par le parti au pouvoir. Celui-ci devient le moteur de l'écriture de l'histoire. C'est ce qui s'est passé après la shoah et la deuxième guerre mondiale surtout dans l'Allemagne de l'Est, en République Démocratique Allemande (RDA) (Billon, 2011, en ligne) et aussi, en République fédérale d'Allemagne.

Mais cette dimension politique qui s'observe partout n'empêche pas les initiatives des autres acteurs sociaux comme les Églises. L'un des aspects de l'histoire tragique du Rwanda qui doit rester gravé dans la mémoire surtout celle des chrétiens rwandais, est le fait que les génocidaires ont bafoué les principes élémentaires de la foi chrétienne et de toute civilisation. Ils ont transgressée les tabous universels et n'ont pas hésité devant le sacrilège massacrant leurs coreligionnaires dans les temples. Dans un pays aussi profondément christianisé que le Rwanda, la transformation des lieux saints en boucheries humaines donne froid au dos et provoque un questionnement sur la pertinence du *kérygme* et de la praxis ecclésiale dans ce contexte.

D'innombrables paroisses au Rwanda, portent les stigmates de l'ultime épisode de cette tragique histoire du génocide. Des temples, surtout ceux de l'Église Catholique dans lesquels les gens furent sauvagement massacrés ont été transformés en lieux de mémoire : Ntarama dans le district de Bugesera, Kibeho dans le district de Nyaruguru, Nyarubuye dans le Disict de Kirehe et l'Église de Nyange dans le District de Ngororero. Le site mémorial de Nyange a un cachet particulier puisque le prêtre de cette paroisse Athanase Seromba, donna lui-même l'ordre de

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l'abattre au bulldozer après que près de 500 [sic] *Tutsi* y auraient été rassemblés (Benetti , 2017 , en ligne).

La question de transformer ces lieux de culte en des lieux de mémoire a été le résultat d'âpres négociations entre l'État et les Églises d'une part, entre l'Église et les rescapés d'autre part. À part ces Églises, aujourd'hui dans plusieurs paroisses et institutions chrétiennes sont érigés des « mémoriaux » sur lesquels sont gravés les noms des victimes soit des simples fidèles soit des employés tués pendant le génocide. Chez les protestants, cette initiative a été prise pour la première fois par l'Église presbytérienne au Rwanda en construisant le mémorial de Remera-Rukoma en 1995, et celui de Kirinda en 1997. Aujourd'hui chaque paroisse protestante, surtout les anglicans et les presbytériens, a un dimanche consacré à la mémoire du génocide durant la période des trois mois (avril-juillet) consacrés à la commémoration.

Sous l'initiative du Conseil Protestant du Rwanda, une liturgie appropriée à observer pendant les services de commémoration du Génocide a été rédigée. Beaucoup d'Églises et d'Organisations chrétiennes s'en servent pendant la commémoration. Partout où les cérémonies de commémoration sont organisées, les Églises y sont invitées pour délivrer un message d'espoir. La présence des pasteurs et des prêtres pendant ces moments vitaux permet aux séances de commémoration de jouer leur important rôle réparateur d'une part, de reconstruction et de rétablissement des liens sociaux à travers le processus du deuil d'autre part.

La contribution de l'Église ne se limite pas seulement aux célébrations liturgiques, mais aussi à l'éducation. L'Université Protestante au Rwanda (PIASS), créée par les Églises Protestantes a pris à bras le corps la question de l'importance de la mémoire. Grâce à sa direction de recherche, elle a publié en 2016 un ouvrage en Kinyarwanda intitulé : « *Kwibuka no kuvura ibikomere by'ihungabana nyuma ya Genocide yakorewe Abatutsi : Komora umutima, umubiri n'amateka* » : (Mémoire et guérison des traumatismes après le Génocide perpétré contre les *Tutsi* : *Guérison du cœur, du corps et de la mémoire historique*).

Cet ouvrage collectif qui contient des articles des spécialistes en matière de mémoire et de guérison du traumatisme fut édité dans un but pédagogique. Il sert comme manuel d'éducation chrétienne en matière de mémoire et de guérison des traumatismes. Sous cet angle, l'université organise plusieurs sessions de formation de pasteurs et de leurs conjoints, des leaders des mouvements chrétiens et des laïcs engagés pour les former sur le rôle du devoir de mémoire dans la société et sa fonction dans le processus de la guérison des traumatismes.

De telles initiatives des Églises, quoiqu'elles arrivent quelquefois en retard et d'une manière timide, répondent ainsi à la préoccupation de certains auteurs africains, comme L. Magesa, qui invitent les Africains à réfléchir sur leur passé marqué par les multiples tragédies afin de l'assumer. Pour Magesa (2001), notre patrimoine cultuel devrait intégrer des événements pour y cerner la présence de Dieu qui incite à la formulation d'une théologie de justice sociale, de l'examen de la conscience et de la guérison de la mémoire (Magesa, 2001, p.20).

10. La contribution de l'Église dans les initiatives locales de développement s'inspirant de la mémoire collective

D'un point de vue sociologique et anthropologique, mais également politique et juridique, l'anthropologue Joel Candau (1998) soutient que la mémoire soit un éventuel chantier de reconstruction sociale. Au Rwanda, la mémoire collective est, depuis quelques années, lieu de ressourcement pour de nombreuses initiatives gouvernementales et communautaires afin de contribuer au développement durable. Il est ainsi de l'Église.

L'Église et la justice participative

La société rwandaise ne pouvait se construire, ni se développer après le génocide perpétré contre les *Tutsi* sans une véritable justice qui tienne compte du contexte dans lequel cet ignoble crime a été commis ! Le *Gacaca*, juridiction traditionnelle revisitée, a été la panacée la plus adéquate. Dans le Rwanda précolonial, le *Gacaca* constituait le mode traditionnel auquel faisaient recours des membres d'une communauté ou d'un groupe donné pour résoudre leurs différends sans recourir aux pouvoirs publics. L'assemblée du village ou du groupe s'asseyait sur le gazon, sous l'arbre à palabre sous la direction de personnes reconnues intègres pour rendre la justice lorsqu'il y avait violation des normes sociales, lorsque survenaient des conflits, comme des litiges fonciers, des dommages matériels, des problèmes conjugaux, des disputes d'héritage, les parties étaient réunies lors de séances informelles présidées par des juges appelés Inyangamugayo (des personnes intègres). L'objectif de *Gacaca* était de restaurer l'harmonie sociale en réintégrant dans la société les auteurs des transgressions.

Selon P. Rutayisere (2014), l'Église Catholique a eu l'idée de s'inspirer de cette approche traditionnelle de résolution de conflit avant qu'elle soit restaurée par le gouvernement. Dans la *Lettre Pastorale* que les évêques ont publiée le 20 novembre 1998, invitant les catholiques rwandais à entreprendre, au niveau de chaque diocèse, un synode extraordinaire sur l'ethnisme, l'idée de *Gacaca* est

clairement explicitée. Il est dit : «....nous ferons appel... à la culture traditionnelle de *Gacaca*. Cette culture vise à arbitrer dans les différends et les conflits, à punir, à conseiller, à réconcilier..»(Rutayisire, 2014, pp.253-345). À côté de cette initiative, l'Église a aussi mobilisé ses membres pour qu'ils participent activement dans les activités des juridictions *Gacaca* après qu'elles soient officiellement restaurées par le gouvernement. En date du 13 juin 2002, les évêques catholiques adressèrent une Lettre Pastorale intitulée **«***Pour une justice qui réconcilie* **»,** à leurs fidèles, les exhortant, en tant que chrétiens, à dire toute la vérité. Le même message fut réitéré dans la lettre du 27 Mars en 2007 dans laquelle les coupables sont demandés d'accepter leurs crimes et de demander pardon à ceux auxquels ils ont fait du mal et aux victimes il est demandé de pardonner. La même lettre rendait aussi hommage aux juges *Inyangamugayo* en ces termes :

> *Nous rendons hommage aux juges des juridictions* Gacaca, *dans la mesure où ils ont réellement été intègres, en évitant tout ce qui pourrait entacher les juridictions* Gacaca, *notamment: la corruption, la partialité, la peur, des décisions injustes ou trop sévères infligées à l'encontre de ceux que l'on voudrait opprimer.* (Les Évêques Catholiques du Rwanda, 2002, p. 4).

Dans certaines Églises Protestantes, il n'était pas interdit aux pasteurs d'être membres des juges. Selon les témoignages, la présence d'un pasteur parmi les juges pouvait positivement influencer le procès. Dans notre entretien, le Pasteur David Nahayo, qui a exercé comme *Inyangamugayo* dans la Cellule de Cyarwa, Secteur de Tumba, District de Huye, confirme que la présence d'un pasteur suscitait plus la confiance du côté des victimes comme du côté des bourreaux[327]. Il dit aussi que certains *Inyangamugayo* membres des églises protestantes faisaient leur possible pour éviter les injustices afin de gagner sa confiance alors que les autres membres faisaient de même de peur que le pasteur ne les dénonce auprès des autorités administratives. Par conséquent, dans sa juridiction comme dans celle du Pasteur Kabagema. V. (de l'Église Vivante), aucune complainte liée au cas de soupçon de corruption n'a été enregistré alors que dans d'autres juridictions du même secteur de tels cas étaient fréquents (Ibid.)

Certaines organisations chrétiennes de tradition protestante ont aussi contribué à la réussite des juridictions *Gacaca*. Par exemple, les prédications prononcées par l'organisation Prison Fellowship Rwanda, sous la direction de Monseigneur John Rucyahana, Évêque retraité de l'Église anglicane, dans les différentes prisons depuis 1997, ont persuadé largement certains prisonniers à accepter leurs crimes, à les confesser et à demander pardon aux victimes (Prison

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327. Nahayo, D. (2018), Pasteur de l'Église anglicane au Rwanda Diocèse de Butare, Entretien téléphonique le 30/07/2018

Fellowship Rwanda 2002, en ligne). Ce processus aurait incontestablement facilité la tâche aux juridictions *Gacaca.*

11. Réécriture et redressement de l'histoire : vers un nouveau pacte social

La théorie hamite visait à faire des Rwandais des peuples n'ayant pas une même patrie ni une même histoire. Parce que cette historiographie erronée longtemps enseignée dans les écoles a été à la base de l'idéologie génocidaire, le gouvernement a interrompu pendant plus de onze ans l'enseignement de l'histoire du Rwanda sur toute l'étendue du territoire national.

Ce processus est important et nécessaire dans ce sens qu'il permet de marquer une pause pour réfléchir sur le rôle de l'histoire. D'autres pays qui ont connu des tragédies de la même ampleur ont presque agi de la même manière. Au lendemain de l'Holocauste, il y a eu des lois sur la « *dénazification »* destinées à éradiquer le nazisme dans les institutions et la vie publique (Dreyfus, 2004, p.65) et la « *défachisation »* en Italie. Aux États-Unis, on a initié la déségrégation après l'intégration des Noirs.

L'un des canaux de redressement de l'histoire au Rwanda consiste en la restauration et la revitalisation de l'école traditionnelle, « *Itorero ry'Igihugu* », qui est devenue une institution nationale influente d'éducation civique. Chaque Rwandais est obligé de passer par cette institution pour être initié aux valeurs, à l'histoire et à l'identité nationales. Cette institution inculque surtout dans les générations montantes le sentiment patriotique au détriment d'un sentiment d'appartenance ethnique. L'un des principaux modules enseignés porte sur le nationalisme et l'identité nationale à travers le concept de *Ndi umunyarwanda* [*Je suis rwandais*].

Nombreux sont ceux qui s'étonnent de voir qu'au XXIᵉ siècle, le Rwanda qui existe depuis des millénaires comme une nation fasse de *Ndi umunyarwanda* une politique nationale. En réalité, le concept de *Ndi umunyarwanda* démontre la crise d'identité et une volonté politique de purification de la mémoire visant à refonder une nouvelle mémoire collective commune. Et l'on peut argumenter que les crises identitaires sont récurrentes y compris dans les sociétés qui croyaient l'avoir cimenté voire construit des valeurs « démocratiques » [les phobies raciales, extrémistes néo-nazi et autres qui rejettent tout acquis des 70 ans de la construction démocratique post guère sont un parmi nombreux exemples] .

Le redressement de l'histoire doit déboucher sur un nouveau Pacte social qui doit nécessairement se baser sur la réinterprétation de la réalité sociologique qui se passe des passions et des idéologies politiques. Pour que ce processus débouche sur des résultats escomptés, il faudra multiplier les espaces de dialogue et respecter l'objectivité et la rigueur scientifique au lieu d'être l'apanage du politique.

L'idée de héros nationaux dans la mémoire nationale en tant que Protecteurs du Pacte d'Amitié (Abarinzi b'igihango) *ou le « petit-reste »*

Depuis 1995, le gouvernement Rwandais a fait de la journée du 1er février, la Journée nationale des Héros. Cette journée consiste au souvenir de certains Rwandais et des étrangers qui ont sacrifié leur propre vie en accomplissant des actes extraordinaires de bravoure dans les moments critiques de la vie nationale pour promouvoir le bien-être du peuple. Ces héros nationaux sont classés en trois catégories, à savoir : *Imanzi, Imena* et *Ingenzi*[328].

À côté de ces héros nationaux qui sont en majorité de politiciens connus, émergent une autre catégorie des héros provenant des simples citoyens. Depuis 2015, chaque année, la Première Dame, Madame Jeannette Kagame reconnaît les héros à qui on a donné le nom d'*Abarinzi b'igihango* – Protecteurs du Pacte d'Amitié. Les personnes décernées sont reconnues pour leurs actes exceptionnels pendant le génocide, tels que risquer sa vie pour protéger celles des autres ; ou travailler sans relâche pour préserver la mémoire des victimes du génocide ou poser des actes tangibles qui ont significativement contribué à l'unité et à réconciliation des Rwandais. La sélection des candidats s'effectue à partir des villages jusqu'au niveau national. Les premières des médailles ont été cernées par le Président de la République le 15 novembre 2015 à dix-sept personnes choisies. Douze parmi elles ont été reconnues à titre posthume; elles ont perdu leur vie en essayant de sauver d'autres pendant le génocide. Parmi elles cinq étaient des

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328. Dans la catégorie *Imanzi,* figurent des personnes qui ont sacrifié leurs propres vies, comme le général major Fred Gisa Rwigema, décédé en première ligne un jour après le lancement de la guerre de libération et le Soldat inconnu qui représente tous les soldats qui ont perdu leurs vies en luttant pour le Rwanda . La deuxième catégorie, *Imena,* comprend des héros célébrés pour leurs actes extraordinaires tels que le Roi Mutara III, Rudahigwa , Rwagasana Michel, Agathe Uwilingiyimana l'ancien Premier Ministre pendant le génocide, et les élèves du lycée de Nyange tués en 1997, suite à leur refus de se plier aux ordres des extrémistes *Hutus,* qui leur avaient demandé de s'aligner en deux files distinctes, selon leur appartenance à l'ethnie *Tutsi* ou *Hutu* tandis que la dernière catégorie. *Ingenzi* inclut des héros qui sont toujours en vie.(http://www.cheno.gov.rw/index.php?id=243)

leaders au sein de l'Église Catholique ; avec l'espoir que des personnalités protestantes qui se sont montrées héroïques pendant le génocide soient identifiées et nommées sur le plan national.

Grâce à la reconnaissance nationale de cette catégorie des héros, les grands espaces de la mémoire du génocide ne sont plus occupés par les victimes et leurs bourreaux seulement, mais aussi par une catégorie des « résistants » que nous pouvons comparer aux « Justes parmi les Nations » dans le cas de la Shoah (le génocide perpétré contre les Juifs par les Nazis allemands) y a trouvé sa place. Avant ils étaient peu ceux qui s'intéressaient à ceux-là qui ont combattu contre les forces du mal protégeant les *Tutsi* pendant le génocide. Dans son ouvrage, J. D. Bizimana explique pourquoi cette catégorie était plus ou moins oubliée en ces termes :

> *Le génocide commis au Rwanda fut tellement cruel qu'il nous fait instamment oublier les actes extraordinaires de courage accomplis par certains Hutu. Nous sommes davantage habités par le souvenir des tueries effroyables dans lesquelles les nôtres sont morts et nous ne pensons plus au risque pris par les Hutu qui ont caché des Tutsi* (Bizimana, 2001, p.140).

C'est presque le même constat quand on évoque le problème de la Traite negrière. Les hommes comme J. Newton, W. Wiberforce, qui ont combattu l'esclavage au nom de la foi sont moins cités dans les milieux africains. Beaucoup sont ceux qui ignorent même que certaines sociétés missionnaires, comme la Church Missionary Society (CMS) dépendante de l'Église d' Angleterre, étaient nées dans le sillage des mouvements anti-esclavagistes (Zorn, 1993).

Certes, la majorité des chrétiens ont trahi les principes de leur foi pendant le génocide mais il faut reconnaître qu'il y a eu un petit reste des femmes et des hommes qui ont conservé leur dignité humaine et leurs valeurs chrétiennes ne sont pas nombreuses. Il peuvent être comparé au « petit reste » d'Israël dont parle le prophète Isaïe (cf. Is : 9).

 Dans le processus de la purification de la mémoire douloureuse en vue de construire un avenir meilleur, ce « petit reste » est le symbole de l'amour de Dieu et de sa permanente présence dans le monde. L'Église saura récupérer les témoignages des chrétiens héroïques dans le sens de conserver les modèles pour les générations montantes, l'espoir de l'Église et de la Nation.

11.1. L'attitude de l'Église face à la question de probables "conflits de mémoire"

Dans un contexte post-conflit, où, un groupe se considère comme vainqueur et l'autre comme vaincu, la question de conflits de mémoire se pose. La situation est souvent aggravée par le fait que les enjeux de mémoire soient aussi des enjeux politiques qui dépendent des contextes, des périodes et des idéologies. Les mémoires ont aussi leur propre histoire. La société qui a connu des conflits sanglants durant des décennies confronte indubitablement le phénomène de la compétition victimaire ou ce que J. M. Chaumont appelle « *la concurrence des victimes* » (Kattan, 2002 : p. 70) qui conduit aux conflits de mémoire, au négationnisme et au révisionnisme. Quand la mémoire douloureuse sert d'alibi, l'ancienne victime s'y attache aussi pour réclamer des faveurs et des privilèges qu'elle obtient en qualité de la personne opprimée et défavorisée (Todorov, 1995, p.54). T. Todorov note qu'il s'agit d'une compétition effrénée d'accéder au statut du plus défavorisé ou de la victime ce qui permet de recevoir d'office des privilèges par le fait d'appartenir au groupe jadis opprimé. Ainsi le « groupe-coupable » est abandonné à lui-même ce qui provoque une certaine frustration et un esprit négationniste par rapport aux crimes qui lui sont reprochés et à la négation de la mémoire.

Après le génocide perpétré contre les *Tutsi* rwandais, dans la sous-région des Grands Lacs, on assiste actuellement à un déchirement entre les groupes qui se disputent le statut des plus « meurtris». Les uns niant ou occultant ainsi les crimes infligés aux autres.

Dans ce contexte le rôle pastoral de l'Église est d'écouter le récit de souffrance des un et des autres. Partant de l'importance que P. Ricœur donne au récit dans la psychanalyse, T. Gatwa (2001) propose aussi d'accorder une place au récit des souffrances dans le processus de guérison de la Mémoire au Rwanda. Pour D. J. Laws (2001), raconter son histoire de souffrance (« *story telling* ») est plus important que parler de réconciliation et d'amnistie.

L'écoute de la souffrance de l'autre apparaît dans la Confession de Detmold initié par un petit groupe d'intellectuels Rwandais et d'étrangers réunis en Allemagne deux ans et demi après le génocide. En effet, préoccupé par la réconciliation, l'écoute de la souffrance de l'autre et la recherche de la paix entre les Rwandais ce groupe rédigé un appel au pardon connu sous le nom Confession de Detmold en décembre 1996 (Godding 1997). Ce document présente trois confessions successives : la première au nom des Hutus, la seconde au nom des Tutsis

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et la troisième au nom des Européens. Il place l'acte de repentance à titre collectif au centre d'un dispositif visant à réinstaurer le lien social.

Les détracteurs de cette initiative fondent leur critique sur sa dimension collective pouvant occulter la responsabilité individuelle' (Overdulve, 1997). Bien que cette confession ait été critiquée l'un de ses mérites est qu'elle peut contribuer à éviter les conflits de mémoire par l'écoute de la souffrance de l'autre, mais en reconnaissant la gravite propre à chaque crime. L'autre mérite est de n'avoir pas oublier le groupe des *Twa* puisque les trois groupes composantes des confesseurs consacrent tout un paragraphe de demande de pardon pour les avoir oubliés. Quoi qu'ils soient très minoritaires, les *Twa* sont aussi membres de la société rwandaise et doivent être toujours associés dans les initiatives de la reconstruction du pays.

Les Églises peuvent aussi aménager l'espace où on raconte les histoires de vie à travers ce qu'on appelle en Kinyarwanda « *Ubuhamya* ». Il s'agit d'un témoignage verbal de ce que Dieu a fait dans la vie d'un croyant. Celui-ci livre un témoignage d'une façon spontanée en plein culte ou dans un groupe de prière. « *Ubuhamya* » constitue un élément liturgique dans certaines Églises dites « nouvelles » ou d'obédience pentecôtiste[329]. Tant sur la forme que sur le fond, « *ubuhamya* » ressemble au « credo historique » formulé spontanément par un chrétien. Ce qui est souvent souligné, c'est l'intervention de Dieu dans un passé sombre (ayant trait au péché ou à la souffrance) et l'engagement pris après la délivrance. Ce que nous avons remarqué c'est que dans les Églises où on donne une place aux témoignages dans leur liturgie, il y a moins de victimes de traumatisme et de stress. Le récit permet alors de purifier la mémoire et de garder l'intervention de Dieu dans un passé sombre.

12. Conclusion

Au Rwanda l'historiographie tronquée a détruit le mythe unificateur des Rwandais pour introduire le mythe hamite créant ainsi une idéologie qui a malheureusement abouti au génocide. À cette époque où toute la société s'attèle au devoir de mémoire, la contribution de l'Église est sans mesure. Dans le passé elle n'a pas été vigilante pour jouer son rôle de sentinelle (Ez 3, 18ss) et désamorcer la bombe de la manipulation de mémoire qui a plus tard explosé.

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329. Cette pratique a été initiée par *Abaka*, c'est-à-dire les illuminés ou « porteurs de flambeau », dans les années 1930 lors du Grand Réveil Spirituel qui a embrasé l'Afrique de l'Est. Ce Réveil spirituel était surtout ressenti dans l'Église Episcopale (Anglicane dans le temps). Lire P. Saint John (1973), *Souffle de vie*, La Chaux-de-Fond, G. 11, ; H. Osborn (1991), *Fire in the Hills, Revival that spread from Rwanda*, East Sussex,

Aujourd'hui, l'interpellation à la vigilance lui est adressée pour ne plus retomber dans les erreurs du passé. En collaboration avec les hommes et les femmes de bonne foi, l'Église s'implique activement dans tout le processus de guérison de cette mémoire collective meurtrie d'autant plus que la théologie lui donne raison.

Cependant, Église saura comment être à l'écoute des souffrances de toutes les parties pour gérer les conflits de mémoire et éviter le négationnisme du génocide contre les *Tutsi*. La mémoire doit être une source de forces constructives d'une société réconciliée avec elle-même, et d'un avenir meilleur pour tout le peuple. En s'y mettant ainsi, l'Église pourra contrer les esprits mal intentionnés, lesquels, connaissant la force de la mémoire, la récupèrent, la manipulent, en abusent et s'en servent comme alibi pour des fins idéologiques et destructrices comme cela a été le cas tout au long de la crise rwandaise.

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The *Iwacu* At-home: Creating a safe space for healing the wounds of torture and restoring the pillars of resilience.

Dr. Jeannette Uwineza[330]

1. Introduction

The genocide against the *Tutsi* in 1994 not only took the lives of human beings, but also shattered cultural references that have served as pillars to keep the mental health of Rwandans in balance. No words can accurately describe the traumatic experiences that characterized that troubled time. The everyday life of the survivors continues to deteriorate further in the aftermath of the multiple rapes and acts of sexual violence that were committed. It is the memory of the mother which constitutes the reservoir of knowledge in this regard and the silence constitutes one of her means of survival. Thus, rather than being the bearer of knowledge, she becomes the bearer of secrets "to keep until death", while the duty to transmit these family memories to her child, and her child's right to know the truth about the traumatic legacy haunt her forever.

After experiencing war, genocide and other forms of torture, how does a surviving mother persevere, when the pillars of life have been destroyed by indescribable atrocities? How can she convey the loss of the life she knew before her traumatic experience, the memories that are impossible to comprehend or relate, the confusion that characterizes her everyday life, or the difficulties in facing the future? What is the framework and setting that will relieve the suffering from the accumulated trauma hidden in the depths of silence, while the child continues to ask questions in order to know the truth? Do people have the right words to talk about life, peace and justice, while the internal wounds are still bleeding? How about service providers ? Are they sufficiently equipped to help survivors be free

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from the traumatic past? Is it always the case that therapists have to be strong in order to strengthen their patients?

Senior colleagues in the field of clinical psychology have taught the necessity of staying strong in order to strengthen others. They want people–to stay brave despite the situation because the expression of moral pain in public is not customary in Rwandan society. During moments of sadness and suffering, people often say "Be strong," "Don't cry!" "Be a real man!" As a Rwandan proverb says, "Remember that the man's tears flow into his belly." (Uwineza, 2015, p.272).

Clinical experience has shown that the individual can create something from nothing by relying on altruistic achievements to restore the familiar pillars of resilience which contribute significantly to preventing and healing psychological suffering. Most of these pillars are part of the cultural heritage of each society, and refer to the object that no one would like to lose : One's own home! In this paper, that object is called « *Iwacu » [Chez-nous* ; At-home] (Uwineza & Brackelaire, 2014 ; Uwineza, 2015, 2016). We personally learned this during an action-research sponsored by the PIC Project (2010-2015),[331] under the theme, *"Elaborating models and modes of intervention and training in mental health in Rwanda"*.

Through this paper, we will share with the reader the potential and the challenges with regard to implementing psychological interventions in the aftermath of mass conflicts and other intentional violence perpetrated by one human being against another. The paper examines the destruction of the "home". It describes the process of its reconstruction. In the section regarding reconstruction, the reader will be introduced to the creative capability of the survivors and how they remain attached to their favorite vital object, especially their home. We will describe how that well-protected space allows survivors to put words to indiscernible wounds of experienced suffering. We will show how the traditional values, which have guided a society, open up the possibilities of restoring the pillars of resilience after a traumatic experience. The reader will be introduced to the product of the work of creation and symbolization carried out by the mother and her child on their survival journey. We will focus on the meaning that they give to their personal traumatic experience and the characteristics of the therapeutic space that they are suggesting for their recovery. Researchers will find a new methodology for collecting qualitative data from people who experienced extreme trauma. Practitioners will discover invaluable new skills and perspectives

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331. Projet Interuniversitaire Ciblé

that may facilitate healing from trauma in a non-western setting. Before the conclusion, we will reflect on the pillars of resilience built from traditional values, which have contributed so much to solidifying interpersonal relationships. It is from these positive cultural values that mothers and children have been able to draw the energy that allowed them to restore the pillars of survival in post-genocide Rwanda. This paper is addressed to others, such as social justice activists interested in advocating for vulnerable people. We take the risk to submit this reflection as an intergenerational legacy.

2. Methodological approach

We began developing our five years of action-research in September 2010. In early September 2011, we began our field work with AVEGA[332], aimed at developing a psychological reconstruction setting. The purpose was twofold and interlinked: clinical work and research. We worked with the survivors, who, in addition to the psychological suffering resulting from genocide, were raped and learned later that they had been infected with HIV/AIDS. This kind of complex trauma defeats every effort to escape the clutches of omnipresent death, to live again. Questions were numerous and fluid in our thoughts :

- Would it be possible to draw from cultural heritage the invigorating elements that would bring back life to the survivor ?
- Once someone is committed to it, should he/she journey alone ?
- With whom else can he/she journey while genocide ghosts and life made the survivor unable to discern who to trust and be devoted to ?
- Symbolically, should the therapist be the right person to help start the quest for a new meaning to life?
- In what nook of the past is it necessary and best to go, and with what strategies to overcome the fear of such a traumatic past ?

As you can see, the problem was constituted by several questions that can be summarized in two :

- What is the psychological experience of the survivor traumatized by genocide and re-traumatized by HIV/AIDS infection ?
- What would be the framework that would respond effectively to the questions raised by the survivor explicitly or even implicitly by her/his silence ?

332. Association des Veuves du Génocide-*Agahozo*.

We aimed to develop and propose a psychological reconstruction setting for re-formulating the implicit and explicit demand of people facing the trauma related to the genocide and HIV infection. Mother-genocide survivors who, in addition to the traumatic experience of genocide, were also infected with HIV – which they learned later on–were the first actors in that action-research. They also provided an opportunity for the researcher to meet their children and work with them in their own space.

The action research on which this contribution is based referred to qualitative methods. The process was exploratory. From the first months of field work, we realized that determining a methodology and a theoretical framework in advance could never provide a satisfactory answer because of other complex realities of the field work. Thus, we decided to minimize the structured and rigid models and to void the conceptual framework to guide data collection as it is supposed to be done in the domain of anthropology and social phenomena (Miles, Huberman& Saldana, 2013). Everything was co-constructed together with the participants. They contributed to developing the tools based on their applicability according to the socio-cultural context of the post-genocide conditions. The relevance of the theme of reflection and the socio-cultural particularity of the Rwandan population, especially those who are the object of our study, required a particular ethic at each step.

Regarding the field work and the population, in September 2011 a group therapeutic setting was initiated at two different sites within the Association of Widows of the Genocide (AVEGA-Agahozo), respectively at Remera health center in Kigali City (11 mothers and 10 children) and at Rwamagana health center in the Eastern province of the country (15 mothers and 10 children). When necessary, private space was provided to some participants in order to talk more openly than in group. The group was co-facilitated by a local clinical psychologist and ourselves. Normally, the session could last more or less 90 minutes. The field work lasted three years, and our presence was only eight months each year, from September 2011 to April 2014.

What did we take into consideration and how did we choose those people among so many others? In addition to the ethical delicacy that should guide us to choose a survivor among so many other people, it was also necessary to choose a limited number to deepen the issue and do quality work.

For the Remera site, the 11 mothers were selected in three different ways: (1) the first 8 felt the need after the information provided in the waiting room, (2) the following 2 were proposed by the medical team who knew them to be in need

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of our psychological services, and (3) the last mother was informed by her neighbor and friend who was already in the group. Initially, the frequency was twice a month; as we evolved, we worked at a frequency of once a month, then once every two months. We closed the field actions after concluding on a frequency of once every three months. For the Rwamagana site, the sampling process went differently and more simply than the Remera site. The first contacts with the administrative authorities of this site have simplified the selection process :

- *You come at the right time !* told one of the interlocutors contacted after presenting to them the research objectives.

- *There are mothers and children who need your services and we must choose starting with those who are in greater suffering than others. We already know them; we will invite them,* added the other one.

- *Then choose 10 of the most vulnerable mothers,* we suggested.

The two interlocutors looked at us and pronounced at the same time, in a laughing tone: *"10 cases?"* Then one of them continued: *"Stop theories, be realistic and pragmatic."* The proposal was to take as many people as possible but keep a manageable number of cases. *"At least 15. It's still manageable,"* added the other. And we simply said, *"Okay."* Finally, we worked with 15 mothers instead of 10. Their monthly medical appointments related to the antiretroviral treatment supply were thus placed on the same day so that, just after the medical care, they met in their own group support as a part of our action-research. At Rwamagana site, the participants were not as regular as they were in Kigali. Most of them had to travel long distances to come.

In short, the field work took place in three time periods and each period was constituted by 8 months. We had a total of 30 sessions at Remera. During the first field time, September 2011-April 2012, there were 12 sessions. For the second field time, September 2012-April 2013, we counted 11 sessions. Finally, at the third time, we had 7 sessions, or 30 sessions for all three field times. At the Rwamagana site, we counted a total of 17 sessions. We would like to point out that each group of mothers has generated another group of children. So, at Remera site as well as at Rwamagana site, we also had a group of young teenagers following the mother's request. The availability of the children was therefore dependent on their availability in relation to school activities. Thus, at Remera site, we counted 12 sessions and in Rwamagana, 8. The sessions were not regular in the same way on both sites following the unforeseen and other obligations of the participants and/or group facilitators.

Regarding the tools for data collection and analysis, let us point out that as we aimed at developing a model of care for the psychic reconstruction of the subject, it was obvious that the therapeutic dimension occupied a central place. Thus, the statements made during the therapeutic sessions constituted the corpus of data. It's the same material that we used to co-construct the device *"Iwacu"*. [We will come back to this later in the section that discusses the origin and evolution of that device.] In the context of the clinical approach, we used three tools for data collection: (1) semi-directive interviews, (2) the case study, and (3) life stories from the biographical approach. Because of the complexity of the themes of the topic of our action research, we admit that these tools served simply as references. Their application depended only on the context of the day.

The corpus of data produced were recorded, listened, transcribed and analyzed afterwards. Qualitative content analysis, thematic analysis and grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) have been used as tools for data analysis and interpretation. Although some themes have been highlighted by the Iramutec 7.0, we would like to emphasize that the best tool we've found to make stories out of traumatic experience, analyzing them with a higher level of interpretative complexity, is our own imagination. That is why, before starting the new session, participants and facilitators of group support had to debate and come to a consensus regarding the most salient themes from the previous therapeutic session and find together the meaning in the cross-culture context of Rwanda post-genocide. The concepts of "Between-us" and that of "At-home" have been proposed as safe spaces for collecting and analyzing data through their ability to allow survivors to speak a little bit about their traumatic experience.

3. Words and Meanings

Mother

Generally, the mother is the biological or adoptive female parent of a child. So this is the woman who gave birth and raises the children. That conception reflects the developmental dynamic that starts with the child-girl to the woman and then to the mother. In our eyes, by her major responsibility to give life and to vivify, the notion of mother is beyond the one of woman and/or girl. These latter only refer to femininity whereas the mother concept also includes the notion of fertility and longevity. Recall that according to Rwandan culture, being a mother is the best wish that Rwandans could address to each other: *"Urakabyara umukobwa: May you give birth to a girl."* Rwandese people could also say : *"Urakabyara ubyaje inka : May you give birth and have cow's milk for the baby."*. As if to

wish a long happy life, the Rwandans said: *"Urakabyara uheke : May you have children and educate them." "Uragatunga utunganirwe : May you have what you want and be happy."* This implying a wish for a long life was seen through the image of a woman who was supposed to generate, educate, and enjoy seeing how children evolve and arrive to the stage of engendering other children in their turn.

By the mothers, we can easily imply not only the children, but also the fathers, as well as the families. By extension, we can imply the community, the society and the whole nation. This way of seeing life mainly in fertility explains the reason that in the Rwandan culture, the child-girl was educated to become a mother and accomplish all responsibilities related to that position. That was seen as a great honor rather than a great burden. In the aftermath of the genocide against the *Tutsi,* several people have assumed such responsibility and others continue to do so symbolically. In this contribution, we prefer to use "mother" instead of "woman" to emphasize her responsibility as a mother, not only to her own child, but also to the child of everyone and of no one, of everywhere and nowhere (Uwineza and Brackelaire, 2014). When we use "mothers" in the plural, we want to emphasize their solidarity in the group support that we have set up in the framework of the action research to which this contribution is inspired. Using "mother" in the singular refers to each of the mothers in her home and, more particularly, each of the group members who participated in said action research. Most of them were widows (Uwineza, 2015).

Child

The concept of mother refers directly to that of the child. One is reminiscent of the other. In this work, the child is not so-called because of his age, nor in reference to his biological parents. This work draws on the meaning distinctly conveyed by Sandor Ferenczi. For him, human beings are never wholly and completely adults (Ferenczi, 1931). A Rwandan saying asserts that *ntawanga kuba umwana abura ubimwita,* i.e. "no one ever refuses the privilege of being a child, what he/she lacks is finding someone who names and treats him/her as a child." Rwandans would also say that no child will feel like an orphan if he/she is a good child; and that no parent will feel childless if he/she is a parent worthy of the title. That testifies that normally, the Rwandan cultural tradition reserves for a child a space, between us, between generations. That situation gives every adult the right and the duty to consider any child as his/her own child. Thus, the social kinship conceived is part of the legacy transmitted from the ancestors. This relationship was often the result of a pact of blood between families; it could also be

a simple verbal contract reinforcing the friendship, or even a social practice well anchored in the cultural tradition. This pact led to a status of legitimate parenthood, even without papers certified by modern laws. Thus, in the post-genocide, we find some children who are under the responsibility of adults without any biological link. There were also children who assume parental responsibilities while still young. According to this analytical look at the child, it should be understood that "child" and "mother" can be seen in terms of responsibility, as Brackelaire and other researchers on post-genocide Rwanda highlighted (Brackelaire, et al. 2013). We basically worked with women genocide survivors, as well as with adolescents and young adults. Therefore, the concepts of mother and child are used to express the relationship of responsibility between an adult and a child, someone who is vulnerable and a protector.

While the use of masculine refers to human species in general, the use of singular in this contribution is a way to consider the individuality, the singularity and particularity of each participant in the children's group support for the research mentioned above (ibid, 2015).

Torture

According to the World Medical Association (1975), as cited in subsequent research (Somnier et.al. 1992; Basoglu & Marks, 1988; Weinstein, Dansky & Iacopino, 1996, Fabri, 2001, "torture" is "the deliberate, systematic, or wanton infliction of physical or mental suffering by one or more persons acting alone or on the orders of any authority, to force another person to yield information, to make a confession, or for any other reason." Article 1 of the United Nations Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (1984), defines "torture" as "any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person for such purposes as obtaining from him, or a third person, information or a confession, punishing him for an act he or a third person has committed or is suspected of having committed, or intimidating or coercing him or a third person, or for any reason based on discrimination of any kind, when such pain or suffering is inflicted by or at the instigation of or with the consent or acquiescence of a public official or other person acting in an official capacity."

As we use it, the term "torture" refers to the cruelty, inhumanity and barbarity, inflicted in the context of the genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi and other acts of vileness surrounding it. Even without direct violence, indirect violence was always accompanied by torture. Using the term of "torture," we are referring to the criteria of infliction, suffering and deliberateness. We are also reflecting

the Rwandan term "*Kwicwa urubozo*" or "*Kwicwa nabi*" which is used very fre-quently by the survivors when they manage, with a lot of fear and difficulty, to narrate their traumatic history (Uwineza, 2015).

Resilience

The concept of resilience refers to the ability to overcome trauma and/or continue to adapt in an unfavorable environment (Richardson, 2002; Cyrulnik, 2011). However, multiple questions continue to emerge around this concept: for example, the question around the word "traumatism" and traumatic event, as some events can be judged innocuous for some people and upsetting for others. The endless debate around "Overcoming" also is present among the pioneers of resilience theories. Other questions are structured around the environment. When can we say that an environment is "unfavorable?" Obviously, all these questions contribute to blur the benchmarks of resilience's meaning. Several times, within the four walls of the therapeutic setting, we heard these words from survivors: "*I no longer live*; *I am no longer the same person,"* etc. Most of the time, these peo-ple survive and accomplish their responsibilities with success.

The definition provided by the American Psychologist Association seems to have considered all the circumstances of life. Resilience is defined as the process of adapting well in the face of adversity, trauma, tragedy, threats or significant sources of stress, such as family and relationship problems, serious health prob-lems or workplace and financial stressors.

When we use the concept of resilience in the context of post-genocide Rwanda, we are not referring to the success of life in everything. Difficult mo-ments or distress may occur; people may keep manifesting emotional pain and sadness, as is common in people who have suffered major adversity like war, genocide or other mass or individual violence in their lives. Despite all that, they show the capacity of "bouncing back" (Harrison, 2013) from difficulties in everyday life.

Iwacu

A Rwandan word difficult to render into English, especially when we want to include all the dimensions of its meaning. Literally, *iwacu* means "At-home." In Kinyarwanda, *iwacu* is also called *imuhira*. The prefix "*i"* indicates the place; the root, *wacu*, refers to the membership, the private but shared prop-erty, the dwelling place. At home is at my home; it's also at your home, at their home. It belongs to all of us. The loss of home is an uprooting that requires the

person to stay out in the wandering. Thus, the context that governs this term imposes a much broader vision that goes beyond the place, but also that involves the interactional process between me and the other. For example, the greeting in Rwanda is followed by the search for news of all people who reside in that shared space: the house. *"Iwanyu ni amahoro?"* (Is everything alright at your home?). Here, the house is to be considered both in its uniqueness and in its complexity (Galabert, 2012).

Reflecting on the concept of home, we are referring not only to the fact of *being* at home, but also and especially to the fact of *feeling* at home. This leads to thinking about the dynamics of relationships, intergenerational transmission between the occupants of a home, and more generally, the aspects of interiority and exteriority of that home (Bermudez, 2015). In our work, the term "At-home" is associated with another one called "Between-us". These terms have been mentioned many times and repeatedly by mothers and children during group sessions organized with the dual purpose of research and intervention (Uwineza, 2015). The terms "Between-us" and "At-home" are both commonly used in everyday language; to put them in the context of that research-action from which they emerged, we write them with a capital letter, to show that each is a proper name, and with a hyphen, a sign of link or bridge between the two. It is the whole dynamic in that double space "Between-us" and "At-home" that we just call *Iwacu*. We will come back to these concepts to explain their origin, evolution and their conceptualization.

4. Destruction of "*Iwacu*" and its rehabilitation

Talking about destruction of someone's home and its restoration requires going deep into the roots of the history of nations, especially the one linked to extreme and intentional violence. By extreme violence, we refer to those kinds of violence that cause bloodshed, mass atrocities and crimes inflicted by humans on other humans. We also refer to the type of mass or individual atrocity that affects the human body and psyche (Lewis, 2010). Such traumatic events have marked the history of humanity for many years. Nowadays, nobody can ignore the existence of dictatorships (Klaiber, 2009), terrorist attacks (Pyszczynski at al. 2003; Davis & Silver, 2004), wars and genocides (Kimonyo, 2008; Straus, 2013) in different societies. The historical background of Rwanda, with the context of genocide against the Tutsi, and the conflicts in the Great Lakes region are good examples of factors that generate complex trauma. The global crisis of refugees in the world, the destruction of personal, family and community values still complicates the ability of service providers to face all the consequences; particularly

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the psychological ones, which are our concern. Experiencing a long journey into exile, after experiencing terrible torture and the loss of identity references, in short, the destruction of the personal, family, community and societal foundations, complicates the psychological reconstruction of the survivor.

Let us look first at the experiences of the immigrants, refugees, adults and young adolescents from Burundi, Congo, Cameroon, South Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Guatemala, etc., who have met each other in the USA. They all focus on recreating a semblance of their own home and family members, as is the case in post-genocide Rwanda, with artificial families. Numerous recent research works on children and their families in post-genocide Rwanda demonstrate the above (Uwineza & Brackelaire, 2014; Ndushabandi, 2011; Uwera, Brackelaire, & Munyandamutsa, 2012).

Through contact, in early October 2016, with one of the institutions which cares for torture survivors in the USA, we learned that many torture survivors from different countries believe they have found a new home. Each staff member is considered as a family member. They develop a strong connection with that organization. From what we observed, that dynamic plays a significant role in terms of boundaries between service providers and atrocity survivors, who have countless needs. Everyone, wherever he or she is coming from, considers that institution as his/her home. English speakers say, "At home*;"* French speakers call it "*Chez nous;*" "*En casa*" for Spanish speakers; Amharic-speaking Ethiopians say "*Bebēti wisit'l*";   (በ ቤት ወስ ጥ) "*ở nhà"* for those who speak Vietnamese, and "*Iwacu*" for Rwandans and Burundians.

Surprisingly, a torture survivor we met, from a country other than Rwanda, had the same understanding of the *Iwacu* concept as Rwanda genocide survivors do. We didn't have a common language through which we felt comfortable communicating. English was not our first language. He used his mother tongue, Spanish, which he mixed with English and body language to help me understand what he wanted to explain to me. He had left Chile, his native country during years of the military dictatorship (1973-1990). He reached the USA after a long journey through several other countries which constituted his journey to exile. He didn't have any other relatives; he even didn't remember what his home looked like. Like several other torture survivors, he was trying to adapt to a new culture, a new language, a new climate, new food, new peers, etc. He was striving to create a new home and a new life far from his former life and home. One morning, during our first week at this organization which cares for torture survivors, he asked me :

Are you one of us ? Normally, this is like my home, each person here in this house (institution's office) is like my family members. I know everyone, everyone knows me except you.

Was he trying to create symbolically another home, as was the case in post-genocide Rwanda? Maybe it is one of the torture survivors' strategies to re-invent a new home for themselves, and symbolically recreate new family members, as did mothers and their adolescent children in post-genocide Rwanda. (Uwineza, 2015). Genocide survivors from Rwanda created an innovative framework and a therapeutic setting called "*Iwacu*" (At-home), a concept which was also raised frequently with nostalgia by other torture survivors from various countries. Can that therapeutic "at-home" space be used by service providers working with torture survivors as a safe space to prevent or heal the wounds of torture and restore the personal and cultural pillars of resilience? Let us take a look at the experience of Rwanda, especially its process of psychological reconstruction in the aftermath of the genocide against the Tutsi, by using the example of mothers and their children encountered in the AVEGA Association (Uwineza, 2015). First, we will briefly address the destruction of that space, and second, we will discuss the reconstruction attempts by emphasizing psychological reconstruction.

The destruction of *Iwacu*

Regarding the destruction, the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi has blurred the boundaries between generations and some of the young people keep asking unanswered questions. That particular year tends to become a reference date, a landmark for contextualizing everything in Rwanda. The ordinary conversations and research works in human sciences as well show that the genocide split the time into two parts: the "Before" and the "After" (Uwineza, 2015; Gishoma, 2014; Godard, 2013; Hatzfeld, 2005). When you hear life stories in a therapeutic setting, you can easily realize that these two parts are separated by another one, "*During,*" that has several meanings, according to the traumatic experience of each person. These are some examples we heard during our daily psychological consultations which regard to what "during" represents. It is a period which is considered to be a *"deep bottomless hole," an endless sea, a long night, a black time, the bad days,* etc. In short, the "*during*" genocide is qualified as an "*eternity of suffering*" (Uwineza, 2015).

Immediately after the genocide in July 1994, the victory song *Insinzi* was heard throughout the country. This melody has accompanied people returning from exile ever since 1959. At the same time, another segment of the population was on the road to exile. Meanwhile, because of the war and the genocide,

nothing had remained intact and in its place. To describe that situation, we borrow the term "*erosion*" from Giot (2013) and the term "*wind*" from Mujawayo & Belhaddad (2004). There were other social groups that met in Rwanda from other African countries like Burundi, Uganda, Congo, Tanzania, and others from unspecified countries, while also taking into account a large number of prisoners in the various jails throughout Rwanda. Each person, in each of these different groups, had a unique journey, totally different from that of the others. Rwanda was therefore a crossroads of foreigners, where each person was perceived as "strange" by the others, and that could be the cause of misunderstanding and mistrust. So, the "*after*" genocide begins with other complex realities that restructure the Rwandan community, in a crossroads of cultures and several identities for a single *Banyarwanda* people.

In such a situation, anyone could have reasons to be wary of his neighbor. For example, it had become impossible to speak one's own language properly, not only for young people, but also for adults. Some returnees preferred to express themselves in the language of the countries of former exile or neighboring countries; others mixed languages, starting in one language and ending up in another one, to express better what they wanted to say, or to outright exclude the other person from the conversation, while radicalizing the differences between the different groups. The metaphorical illustration of the *Tower of Babel*[333] explains clearly the post-genocide situation in Rwanda as we pointed out (Gishoma, 2014; Uwineza, 2015).

Is there any other destruction of one's own home beyond that within this context ? There is the obvious destruction of the social fabric in general and one's own home in particular (Uwineza, 2016, Krüger, 2010). In short, the after-genocide environment was characterized by overwhelming psychological suffering, as well as economic and socio-anthropological problems (Staub, 2000). It was such a context that the Rwandan government had to face in order to rebuild the country and restore the peace to the Rwandan population. All sectors had to be rehabilitated. For psychological reconstruction, mental health workers had to invent a model of care to relieve the invisible pain of the Rwandan people, since there was no tool that could be used to treat the deep psychological wounds from genocide and the other complex realities connected to the war and the daily life in the aftermath. Although we are focusing on the after-genocide management, psychological reconstruction requires that a strong bridge be built to connect these three periods : the *before*, the *during* and the *after* genocide.

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333. Genesis 11:1-19

Before discussing the psychological reconstruction, we would like to highlight another post-genocide reality. Victims, perpetrators and the rest of the population live on the same hill; they draw water from the same source, and they enter the same church for worship. We have the impression that this may be one of the multiple reasons that people from western countries have described Rwanda as an interesting case, and sought to encourage researchers, practitioners and other humanitarian organizations to work in Rwanda (Uwineza et Brackelaire, 2014).

The Rehabilitation of *Iwacu*

In the aftermath of genocide, everything had to be reconstructed and brought back in its place in the aftermath of the genocide. We are focused primarily on the psychological reconstruction. In that domain, the only resources that were available were proposed by western professionals. The cultural differences, the new forms of intervention, the unnamed and overwhelming psychological sufferings, guaranteed failure. The tools did not respond effectively. We should remember that before genocide, the support for psychological strength came from the same family system and/or the social fabric of community which was destroyed by the unthinkable and indescribable genocide (Thurman, et al. 2006). Any attempt to take care of the "*bleeding wounds*" — as survivors themselves characterized it— of the Rwandan population faced difficulties. The psychological suffering was characterized by the heterogeneity of suffering (Uwineza, 2015) according to the journey of everyone among the groups of people described above: genocide survivors, war survivors, newcomers to Rwanda after a long period of exile, etc. This context explains how deep the destruction was, and how difficult it was to establish a therapeutic framework which could efficiently heal the wounds and restore the pillars of resilience (Mullica, 2004; Fabri, 2005). Mental health workers, the Rwandan community and other partners have been forced by this context to take time to think, invent and create the new tools necessary to heal psychological wounds and sew the social fabric back together. This paper is inspired by the action-research carried out as a part of one of these initiatives. The "Between-us" and "At-home"*,* the therapeutic setting created called "*Iwacu*" in this contribution, gave us the opportunity to learn a little bite about the psychological wounds. We also learn about the major characteristics of this device and its faculty to heal these wounds. The way in which this approach worked is described in the following section.

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5. Wounds of torture in the depths of the mother's silence

We learned a little bit about the reality of "*during*" the genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi in its aftermath. After the situation stabilizes, managing the wounds created by the torture experienced during that *dark time*[334] becomes a priority. Some forms of torture remain hidden beneath the silence of the victims. We are referring to the multiple ways in which women were raped, the intentional transmission of HIV/AIDS, and/or other forms of torture. Although the child continues to ask questions in order to know the truth, the mother's silence and cleavage are the only ways for her to survive. We also learn about the major characteristics of this device and its faculty to heal these wounds, we particularly learned about these wounds of torture in a therapeutic setting called "Between-us" and "At-home," narrated by the mother and the child during the action-research conducted in AVEGA from 2010 to 2015 (Uwineza, 2015). For them, "*In that safe space, very well protected, it is possible to say what can't be said anywhere else.*" First, we would like to share with our reader how this space was created and how it allows participants to feel safe and share their pain. Second, we will address the wounds of torture hidden under the silence; third, before describing what is related to the pillar of survival, we will try to describe the phenomenon of silence among torture survivors, as manifested by Rwandan mothers and their children, whose experience we learned from.

a) Between-us and At-home : origin, evolution and conceptualization

As said above, we went to the field work with AVEGA in September 2011. Surprisingly, our research identified a family-like structure within AVEGA. In AVEGA, there are people of different generations. Every senior person is called "mom," "aunt" or "uncle" by those who are younger. Co-workers are "brothers," "sisters" and/or "cousins." A person can play different roles depending upon the circumstances. The same person can be a mother for some people, an aunt for others, etc. From a psychoanalytical perspective, this is referred to as *"transference"* (Langs, 2004). This "transference" refers to the boundaries between survivors and service providers in the institution. From our own personal perspective, this is like a manifestation of psychological symbolization, a social structuring and organization among generations in post-genocide Rwanda. So, we need to

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334. According to most people in ordinary conversations, when they are talking about the torture experienced during genocide.

examine the creation, transformation and symbolization work in order to find the meaning of such relations and avoid becoming drowned in relationship illusions (Dyregrov, Gupta, Gjestad & Mukanoheli, 2000). From our first month of work with the mothers, they showed a burning need to create another space for their children. They expressed it as follows :

The only burden we have is our children. Three of them are on medication […]. They do not know why they take these medications every day. When they start asking me questions, I simply answer that these are the consequences of the genocide. When they insist, all the demons of hell come against me. [...]. I think sooner or later I'll be crazy. (Dora, mother of 5 children).

I wish that everything you are doing for us could also be done for our children. (Gratia, mother of 2 children).

Thus, a child's space was initiated in Kigali and Rwamagana, as requested by the mothers. The "*for exchanging ideas*[335]" group of children consisted of ten participants at each site. The framework consisted of a double space: mother space and child space. We would again like to draw the reader's attention to the concept of "child" as it is used in this context. It is used to respect the local language of the Rwandan cultural context. These are not necessarily biological children. In reality, the researcher was working with teenagers and young adults. These are also the children of everyone, the children of everywhere and nowhere that the genocide has generated in Rwanda (Uwineza, 2014).

The group sessions were set-up for the research and intervention. Progressively, group dynamics led to a sort of illusion of unity among group members, so that they considered themselves as members of the same family. Beyond regular therapeutic group sessions in that space, group members provided mutual support to each other as though they were members of a functional family. To describe the totality of what the group support represented to the members, two significant concepts emerge: "Between-us" and "At-home." These two concepts or spaces were mentioned so frequently that I decided to give them a proper place in the center of the research. On the mothers' side, they pointed out the tearing of the former space between people and the need to recreate it.

Before, we could go home, talk to his mother, to his sister, if not to the aunt. They were all swept away by the wind Serwakira *[metaphor meaning genocide]!*

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335. That was jargon used by children and their families living with HIV, when they want to express to other persons (friends, neighbors and/or other family members) the reason to come weekly to group support without telling them the right reason not to be stigmatized.

[...]. Here, between us, it's like a family, I found sisters and a brother [only male therapist], children: boys and girls.

I say that genocide has not only consumed goods and humans. It also destroyed the "between us" of those who remain alive. [...]. It is only through these dialogues, here between us, that perhaps it will be possible to relearn that there are still some human beings who can help us to recreate a space between us where everyone feels listened and protected. [...]. This is no longer a matter of blood-hood, meeting regularly here, between us, will make us like people of the same blood, as it was before.

On the children's side, the concept of "home" was essential. This concept was evoked by mothers several times when preparing for the initiation of children's support group, or when they recount their childhood life. When they shared their life stories, one of mothers went back in time with nostalgia to her own home :

I remember when I was still a child, a child who could follow the others to the pasture, one who could keep the calves, I remember everything: At home, in my family, life was still life. In the early days of the morning, at sunrise, it was time to prepare the milk pots, time to milk the cows. When the sun reached its height, it was time to feed the children. At sunset, it was time to bring the calves back to the stable, before the cows returned home. The fire was to be kindled in the pastoral home, for the cows. The smoke that emerged drove flies away, and the cows were quiet, so they could be milked. .... At home, there was milk for the children, including children of the neighbors. Now [a long silence with tearful eyes and the lump in her throat evident in the tone of her voice], you can guess what I'm thinking about. (Tina, mother of two children).

Gradually, we understood the meaning, when it was expressed by the children too :

Here at home, like in my own family, parents discuss the things of adults, work on their side, while children play or do something else outside together. [...]. At home, we even ask the oldest to settle disputes between those younger than him. [...] That's how it is at my home. (Shema, 17 years old boy).

Through the above statements, we can learn the potential of "own home." The transference phenomena which took place in both mothers' and children's group support fortified social ties. It is comparable to the dynamic of what is happening at home, where each member has a space, individual and common, where everyone feels at home. There is a great work of elaboration, creation and symbolization articulated throughout this quest for the meaning of what survivors

experienced, even for what they have been keeping quietly in silence for a long time. It is only such a setting that allows the psychological reconstruction of a person who has been extremely traumatized. What people suffering from extreme trauma need more than anything else is humanity. They want to make sure that humanity still exists and that they can trust someone else. For example, in the above innovative settings—"Between-us" and "At-home"—, the participants were able to share "*things which couldn't be shared in other circumstances*" as described below.

> *Here at home, I feel safe. It's really our own home! Remember that our history can be compared with our clothes. Have you ever seen someone who can move without her/his clothes in public? It works only at home, not anywhere else! Between us, our history, our traumatic experience, our heritage can be shared. […] we also learn from one another how to deal with our daily life and find words to use in responding to the children's questions. I can't miss the appointment to come here "at home" to meet everybody.*

What is that "home" these persons are referring to? Are they referring to a home as a country, or a place where they live? Far from it! Through these mothers' and children's words, obviously, we can discern the feelings of restoring their own home first, and then feeling safe enough to elaborate the traumatic experience. That means that in order to heal such psychological trauma, one must create an innovative clinical framework in which the survivor can find again that humanity still exists (Herman, 2015). Considering the socio-cultural context, it is such a framework that mothers and their children called "Between-us" and "At-home" (Uwineza, 2016; 2015; Uwineza et Brackelaire, 2014). In fact, these two expressions –"between us" and "at-home"– become concepts– "Between-us" and "At-home"—; they took a very crucial place in our field work (Uwineza, 2015). As proper names, they are written with the capital letter at the beginning. The hyphen is a sign of link or bridge between the two. It represents the intergenerational links between group members who meet in that geographical space at a fixed time and frequency for a common purpose. Specifically, the goal is to lend each other the strength to live.

Between-us is like place of links between adults. In everyday language, this adverbial phrase refers to a private circle that only includes what belongs to a group. "Between" means in the middle. "Between us" is what lies between me and you, between me and the other with whom we share space. It is sort of what is in a shared space. It also indicates the interactions that occur there to make connections within that well-defined space. In our eyes, this interactional

dynamic that characterizes them is an attempt to restore the sociality that had already collapsed during the genocide.

The "Between-us" in the words of the Rwandan mother, is also an appeal to others, to sociability, to pull the mother out of her loneliness and to foster solidarity with others. The Between-us allows the child–that the mother was and has become again or that she becomes from time to time following the genocide and its consequences–to re-emerge again and take back her responsibilities. Between-us is the place where we can mobilize the childhood to dwell in the home.

"At-home" is a well-defined and well-protected space that allows everyone to feel at home and act as if they are at home. The "At-home" in the mind of the Rwandan child, refers to a certain number of values: atmosphere, stability, security, residence, truth, belonging, filiation and affiliation, etc.). In the space "At-home," what is very interesting and surprising, it is the homogenization of the ages that erases the limits between the child, the teenager, the young adults. Normally, the Rwandan cultural tradition reserves for the child a space between me and you, between us, between generations. It is a space that gives every adult the right and the duty to consider any child as his or her own child. This is how these concepts are sometimes expressed :

> *You, children, dry your tears, never isolate yourself, never ! And never again look worried. I remember what your grandfather, your father's father, was for my parents [...].*

That comes from the legacy of the social kinship that characterizes the mother in relation to the child in the space both "Between-us" and "At-home." The knot was nothing else except the loyalty, the dignity and the responsibility of each member for the good of the others, just as in the normal context where the atmosphere of dignity and integrity constituted a wall that surrounded these two traditional spaces, between us and at home (Bigirumwami, 2000). If we see the spaces "Between-us" & "At-home", they do not deviate from one another. Both refer to group phenomena, irreducible to the individual phenomena of the members that compose it (Kaës, 2007). From anthropological perspective of the culture in which they are mentioned, they are to be understood as a house where people from the same family live. In this paper, that double space "Between-us" and "At-home," is called *Iwacu.* The existence of interactional phenomena between these people of different generations does not need to be referenced. In the context of extreme trauma, recovery mechanisms extend beyond the limits of institutional support. They incorporate the family structure. It is only with such a mechanism that the process of healing can be possible. Once these spaces are

solid and protected, the survivors feel safe and start to share their reality around their psychological wounds, and gradually rebuild the pillar of survival. We will elaborate on these two points before concluding this paper.

b) Language of suffering to express the legacy of torture

As described above, it is only in an environment characterized by humanity that the survivor can attempt to weld together the fragments of his/her memory and reconstruct his/her history. With regard to the space "Between-us" and "At-home," an environment characterized by humanity is the one that is structured as a family. It is the most natural structure. So, each person in the common and shared space contributed to endow the individual history with a new meaning.

The experience gained from working with survivors of extreme trauma in different cultures around the world has taught us that addressing a direct question to survivors would be "piercing" them, as though we were hurting them and causing bleeding wounds. Thus, even when they tell their story, they use the language of suffering: the avoidance, the despair and fear of drowning in traumatic memories is very present. Such elaboration is only possible after a certain number of psychological sessions in their respective spaces "Between-us" and "At-home" called *Iwacu.* Understanding the power of silence imposed by trauma and torture is paradoxically a hard task to talk about. Thus, survivors use language that bypasses the traumatic reality, but also picks it up in a single sentence that represents a whole story. Below, we will describe how the mother survivors and the children prefer to name their wounds.

c) "Lifeless situation : *Kubaho utariho*"

For an adult person represented by the mother in our work, explaining the experience of genocide and other experiences of pre-and post-genocide daily life, is a very hard task that involves traumatic memory. To preserve herself from going back into the details, she explains her experience as "*A life without life,*" what they call in Kinyarwanda, "*Kubaho utariho.*" This refers to a multifaceted reality that complicates the daily life of the survivor. In almost every statement, three elements define this daily life: (1) the problem of land, the material patrimony that could remain the only inheritance of the survivor who has the right to the succession; (2) the cohabitation of victims and killers (Mujawayo & Belhaddad, 2006); (3) the psychosocial instability which imposes a psychic energy on the survivors which they themselves no longer possess (Eytan, Munyandamutsa, Nkubamugisha & Gex-Fabry, 2015; Munyandamutsa, 2008). Such a reality can

be deciphered in the following statement made by a mother of five children. At the time of the release of this story, her husband was in jail for what she called herself *"land issues"*.

> *(In tears) It is our home, everyone knows [...], who will justify us ? My husband is in prison for that, [...]. I still have the duty of raising our children, but now that we are close, I would like to tell you the truth: I am tired, I am tired, and I am tired.*

This mother was not only crying for her land, but also for her husband imprisoned with "*killers*" —according to her— and the daily life that is not easy for her to cope with. What she said to her husband when she went to visit him in jail continues to haunt her. She shared that:

> *I told him: If you still lose your temper while you are in the prison, do not expect me to come back to see you again, otherwise, you will also see me in the same state! Who will take care of our children? If you have a problem, look for fellow prisoners. If not, I risk dying along the way: prison, house, clinic, for me, for my husband, for our children, our families, the environment, etc…, you see, it's a life not worth to be lived.*

This is similar what many others mothers say when they talk about a "life without life," or a lifeless situation on their journey of survival. The above short statements help to shed light on some factors that constitute challenges to a survivor's recovery and, for mental health workers, the challenges of implementing a psychological intervention in the aftermath of genocide, war, torture and other crimes against humanity (Scholte et.al. 2011).

6. "The second death"

"Genocide is an endless fact" (Godard, 2013). We would like to draw attention to this observation by the late Marie Odile Godard, who sadly passed away in January 2018, while we were writing the last sentences of this paper. [May the earth be sweet to her, and her soul rest in peace]. The other way of expressing the invisible pain related to genocide and other complex realities that are consequential is "the second death." This representation is often advanced by people when they are referring to their lives encompassing a double traumatic experiences. Genocide + another potential traumatic event. The first, genocide, has already had a traumatic impact to the point of being conceived as an imminent death. In Rwanda, when a mother who has also experienced rape and HIV infection, contracted in the context of rape, tries to piece together the fragments of her

memory to reconstruct her history, she exhibits difficulty in expressing what she felt and is still feeling. That arises for example when her children ask questions like, "Who…?" "What…?" "When…?" and "How…?" While most of the mothers were publicly raped during the genocide, others experienced the hard life during "*the time of darkness*" for, using their own words, if they don't keep silent, they may experience the consequences of the genocide as *the second death* (Uwineza, 2015). It is worse, as they were perceived to have acquired a special death that they would continue to pass on to their descendants, and their descendants' descendants, for several generations. So instead of narrating this long traumatic story in detail, they prefer to sum it up as well. Let's hear from one of these mothers:

> *See how we are, in lifeless conditions, pretending to exist under the mocking neighbor's look, hiding ones suffering when others are displaying it openly, hiding as if you were the killer, the genocide we suffered is not like that of others, ours does not end, it is an individual genocide that each mother keeps for herself. I would say that for us, we faced a second death, which forces us to pretend that we live.*

According to the mothers who still keep these inhuman cruelties both in their body and in their psyche**,** that complex reality marks a kind of "*bottomless hole*" which is a "*slow genocide"* "*neither beginning nor end* ".

7. "The individual genocide"

Mothers' opinions converge around the meaning of their experiences with genocide and HIV contracted through rape. These are two inseparable elements. We cannot talk about one without mentioning the other. Since HIV is considered by these mothers as an extension of the genocide, in our view, it is more than a disease. It is another potentially traumatic event, "*another way of killing*" as they told us. It is like a chain of thorny rings that annihilates the survivor. This state keeps the surviving mother in the position of victim and makes her feel like she did not actually survive, as she is still under the control of death's power, through what is perceived to be an incurable and shameful sickness. You can imagine how difficult it is for that mother to remember. In addition to the collective genocide, she is also a victim of another form of what she calls "*an individual genocide,"* that extends the former. It is an individual burden carried in the body and hidden in the depths of silence, a special way of killing a woman, the heart of a family and the womb of the nation.

What will the mother, who suffers so silently, transmit to the next genera-tion ? For a resilient mother, she will transform her suffering and strengthen the pillar of resilience. Some mothers are grasping for a positive life, even if her tor-turer, through the intentional transmission of HIV, was aiming to destroy their femininity and motherhood by giving them another identity. Let's see the state-ment of one of the mothers who explained how she is still feeling the impact of what she calls an "*individual genocide or a slow genocide*":

> *You are no longer a woman, you will no longer be a mother. You will be a "mur-derer" until the end of your life. (…). It's a big burden simply that one carries pretending to live; but in reality, we do not live anymore.*

Thus, the surviving mother continues to undergo that "*individual geno-cide,*" which can never be acknowledged or confessed anywhere else, except in the space Between-us and At-home.

8. Child without childhood

The child's status in the post-genocide environment is one of being a child without childhood. In post-genocide Rwanda, clinical work and research reveal not only the existence of resilient women, but also of resilient children. These children name themselves "children without childhood" because of the com-plexity of their situation, which imposes responsibilities upon them, as if they were already adults or parents. (Uwineza, 2015 ; Dyregrov, Gupta, Gjestad & Mukanoheli, 2000).

In the post-genocide context, there are even children who become respon-sible prematurely and take on the role of the parents. They are still, however, called children, girls, mothers, etc. Different clinical situations leave the impres-sion that some of those children remain in undefined roles. For example, it is not uncommon to find a 14-year-old playing a parental role to fellow children. There are plenty of adolescents exercising parental roles over their own parents, while the parents become like children. Paradoxically, this reality does not pre-vent them all from dreaming and projecting themselves into a positive future. It is a complex context that requires the young adolescent to undergo a tremendous amount of psychological work in order to find him/herself, to differentiate him/herself, and to remain a coherent self. It is as if the traumatic experiences have brought an early maturation, and that the responsibilities that the child assumes erase memories of childhood life. This is why most of the children who have ex-perienced traumatic experiences define themselves as children without a child-hood. However, this reality is only noticeable among children without parents,

or whose parents have not been able to assume their parental responsibilities towards this child for multiple reasons.

A young boy nicknamed "Didier" serves an example. He is the only child left to his mother after losing his father, siblings and extended family members during the genocide against the Tutsi. His mother still faces both physical and psychological suffering from the torture she experienced during the genocide. With humorous language that camouflages his suffering, he shared with his peers that he started to look after his mother when he was 12 years old in 1995. By the time he started secondary school, his mother was already tired of her son's "Who? What? When? How? Why?" questions. Similar to the questions asked by all the young generations in Rwanda, these kinds of questions aim to thoroughly explore the genocide, to the point of pushing the mother to go to the depths of silence. And like most mothers in these circumstances, Didier's mother generally responded by using the common formula: "*These are the genocide's consequences,*" or by being silent. When she decided to tell the truth to her son, he immediately took on most of the responsibilities. This is how he encouraged his peers to become more resilient instead of feeling overwhelmed by the daily hurdles of life:

> Ni ugukamirika[336] *(literally: you must endure / be resilient). In his training, a soldier must prove that he masters very well his physical exercises or other usual lessons for every task. That's what we call* Gukamirika. *And you have already passed all the tests. Who can contradict you once you ask yourself questions and at the same time find answers in you, by you, for yourself and for other children without childhood ?*

Since he knew the realities surrounding the journey of his mother, this young adolescent developed a kind of resilience. He took the model of the life of a soldier to fulfill the hard responsibilities that the genocide aftermath imposed on him. He started to assist his mother, a widow and genocide survivor with serious physical and psychological pain. Like Didier, a young person may feel like *a child without childhood,* especially when he has to be in the position of an adult, in order to be able to assume the responsibilities imposed on him by such a hard context. Note that, in general, children who live with biological parents, and those who are well treated by host-families, enjoy the benefits of childhood, despite having their own psychological sufferings, or those of their parents.

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336. This word comes from the verb *Gukamirika*. It is not really present in Kinyarwanda vocabulary. It is close to the Swahili language and it is commonly used by young adults of the same age. The meaning of this word has three dimensions: patience, endurance and skills.

Given the responsibilities of children in post-conflict situations, researchers interested in post-genocide childhood may wish to revise the meaning of some concepts, such as "child," "adolescent," "family," "parenthood," "motherhood," "filiation" and "affiliation." The concept of "responsibility" is particularly important for understanding the new meaning of these notions in post-genocide Rwanda (Uwera, Brackelaire, & Munyandamutsa, 2012; Uwineza & Brackelaire, 2014).

9. Silence

Another way of expressing the invisible pain is silence. Talking about a traumatic story is not easy. It is history marked by inexpressible realities, difficult to hear and heavy to bear. It's like taking a long journey on a very slippery path of insurmountable chasms. If we can't cross that chasm, we stop at the edge until we find the necessary energy to step over, bypass or meet another wayfarer that can help in building a bridge. It is these stops that can be seen throughout the long silence in narrating traumatic stories. Before talking about the silence related to trauma, as we observed with mother genocide survivors, we would like to take a moment to consider "cultural silence" (Uwineza, 2015).

We often hear people say that silence is one of the cultural characteristics of Rwandans, that the Rwandan population does not speak much, that Rwandans are silent, that even in suffering when they are sad, they smile. But the silence generally observed among Rwandans is not an icy one, not a dead silence, like the one imposed by trauma. The silence of Rwandans is a moment of reflection. The "cultural silence" is just a manifestation of taking time to produce what is needed at the right time.

The silence related to trauma is not similar to the one related to the culture. In Rwanda, it is not easy to differentiate these two kinds of silence. Sometimes, a "cultural silence" can have a protective meaning, especially when it is associated with the silence imposed by trauma. The words of one mother testify to that. It was during the first moments of creating the double space "Between-Us" and "At-home;" we were negotiating various cultural barriers to start a mothers' group support (Uwineza, 2015).

> *All is not said. All is not accessible at the same time. This is neither the time nor the moment. We do not undress in front of children. We do not undress outside. It's better to shut up than to speak. What would speaking bring of any good? Bringing out your intimacy would make you worse off. Do you really want to open the book of our hearts? I protect you from this shit !*

In post-genocide Rwanda, the silence observed in the extreme trauma clinic is not only the cultural silence; it is also the imposed silence. In the process of elaboration of the trauma, the words are missing, not because there is nothing to say. Quite simply, there are too many traumatic and horrific issues that are difficult to unravel. The mothers with whom we worked in the space "Between-us" and "At-home," obsessively repeated this Rwandan adage, "*Uvuga aba atarabona[337]*" (whoever can still speak has seen nothing yet). That short statement was like expressing a general truth that contains their whole traumatic history expressed in the silence. It looks like silence is another way of expressing the invisible pain. Thus, the singular traumatic experience is not always expressed in verbal language. Silence appears as the container of a multitude of information that must be explored in order to grasp its content, and restructured in order to re-use it in the reconstruction of the person. It is a way of listening to the unconscious, and promoting awareness.

An imposed silence blocks the process to the narrative of the content of the traumatic experience. The possibility of talking about trauma is only possible when we manage to get rid of it. This is what Rwandans express in this proverb: "*Ukize inkuba arayiganira,*" which translates literally as "Only the one who escapes the thunderbolt can talk about it." According to some of the survivors we accompanied in their process of trauma recovery, that silence can be compared to the chasm dug by the traumatic event. Breaking it too soon would cause them to try to turn in the three directions mentioned above, "*the before,*" "*the during*" and "*the after*" + the traumatic event. This phenomenon is known as "traumatic crisis" or "*Ihahamuka*" in Rwandan (Gishoma, 2014; Godard, 2014; Hagengimana & Hinton, 2009). The issue we are talking about is when the person prefers to stop at the edge of the chasm, in an icy silence, and it is very difficult to reach out alone. Note that the imposed silence is often tinged with a mixture of sadness and aggressiveness directed towards an unknown perpetrator.

> *May the enemy fail to find anyone in whom to confide. May he be deprived of the space of expression. May he lose the control to keep secrets. May the enemy bring out his private parts like the spadix of the arum flower[338]. May he remain*

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337. It means that literally, "whoever can still speak has seen nothing yet.". It means that after the horror, the person who is able to organize a story around the traumatic event is not so affected. This way of saying means that the extent of the horror suffered and imposes silence. Survivors do not know where to start.

338. The original statement was : *Umwanzi aracyivamo nk'inopfu.* By missing the right word to translate the word *Inopfu*, we choose to use the flowering plant with the largest unbranched inflorescence to let every leader understand the meaning. This plant is chosen because of its characteristic of inflorescence.

under the control of loneliness. I do not proclaim the curse; I rather proclaim the blessing !

In such a situation, the role of the therapist will be to facilitate the transformation into internal creative silence in order to let the resources that may allow them to talk about its content germinate. Waintrater (2003) would say that to talk about your history is first and foremost to say it to yourself. We think that can be a reference and a reminder that allows some therapist/counselors working in the field of the extreme trauma to deviate from the idea of drawing out people who come to seek our services. If they manage to relativize and elaborate their trauma by intra-psychic work, why not accompany them in this direction? Our primary mission as group therapists should be to co-create a strong envelope that can serve as a "shelter" and safe space to all members, to allow the personal psychological work of each individual and the whole group to restore and remobilize the strong pillar for a positive future. Below are some pillars of resilience re-created in the space "Between-us" and "At-home." We also present an example of the delicate manner in which

10. Pillars of resilience

According to our experience with mothers and their children who are the center of our work, we can testify that, in the context of genocide, the process of resilience involves considerable emotional distress to the point of saying: *"I can't stand it anymore."* In this case, the therapist has failed to find the right metaphor to use to help them overcome such a situation, although metaphors are normally important cultural tools used by therapists in their daily clinical work. In the context of genocide, torture and/or any other kind of intentional violence, we don't know much about the whole reality that the survivors experienced. Consequently, it is difficult to find a metaphor that can be used and that does not trigger traumatic memories. The only thing known is that they experienced what can be compared to the destruction of humanity and fundamental values. This contributes to creating a kind of confusion about the existence of humanity.

Even though finding the right metaphor at the right time seems difficult in the context of genocide, the cultural heritage is the best tool to restore the pillar of resilience. Previously, we pointed out that, in the context of extreme trauma, the therapist is called upon "*to walk on eggs without breaking any"* (Uwineza, 2015: p.345). Below is an example of how we tried to do so. The framework was the group support for mothers who were genocide survivors living with HIV/AIDS resulting from the horrible experience of rape during genocide. The

session particularly aimed to explore the pillars of resilience. Given the atmosphere of the moment, we allowed ourselves to address the mothers, and circumvent the reality that would require enumerating the losses. It was instinctive and we had not thought about it before. We felt that it was a way to formally start the session without disturbing the serenity of the mothers while they were waiting for the latecomers.

JU : This morning, it looks like we are in an evening of poetry. We are going therefore to extend it.

Mothers : (Laughs) Yes.

JU : *Sakwe sakwe*. (That is how people started riddle. It's like asking: guess the meaning of what I'm going to tell you. In traditional Rwanda, it was done during the moment of *igitaramo*, almost similar to the evening of poetry.

Mothers : *Soma*. (That was the way to say: Yes, go ahead in asking)

JU : *Twava mo umwe ntitwarya*. That is to say, literally, "If one is missing, we can't eat" or "if one of us is missing, the fire is no longer useful! "

Mothers : (All at the same time without even thinking about the response and with laughter) *Ishyiga ry'inyuma*. i.e One of the three stones that holds the cooking pot on the fire and delimits the area of the fire in a traditional Rwandan home.

Using the metaphor of one of the three stones needed to make a fire for cooking in a traditional Rwandan home is a way to create a framework for interacting in traditional Rwandan culture (Bigirumwami, 2000). It is also a way to avoid overburdening the exchanges between group members and their therapist/group facilitator (Uwineza, 2015). As we all know, in an extreme trauma clinic work, these exchanges are often characterized by intense emotional tension (Gishoma, 2014, Uwineza, 2015, Muhayisa at.al 2016, Rwagatare, 2016). These exchanges, in fact, serve as a way to avoid awakening in the survivors what is at the bottom of the "*abyss*".

A therapist or a clinical researcher has to address the issue of how to engage with trauma survivors with delicacy, as though it is within ordinary conversations that the human being matters more than anything. The direct question the researcher is seeking to answer is this: *What does the survivor do when the support pillars are no longer solid*? However, in order to avoid rekindling the trauma and having it become an obstacle to communication, a profound elaboration is made around that question by using the metaphor of the corner stone among the two others that delimit the space reserved for the fire in a traditional Rwandan family home. It is during this conversation facilitated by familiar metaphors that

the researcher or the clinician can elaborate on the trauma experience without overwhelming the participants. Sometimes the survivors have nothing left with which to rebuild their lives: no more husbands for wives, no more wives for husbands, no more children for parents, no more grand-parents for grand-children, and so on. The desolation is obvious, from the basic family to the extended one. The space created by the "Between-us" and "At-home" environments offers an opportunity to create and strengthen the pillars of resilience and face the future.

In Rwandan culture, five pillars work together to lift survivors up from chaos. The group dynamics and intergenerational social ties in mother's and children's support groups show and highlight these five pillars, combined in what they call positive traditional values. These values emphasize the importance of the family where the intergenerational social ties between family members were strong and each member contributed to maintaining the mental balance of other family members. These traditional values are *ubwenge* (wisdom), *ubupfura* (honesty), *umutima* (heart, i.e. kindness), *ubugabo/ubutwali* (heroism) and *ubunyangamugayo* (integrity). Basically, these pillars characterize every Rwandan (Galabert, 2012). Especially, for these mothers, simply being or being called a *mother* is a great responsibility and honor which they want to recover, as it contributes significantly to motivating them to be responsible and create new social ties (Zraly, Rubin & Mukamana, 2013). So, mothers who met in the space "Between-us" felt responsible to the point of playing the role of symbolic mother to the children who gathered in the space "At-home." This is how, in the space "Between-us" and "At-home" (together characterized as *Iwacu* in Rwandan), mothers and children feel that they are part of a certain family. To describe these values, mothers and children would combine the above-identified five traditional values/pillars in one word : *Ubumuntu* (Uwineza &Brackelaire, 2014; Tutu, 2011). The dynamic and interaction are beyond the connection between community members. The German writer Jennifer Teege has written : *"everyone feels connect to everyone else by many invisible strings"* (Teege & Sellmair, 2015, p.153) as it is in every functional family. We had an impression that having the responsibilities of a mother is related to the traditional position of a woman and a child in Rwanda.

As for the woman, basically, she is seen as an example of these values. A Rwandan proverb reads : *ikigoryi cy'umugore ntigisa n'ikigoryi cy'umugabo* or*, nta mugabo uba ikigoryi,* that is to say the awkwardness of a woman does not look like that of a man, or no man is clumsy. This highlights a woman's integrity to the point where she is considered as the heart of the family. She is expected to call upon her gentleness to settle conflicts and be a parent, not only to her own children, but also, to the child of anyone, of everyone, from everywhere

and from nowhere (Uwineza and Brackelaire, 2014). Such an altruistic generosity, which is found among some women genocide survivors, is conveyed in this proverb: "*umukobwa, agira inzara, ntagira inzigo*": *the girl knows hunger, but she does not know a grudge.*"

As for children in Rwanda, they are more than offspring. They occupy a large place in the family and in the whole of society. They are leaders in the sense of people who deserve priority. The child is not only a blessing to his/her parents, but is also the joy and crown of pride for parents and the life force of his/her entire family. According to the anthropological conception, the birth of a child enrolls his/her mother in her in-laws' patrilineal family forever. Therefore, it is from the child that the mother gets a home. The child is the strong link between the extended families of his/her parents (Galabert, 2012). Like the mother, the child is also a human resource for his/her family as well for the whole nation. A child has the crown of being the future of the country. He/she is called : *the Rwanda of tomorrow*.

In the space "Between-us" and "At-home," in order to live, both mother and child are committed to go back in time and draw energies that will help them find again their position by bringing back the positive values among group members and observing them as it was before their trauma. To fully observe their values, moderation and self-control, to the point of repressing emotional content, were cultivated by the mothers encountered in their support group. They continued to transmit these values to the younger generation. Together, they want that therapeutic framework to have a structure like their family. The goal is to strengthen and safeguard the intergenerational social ties between group members as widely as possible, as if it were among members of the same family, or among good friends. It is amazing to see the symbolic family that mothers and children have created in their space "Between-us and "At-home." They created an innovative framework to get away from loneliness and foster solidarity. Certain aspects of culture and belief seem to be particularly effective in making survivors more resilient. We can mention for example, their belief in God or another supernatural authority, and their responsibilities to one another, especially to the vulnerable person represented by the child. The desire of one of the mothers expressed below, testifies to the responsibility and the human heart as strong pillars of resilience. During group session, she said: *"I wish that no child lacks a parent; no neighbour die of hunger; that none of us die of loneliness "* (Concilia, mother of 2 children).

It is obvious that the realization of such responsibilities requires the restoration of several forms of resilience, particularly positive relationships and

goal-setting. Before concluding, let us say that restoring the pillar of resilience, in the context of the extreme trauma, is extremely costly in terms of psychological and emotional energy. In the context of irreversible situations, the instructive content contained in some Rwandan proverbs serves as a supporting pillar to help survivors remain standing up. Through the Rwandan proverb "Grief dissipates only with the end of life" *(Agahinda gashira nyirako yapfuye),* mothers encourage each other by reminding each other that they can't spend the rest of their life crying. As one mother stated, *Intimba y'intore ntiyibuza guhamiriza kandi ikizihirwa* (the sorrow of a good dancer does not prevent him from dancing well); these mothers and their children testify to the fact that even the weight of their suffering will not stop them from making the effort to have a successful life. In the space "Between-us" and "At-home," success is not measured by job status or social position. Regardless of any other success in their life, success among the group members of our therapeutic setting is measured by serenity and inner peace, as we heard when each mother and child was sharing experiences.

11. Conclusion

In writing *The Iwacu : Creating a safe space for healing the wounds of torture and restoring the pillars of resilience,*" we aim to highlight the energy, effort and the wisdom of the Rwandan mother and her child in their journey of survival. For the process of psychological reconstruction, they recreated a therapeutic setting for people who have lost hope and trust in humanity. This article should leave in the mind of the reader some key elements:

The traumatic history has its "*before*" and its *"after."* These two times are separated by another one: *"during,"* which constitutes for the survivor "*an eternity of suffering.*" Talking about such a story is not always as easy as some researchers and/or therapists believe. As we learnt from a mother-genocide survivor, "*not everything is accessible and everything can't be said."* Some survivors consider their traumatic history to be like their own clothes, which means that their traumatic history becomes like an element of intimacy. The cultural silence and the imposed silence constitute an impassable barrier. To escape such silence and be able to put the words to the wounds, time and a safe space are needed. Not only the survivor, but also the therapist and the researcher, need the appropriate time and space.

The therapist is called upon to play a leading role, and to play it with delicacy. He/she is called upon to pay attention, even to things which appear

insignificant and which can be communicated in different ways, such as the survivor's body language and silence.

The field of trauma related to genocide and other crimes against humanity is very slippery. The researcher must be flexible and know how to wait for what the context of the moment can offer, in order to have access to reliable information. Personally, we learned that carrying out research in such a field requires a new form of methodology, which we called "*dialogue or negotiated methodology"* (Uwineza, 2015). Dialogue or negotiation happens between the scientist's curiosity and the knowledge derived from the feelings and the psychological representation of the survivor. Once the researcher puts the human being, rather than scientific interest, in the forefront, the survivor feels at home. For survivors, it then becomes possible to confront the traumatic reality through his/her history. The data provided far exceeds the researcher's expectations because the survivor feels almost as though he/she were in his/her natural environment. It is a process which can take a relatively long time and a significant amount of psychological energy not only from the perspective of the survivor but also the researcher. Especially for the researcher, he/she constantly invests him or herself in obtaining reliable data, while, at the same time, having to establish some distance in order to not be swallowed up in the emotional chaos which accompanies the narration of the traumatic story.

We shall emphasize that the spaces "Between-us" and "At-home" constitute a single device called *Iwacu,* recreated for psychic reconstruction. It is the result of the symbolization work that tries to restore the family and revitalize its members for transgenerational transmission. The word *Iwacu,* evoked not only by the Rwandan mother survivor and her child, but also by other torture survivors from all over the world, each, in his/her own mother tongue, represents the dynamic and relationship between group members. It leads to the understanding that, for healing the wounds of trauma linked to intentionality in destroying the human being, a safe space has to be protected and structured as if it were one's own home. It is the only space where everyone can go back in time to derive a historical background for the traumatic events, and where every member can twist the spirals of his/her traumatic experience and form a story, in order to finally be able to say : *Kera habayeho...,* (Once upon a time ...) to the following generation. Thus, each person, whether child or adult, regardless of the generation, can indeed provide each other with the strength to say : *I live*, and *I will live.*

To close, let us say that the space *Iwacu* refers to the area incorporated into the group support that allows each group member to build his or her own space. It is a space, where each member is invited to become a builder of a shared place,

a generator of new forms and new systems of relationships and the creator of solidarity among isolated persons. We hope this work can serve as a lesson, or simply as a source of inspiration, for those who are invested in providing psychological care to other survivors in the world.

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Retricoter le tissu social au Rwanda Post-Génocide : Une sociologie de la réconciliation entre les villages de Giheta et Ruseke[339]

Révérien Interayamahanga[340] et Ernest Dukuzumuremyi[341]

1. Introduction

1.1. Contexte et justification

Les cycles de violences sociopolitiques qu'a connus le Rwanda dans la période tant coloniale que postcoloniale ont profondément déchiré le tissu social dans ce pays, particulièrement du point de vue ethnique et régional. Le paroxysme de ces violences fut le génocide commis contre les *Tutsi* en 1994. L'une des particularités de ce dernier, par rapport aux autres génocides internationalement reconnus, consiste dans le fait que ledit génocide a été planifié et perpétré par de Rwandais contre leurs concitoyens, leurs voisins, leurs collègues de travail, parlant la même langue et, pour certains, ayant de liens de parenté. C'est ce qui amène Hatzfeld (2003) à l'appeler un « génocide de proximité ». Si les concepts d'unité et réconciliation nationales étaient déjà retenus parmi les principes fondamentaux des Accords de Paix d'Arusha signés entre le Gouvernement rwandais et le Front Patriotique Rwandais (Art. 80), sa raison d'être a été maximale de par ledit génocide qui a coûté la vie à plus d'un million de *Tutsi* et de *Hutu* « modérés » (Ministère de l'administration locale, du développement communautaire et des affaires sociales, 2004). De surcroît, outre la désintégration du

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339. Les données utilisées dans le présent document ont été initialement comme partie intégrante d'une cherche menée dans le cadre du programme régional de construction de la paix, piloté par Interpeace et six organisations partenaires basées au Rwanda (Never Again Rwanda), au Burundi et en République Démocratique du Congo. Les auteurs adressent leurs vifs remerciements à Never Again Rwanda et Interpeace pour avoir autorisé l'utilisation desdites données pour la rédaction de cet article.

340. Chercheur principal à Never Again Rwanda

341. Chercheur et chargé de programme à Never Again Rwanda

tissu social, le génocide a profondément détruit les principales infrastructures de base ainsi que différentes institutions tant publiques que privées.

Après le génocide, pour le nouveau pouvoir politique et ses partenaires dont la communauté internationale, la société civile et le secteur privé, l'heure était à l'immense et ambitieuse entreprise de reconstruction nationale axée, entre autres, sur la réconciliation nationale.

S'agissant de cette dernière, une série de politiques et programmes phares entrepris depuis la fin du génocide méritent d'être mentionnées ici. Nous citerons, à titre illustratif, le partage du pouvoir entre le Front Patriotique Rwandais (FPR) et les factions des partis politiques « non-impliquées » dans le génocide contre les Tutsis, l'intégration des membres des Forces Armées Rwandaises (FAR) dans la nouvelle Armée Nationale ainsi que la suppression de la mention ethnique dans les documents à usage administratif. Dans la même veine, il y a la création de la Commission Nationale pour l'Unité et la Réconciliation, le rétablissement et la modernisation des juridictions *Gacaca* pour juger les suspects du génocide contre les Tutsis, la promotion de l'éducation pour tous, les programmes à vocation de protection sociale tels que *Girinka*, Mutuelle de Santé, Vision *Umurenge* Programme (VUP) ainsi que le programme d'*Ubudehe* (Commission Nationale pour l'Unité et la Réconciliation, 2016).

Hormis le Gouvernement rwandais qui pilote le processus de réconciliation à travers la Commission Nationale pour l'Unité et la Réconciliation, d'autres acteurs ont embarqué sur cet ambitieux chemin. Il s'agit entre autres d'un bon nombre d'organisations de la société civile dont les organisations non gouvernementales (locales, nationales et internationales), les confessions religieuses, les medias, les universités et universitaires, ainsi que des partenaires au développement. En termes d'approches utilisées par ces acteurs, les principales sont notamment le dialogue, la guérison des blessures psychologiques, la recherche, les camps de solidarité *Ingando*, l'éducation civique, l'éducation à la paix, la justice transitionnelle, le renforcement des capacités économiques des ménages/personnes vulnérables (Never Again Rwanda & Interpeace, 2015 ; Commission Nationale pour l'Unité et la Réconciliation, 2016).

De surcroît, force est de noter qu'au-delà des interventions entreprises par ces différents acteurs et qui certes portent progressivement des fruits en dépit des limites évidentes, d'autres initiatives de réconciliation existent bel et bien au niveau tant interindividuel que communautaire. Certaines ont la particularité d'être auto-impulsées, c'est-à-dire, non amorcées par des acteurs extérieurs à la communauté.

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Cependant, si des études sur la réconciliation au Rwanda post-génocide s'avèrent abondantes et multidisciplinaires (voir entre autres, Clark & Kaufman, 2009 ; Clark, 2010 ; De Bari, 2013 ; Hinan, 2010 ; NURC, 2009 ; 2010 ; 2015), il va sans dire, que la dimension locale ou intercommunautaire, est à notre connaissance, timidement explorée. Pourtant, l'examen de cette dimension devrait contribuer, entre autres, à examiner les capacités et facteurs endogènes, c'est-à-dire ceux dont disposent les communautés locales voire les individus pour se relever eux-mêmes, aller de l'avant sur le chemin du vivre-ensemble et ainsi « retricoter » le tissu social déchiré profondément par les violences de masse dont le génocide.

C'est ce défi que la présente étude a tenté de relever, très modestement, en explorant les efforts de réinvention des relations entre les habitants de deux villages voisins de Giheta et Ruseke, dans le district de Kamonyi, Province du Sud, au Rwanda.

1.2 Objectifs et questions de recherche

La présente étude vise à documenter le processus de réconciliation intercommunautaire au Rwanda post-génocide, en nous limitant à l'expérience des villages de Ruseke et Giheta, dans le district de Kamonyi. Spécifiquement, l'étude poursuit les objectifs suivants :

• Identifier et analyser les facteurs (motivations) du lancement de l'initiative du vivre-ensemble entre les habitants des villages de Ruseke et Giheta

• Explorer la trajectoire qu'a prise cette initiative dans le temps vers la réalisation de ses objectifs

• Examiner les facteurs de résilience au sein de ces deux communautés dans la perspective du revivre-ensemble ;

• Identifier les défis majeurs auxquels fait face le processus de réconciliation entre les deux communautés.

En vue d'atteindre ces objectifs, des efforts ont été faits pour répondre aux questions de recherche ci-dessous :

• Quelle est la genèse de cette initiative (contexte, objectifs, acteurs, motivations) ?

• Quelle est la trajectoire qu'a prise cette initiative dans le temps vers la réalisation de ses objectifs (activités, résultats, défis) ?

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• Quels sont les facteurs de résilience pour ces deux communautés face au défi et au chemin de réconciliation qu'ont emprunté les deux parties ?

• Quels sont les défis majeurs à la durabilité de cette initiative et quelles en seraient les mesures de redressement ?

2. Méthodologie

2.1. Choix du cas d'étude

Le présent travail de recherche n'a pas été conçu dans la perspective d'une étude indépendante et à part entière. Initialement, il n'était qu'une partie intégrante d'une stratégie de recherche empruntée par l'étude sur la résilience pour la réconciliation, en cours de réalisation par Interpeace et six autres organisations basées au Burundi, en République Démocratique du Congo et au Rwanda (Never Again Rwanda[342]). Ainsi, les critères de choix du présent cas d'étude s'inspirent largement de cette étude régionale. Trois critères majeurs ont été ainsi pris en compte à savoir :

• Être un groupe, une communauté, des individus engagés sur le chemin de la réconciliation après un choc ou événement tragique ayant rompu leurs relations ;

• Être une initiative endogène, c'est-à-dire lancée par les individus ou membres des communautés concernées, plutôt qu'entreprise par des acteurs extérieurs ;

• Avoir potentiellement réalisé quelques progrès méritant une documentation en *peacebuilding* afin de mieux rendre compte des concepts de résilience et réconciliation dans une perspective empirique.

Cela étant, un exercice de réflexion interne (management, chercheurs, coordinateurs de programmes de Never Again Rwanda) a été mené de façon participative pour identifier différentes initiatives répondant potentiellement auxdits critères. Dans la même optique, quelques praticiens de la réconciliation et qui ont une bonne compréhension du contexte rwandais ont été également approchés. De par cette concertation, l'initiative de réconciliation entre les membres des deux villages, Giheta et Ruseke, dans le District de Kamonyi a semblé répondre le plus aux critères retenus et a été recommandée pour faire l'objet de l'étude de cas duquel le présent document est dérivé. En plus desdits critères, ladite initiative a le mérite d'avoir été pilotée par les jeunes, ce qui s'avère pas moins

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342. Les auteurs de ce chapitre travaillent à part entière pour cette organisation, basée au Rwanda)

intéressant dans l'exploration du processus de réconciliation dans un contexte post-génocide.

2.2. Participants et leur sélection

Les résidents des villages de Ruseke et Giheta constituent la cible principale de la présente étude. Il s'agit largement des rescapés du génocide contre les *Tutsi* habitant le premier village, et des *Hutu*, établis dans le second village et ayant ou non participé au génocide. Tous les participants vivaient dans les deux villages respectifs au moment du génocide. En termes du genre, la moitié des participants étaient des femmes. En plus des résidents des 2 villages, quelques informateurs clés ont été considérés. C'est notamment les présidents des comités exécutifs des deux villages, un des pionniers[343] de ladite initiative issus des 2 villages, une re-présentante des survivants du génocide du village de Ruseke, ainsi que le secré-taire exécutif de la cellule de Kambyeyi dont fait partie le village de Giheta. Le rôle d'un point focal a été capital dans l'identification et l'invitation des partici-pants sur base des critères retenus, ainsi qu'au choix du site qui a accueilli les discussions.

2.3. Approche de recherche et techniques de collecte des données

La présente étude de cas a emprunté l'approche qualitative. Son but n'est pas d'appréhender extensivement la dynamique de réconciliation sur le site étu-dié pour tirer des inférences statistiques. Loin de là ! Par contre, elle examine en profondeur les facteurs de la résilience, le contexte et le processus réconcilia-tion entre les deux villages. De ce fait, nous avons fait recours à trois techniques à savoir les discussions au sein de groupes focalisés, les entretiens individuels avec les personnes ressources, ainsi que l'observation directe. Deux sessions de discussions en groupe ont été organisées d'abord avec 19 membres de l'Asso-ciation *Ndaje Muvandimwe Twiyunge* laquelle œuvre pour la durabilité des ac-quis du processus de réconciliation entre les deux villages rendus ennemis par le génocide.

La seconde session a été conduite avec 15 ressortissants des 2 villages, non membres de ladite association. Quand bien même impliqué dans le processus de réconciliation entre les 2 deux villages, ce deuxième groupe a en outre ser-vi comme groupe témoin du chemin emprunté par les membres de l'association en question. Pour chacune des séances, les efforts ont été faits pour balancer les

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343. Le second co-pionnier, Protogène, n'était pas dans la localité lors de la collecte des données pour la présente étude.

proportions des participants selon le village, le genre et l'histoire du génocide (survivant ou pas).

Quant aux entretiens individuels, ils ont initialement ciblé 4 personnes ressources également témoins des efforts de réconciliation entre les deux villages. Les profils de ces informateurs sont bien indiqués dans la section précédente. A ces 4 s'ajoute une cadre de la Commission Nationale pour l'Unité et Réconciliation, interviewée dans la phase préparatoire et dont les informations ont été également utiles dans le choix dudit cas d'étude.

Enfin, l'observation directe a été vitale notamment dans la collecte des données, particulièrement la visite des sites ou lieux importants dans le parcours fait par les parties à la réconciliation entre ces deux villages. Ces lieux sont entre autres la fontaine de Rubumba et un buisson entouré d'une histoire singulière. De même, l'observation du paysage (collines, vallée, routes, sentiers, cimetières, habitat…) dans lequel s'est passé (se passe) l'histoire ainsi que de la communication non-verbale des participants, n'en demeure pas moins éloquente.

Appuyée par des guides d'entretiens et le support audio-visuel, la collecte des données a été facilitée par deux chercheurs (auteurs de ce document) et un assistant chercheur audio-visuel.

2.4. Analyse des données et rédaction du rapport

Au terme du travail de terrain, les données ont été exploitées et organisées sur base des notes prises et des enregistrements audio-visuels. Considérant la nature des données qualitatives récoltées, l'analyse a été faite par thème et par contenu. Dans le premier cas, il s'est agi de regrouper les informations/données selon les grands thèmes et questions de recherche avant d'en déceler le sens ou la signification. Dans le second cas, l'analyse s'est efforcée de décoder les langages imagés ou métaphoriques et non verbaux utilisés par les participants ainsi que les enregistrements audio-visuels (discussions en groupe et interviews) pour enfin en appréhender la signification.

3. Principaux Résultats et Discussion

Ce chapitre présente les principaux résultats de l'étude de cas. En plus d'une courte description géo-démographique du site de l'étude, le chapitre examine les relations entre les habitants de Ruseke et Giheta avant le génocide contre les *Tutsi* et la façon dont ces premières ont été mises à mal par cette tragédie. Les effets du génocide sur ces relations ainsi que les efforts de rapprochement et de

réconciliation faits par les deux communautés alors ennemies, ainsi que les défis y relatifs sont également discutés. Un essai d'analyse des facteurs de résilience des membres des deux communautés est aussi fait dans ce chapitre.

3.1 Brève description du site de l'étude

Ruseke et Giheta sont deux villages voisins. On dirait plutôt deux collines jumelles, pourtant relevant de deux cellules et secteurs administratifs différents. Le premier est situé dans la cellule de Cyambwe du secteur de Musambira, tandis que le second se trouve dans la cellule de Kambyeyi, secteur de Nyarubaka. Les deux secteurs étant dans le district de Kamonyi, Province du Sud. Pas de frontières physiquement observables entre les deux collines et villages administratifs, sauf une fontaine *Iriba rya Rubumba* d'où sort un mince cours d'eau qui serpente la partie méridionale de ces 2 entités. Si on en croit les propos des présidents des comités exécutifs de ces deux villages, Ruseke compte 189 de ménages et 817 d'habitants, alors que Giheta abrite 226 ménages et 1039 personnes. Au moment du génocide, les habitants de la colline de Ruseke étaient très largement *Tutsi*, tandis que Giheta était principalement *hutu*. Toujours selon le chef du village de Ruseke, autour de 70 *Tutsi* du village de Giheta ont été tués pendant le génocide. De cette configuration démographique à base « ethnique » a résulté le fait que le génocide à Ruseke a été particulièrement perpétré par certains *Hutu* venant de Giheta voisin.

3.2. Au tour de la fontaine de Rubumba : Deux collines jumelles en harmonie

Dans la section précédente il est spécifié que Giheta et Ruseke sont à la fois deux collines jumelles et villages administratifs. À l'instar de pas mal de collines du pays, les relations entre *Hutu* et *Tutsi* dans ces deux entités étaient au beau fixe. Au dire des participants à la recherche, les habitants des deux villages, d'alors, entretenaient des relations harmonieuses. Les propos suivants d'un vieil habitant de Giheta en disent mieux :

> *Nous partagions une même vie, une même fontaine ; nous nous fréquentions lors de différentes cérémonies ou circonstances familiales, et compatissions en cas de douleurs ; les mariages et dons réciproques de vaches étaient observés.*

Si ces relations sont restées harmonieuses, force est de relever que l'idéologie anti-*tutsi* se répandait à grande échelle dans différents secteurs de la vie sociopolitique du pays. Cela n'a pas épargné cette contrée comme l'indiquent ces témoignages :

Dans des écoles et parfois en familles, les gens apprenaient que les Tutsi *sont des ennemis des* Hutu*, qu'ils ont régné sur le pays pendant longtemps et qu'ils avaient fait beaucoup de mal aux* Hutu.

Mon grand-père avait un ami hutu *; ils étaient vraiment très proches, mais un jour cet homme lui a dit qu'il était son meilleur ami, mais qu'il serait plus content si mon grand-père n'était pas* tutsi *!*

D'après les participants, le climat de suspicion a été plus avéré après le déclenchement de la guerre « de libération » par le Front patriotique rwandais (FPR), le 1er octobre 1990. Cet avis est aussi soutenu par Des Forges (1999) selon laquelle, depuis la guerre lancée par le FPR, des autorités et leaders des partis politiques dans le temps, surtout le Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement (MRND) et plus tard le Mouvement Démocratique Républicain, de tendance « Power[344] » et la Coalition pour la Défense de la République (CDR) ont mobilisé les *Hutu* contre les *Tutsi*, en articulant que l'ennemi du Rwanda était le *Tutsi*.

Ces propos d'un rescapé du génocide à Ruseke rendent compte de cette assertion. « *Sur nos collines, on a même répandu la rumeur selon laquelle les* Tutsi *avaient creusé des trous dans lesquels ils enterreraient les* Hutu ».

Les participants, de part et d'autre, ont articulé qu'en dépit de cet endoctrinement à caractère ethniste, les interactions de bon voisinage entre les habitants des deux collines sont restées largement intactes jusqu'à la veille du génocide. D'après une veuve rescapée du génocide, résidente de Ruseke :

Avant le déclenchement du génocide, il n'y avait pas d'indices que les choses tourneront mal. On entendait des cas de persécution des Tutsi *dans d'autres régions du pays, mais les gens d'ici étaient apparemment tous unanimes contre ces pratiques.*

Cependant, il va sans dire que l'idéologie du génocide progressivement propagée a largement contribué à propulser certains *hutu* du pays et ceux de Giheta en particulier à verser dans le génocide.

3.3. Quand soudain tout bascule : le génocide à Ruseke

Manifestement les bonnes relations entre les résidents de Ruseke et de Giheta n'ont pas pu finalement les épargner du génocide. Cette tragédie a bel et bien eu lieu tout comme sur le reste du territoire national.

344. Terme utilisé depuis les années 1993 par l'air pro-*hutu* (ainsi considéré comme anti-*tutsi*) des partis politiques d'alors.

Comme l'indiquent les participants de Ruseke, lors du déclenchement du génocide dans le pays, la situation sur les deux collines semblait être calme, avant que ces premiers ne soient surpris de voir leurs « bons voisins » de Giheta d'hier à leurs portes, non pas pour les sauver de la tragédie mais pour les exterminer.

L'irruption de certains voisins de Giheta a été une très mauvaise surprise pour nous; on ne s'y attendait pas. C'est le 17 avril vers 15 h00 qu'ils ont commencé à prendre nos bétails. Au départ nous avons résisté à leurs attaques, mais le lendemain matin, on en pouvait plus, c'était la débandade, veuve rescapée du génocide, village de Ruseke.

Le génocide sur notre colline a été particulièrement indicible. Ils [de *hutu* de Giheta] *nous ont d'abord rassemblés, trié tous les garçons et les ont tués. Seuls quatre enfants ont échappé de justesse,* veuve rescapée du génocide, village de Ruseke.

Cette version a été soutenue par les participants ressortissants de la colline de Giheta, y compris des ex-prisonniers pour génocide. Essayant de décrire leurs motivations, ils ont articulé le rôle de l'éducation familiale et les autorités politico-administratives dans la socialisation de la violence et des attitudes génocidaires.

Quand on t'apprend que quelqu'un est ton ennemi, et que tu en as les moyens et le soutien [des autorités], tu n'hésites pas à le tuer. C'est ce que nous avons fait, habitant de Giheta, ex-prisonnier pour génocide.

Dans mon jeune âge, ma famille m'a appris que les Tutsi *sont nos ennemis. Alors j'ai grandi avec la conviction que si jamais une opportunité venait à se présenter je devrais me débarrasser de ces ennemis. C'est ce qui s'est passé pendant le génocide ; j'ai pris le devant dans les massacres des* Tutsi, *j'ai pillé et détruit leurs maisons sans conscience que cela soit un péché. À la fin du génocide j'ai dû faire face aux conséquences de mes actes dont la prison,* ex-prisonnier pour génocide, habitant de Giheta.

Les participants ont martelé unanimement que les *Tutsi* de la Colline de Ruseke tués pendant le génocide ont été principalement ciblés par les voisins de Giheta. Même si le génocide visait tous les *Tutsi* en général, il a particulièrement anéanti les hommes et les garçons sur la colline de Ruseke. Selon les participants, 26 enfants (tous garçons) ont été tués et précipités dans une même fosse commune sur cette même colline. Il se pourrait, d'après la même source, que ce fut une tuerie sélective « *pour s'assurer qu'aucun garçon ne survive pour pérenniser l'ethnie* tutsie ». Comme dirait un adage rwandais « Ntabapfira gushira» (il n'existe pas de tragédie sans survivants). Tout comme sur certaines collines

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du pays, le plan génocidaire n'a pas heureusement pu terminer tous les Tutsi de Ruseke. Quelques-uns ont, certes, échappé belle. Quel fut le sort des relations entre les habitants de Giheta et les survivants du génocide de la colline de Ruseke ? Essai de réponse dans la section suivante.

3.4 Jeu du chat et de la souris : Haie de haine au bout de la hache génocidaire

Au lendemain du génocide, Ruseke se retrouve mis à feu et à sang. Beaucoup d'habitants de Giheta y sont manifestement pour quelque chose. Des suites du génocide, ces deux collines naturellement jumelles deviennent cette fois-ci tellement conflictuelles qu'une réelle haie de haine les oppose. Même la fontaine de Rubumba qui, jadis, servait de carrefour si pas de pont pour les ressortissants des deux villages, devient plutôt un vrai symbole de rupture. L'amertume sans précédent des quelques **Tutsi** de Ruseke qui venaient d'échapper de justesse à la hache de bourreaux *Hutu* venus de Giheta d'une part ; et la peur et la honte des *Hutus* de Giheta dont certains (membres de famille ou pas) venaient de commettre l'indicible à l'encontre de « bons voisins » d'hier , d'autre part, habitaient les cœurs des uns et des autres. Ce fut ainsi un nouveau calvaire pour les communautés voisines. Les propos ci-après résument l'état des relations entre ces deux entités.

*Lorsque les autres rwandais poussaient un ouf de soulagement pour la fin du génocide, c'était le commencement de l'encombre chez nous à Giheta, surtout pour les personnes qui avaient participé au génocide et qui devraient regarder dans les yeux des survivants. Ils avaient peur que ces derniers allaient se venger. Mais aussi du côté des survivants, il leur était également difficile de cohabiter avec les gens considérés comme des animaux qui ont dévoré les leurs, ha-bitant, Vi*llage de Giseke.

Nous utilisions la même fontaine avant le génocide ; après le génocide, le recours à l'eau de cette fontaine a été problématique ; toute personne avait peur de s'y rendre et y croiser les gens de l'autre village. Nous devions d'abord bien vérifier s'il n'y a personne de l'autre village qui nous regardait, habitant de Giheta.

Parfois nous préférions aller puiser de l'eau dans d'autres fontaines lointaines au lieu de prendre des risques de rencontrer les gens de Giheta. Même quand on tentait d'y aller, on ne pouvait pas envoyer les enfants de peur qu'ils ne soient violentés ou tués par ces ennemis, veuve rescapée de Ruseke.

L'étendue de la haie de haine ne se limitait pas autour de la fontaine de Rubumba. Elle se manifestait, certes, même à la fréquentation de marchés, de

lieux de culte, d'événements commémoratifs du génocide pour ne citer que ceux-là. C'étaient deux villages à couteaux tirés. Évitement et suspicion étaient de règle.

> *Au marché, on se guettait mutuellement. On ne pouvait jamais acheter avec une personne de Ruseke. Eux non plus ne pouvaient faire aucune transaction commerciale avec nous,* habitant de Giheta.

> *Il y a une église adventiste qui se situe dans le village de Giheta, c'est autour de 5 minutes de marche. Mais les adventistes de mon village [Ruseke] préfé-raient mettre plus d'une heure de marche pour fréquenter une autre église adventiste lointaine, à Musambira,* rescapée du génocide de Ruseke

> *Lorsque j'allais croiser un habitant de Ruseke sur mon chemin, je changeais directement de direction ou tout simplement retournais à la maison. Il y a même des fois où je ne pouvais pas rentrer à la maison et j'allais me cacher dans la brousse ; je me disais que parce qu'ils venaient de me voir, cette nuit-là, ils allaient venir me chercher et se venger. Le mal que nous leur avions fait nous hantait !,* Ex-prisonnier du génocide, colline de Ruseke.

> *La seule chance que nous* [Hutu de Giheta] *avions est que nous et les habitants de Ruseke nous sommes retrouvés dans deux secteurs administratifs différents. Ainsi, cela nous a évité de nous rencontrer [avec les rescapés de Ruseke) dans de fréquentes activités publiques telles Umuganda, réunions communautaires avec les autorités ou les activités de commémoration du génocide,* habitant de Giheta.

Tout compte fait, les relations entre les habitants de Ruseke et ceux de Giheta se sont réduites à celles du chat et de la souris à la suite du génocide. De ces témoignages, il y a lieu de déduire qu'en temps de conflit intercommunautaire, la proximité ou l'éloignement géographique reste un paramètre important dans l'analyse des effets dudit conflit ainsi que les solutions à y apporter. Cette version est aussi soutenue par Caron et Torre (s.d. , 2) qui indiquent que les tensions et les conflits sont nombreux en l'espace rural et ils résultent de la proximité géographique des acteurs impliqués, que celle-ci soit subie ou recherchée. Cela reste valable en ce qui concerne la restauration des relations après le conflit. Comme en témoignent les propos des participants ci-haut, la proximité implique la fréquence de rencontres spontanées sur fond de haine et de peur, lesquelles amplifient à leur tour l'animosité matérialisée en grande partie par l'évitement.

Cette situation était d'autant plus délicate et complexe du fait qu'il s'agis-sait de deux communautés condamnées à vivre côte à côte malgré elles. Deux questions se posent ainsi : faut-il continuer à jouer au jeu du chat et de la souris,

voire cimenter un mur infranchissable le long de la frontière entre communautés ? Est-il possible de prendre le courage de se relever, se réajuster et aller de l'avant ? En d'autres termes, peut-on se résoudre et s'engager effectivement dans la mobilisation des énergies et ressources internes pour résister ou défier le choc et ainsi lui survivre ? Pour le cas des habitants de Giheta et Ruseke, c'est ce deuxième questionnement qui a prévalu et des efforts considérables ont été consentis pour y répondre dans la pratique.

3.5. Deux garçons qui « miraculeusement » changent la donne

Claude et Protogène avaient 18 ans et 20 ans respectivement pendant le génocide. Le premier habite Giheta dont il est originaire et compte parmi sa famille nucléaire des membres [ses frères] qui ont participé au génocide. Quant au second, lui, est de la colline de Ruseke où il a survécu à cette tragédie qui a quasi-entièrement endeuillé sa famille nucléaire. Claude a fait 8 ans d'éducation primaire, tout comme Protogène mais ce dernier a ajouté 3 ans de formation professionnelle (Centre d'Enseignement Rural et Artisanal Intégré, CERAI). Les deux se connaissent suffisamment d'autant plus qu'ils ont fréquenté la même école primaire. Tels sont deux garçons qui non seulement ont posé les jalons d'un processus de restauration des relations entre les *Tutsi* rescapés du génocide de Ruseke et les *Hutu* de Giheta dont certains (parmi lesquels leurs membres de familles) venaient de tremper dans le génocide. Contrairement à la plupart des ressortissants des deux collines, du moins jusqu'en 2003, Claude et Protogène, eux, se fréquentaient de temps en temps depuis les retrouvailles en 1997. D'après ce premier, « *Protogène savait bien que je n'avais pas participé au génocide. On se rencontrait quelques fois et on partageait même un verre au cabaret* ».

Depuis la fin du génocide, Claude n'a cessé d'interroger l'histoire du génocide contre les *Tutsi*. Choqué et frustré par l'extermination des Tutsis, particulièrement ceux de la colline de Ruseke par certains *Hutu* de Giheta, et considérant la rupture sans précédent des relations entre les deux collines jadis jumelles et amies, Claude a continuellement rêvé de réaliser ce que d'aucuns estimaient être impossible. Ce rêve n'était autre que l'expression du remord et la demande collective de pardon pour entreprendre le dialogue entre les deux communautés, lequel dialogue devait permettre d'amorcer le processus de réinvention des relations entre Ruseke et Giheta.

Opérant dans le contexte général de politique nationale de réconciliation prônée par le gouvernement rwandais post-génocide, Claude n'a attendu ni l'intervention ni l'appui quelconque tant local que national. Il s'est plutôt résolu

d'approcher Protogène. C'est en 1997 que Claude a engagé ce dernier dans une discussion sur le génocide et le sort des relations entre leurs communautés.

> *J'ai demandé à Protogène si nous ne pouvions pas faire quelque chose pour essayer de ramener nos villages en bonnes relations. Je lui ai signifié que j'avais déjà mobilisé et convaincu les habitants de mon village pour confesser leurs crimes et demander pardon, et qu'ils y étaient déjà prêts. Je lui ai proposé d'aller mobiliser ceux de Ruseke et savoir s'ils étaient prêts à nous pardonner,* Claude, Village de Giheta.

L'appel lancé par Claude n'a pas vite bien sonné dans l'oreille de Protogène. Il lui était difficile d'être porteur de ce message à transmettre sur fond de haine et de peur sans précédent. La réaction de Protogène est ainsi décrite par Claude dans la question que ce premier lui a posée « *comment vais-je oser aborder et parler du pardon à ces femmes que vous avez rendu veuves et dont vous avez tué tous les enfants et parents?* », raconte Claude.

Au terme de quelques séances sporadiques de discussion, Claude a réussi à convaincre Protogène de la pertinence et l'opportunité de l'aventure de restaurer les relations entre les deux villages. Ce dernier a finalement garanti au premier « d'aller essayer ». Cependant, à ce stade, ça n'engageait que les auteurs de ce projet aventurier dans lequel les deux garçons voulaient plutôt entraîner leurs communautés entières. Porte d'entrée : la confession et la demande de pardon de la part des habitants de Giheta auprès des survivants du génocide de Ruseke.

Après l'engagement personnel pris unanimement par Claude et Protogène de défier le *statu quo* et ainsi tenter de changer radicalement l'état des relations entre leurs communautés respectives, les deux copains se sont résolus de matérialiser leur rêve à tout prix. Ils ont convenu d'y embarquer ces dernières, chacun de son côté. En réalité, Claude avait commencé la démarche peu avant, en sondant graduellement les « siens » pour savoir s'ils acceptaient de confesser et demander pardon. Il en était ainsi en avance par rapport à Protogène.

3.6. Sur le chemin de la réconciliation : Hésitations et déterminations

Dans le présent document, le concept de réconciliation ne se rapporte pas à une destination ou un but ultime. Loin de là ! Il désigne modestement le processus de réinvention, si pas de « retricotage », des relations entre les anciens partenaires ou collaborateurs (individus, familles, groupes, communautés, sociétés) divisés par un événement ou une situation dans lequel/laquelle une des parties

au moins a une responsabilité, directe ou indirecte, de façon réelle ou perçue comme tel. Plus spécifiquement et de manière plus opérationnelle, cette étude s'intéresse aux relations entre les rescapés du génocide contre les Tutsi, de la colline de Ruseke et les Hutu de la colline de Giheta, aussi bien ceux ayant participé au génocide que ceux-là ayant les mains propres dans ladite tragédie. L'étude considère la contribution, petite soit-elle, apportée par efforts consentis de part et d'autre, pour rétrécir le fossé creusé par le génocide et ses corollaires, dans les relations entre les deux communautés.

Le labour de champs comme porte d'entrée

Étant donné que certains habitants de Giheta avaient commis le génocide sur la colline de Ruseke et que cette responsabilité pesait sur eux tant psychologiquement que socialement, Giheta a manifestement pris le devant dans les efforts de rétablissement des relations entre les deux villages. Ainsi, en plus du premier pas réalisé par Claude (même s'il n'avait pas de responsabilité dans ce crime odieux), ce sont les habitants de Giheta qui ont tenté les premiers de tendre vers ceux de Ruseke. Pour amorcer la démarche au-delà des efforts individuellement faits par Claude et Protogène, la partie de Giheta s'était proposé comme porte d'entrée le labour des champs des rescapés de Ruseke. Claude l'avait déjà signifié à son copain de Ruseke qui, à son tour, l'avait finalement bien reçu et s'était résolu de le soutenir.

Chez nous à Giheta nous savions que pendant le génocide, nous avions pillé[345] les haricots, le sorgho, les maniocs, et beaucoup d'autres biens des Tutsi de Ruseke. Ainsi, lors de nos discussions sur ce sujet nous nous sommes résolus d'aller labourer leurs champs et faire les semailles en guise de compensation, Claude, Village de Giheta.

J'ai dit à Protogène que les habitants de mon village avaient détruit son village avec leurs propres mains, et que, par conséquent, c'est par nos propres mains que nous voulions réparer les dommages que nous avons causés. Je lui ai fait comprendre que pour pouvoir demander pardon, nous nous étions engagés de commencer à cultiver leurs champs comme signe de bonne foi, Claude, Village de Giheta.

345.Quand bien même innocent dans le crime de génocide, dans cette étude, Claude emploie constamment « nous » quand il parle de la responsabilité des hutus de Giheta dans le génocide. Il y a lieu de croire qu'il s'agit non seulement d'une attitude d'humilité mais aussi d'un indice qu'il assumait bien son rôle de représentant de sa communauté, du moins dans les efforts de réinventer les relations entre les deux villages en question.

Si Protogène croyais en bonne foi et détermination de son copain Claude, il doutait manifestement de celles des *Hutu* de Giheta. Ainsi, ce premier avait-il besoin des garanties avant son engagement dans l'affaire auprès de sa communauté. La question qu'il a posée à Claude en est bel et bien révélatrice.

> *Je veux bien m'y mettre et vais en réalité y aller. Mais es-tu assuré que les Hutu vont réellement demander pardon ?,* Protogène, repris par Claude

Claude, pionnier de l'initiative et qui non seulement avait mobilisé mais aussi sondé ses voisins de Ruseke a ainsi pris la lourde responsabilité de rassurer son copain. Qu'est-il réellement arrivé à ce noble rêve de recoller les morceaux après le génocide qui a particulièrement endeuillé la colline de Ruseke. Les deux parties ont-elles pu se mettre sur les rails sur le chemin de restauration des relations ?

Incroyable mais vrai ! Protogène a ainsi porté le message manifestement inconcevable aux yeux de sa communauté, mais vital pour l'avenir des deux communautés ensemble. *A priori*, les rescapés du génocide de Ruseke ont vu l'appel de Protogène d'un œil méfiant et traître.

> *Lorsqu'il nous a apporté cette nouvelle pour la première fois, nous l'avons pris pour fou! Nous lui [Protogène] avons donné l'exemple de tous ses petits-frères qu'ils [les bourreaux] ont ignoblement tués et celui de sa mère abattue après plusieurs tours de tortures. Nous nous en sommes servi pour lui demander comment il osait penser à pardonner aux gens qui nous ont autant endeuillés,* veuve rescapée du génocide, village de Ruseke.

> A priori *nous nous sommes fâchées contre lui et lui avons demandé comment il pouvait oser ramener sur notre colline ces gens qui ont exterminé les nôtres,* veuve rescapée, village de Ruseke

Protogène a pris beaucoup de temps pour leur en convaincre mais il ne s'est pas découragé. Il leur faisait comprendre constamment que continuer à vivre ainsi ne les arrangeait pas non plus. Qu'ils étaient isolés et que vivre en permanence dans cet état d'insécurité n'était qu'un autre cauchemar pour eux.

> *Au départ, nous avions des doutes de leur intention ; nous nous demandions s'il ne s'agissait pas d'une nouvelle stratégie adoptée pour nous avoir et nous exterminer tous,* veuve rescapée du génocide.

> *L'idée de demande et d'octroi de pardon a été très pénible pour nous. Ce garçon* [Protogène] *est notre fils. Il est parmi les rares garçons survivants du génocide dans lequel 28 autres garçons de la même famille ont péri. […] Il nous a*

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interpellé à maintes reprises et difficilement en nous montrant les avantages de transcender nos chagrins et accepter de pardonner, et ce que nous perdions davantage en cas de refus de pardonner, veuve rescapée.

De son côté et dans ses efforts de mobilisation des habitants de sa colline, Claude avait finalement pu convaincre ces derniers à confesser leurs crimes auprès des survivants de Ruseke et ainsi passer à la demande de pardon. Déterminé à contribuer à la réduction du fossé laissé entre les deux communautés par le génocide, Claude est allé loin pour appuyer son copain, Protogène, dans ses efforts d'exhortation des rescapés à s'engager librement dans cette initiative. De temps en temps, ce premier se rendait lui-même à Ruseke avec une double mission : (1) introduire informellement, à l'instar de Protogène, l'intention des habitants de Giheta et (2) sonder leur empressement à y répondre favorablement. Sa démarche est résumée dans ces propos d'une survivante du génocide de Ruseke :

Claude venait souvent dans notre village et nous demandait si nous leur pardonnerions au cas où les habitants de Giheta venaient nous demander pardon. Il se sentait à l'aise chez nous parce qu'il n'avait rien fait de mal et était indigné par les crimes commis par les siens. Nous lui avons demandé avec qui il allait venir, et il nous a répondu que c'est tout le village, et qu'ils allaient se prémunir des houes pour cultiver nos champs. Nous avons alors pris notre temps pour examiner si nous pouvions leur pardonner, et finalement nous avons trouvé que c'est la meilleure chose à faire.

À Giheta, cette idée avait bel et bien eu l'adhésion d'un bon nombre de gens qui y trouvaient un intérêt capital.

Le fait que nous sommes tous allés demander pardon ne justifie pas que nous étions tous coupables. Certains de nous l'avons fait, en toute sincérité, étant donné que nous nous sentions blessés voire honteux du fait que nos aînés avaient commis le génocide. Ainsi avons-nous jugé bon d'y aller tous car l'affaire nous paraissait collective, femme, habitante de Giheta.

Notre geste envers les rescapés avait une double mission : exprimer nos remords et compassion pour demander pardon, mais aussi essayer d'essuyer la honte et la frustration qui nous hantaient, ex-prisonnier, habitant de Giheta.

Après un choc à très grande échelle tel le génocide, les efforts de recoller les morceaux du tissu social suscitent souvent des questions et des doutes chez les uns comme chez les autres. La stratégie de labourer les champs, choisie comme porte d'entrée en contact pour les deux communautés alors hostiles a, a priori, peiné à se faire entendre à Ruseke et y a même causé une grande suspicion.

Au terme de plusieurs séances de discussions entre Protogène et sa communauté, couplées au support de Claude, et des consultations internes parmi les rescapés de Ruseke facilitées par Madame Daphrose, elle aussi veuve rescapée du génocide de la même colline, ces derniers ont finalement répondu par l'affirmative.

En réalité, les deux garçons en question avaient pu les convaincre de la pertinence et l'opportunité du pardon. La peur qui habitait les survivants commençaient à se dissiper quand bien même timidement.

Lorsque on nous avait convaincus que les gens de Giheta allaient venir nous demander pardon en toute sincérité et qu'ils allaient venir avec les houes pour labourer nos champs en guise d'humilité et remords, nous sommes tombés d'accord. Après leur départ [de Claude et Protogène] nous avons encore réfléchi sur cette invitation en nous disant : Les habitants de toute la cellule vont-ils réellement venir avec les houes pour labourer nos champs pour nous ? Et s'ils amenaient les houes plutôt pour nous exterminer en tant que derniers survivants ; nous qui sommes si minoritaires, serions-nous capables de faire face à toute une population d'un village ? Mais après tout nous nous sommes résolus de les laisser venir, veuve rescapée, Village de Ruseke

Si ces deux copains semblaient offrir des garanties à ces premiers quant à leurs appréhensions vis-à-vis de la venue de leurs « ennemis » dans leur village, la balle était plutôt dans le camp des habitants de Giheta. Il leur appartenait, du moins pour ceux qui avaient une responsabilité directe et indirecte dans le génocide, et de prouver leur remords, humilité, et demande sincère de pardon. Le rêve de Claude entièrement soutenu et approprié par Protogène et dans lequel ils avaient investi autant d'énergies et de temps allait-il enfin se matérialiser ?

Pour rappel, les premières retrouvailles de Claude et Protogène après le génocide dataient de 1997. C'est là qu'étaient posés les premiers jalons du rêve de recoller les morceaux entre leurs collines. Cela aura ainsi pris à peu près 7 ans, pour amorcer plus tangiblement le processus.

L'heure était alors au rendez-vous. Nous sommes en janvier 2003 ! Une bonne matinée, environs 80 personnes, hommes et femmes, garçons et filles, bourreaux[346] et innocents confondus, sous la conduite de Claude se sont rendus dans les champs de rescapés de Ruseke pour les labourer. Le timing n'était ni aléatoire ni arbitraire. C'était la saison pour faire les semailles de haricots et de

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346. Il s'agit de ceux-là qui venaient d'être libérés par le Président de la République en janvier 2003 et ceux qui n'étaient pas encore arrêtés et qui circulaient librement sur les collines.

sorghos. Treize champs appartenant à 13 familles rescapées du génocide étaient d'emblée ciblés pendant trois jours successifs.

Par cet événement inédit, au moins deux réalités étaient évidentes. Primo, depuis la fin du génocide, les habitants de Giheta, aussi nombreux, n'avaient pu fouler le sol de Ruseke et vice-versa, sauf probablement en *catimini. Secundo*, le labour des champs en soi pouvait répondre au besoin réel des ménages « bénéficiaires » d'autant plus qu'il s'agissait d'une saison culturale. Deux questions méritent ainsi d'être posées ? Comment les rescapés ont-ils réagi à ce geste posé par leurs « ennemis » ? Qu'en est-il des sentiments d'habitants de Giheta vis-à-vis de leurs attentes ?

Le premier jour, quand nous les avons vu venir en colonne et avec les houes, sur la colline en face, nous avons été pris de panique. Franchement parlant, personnellement je n'ai pas su trouver une cachette. Je ne voulais pas qu'ils me retrouvent à la maison. Ça m'a directement fait penser au moment du génocide et j'ai cru qu'il pouvait s'agir d'une stratégie pour s'approcher de nous afin de nous exterminer, veuve rescapée, village de Ruseke

Leur arrivée avec les houes nous a beaucoup inquiétés. Puis nous nous sommes dit que le même Dieu qui nous a sauvés pendant le génocide allait à nouveau nous protéger en ce moment-là. Au premier jour, ils sont venus et nous leur avons montré nos champs qu'ils ont labourés puis sont rentrés. Ceux qui se sentaient à l'aise pour serrer nos mains l'ont fait ; ceux qui en avaient toujours honte sont rentrés sans le faire, veuve rescapée, village de Ruseke.

Visiblement l'atmosphère changeait positivement du jour au lendemain. Chaque jour on voyait une partie de rescapés qui se réjouissaient de notre travail, celles qui se rapprochaient de nous pour nous parler, celles qui nous aider à faire les semailles même si certaines étaient trop affaiblies pour cultiver. Tout semblait être prometteur, Claude, village de Giheta

D'après les participants, au fur et à mesure que le travail du jour se réalisait sans aucun incident, cela suscitait l'intérêt chez certains habitants de Giheta alors hésitants de rejoindre ce mouvement. Le nombre de « laboureurs » a tellement monté qu'il a atteint environs 150 personnes au troisième jour contre 80 au premier.

Visiblement, les violences de masse dont le génocide laissent chez les survivants des blessures psychologiques tellement profondes que même les gestes les plus bien intentionnés de la part des bourreaux ou de leurs proches suscitent la suspicion, la peur voire la méfiance chez lesdits rescapés. Dans une perspective de réconciliation intercommunautaire voire interpersonnelle, cette réalité

interpelle les acteurs concernés à se soumettre à un travail rigoureux de prépa-ration psychologique des parties à la réconciliation afin de minimiser les risques de résistance, de chocs ou de re-traumatisation de suites de la rencontre avec des « ennemis » avec lesquels il faut entreprendre le chemin du vivre-ensemble.

Un mea culpa *publiquement exprimé*

À ce troisième jour, l'heure était non seulement à la clôture du travail ma-nuel dans les champs mais aussi au dialogue communautaire au tour du *mea culpa*. Vu la nature, la portée et le contexte de l'action, Claude - pionnier de l'ini-tiative - avait pris soin de porter à la connaissance des autorités administratives locales. Les habitants de part et d'autre étaient également au courant de l'agen-da du jour. La consigne avait été bien donnée. Au terme du travail champêtre, les rescapés de Ruseke et les habitants de Giheta (du moins ceux-là impliqués dans cette action) se sont retrouvés dans une cour publique implantée dans le centre de Kagarama - petit centre commercial du village de Ruseke, presque au bord des deux villages. Les autorités locales dont celles du District avaient rehaussé de leur présence cet événement historique.

> *Claude a pris la parole au nom des habitants de Giheta. Il a publiquement re-connu le crime si odieux [le génocide] que ces derniers ont commis contre les Tutsi de notre village, les biens pillés ou détruits et a ainsi demandé pardon. En plus, il a imploré notre pardon pour leur insolvabilité vis-à-vis des dédom-magements ordonnés par les juridictions Gacaca,* veuve rescapée, village de Ruseke.

Face à cette expression de remords et l'imploration du pardon par les habi-tants de Giheta, la réponse de la majorité des rescapés ne s'est pas fait attendre. Les propos ci-après résument les sentiments et réactions de ces derniers.

> *Considérant maintes discussions que nous avions faites chez nous sur cette question, la politique de réconciliation prônée par les autorités, ainsi que le courage qu'ils [les gens de Giheta] avaient eu de nous approcher en deman-dant pardon, nous [rescapés] nous sommes rapidement concertés et avons conclu de leur pardonner et leur exempter des dédommagements qu'ils nous devaient, mes collègues m'ont ainsi confié la mission de proclamer le pardon en leur nom,* veuve rescapée du génocide, village de Ruseke

> *Beaucoup de nous [rescapés] étions prêts à leur pardonner parce que nous y étions préparés et nous l'estimions comme la seule option pour revivre en-semble en sécurité. Le geste qu'ils venaient de poser nous a fait preuve de leur bonne foi,* veuve rescapée du génocide.

Il faut relever certes, que la demande et l'octroi du pardon pour les crimes commis à l'encontre des *Tutsi* de Ruseke n'était pas du ressort des condamnations pénales (emprisonnement, travaux d'intérêt général) et de potentielles poursuites futures que pourraient engager les institutions juridictionnelles compétentes. D'ailleurs, quelques hutus du village de Giheta alors libres ont été plus tard arrêtés, jugés et écroués après avoir été reconnus coupables par les juridictions *gacaca*. La portée du geste posé par ces hutus et les rescapés de Ruseke se situait largement au niveau d'une réparation collective symbolique, facteur important dans le processus de réconciliation et de guérison des plaies psychologiques résultant des violences de masse telles que le génocide contre les *Tutsi.* Comme le soulignent Staub et al. (2005 :301), « *si le pardon est accordé de façon optimale, c'est-à-dire, en réponse à une reconnaissance et une demande de pardon par les auteurs de leurs actes, le geste qui peut faciliter ledit octroi du pardon, il y a beaucoup de chance que cela facilite, à son tour, le processus de réconciliation et peut même être considéré comme un aspect important de cette dernière* [traduit de l'anglais].

De surcroît, il importe de noter que l'exonération par les rescapés des dédommagements ordonnés par lesdites juridictions a pu décharger pénalement les auteurs concernés. Cependant, aux yeux de certains rescapés de Ruseke, ladite exonération serait la motivation principale du geste des *Hutu* de Giheta, plutôt qu'une sincère expression de remords et de demande de pardon pour le génocide commis par certains de ces derniers. Néanmoins, la présente étude n'a pu ni valider ni infirmer cette version.

Hache de la haine enterrée ?

D'après les participants, l'événement s'est déroulé dans une ambiance de convivialité considérable qui a manifestement ouvert une nouvelle page dans les relations entre les deux communautés. Les collines jadis jumelles, pourtant rendues hostiles par le génocide venaient ainsi de poser les jalons d'une ère nouvelle de réinvention d'un autre profil relationnel.

Selon une veuve rescapée du génocide du village de Ruseke, « *Des suites de cet événement, nous, nous sommes sentis débloqués. L'utilisation de notre fontaine commune en toute quiétude a été reprise ; parfois, nous demandions l'assistance de leurs enfants à nous apporter de l'eau. Ils ont même commencé à fréquenter librement notre village ; la peur de nous rencontrer sur notre chemin ou dans des espaces publics a depuis lors été dissipée.*

Le même sentiment a été exprimé par une autre veuve en ces termes, *Le fait qu'ils ont confessé et se sont prosternés pour implorer le pardon nous a prouvé leur bonne foi et nous avons accepté de leur pardonner. Depuis lors, le climat de fraternité a été progressivement rétabli, et tout le monde s'est senti graduellement apaisé.*

Des actes de solidarité ont été entrepris depuis lors, entre certains membres de ces deux communautés comme le témoigne la même veuve, *Mon collègue ci-présent est finalement devenu mon ami. En temps ordinaire on se voit mais pas si régulièrement, mais pendant la période de commémoration, il essaie d'être près de moi; quand j'ai besoin de quelque chose dont il est capable, il est là pour me l'offrir. Malgré ces temps très difficiles* [de commémoration], *au moins je ne me sens plus seule, je sens qu'il y a quelqu'un à mon côté, et cela me conforte.*

Il n'y a pas que des survivants du génocide qui témoignent de ces actes de solidarité et de collaboration depuis la demande et l'octroi de pardon. Ces propos d'un habitant de Giheta en dit long, *personnellement, Protogène est devenu un si grand ami qu'il m'a offert une vache. Dans notre culture, offrir une vache à quelqu'un témoigne d'une grande amitié.*

Au-delà de toute évidence, la réalisation de cette étape importante n'était qu'un début d'un long chemin sur lequel les deux communautés venaient d'embarquer. Le retricotage des relations après un tel génocide ne peut pas se réduire en un événement d'une, deux ou trois journées. C'est un long processus qui peut même traverser des générations. Il exige un accompagnement continu et une évaluation régulière afin de minimiser le risque de rechute dans la violence.

En outre, il importe de relever qu'au-delà du rôle vital joué par les jeunes (Claude et Protogène) en qualité de pionniers du processus de réconciliation entre les deux communautés, les femmes, elles aussi, ont contribué de façon particulière audit processus. Selon les participants, certaines épouses des hommes de Giheta, particulièrement ceux qui ont la responsabilité dans le génocide se sont activement impliquées dans la mobilisation de leurs maris afin de rejoindre les efforts de réconciliation alors en cours. Dans la même optique, les femmes de Ruseke, qui constituaient alors la majeure partie de survivants du génocide ont joué un rôle instrumental dans ce processus. C'est auprès d'elles que se sont dirigés Protogène et Claude pour négocier l'acceptation de la main tendue des Hutus de Giheta. C'est ainsi grâce à leur sagesse et clémence que le vrai dialogue a été amorcé.

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Visiblement, les témoignages sont légion quant au processus de rapprochement entre les Tutsi rescapés du génocide de Ruseke et les Hutu de Giheta. Ces deux villages se trouvent sur la bonne lancée vers l'enterrement de la hache de la haine. Cependant, une question se pose à ce niveau : Comment ce réchauffement des relations allait poursuivre son cours de façon durable ? Cela n'a pas échappé à l'attention des membres des deux communautés, particulièrement Claude et Protogène, en leur qualité de porte-flambeau de ces dernières. Ainsi, au lendemain de cet événement, une association a été créée sous le nom de « *Ndaje Muvandimwe Twiyunge* » (Je viens vers toi mon frère/ma sœur pour nous réconcilier).

De l'association Ndaje Muvandimwe Twiyunge

Il s'agit d'un cadre de dialogue regroupant aujourd'hui 32 personnes issues des villages de Ruseke et Giheta en proportions presqu'égales selon les villages et 44% de femmes et 56% d'hommes quant au genre. Tous sont âgés de plus de 30 ans. Initialement mise en place en 2004 et pilotée par Claude et Protogène, cette association comptait alors 20 membres. Elle vise à assurer la durabilité des acquis du processus de réconciliation entre les deux villages. Plus spécifiquement, elle s'est assigné les objectifs de (1) mener un dialogue sur l'histoire du génocide dans les villages de Ruseke et Giheta (2) poursuivre le processus de restauration des relations interindividuelles (surtout entre les survivants et les auteurs du génocide), (3) œuvrer à relever la situation socioéconomique des membres, (4) disséminer les acquis de l'expérience du chemin de la réconciliation entre les deux communautés. Les témoignages ci-après des membres de part et d'autre, rendent compte de quelques faits à l'actif de cette association.

> *Différents problèmes des membres de l'association sont adressés à l'intérieur du groupe. Je suis maladive chaque mois je dois me rendre à l'hôpital de Remera-Rukoma et c'est un grand voyage qui demande beaucoup d'argent ; plus de 10 milles francs chaque mois. Quand l'argent me manque, c'est l'association qui me soutien.*

> *Dans le groupe, il y a un homme qui avait reconnu avoir tué 15 personnes pendant le génocide. Parce qu'il a confessé et demandé pardon auprès des juridictions* Gacaca, *sa peine a été réduite et il a été finalement libéré. Au départ, il avait été marginalisé, certaines gens pensaient qu'il ne devrait pas revenir dans la communauté, le considérant comme un monstre. Mais, à travers cette association, nous avons essayé de l'intégrer. Amener les gens qui ont commis le génocide à s'asseoir avec les victimes des actes de ces premiers, et travailler ensemble pour un même objectif, c'est extraordinaire.*

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L'association a inspiré le processus de réconciliation dans certains secteurs de notre District où nous avons été invités par les autorités à aller témoigner et sensibiliser la population sur la force du pardon dans la restauration de la cohésion sociale. Après avoir pris connaissance de notre histoire, il y a d'autres villages qui ont également entamé le processus de pardon pour la réconciliation.

De surcroît, l'association a contribué à la mobilisation des membres des deux communautés respectives à participer activement au processus *gacaca* particulièrement en témoignant tant dans la phase de documentation que celle de procès. Dans la même optique, selon les participants, tous les jugements relatifs à la restitution des biens pillés ou endommagés, opposant les ressortissants de ces deux villages ont été clôturés à l'amiable par l'exonération des payements.

En effet, d'après les participants, les procès Gacaca ont condamné les coupables de Giheta à environs 40.000.000 francs rwandais, soit alors 76.923 dollars américains[347] en guise de dédommagements des biens des Tutsi de Ruseke, pillés et détruits. Il s'agissait, selon les participants, d'un montant tellement colossal que les concernés se trouvaient dans l'impossibilité de le payer en temps raisonnable.

Par ailleurs, les membres de *Ndaje Muvandimwe Twiyunge* soutiennent que, en vue de concrétiser davantage la réconciliation, ils utilisent un petit bois – qui, pendant le génocide, servait de lieu de rencontre et d'organisation des bourreaux avant d'attaquer les *Tutsi* du village de Ruseke – comme gazon sur lequel se tient le dialogue entre les membres de l'association.

C'est un site à ciel ouvert, un petit bois planté juste au milieu des deux villages dans leur zone septentrionale. Étant donné que cette association n'a ni bureau ni siège social, c'est ce lieu qui a été choisi non seulement pour son ombre et son positionnement (relativement en retrait de la route principale qu'emprunte le public), mais aussi pour symboliser « le triomphe du pardon et réconciliation sur la haine ». Les participants projettent d'ériger, un jour, un monument historique (*Igicumbi cy'amateka*) dans ce bois.

3.7 Quels en sont les principaux facteurs de résilience ?

Dans la présente étude, nous empruntons la définition de l'UNESCO (2015 :11) selon laquelle, la résilience se rapporte à « *la capacité des enfants, des*

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347. Le taux de change en 2005 était autour 520 Frw pour 1$ (https://currencies.zone/historic/us-dollar/rwanda-franc/p69)

familles, des communautés et des systèmes à résister, s'adapter et se relever de chocs et de facteurs de stress (catastrophes naturelles, crises politiques, épidémies, violence généralisée, conflit armé…) de manière à étayer le développement économique et social, préserver l'intégrité et ne pas aggraver les vulnérabilités ». Dans le cas d'espèce, le choc dont il est question est bel et bel le génocide contre les Tutsi, tandis que les communautés qui nous intéressent se limitent aux villages de Ruseke et Giheta.

D'emblée, il peut s'avérer difficile d'en croire ni ses yeux ni ses oreilles ! Que les survivants du génocide de Ruseke et les Hutus de la colline de Giheta - parmi lesquels les tueurs de ces premiers - aient pu amorcer la réinvention des relations tant intercommunautaires qu'interpersonnelles, après cette pire tragédie, est une réalité. Ils se sont remis sur les rails et le processus est manifestement avancé. Il va sans dire que, on le rappelle, contrairement à la majorité d'initiatives de rapprochement ou réconciliation intercommunautaire observé au Rwanda post-génocide, l'initiative « Ruseke-Giheta » n'a été ni conçu ni financé par aucun acteur externe (institution publique, ONG, organisation religieuse, etc.). C'est un processus bel et bien endogène même s'il n'échappe pas au contexte général dans lequel il se produit. Quels sont les facteurs de résilience qui auraient facilité les deux communautés alors à couteaux tirés, des suites du génocide, à forger un terrain d'entente ? Cette étude n'a pas certes pu analyser profondément tous ces facteurs ; elle a cependant essayé de relever les 7 suivants:

a. Le poids même de la rupture

La peur, la suspicion, la haine des uns comme des autres, couplées avec la honte et les frustrations de Hutu de Giheta pour avoir participé au génocide contre leurs voisins de Ruseke constituaient un réel calvaire. En guise d'exemples, la gymnastique combien pénible d'évitement mutuel entre ces deux parties dans tous les cadres de vie interpersonnelle, familiale et communautaire témoigne significativement du poids de la rupture. Dans le même ordre d'idée, la problématique de se servir librement de la fontaine de Rubumba comme jadis, ne faisait qu'amplifier la souffrance, de part et d'autre, résultant du génocide. Aux yeux des habitants de Giheta comme ceux de Ruseke, ces conditions de vie étaient si malaisées qu'elles contraignaient les concernés de céder à la voix qui appelait au vivre-ensemble.

b. La proximité géographique

À maintes reprises, dans ce document, nous décrivons les villages de Giheta et Ruseke comme étant des « collines jumelles ». Géographiquement, ces deux

collines sont en proximité évidente malgré l'hostilité induite par le génocide. Dans une situation pareille, la contrainte de revivre ensemble peut s'avérer plus impérieuse et pertinente qu'en situation de disparité ou de distance géographique entre les deux parties. Partant de cette proximité, certains participants estimaient que la réconciliation n'était qu'un passage obligé. Cependant, comme bien souligné précédemment, ladite proximité s'avère être une épée à double tranchant car elle a aussi facilité l'implication de certains *Hutu* de Giheta à exterminer les *Tutsi* de Ruseke qu'ils connaissaient bien et sans beaucoup d'efforts.

c. Approche endogène

Il a été suffisamment relevé que les efforts de réconcilier les deux parties en question sont endogènes. Contrairement à l'adage néo-testamentaire selon lequel « *Nul n'est prophète en son pays* », ce sont deux jeunes fils de ces deux villages respectifs (Ruseke et Giheta) qui ont conçu et piloté ce processus avec succès. On peut ainsi soutenir que l'appartenance à ces villages et aux parties adverses respectives d'une part, et le niveau d'implication et d'appropriation (consultations, mobilisation, etc.) du processus par les membres même des deux communautés sont indubitablement des facteurs de résilience.

d. Intégrité/ confiance des facilitateurs

Malgré son bas niveau d'éducation formelle (8 ans d'études primaires), Claude à l'air intellectuellement éveillé et créatif. En outre, contrairement à certains de ses frères et beaucoup d'autres *Hutu* de Giheta, Claude n'a pas participé au génocide, selon l'affirmation unanime des participants de part et d'autre. Après le génocide, il a constamment fourni des efforts personnels pour se rapprocher avec et exprimer la sympathie aux rescapés du génocide de Ruseke dont Protogène, son co-pionnier du processus de réconciliation. Il faut renchérir que depuis la genèse de l'initiative, Claude a été élu et a servi, à maintes reprises, en qualité de président du comité exécutif du village qu'il habite (Giheta). Il y a lieu de croire que ces dimensions aient pu largement contribuer à lui conférer un profil qui inspire l'intégrité et la confiance aux yeux de membres des deux communautés. En revanche, sa crédibilité et acceptabilité dans le pilotage du processus de réconciliation en seraient, un tant soit peu, le résultat.

Il en est de même pour Protogène, un des rares garçons survivants du génocide du village de Ruseke. En échappant de justesse au génocide, il a fini par s'enrôler dans l'Armée Patriotique Rwandaise (APR), devenue aujourd'hui Armée Rwandaise de Défense (RDF, en Anglais). Il a été démobilisé et a réintégré la vie civile. À l'instar de Claude, ce profil de Protogène aurait inspiré la

confiance chez ses homologues rescapés du génocide de Ruseke ; ce qui expliquerait son acceptation et crédibilité par ces derniers et les *Hutu* de Giheta dont Claude en particulier.

e. Les liens antérieurs de convivialité

En toute unanimité, les participants de part et d'autre soutiennent qu'avant le génocide, les deux villages vivaient en bons termes. Les interactions entre Hutus et Tutsis étaient fréquentes et conviviales. En temps des événements tant heureux que malheureux voire les activités champêtres, les gestes d'entraide et de collaboration ne manquaient pas. Les familles qui s'étaient offert des vaches (en guise de reconnaissance ou d'amitié) ont été également rapportées par les participants.

En dépit de l'abus de confiance à grande échelle dont certains *Hutu* de Giheta ont fait montre en tuant les *Tutsi* de Ruseke pendant le génocide, il va sans dire que les liens sociaux antérieurs –surtout avec les individus ou les familles qui n'avaient pas trempé dans cette tragédie, ont constitué, d'une manière ou d'autre, un facteur de résilience. Même Claude s'en était servi, en partie, pour approcher et aborder Protogène.

f. Intérêts communs

De par la proximité géographique, les habitants des deux collines partageaient un certain nombre d'infrastructures socioculturelles et économiques notamment la fontaine de Rubumba, les lieux de culte (églises), les marchés, les petits centres de négoces locaux, etc. La rupture du tissu social qu'a causée le génocide a certes impacté fâcheusement l'utilisation et la fréquentation de ces infrastructures. Ce sont des intérêts communs à ces deux villages qui étaient ainsi mis à mal. D'après les participants, le besoin de réutiliser librement ces infrastructures a, en partie, motivé la réceptivité de l'appel au pardon et à la réinvention des relations entre les habitants des deux collines.

g. Le paramètre « restitution » des biens endommagés pendant le génocide

En dehors des peines d'emprisonnement, de travaux d'intérêt général, et des acquittements, le processus *gacaca* a également condamné certains coupables au dédommagement des biens pillés et/ou détruits pendant le génocide. Aux yeux de certains participants de Ruseke, un certain nombre de *Hutus* de Giheta auraient été réceptifs au message de demande de pardon dans l'espoir qu'au jour « j », la charge de restitution et de dédommagement leur sera exemptée. Même si

le rendez-vous de la demande et d'octroi du pardon a eu lieu avant le début des procès *gacaca,* certains habitants de Ruseke reconnus coupables par ces tribunaux ont effectivement été exonérés par les survivants quant aux dédommagements dus. Cependant, tout en reconnaissant la précarité de leurs conditions de vie d'alors et la clémence des survivants qui leur ont fait la dispense des dédommagements, les participants venus de Giheta semblaient minimiser le paramètre « restitution », estimant qu'il ne constituait pas leur motivation principale.

h. Le contexte sociopolitique favorable

Depuis la fin du génocide, le nouveau pouvoir politique a prôné l'unité et la réconciliation nationales parmi les grands piliers de la reconstruction et du développement[348]. La mise en œuvre de cette politique est pilotée par la Commission Nationale pour l'Unité et la Réconciliation mise en place en 1999. L'initiative de réconciliation entre les villages de Ruseke et Giheta s'insère indubitablement dans ce contexte national lequel était bel et bien favorable à l'opérationnalisation de cette première. Dans la même optique, le co-pionnier de cette initiative, Claude, a souligné le rôle qu'a joué le feuilleton « Musekeweya » dans la mobilisation de deux parties autour du pardon et l'implication dans le processus de réconciliation. Il s'agit d'un programme radiodiffusé et largement suivi à travers le pays ; animé par la Benevolencija et se focalise sur la guérison psychologique du trauma et la réconciliation post-génocide[349]. Selon Claude, « *Ce théâtre nous a facilités la tâche dans la mobilisation auprès des deux côtés. La problématique de relations entre les villages de Ruseke et Giheta ressemble à celle des relations entre Buhumuro et Bumanzi* [deux collines figurant dans le feuilleton en question]. *Les gens qui l'écoutaient reconnaissaient très bien que c'est leur histoire qui était en jeu, et le message qu'on en recevait complétait bien le nôtre*».

3.8 Principaux défis à la durabilité de l'initiative

Le chemin de réconciliation sur lequel ont embarqué les survivants du génocide du village de Ruseke et les *Hutu* du village de Giheta n'est pas sans épines. Deux défis majeurs sont ainsi à relever : le manque de soutien financier et technique, d'une part, et la dépendance quasi excessive aux pionniers, d'autre part.

Le manque de soutien financier et technique

Il a été bien souligné plus haut que l'une des particularités de cette initiative consiste au fait qu'elle est d'une création endogène. L'on sait bien que la

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348. Préambule de la Constitution de la République du Rwanda de 2013 révisée en 2015.
349. http://www.musekeweya.org/

majorité d'initiatives communautaires de réconciliation tout comme de déve-loppement socio-économique, du moins au Rwanda post-génocide, sont large-ment lancées et soutenues financièrement voire techniquement soit par les orga-nisations de la société civile, soit par le pouvoir public. Ce qui n'est pas le cas pour notre cas d'étude. Quand bien même cela confère à cette initiative un ca-ractère relativement unique, cette dernière souffre l'absence de moyens finan-ciers et techniques pour élargir son champ d'action. Par exemple, les membres de cette association souhaiteraient transformer l'ancien site/buisson d'organisa-tion des attaques contre les *Tutsi* de Ruseke (aujourd'hui devenu gazon/pelouse de dialogue des membres de l'Association) en monument historique (*Igicumbi cy'Amateka y'Ubwiyunge*). Ce monument serait entouré d'une activité généra-trice de revenu laquelle contribuerait non seulement à relever le statut écono-mique des membres mais aussi à servir de cadre autour duquel se déroulerait le dialogue de façon permanente. Cependant, la réalisation de ce rêve reste problé-matique faute de moyens.

La dépendance aux pionniers

Claude et Protogène, en tant que co-pionniers de l'initiative en question ap-paraissent bien comme des leaders légitimes de l'association *Ndaje Twiyunge Muvandimwe*. Ils jouissent manifestement d'une grande autorité morale aux yeux des membres, ce qui donne l'impression que tout est bâti sur eux. Au cas où cette impression était fondée, il est fort probable que cela amène à croire que sans eux rien ne fonctionne. La vie ou tout simplement la survie de cette associa-tion et des acquis du rapprochement entre les deux communautés, en l'absence des deux pionniers, n'est pas bien certaine.

4. Conclusion

L'adage selon lequel tout changement commence par l'individu n'est pas vain. Claude et Protogène, grands personnages du processus de réinvention des relations entre les deux communautés en question, en constituent une éloquente illustration. Par ailleurs, l'initiative en question témoigne de la capacité des com-munautés à façonner et mettre en œuvre leurs approches endogènes de faire face ou alors de gérer les chocs y compris ceux mortifères. En outre, la présente étude indique bien que pour résister, se relever et aller de l'avant face aux chocs, il y a toujours une série de facteurs de résilience qui entrent en jeu. Pour notre cas d'espèce, ces facteurs sont à la fois endogènes et externes. Enfin, l'étude a mon-tré que les jeunes souvent présentés comme des acteurs de la violence, ou alors des victimes des manipulations politiciennes, peuvent jouer un rôle combien

instrumental dans la reconstruction de la paix en général, et la réinvention des relations avec les conflits violents voire le génocide. Il en est de même pour les femmes. Il est ressorti de cette étude que ces dernières ne sont pas que des victimes. Leur rôle dans le processus de réconciliation entre Ruseke et Giheta est évident. Cependant, un des grands défis à relever par les membres de l'initiative explorée consiste à garder l'élan, et pourquoi pas le doubler, de façon durable afin d'éviter la rechute dans la violence. Il faudra ainsi capitaliser sur les facteurs de résilience tant intrinsèques qu'extrinsèques relevés par cette étude. Dans la même veine, l'intégration d'un volet économique - minutieusement étudié de façon participative, et soutenu par des acteurs étatique ou de la société civile - dans ladite entreprise initialement à vocation sociale, n'en constituerait pas moins une valeur ajoutée et ainsi un ingrédient de durabilité. Néanmoins, des mesures de gestion dudit volet devraient être conçues et mises en œuvre en vue d'éviter que ce dernier n'ait des effets plutôt pervers ou contre-productifs. Enfin, une appropriation plus accrue de ladite initiative par tous les membres contribuerait à empêcher que cette dernière ne se réduise en un projet des seuls co-pionniers, ce qui nuirait à sa durabilité.

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Part IV

Language, Culture and Development

16

Drawing on Rwandan Language Fertile Heritages

Jean Luc Galabert, anthropologist

The ambition of the Rwandan nation to seek in its history solutions to the challenges of the present is a rare enterprise in a world and at a time when, what is known as "globalization" tends to impose a single model of existence and way of doing things. The search for endogenous solutions or "home grown solutions" is an ambitious challenge but, one believed can be beneficial for all nations and especially for Rwanda. Indeed, in the context of a country that has experienced the abyss of genocide, drawing from the past for the present affirms that the history of this country is not a story that led inevitably to destruction. On the contrary, such a quest creates an opportunity to rebuild the memory and historical consciousness. The practices and ways of doing and thinking of the ancient Rwandans concealed treasures of intelligence and humanity that the present generations can draw on to build a better world for themselves and for future generations. While the genocide was an attempt to make a clean sweep of the past by means of destruction, the willingness to implement endogenous solutions reseeds the present with seeds forgotten but still fertile.

In agricultural matters, former Rwandans distinguished what they termed "the essential seeds": *imbutonkuru* which, if people cared for, ensured the prosperity of the community.

These essential seeds are part of the oldest crops in Rwanda : the cereals *Amasaka* (Sorghum) and *Uburo* (Finger millet), the squash seeds *Uruyuzirw'urwungwane* and the leafy vegetable *Isogi* (Cleome gynandra). Oral, local traditions even said that the *Bami* (kings) were born holding these seeds in their hands. This belief may make us smile, but it has a deep non-literal meaning: the first of the Banyarwanda by its rank had by predestination, the duty to ensure the prosperity of the people and to make fruitful life in his country. Every year, all people associated with the celebration of fertility of the country during *Umuganura's* ceremonies, whose central rite was the consumption of the first harvest. This festival, which was also an opportunity to demonstrate the unity of

the country, was abolished in 1925 by the colonial power to undermine its symbolic power. . It was only restored after the 1994 genocide. Although this initiative has not necessarily been thought of as such, the reinstatement of *Umuganura* as a national holiday can be considered a "Home grown solution" contributing to the reconstruction of the country's unity by weaving a link beyond the abyss of genocide between the history of the present time and that of ancient times.

Attempting to think in terms of "home grown solutions" requires mobilization of collective intelligence. Envisaged from the Latin etymology of the word *intelligence*, "to act with intelligence" means "to stand between" (*inter*) and "to connect" (*ligere*). Is wanting to act by searching for endogenous solutions nothing more than to assume this posture between past and present, in order to connect one with the other and to inherit the best of a human community history to make it bear more fruit today and tomorrow ?

This ambition and this project once defined, only remains to be implemented. However, it must be recognized that the task is historically arduous. Missionary and colonial ideologies and practices were fundamentally based on the promotion of a new world and order, and on the devaluation of the ancestral practices and values of the evangelized and colonized peoples that seemed to them incompatible according to their understanding.

Missionary school[350] has been a powerful agent of rupture with the traditional way of thinking and acting and with the ancestral values. By devaluing methods of oral transmission in favor of knowledge recorded by the written word, a whole universe could not pass from one generation to the next. A biographical note of Bishop Aloys Bigirumwami describes the process of an incoming generation destined to become the new intellectual elite of the nation cut off from its roots:

> *Entered in the minor seminary at the age of nine and a half, I was ordained as priest at the age of twenty-four on May 26, 1929. Thirty years ago, the discipline did not allow seminarians to visit or to stay with their families living in the country far from the seminary. I barely lived with my family during the age when I could have enjoyed good talks during the nocturnal vigils: tales, songs and all the traditional wisdom of our country. It left me with a regret and a healthy curiosity that drove me to search for customs, popular sayings and formulas, proverbs, fables, riddles: all the wealth of Rwandan culture that I did not know when I was growing-up.*

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350. Until independence, the Christian Churches, and especially, the Congregation of Missionaries of Africa, popularly known as *White Fathers,* had the monopoly of education.

In fact, becoming a priest, the young Aloys Bigirumwami, experienced the painful disappointment of not always understand his parishioners when they came to confess to him. Although he shared the same language as his flock, he lacked true understanding of the organic knowledge in the cultural bedrock of the words of the people of the hills.

Had Bishop Bigirumwami not ceased the rest of his life to find and save this Rwandan cultural heritage to which he had no access in his youth, [351] how many young people trained in the missionary school would only have integrated the new values and conformed themselves to the world of the Bazungu [352] in which the status of "évolué" was granted to them only if they abandoned the practices of their ancestors and continuously displayed the attributes of "modernity", such as those the dominant West represented.

Colonial schooling has been an acculturation process by the depreciation of the ancestral ways of being and by the overvaluation of "Western modernity". For the schoolchildren, it has also been an amnesia training workshop where they forgot the real history of their ancestors to the alternative of learning a truncated past. In this implemented past the division between groups, instituted as racially distinct during the colonial period was promoted as the first and ultimate principle of Rwandan social relations.

Behind the closed doors of the first boarding schools, Rwandan schoolchildren were cut off from the traditional forms of oral transmission that structured the collective memory. They were also deprived of the organic assimilation of traditional social values. Under such conditions, it is understandable that the first generations of scholars, expected to become the new elite of the country, forgot whole sections of history and culture of their ancestors.

Those who shamelessly denied the legacy of ancestral ways of thinking and acting were sometimes nicknamed "*Abanenanyina*": "Those who deny their mother". An adage was even created to lament the abandonment of traditional life principles. It stated: "*Kiriziya yakuye kirazira*": "Christian Church suppressed the possibility to say *kirazira*", in other words "Church lifted and overturned traditional bans and prohibitions (*imiziro*)". The missionaries believed

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351. Bishop Aloys Bigirumwami synthesized his research in several books: « Rites, proverbes et fables au Rwanda », in *Culture traditionnelle et christianisme*, Nyundo, 1969. *Ibitekerezo, indilimbo, imbyino, ibihozo (Récits, procédé surnaturels, chants, berceuses...)* Éditions du Diocèse de Nyundo, 1971. *Imigani migufi, ibisakuzo, inshamarenga* (Proverbes, devinettes, dictons) Éditions du Diocèse de Nyundo, 1971. *Imihango n'imigenzi n'imiziririzo mu Rwanda,* Nyundo. *(Coutumes, usages et observation des interdits au Rwanda)*, Éditions du Diocèse de Nyundo, 1974.
352. Designation of white people

that this proverb was the concrete evidence that they had succeeded in freeing Rwandans from the shackles of superstitions and customary prohibitions. So, they heard the proverb as a cry of relief. But it was a mistake. On the contrary, Rwandans used it as a disillusioned excuse, when they were witnesses or protagonists of an action that contradicted the rules of traditional morality.

Despite the elder's disapproval of the news ways of this new literate generation, the acculturation process has been efficient. How many Rwandans know today the historical tales *ibitekerezo?* How many can understand the language of the dynastic poems *ibisigo* ? And how many have been able to fully live and transmit in their turn, the ancestral forms of conviviality and solidarity, or the traditional settlement of disputes that prevailed on the hills?

However, despite the considerable extent and influence of acculturation devices, we believe that the memory of the past has nevertheless been transmitted along the way, particularly in the privacy of homes. Beyond this intimate transmission my hypothesis is that the collective memory of Rwanda is incorporated in the Rwandan language itself and that it comes out in the matter of words. [353]

Language is a collective construction that has its origins in an immemorial past. It retains the traces of what was considered valuable to generations that have succeeded one another until today. Each person speaks his mother tongue without being aware of its singularity, but each language forges a way of apprehending the universe, and a particular sensitivity that passes from one generation to the next.

As philosopher Barbara Cassin notes :

language is not only a means of communication, it carries a culture and a singular vision of the world. A language is not a different way of referring to the same things, it is a different point of view on these things. Take a simple word like the french word bonjour *literally "good day". It does not mean exactly the same thing as the Greek* khaire *(rejoice, enjoy), the Latin* vale *(be well), the Hebrew* chalom *or the Arabic* saalam *(go in peace) ... Grasping this diversity helps preserve the richness of thought.*[354]

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353. This hypothesis of the inscription of the history of peoples in the very matter of their language has been developed in particular by David Lee Schoenbrun in various articles and books, among which we can quote "The Historical Reconstruction of Great Lakes Bantu Cultural Vocabulary. Etymologies and distribution ", 1997, Rüdiger Köppe Verlag Köln. Bayreuth und Frankfurt; A green place, a good place. Agrarian exchange, gender and social identity in the Great Lakes Region to the 15th century, 1998, James Currey, Oxford.

354. Laure Cailloce, « La diversité des langues enrichit la pensée », Interview with Barbara Cassin, Journal du CNRS, du 19 novembre 2014. Voir également Barbara CASSIN (dir.) Philosopher en

In Kinyarwanda, daily greetings express the traditional philosophy and the meaning of a fulfilled life for Rwandans in their forms of questions and wishes. In the morning after waking up, people say *mwaramutse*. Formed from the verb *kuramutsa*: "to spend a night alive; to arrive in the morning in good health; to survive one day", this question and wish literally means: "is it alive that you have emerged"? or "did you arrive in the morning in good health?" This greeting can be followed by the question *Urakomeye* ? which means "Are you strong, resilient, and fit" ? After more than one day absent, when they meet each other, people say *Muraho ?* : "do you stay live?" or *Muracyakoma ?* "Do you always move ?" At the end of the day, the question-wish becomes "*Mwirirwe*": "Are you still alive ?" And to say goodbye when the time of farewell comes, people say *Urabeho* : "Stay alive!" or *Urakarama !* : "Live a long time!"

Their banality makes us forget their deep meanings, but these ritual formulas testify to a concern for life and an awareness of the precariousness of existence. This question about life is also evident in popular adages. Grouped into thematic areas, the corpus of Rwandan proverbs show that the questioning of conditions for achieving a successful life has generated the largest number of maxims [355].

Other sayings are wishes of prosperity such as *Uragatunga* : "be a large landlord". The wish *Amashyo !* : "May you have many herds", stated at a meeting by the one who has the birthright, is followed by the answer" *Amashongore!* "May you have a lot of heifers ? The most numerous wishes relate to fertility: *Urakabyara*: "May you give birth"; *Urakabyara uheke !* "May you have children and raise them" implied "May you be yourself healthy to see them grow up"; *Uragaheka* : "May you carry a cradleboard"; *Girabana !* : "May you have children", etc. [356]

All of these ritually exchanged formulas show the outlines of a fulfilled life, in this case, fruitful, prolific, long, wealthy and in harmony with the community. *Gutunga* "to possess", *gutunganirwa* : "to live happily, peacefully, in prosperity" and *kubyara* "to generate a large offspring" and to see it grow and flourish thus define a fully realized life.

Pronouncing such everyday sociability formulas, we are heirs of a social history. This story, crystallized in words, partly shape our human sensitivity.

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langues. *Les intraduisibles en traduction,* Éditions Rue d'Ulm, novembre 2014.

355. Cf. Jean-Luc Galabert, *Les enfants d'*Imana. *Histoire sociale et culturelle du Rwanda ancien.* Éditions *Izuba*

356. Antoine Mugesera, *Rwanda 1896-1959 La désintégration d'une nation*. Chapitre « De la destruction des valeurs rwandaises fondamentales », pp. 73-100, Éditions Izuba, 2016.

Becoming aware of this fact, allows us to perceive what are the common values in a community and consequently it may help us to guide our daily actions as well as political decisions. At this political level, the Rwandan language preserves the memory of what is fair and the due exercise of authority. The root gab is indeed identifiable both in the words associated with power, authority and virility and in the vocabulary relating to exchange, gift, and reciprocity..

Thus, the verb *kugaba* can, on the one hand, means "to be sovereign of a country"; "to command, to reign over, to govern", and for a *mwami,* "to make a decision, to promulgate, to organize, to order the troops, to organize". The same verb can, on the other hand, have the meaning of "to give, to receive, to offer, to make a present; to yield, to grant in usufruct, to redistribute". Similarly, *kugabana* can mean "to be invested as leader (of); to obtain command (over)" or signify "to share something; to receive something, to receive a gift, to be rewarded with a gift because of its merits." *Rugaba* can mean "The Almighty" or "The Great Donor"; these last names are the prerogatives of the supreme power *Imana,* or of the *Mwami*, conceived as a singular being at the crossroads of the divine and human world.

Through these few occurrences among many other possibilities, we see that *Kinyarwanda* crystallized on the same radical, the semantic fields of authority and generosity. For this crystallization to have been transmitted for centuries one can hypothesize that it has long made sense and held value for the speakers and that the junction between authority and the capacity to give was expressed in social practices.

The period of evangelization and colonization was marked by the semantic evolution of certain Kinyarwandan words. An emblematic example is the evolution of the word *Imana* that the Christian Churches of Ruanda-Urundi chose in the Rwandan language to name their divinity. This choice was not immediate : the missionaries first demanded that the converts call the "Father of Christ" *Mungu* which is a Swahili word. This choice was then more political than theological. It made it possible to avoid offending the sovereign Yuhi Musinga. The missionary appropriation of the name *Imana* would have questioned the status of the *Mwami* as a transcendent source of authority and incarnation of the power of the Rwandan *Imana*. For the court, *Mungu* was to foreigners, and *Imana* and *Mwami* belonged to Rwanda. The adoption of the name "*Imana*" to designate the Christian God would not be final until after the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), which advocated introducing the use of vernacular languages in the liturgy to the detriment of Latin : Bernardin Muzungu reports that in Rwanda, a Liturgical Commission headed by Bishop Bigirumwami was in charge of

implementing the decisions of the Council. The first task of this group was to compose a missal in Kinyarwanda. [357] On this occasion, the issues of translation of the Latin term *Deus* by *Mungu* or *Imana* arose. Bishop Aloys Bigirumwami brought all his weight to reach the rehabilitation of the traditional name Imana. He composed a missal for his Diocese of Nyundo in which the term *Imana* was automatically used instead of *Mungu*. The other Dioceses endorsed this change and further Bible translations also adopted this change.

Taking the risk of an anachronism, the Church of Rwanda opted for a "home-grown solution" to name the Christian God. But in so doing, the word *Imana* lost its own polysemy that opened onto another universe. In pre-Christian Rwanda, *Imana* marginally referred to a divine entity endowed with will. *Imana* was first and foremost a powerful quality, a dynamic principle of life and fertility that the ancient *Banyarwanda* sought to reconcile. Some traditional stories depict this force as a superior and conscious being, but no clergy were its intercessors and no worship was rendered to it. On the other hand, rituals were implemented to reconcile, not hinder and capture *Imana* potency conceived as a force or a re-productive fluid essential to all life. [358]

The history of Rwanda shows that the process that led to the genocide is part and parcel of the diversion of meaning of Rwandan words. Such is the case, for instance, of the abstract generic word *ubwoko* which meant, among other things, clan ties before the colonial period and which has been semantically de-graded into "race" then "ethnicity". This is also the case with the meaning of the words "*Tutsi*" and "*Hutu*" who referred to relational statuses and whose mean-ing was perverted to designate distinct and antagonistic "races" and "ethnicities" afterward.

Another example of such perverse linguistic manipulation can be identi-fied with the word *Ubuhake*. This Rwandan word has been translated as "serf-dom" by mutilating all the previous social and cultural meanings of this word. Translating *ubuhake* by "serfdom" remained to inoculate a foreign European feu-dal fantasy in this word and in the practices it designated. It also remained to "in-nocently" to prophetically assign to this feudal fantasy a deadly destiny. Serfdom

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357. Bernardin Muzungu, *Cahier Saint Dominique* n°41, « Le combat entre *Mungu* et *Imana* ». Bernardin Muzungu specifies that the commission included the abbots Alexis Kagame, Bernardin Muzungu, Alphonse Ntezimana and the Benedictine father Jean Guarbert.

358Bernardin Muzungu, 1974, *Le dieu de nos pères. I, Les sources de la religion traditionnelle du Rwanda et du Burundi*, Presses Lavigerie Bujumbura. 1975, *Le dieu de nos pères. II, Réflexion théologique sur les données de la religion traditionnelle du Rwanda et du Burundi*, Presses Lavigerie Bujumbura. 1975, *Le dieu de nos pères. III, Une théologie anthropologique*, Presses Lavigerie Bujumbura.

implies serf's revolt. And indeed, the bloody "Révolution sociale assistée" [359] that ended the Rwandan monarchy, has been a story told as an imaginary decal of the French 1789 revolution.

However, *ubuhake* literally means "cow pregnancy", which was assimilated to the fecundity of life. The fecundity of which we are speaking here refers in its moral dimension to the potency and the spirit of the gift. The word *ubuhake* derives from the verb *guhaka* which means both "to carry a pregnancy" when speaking of the cow, and "to adopt" a cattle receiver. For cattle raisers, "*ubuhake* was a contractual link that, from the outset, aggregates several dimensions: social, economic, political, spiritual. It is part of logic of reciprocity of gift and counter-gift aimed at ensuring a social balance. [360]

If *ubuhake* created a hierarchical link between donor and recipient, this link could only be established between people who mutually recognized their dignity as partners in the gift process. This quality is called "*umuhana*" which means "the one with whom we exchange gifts" and "with whom we can share the beer". Between the donor – *shebuja* – and the receiver –*umugaragu* – of the first cow *umunyafu* was woven a filial link. Rwandan language keeps track of this link since the word *shebuja* (*se-buja*) literally means "Father in matter of ubuja". We are father of someone by or in the ubuja. Thus *umugaragu*, which was translated as "vassal" or "client" in colonial literature, deserved to be rendered by the expression "social son". This translation reflects more accurately the family imagery that permeated Rwandan social relations. To this social son afflicted by a misfortune, his shebuja could give a cow which, in this situation, bore a singular name: *inshumbushanyo* which derives from the verb *gushumbusha*: "to send back" and aggregates the idea of counter-gift and moral obligation of support.

Moreover, *Ubuhake*, was only one of many modalities for cow donations. Thus the Rwandan language distinguished among others: *inka y'ubumanzi*, literally "the cow of bravery", granted by the mwami or a leader who had distinguished himself on the battlefield; *inshyame*, cows received to replace those who had been decimated by an epizootic disease; *inshumbushanyo*, the compensatory cows handed over by the shebuja to his *umugaragu* afflicted by misfortune... [361] So, we see here that the original Rwandan language, its manipulation here by the translation, the deployment or the occultation of its primary meanings are

359. Jean-Paul Harroy, 1984, Rwanda: de la féodalité à la démocratie 1955-1962, Hayez Editions, Bruxelles.
360. Édouard Gasarabwe, 1978, *Le geste rwanda*, 10/18 Editions.
361. Jean-Népomucène Nkurikiyimfura, 1994, *Le gros bétail et la société rwandaise. Évolution historique : des XIIe-XIVe siècles à 1958*, Paris, L'Harmattan.

at the same time the products and the producers of human stories very different from each other.

The recent measure *Girinka* or "One Cow per Poor Family", one of the "Home grown solutions", has been implemented by the Rwandan State, is consistent with the original gift spirit that was crucial in pre-colonial Rwanda. Official documents presenting this measure mention it explicitly :

> The word Girinka *can be translated as 'may you have a cow' and describes a centuries old cultural practice in Rwanda whereby a cow was given by one person to another, either as a sign of respect and gratitude or as a marriage dowry. [...] The program is inspired by the Rwandan Culture.* Girinka *goes back in the annals of Rwandan history 17th century as a social protection measure especially in favor of children instituted by the King Mibambwe. The concept of* Girinka *was first introduced by King Mibambwe Gisanura (+ 1660), who decreed that "no Rwandan child was ever to lack daily milk again while others had plenty." Since then, Rwandans have given cattle to one another, or milk to those in need.* Girinka *program was revived by President Paul Kagame who in 2006 initiated the program after seeing the extent of malnutrition and stunting among Rwandan children.[362]*

The study of the Rwandan language, in particular by comparing it with neighboring languages, enables us to understand a whole section of the social history of *Banyarwanda*, and this linguistic introspection can be a source of inspiration in the search for "home grown solutions" adapted to present time. For such introspection to be possible, *Kinyarwanda* must not be marginalized in education institutions. Students and researchers must be able to develop their thinking in their mother tongue so that they can, on the one hand, best deploy their thought and their sensitivity, and on the other hand, enable the evolution of contemporary *Kinyarwanda.* If it is not one of the languages of development of knowledge, *Kinyarwanda* will be confined to be only the language of intimacy and daily social relations.

In ancient Rwanda, mastery of language, poetic art and oratory jousting were fundamental social practices that were learned especially during the evening wakes and in the *amatorero*. The traditional academy or university called *itorero*, shaped both bodies and beings. During their apprenticeship and learning, young *intore* were supervised by two main trainers. One was involved in dance, sports and military exercises; the second was responsible for linguistic

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362. Rwanda Governance Board, Reinventing *Girinka* Program in the Post-Genocide Rwanda,http://rgb.rw/home-grown-solutions/rwandas-hgs-good-practices/girinka/

and artistic practices. The latter narrated the stories attached to the expeditions of prestigious warriors. He explained to his students the meaning and structure of *ibyivugo* – the praises of the ancients – for inspiration in their own composi-tions. He introduced them to the composition and the declamatory arts of their praise (*guhiga*), of pastoral poems (*kwinikaza*) and epic poems (*kunaguza*). [363] This training in poetic composition, prosody and rhetoric promoted contributed to forge the subtle form of thought and intelligence that the Rwandan concept of *ubwenge* qualifies. A tale reports that *ubwenge* is one of the three virtues created by Imana, the other two virtues are: *ubupfura* (the heart and soul's nobility), and *ubumwe* (the art of being fully human among other humans) [364]. These qualities were at the heart of the formation of *amatorero.* Exploring the richness of these three concepts, that the translation proposed in parentheses, only scratches the surface, and could be a fertile source of social and educational innovation today. We even hypothesize that this conceptual and ethical trilogy is the fundamen-tal matrix of the Rwandan "Ethos" and that any "home grown solution" must be based on this basic principle. This fundamental principle could also be worded in the form of a question: How can we, as *Abanyarwanda,* learn together to develop for each other our Ubuntu. Ubuntu, is another crucial concept that Rwandan peo-ple share with many other African Peoples. It could be defined in an initial ap-proach as "the sense of generosity that expresses our humanity"

Foreign language learning ensures openness to the world and enhances the possibilities of exchanges. The incorporation of a second language allows us to discover another relationship to the world. It helps us to become aware of the one that has built our own sensitivity and identity. But using only one foreign lan-guage, when developing high-level knowledge, restricts the realm of thought.

The globalization of teaching and using a simplified English, which some call "globish" (contraction of "global english") runs the risk of having a perverse effect. Globish was originally set up in order to help commercial transactions. To this end, "globish" is unequivocally effective. By providing partners a com-mon and restricted vocabulary and syntax, this language built for commercial exchanges reduces misunderstandings, annoying for business. Recognizing this quality allows simultaneously to perceive the limits of "international English", which is nobody's mother tongue. Impose this language, beyond the "commer-cial" sphere, as the sole language of trade would insidiously lead to assimilate all

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363. Jean-Luc Galabert, 2011, « L'*itorero* : un lieu original d'apprentissage », in *Les enfants d'Imana. Histoire Sociale et culturelle du Rwanda ancien*, Édition Izuba.
364. Vincent. MULAGO, 1972, « L'union vitale bantu ou le principe de cohésion chez les *Bashi, les Banyarwanda* et les *Barundi*, face à l'unité ecclésiale, Rome *Annali Lateranensi*.

the objects of the world to commodities and to reduce the construction of a common world to a narrow utilitarian sphere.

Thinking about the problems of a society in a language that is not only foreign but also uncontrolled by the majority of the country's speakers inevitably leads to propose off-the-wall solutions of the realities experienced and felt by ordinary people.

Thinking endogenous solutions that make sense for the whole community invites not only a reconnection with its history, but also with its language and the values it has incorporated in the long term. To be reconciled with these will, undoubtedly, allow us to draw from them the fertile heritage for present times.

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Langue, Culture et Développement Endogène : le Cas du Rwanda et du *Kinyarwanda* en 2017

Par Professeur Laurent Nkusi[365]

1. Introduction

L'appel à communication par le PIASS pour un volume collectif portant sur « Home-grown Initiatives au Rwanda ou notre Héritage à la prochaine généra-tion » me donne l'occasion de revisiter certaines de mes publications, les plus ré-centes comme les plus anciennes-quelques-unes datent des années 1980- pour ré-fléchir sur l'importance de la langue et de la culture dans la formation et /ou la renaissance d'une nation.

Lors du dernier Conseil National *Umushyikirano* en décembre 2017 et lors du colloque du FPR qui l'a précédé, le Chef de l'État Rwandais, Paul Kagame, a rappelé aux participants combien il importe de faire l'économie de la parole (évi-ter les remerciements flatteurs et passer directement au thème traité) ou d'éviter la parole trop ostentatoire (m'avez-vous remarqué ?) ou incompréhensible, de monopoliser la parole et de communiquer autant que faire se peut en langue na-tionale. Cela m'a plu et m'a réconforté dans mes préoccupations.

En 1983, lors du Colloque Alexis Kagame, dans un article que j'avais intitu-lé *Dire et ne pas dire au Rwanda*, je me posais les questions suivantes : Quel est le sens de la tradition ? Quels sont les traits dominants du style oral ? Quel est le rapport de l'homme à sa langue ? Comment se définissent les règles sociales de la profération des textes ? Ces interrogations nous mènent au cœur des préoccu-pations de l'anthropologie linguistique, car la langue et la parole, au-delà du sys-tème sonore, sont aussi et surtout un moyen de communication de l'expérience humaine, évocation et invocation du monde, des choses et des êtres. Me limi-tant au seul cas du Rwanda, je vais postuler que l'importance et la valeur de la

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365. Professor Laurent Nkusi, professor of linguistics [University of Rwanda and University of Kibungo], is Senator representing Private High Learning Institutions in the Parliament of Rwanda. He is also Chancellor of the University of Kibungo.

parole sont liées au fait que des tendances, sinon des lois précises et en tout cas, un ordre interne, règlent sa profération. A partir de la littérature orale rwandaise et singulièrement des proverbes, je vais m'interroger sur l'essence de la parole, la condition sociale de la communication (rapport entre les protagonistes), le langage en tant qu'outil de communication ou masque de l'information, le problème de la pluri-signification et des phrases ambiguës, la signification des paroles obligées ou de routine, la stratégie de l'esquive et de l'allusion ou, au contraire, celle de la parole provocatrice et ostentatoire.

2. Connaître le Kinyarwanda : *Kumenya Ikinyarwanda*

Je commencerai mon propos par quelques considérations sur le glossonyme «ikinyarwanda». L'on sait que dans les langues bantu, trois préfixes sont souvent usités pour désigner les noms de langues :

classe 11 «ru ou lu» : ex. : oluciga

classe 6 «ma» : ex. : amashi

classe 7 «ki ou ci»: ex. : ikinyarwanda

Je peux poser comme hypothèse que la classe «ru» se rapporte au mot pour «langue», organe et outil de la communication (en proto-bantu-dimi. 11 : langue), que la classe «ma» se rapporte au mot pour «parole» (en proto-bantu -gambo 5: parole, affaire) et que la classe «ki» se rapporte au mot pour «chose». Ces considérations linguistiques nous précisent le rapport de l'homme à la langue pour les peuples d'expression bantu. Ou bien c'est l'organe mobile par lequel l'homme communique au moyen de signes vocaux, ou bien c'est les paroles elles-mêmes produites, ou encore c'est cette «chose» qui unit ceux qui la partagent.

Ainsi donc le *Kinyarwanda* - dans le temps on parlait encore de l'Uru-nyarwanda - est bel et bien, comme je l'ai écrit ailleurs, «la chose du Rwanda»; il est en ce sens un adjectif ethnique, au sens ou l'écrivent J. Dubois et al. i.e. «un adjectif dérivé d'un nom de pays ou de région indiquant l'appartenance à cette région ou à ce pays (par l'origine ou la localisation), ou bien la possession de certaines propriétés reconnues à leurs habitants»

Si j'ai commencé par ces remarques théoriques, c'est que pour les *Rwandais, kumenya ikinyarwanda* (connaître le *kinyarwanda*), c'est non seulement maîtriser sa langue, en avoir une vaste connaissance dans les domaines phonétique, morphosyntaxique et lexical, mais connaître les us et les coutumes du pays et évidemment le comportement langagier de chaque jour, quand il faut parler et

quand il faut se taire. Supposons que je lance à mon interlocuteur une phrase grammaticalement correcte alors que j'aurais dû réagir par le silence, l'on dira que « je ne connais pas le *kinyarwanda* ».

3. Le *Kinyarwanda*, ferment de notre unité, source de développement

Dans "les préambules" de la Constitution du Rwanda (Constitution de la République du Rwanda de 2003 révisée en 2015), il est rappelé que le Rwanda est, comme le disent les sociolinguistes, un pays unimodal par excellence. En effet il est dit: "Considérant que nous avons le privilège d'avoir un même pays, une même langue, une même culture et une même longue histoire commune qui doivent nous permettre d'avoir une vision commune de notre destin".

L'article 8 stipule que la langue nationale est le *Kinyarwanda* et dans l'article 36 la Constitution stipule que tout Rwandais a droit aux activités de promotion de la culture nationale et le devoir de la promouvoir. A l'article 11, il est rappelé que la culture rwandaise est considérée comme source de solutions endogènes :

> *En vue du développement national, de la promotion de la culture nationale et de la restauration de la dignité, les* Rwandais, *se basant sur leurs valeurs, mettent en place des mécanismes de solutions endogènes en vue d'aborder des questions qui les concernent. Des lois peuvent créer différents mécanismes visant des solutions endogènes.*

L'Académie Rwandaise de culture veille à la propriété des mots du Kinyarwanda difusant repetitivement à travers les media la formulation exacte des mots et expressions *Kinyarwanda* « *on dit / on ne dit pas* » (*Bavuga / Ntibavuga…*), à son orthographe et à son enrichissement lexical. Je reviendrai sur ce dernier point pour parler du *Kinyarwanda* face à la modernité. Ainsi le RALC, en plus de ses publications linguistiques, a confectionné un volume intitule *Inkingi z'umuco w'u Rwanda zihutisha iterambere* (2016) à savoir ''Les piliers de la culture, accélérateurs du développement''.

Il existe donc un arsenal juridique et institutionnel qui place la langue et la culture du Rwanda aux sources du développement. L'unité culturelle et linguistique du Rwanda tant vantée, rare en Afrique, à part précisément le Burundi, la Somalie, Madagascar, qui eux aussi ont connu l'instabilité et le Lesotho, n'est pas à elle seule garante de la paix et de la concorde nationale. Il ne faut pas

l'oublier. Comme l'écrit pertinemment Amin Maalouf [1998]dans*les Identités Meurtrières.*

> *J'ai constamment cité la langue au nombre des éléments qui définissent une culture et une identité; sans toutefois insister sur le fait qu›il ne s›agit pas seulement d›un élément parmi d›autres (...). De toutes les appartenances que nous nous reconnaissons, elle est presque toujours l'une des plus déterminantes. Au moins autant que la religion, dont elle a été, tout au long de I'Histoire, la principale rivale, d›une certaine manière, mais aussi quelquefois aussi l'alliée. Lorsque deux communautés pratiquent des langues différentes, leur religion commune ne suffit pas à les rassembler -catholiques flamands et wallons, musulmans turcs, kurdes ou arabes, etc.; pas plus, d›ailleurs que la communauté de langue n›assure aujourd›hui en Bosnie, la coexistence entre les orthodoxes serbes, les catholiques croates, et les musulmans. Partout dans le monde, bien des États forgés autour d'une langue commune ont été démantelés par les querelles religieuses, et bien d'autres États, forgés autour d'une religion commune, ont été déchiquetés par les querelles Linguistiques* [Amin Malouf 1998 : 170-171][366].

4. Les solutions endogènes ou « Home grown solutions/ initiatives »

En vue de son développement intégral et intégré, le Rwanda a eu recours aux solutions ou aux approches indigènes ou endogènes. Evariste Ntakirutimana introduit son livre, *Le Rwanda et la politique du Saumon. Un retour à la source pour un développement durable intégré*, UNR, Huye, 2011, en écrivant ce qui suit :

> *Dans son effort de reconstruction et de développement le Rwanda a jugé bon de recourir à la politique du saumon. Le saumon est ce poisson voisin de la truite, qui est connu pour sa nage à contrecourant pour attendre la source où l'eau est encore pure. Le retour à la source, dont il est ici question se manifeste dans les pratiques traditionnelles actuellement réactualisées pour juguler de nombreux problèmes socioéconomiques auxquels le pays doit faire face. Récemment, Alfred Ndahiro en a parlé dans un colloque consacré à la guérison et la réconciliation sous le litre: « Home grown solutions, Healing and réconciliation in Rwanda* [Ntakirutimana 2011 : 12].

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366. Amin Maalouf, *Les identités meurtrières*, Éditions Grasset et Fasquelle, Paris 1998, p. 170 – 171.

Lors d'un colloque organisé par I'UNR en 2007, j'avais donné une communication intitulée : *Uruhare rw' inzego za Leta mu Guteza Imbere Umuco* [Le rôle des institutions publiques dans la promotion de la culture].

For Alfred Ndahiro

Homegrown solutions are unique initiatives that the Government of Rwanda drew from Rwandan culture, which we like to say has stood the test of time and from traditional practices and values system; they were initially intended to deal with colossal challenges that the Government faced in the aftermath of the genocide and subsequently to shape sustainable development programs that are in line with the country's needs and context [Ndahiro 2016: Page 4, 5, 6][367].

4.1. Dans le domaine de la gouvernance

Imihigo ou contrats de performance

D'après le dictionnaire de I. Jacob, dans le Rwanda traditionnel, *Imihigo* réfère au genre oral conventionnel par lequel on se vante de supériorité ; défi, haut fait guerrier, vœu ou promesse. Il fallait pour ceux qui prononcent *imihigo* de réaliser sans faille le pari dans les délais, *Kwesa Umuhigo* ou *Guca Umuhigo*. Actuellement, la governance rwandaise a réhabilité cette pratique culturelle ; grâce au pari *imihigo*, les entités administratives au niveau central ou local rivalisent pour l'accomplissement des projets dans divers secteurs de la vie nationale.

Ingando et Itorero, Urugerero

Ingando se définit comme « camps de solidarité où des personne se réunissent pour débattre à cœur ouvert des problèmes qui handicapent le pays pour suite appropriée. Somme toute, cinq thèmes sont au centre de ce débat, il s'agit des problèmes qui hantent le Rwanda, l'histoire du Rwanda, les problèmes socioéconomiques et politiques au Rwanda et en Afrique, les droits et les devoisr et le leadership » (E. Ntakirutimana : idem).

D'après Alfred Ndahiro « Today *Itorero* serves as forum where members of Rwandan society, men and women go to be trained in these same values, nationalism, patriotism, hard work, honesty, integrity, peaceful cohabitation, bravery, self-sacrifice and social solidality, but also acquire civic education, learn what it means to be Rwandan, to be a leader and to avoid ills that could disrupt social

367. Alfred Ndahiro, "Homegrown Solutions, Healing and réconciliation in Rwanda", séminaire de *Never Again* sur la guérison et la réconciliation, Kigali, 2016. Inédit.

cohesion and harmony in our society today ». Loin d'être un lieu de lavage de cerveau comme certains chercheurs l'ont écrit, ces pratiques sont un espace de recollection des Rwandais en vue de reconstitution d'un tissu social fracturé.

Umushyikirano et Umwiherero w'Abayobozi bakuru

Umushyikirano consacré par la Constitution du Rwanda "serves as a platform for the entire nation to share ideas that will contribute to finding solutions to the existing challenges through direct participation of citizens. During the Umushyikirano, the population participate to interactions and discussions via digital media, phone-in and video link across the country Umwiherero ou "National leadership retreat is intended to review progress in specific areas of governance and socio-economic development" (A. Ndahiro: 2014). Cette pratique existe, semble-t-il, dans d'autres pays d'Afrique, notamment en Uganda.

Le programme (Ndi umunyarwanda, je suis Rwandais)

Ndi Umunyarwanda met en avant la Rwandité, la Rwandaneité, ou le «Rwandan spirit» avant toute autre considération. *Ubunyarwanda nk'icyomoro n'Igihango* (la Rwandandité comme soin aux blessures et gage de l'alliance sacreé). Le President Paul Kagame donne la signification du programme *Ndi Umunyarwanda* comme suit.

Muri uru Rwanda, hapfuye umubiri. Umubiri warahohotewe, wagiriwe nabi, wishwe urubozo. Ariko ni umubiri gusa. Ntabwo umutima w'u Rwanda wapfuye (Paul Kagame, 7 Avril 2011); traduction : dans ce pays,- le Rwanda, le corps est mort. Le corps a été agressé. Il a subi des outrages, il a été martyrisé. Mais ce n'est que le corps. Le cœur du Rwanda est intact. La construction de ce sentiment national fort est basée sur le capital social (trust/icyizere), par-delà le crime et le châtiment, pour reprendre le titre du livre de Jean Amery, en poursuivant un but commun, une même direction (towards a common goal) et, comme on dit en *Kinyarwanda,* « *dusenyera ku mugozi umwe* », en coopérant pour une tâche commune.

Dans le domaine de la gouvernance, mentionnons les principes inscrits dans la Constitution de 2003 révisé en 2016 (article 10): a. Prévention et répression du crime de génocide ; b. Éradication des discriminations et divisions de toutes sortes ; c. Édification d'un État de droit et du régime démocratique pluraliste (démocratie consensuelle) ; d. Édification d'un État voué au bien-être de la population ; e. Recherche constante des solutions par la voie du dialogue et du consensus.

Dans le domaine de la justice, une de *home grown solutions* dont la renommée a dépassé les frontières nationales, est les Juridictions *Gacaca* ou « justice sur gazon ». Réintroduis en 2002, les *Gacaca* ont permis de juger plus d'un million de cas de personnes impliquées dans le contentieux du génocide. Une importante littérature existe sur ce système, son historique, son évolution et ses résultats.

Abunzi ou les conciliateurs dans la culture rwandaise**.**-"Today, the *Abunzi* or mediators are selected from a local community and they must be people of integrity who are able of adjudicating cases of citizens seeking to resolve their conflict without resorting to the ordinary courts, an experience that is usually costly and protracted. The purpose is therefore' to settle disputes but also to reconcile conflicting members of a local community and restore harmony in the neighborhood"(A. Ndahiro : Ibid].

4.2. Dans le domaine socio-économique

Nous citerons sans détailler les actions suivantes engagées pour revitaliser ou lancer de nouvelles initiatives en rapport avec des solutions endogènes: la revitalisation de l'*umuganda* ou travail communautaire déjà reintroduit sous la 2ᵉ Republique ; l'*Ubudehe* ou la participation des citoyens à l'identification de leurs problèmes et des ébauches de solution ; la vision 2020 *Umurenge* ou efforts communautaires et des instances publiques pour instiguer un développement auto-centré, à partir de villages ; l'institutionnalisation du Fonds *Agaciro* [Fonds Dignité] qui a encouragé les Rwandais a constituer un fonds d'investissements ou leurs épargnes sont rémunérées à un taux d'intérêt compétitif aux banques] ; la réinstauration de l'*Umuganura* [fête nationale des récoltes], etc.

Nous ne prétendons pas que les éléments mentionnés dans ces différents secteurs sont exhaustifs. On pourrait par exemple citer le « community policing » ou d'autres pratiques qui existent ailleurs comme le Médiateur de la République, l'ombudsman ou les travaux d'intérêt général, mais nous avons tenu à mentionner ce qui fait la spécificité du Rwanda. Ce qui est le plus important, c'est que ces pratiques s'inscrivent dans une vision inspirée par le leadership au plus haut niveau et ont obtenu l'adhésion du peuple.

We have again come back to out traditional culture to seek solutions to some of the problems we face. This shows how rich our traditional culture was"..."One is personalizing our problems, the second is acknowledging that we have potential to solve them, third is having in mind that we are working for our own

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good and the fourth is getting rid of the inferiority complex (President Kagame: 2007).

5. Les valeurs au centre de développement ou pourquoi l'éthique importe !

Pour traiter la question importante de l'éthique qui guide la politique dans les choix comme ceux qui ont conduit le leadership rwandais à réhabiliter les valeurs traditionnelles, je voudrais me référer aux ouvrages de Martinon Jean Paul, 2013 *After Rwanda. In Search of a New Ethics*, New-York; Bishyanuka, Joseph, 2017, *Challenges to Africa Ethical values in Globalized World* : Rwandan perspective CUEA Press, Nairobi et Girardin, Benoit, 2013, *L'éthique Un défi pour la politique, Globethics*. Net Genève. Nous savons que dans la philosophie rwandaise traditionnelle, trois paramètres caractérisent la condition humaine. Le fait d'être *Kuba*, le fait d'être dans les temps et dans l'espace *Kubaho* et le fait d'être avec *Kubana*. Or le génocide de 1994 a montré que ces trois paramètres ont totalement disparu; la vie de l'autre ne comptait pas, la sociabilité avait disparu et le *Kirazira* (Interdits) n'avait plus aucun sens. Aucune piste vers une philosophie de l'hospitalité pour reprendre les termes de feu Mgr Jean Baptiste Hategeka. *Twataye ubuntu* : nous avons perdu notre humanité. D'après la synthèse que fait Bishyanuka, la philosophie *ubuntu* consisterait en (Bishyanuka 2017) :

• An action is right just insofar it respects a person's dignity. An act in wrong to the extent that is degrades humanity.

• An action is right just insofar as it promotes the well –being of others an act is wrong to the extent that it fells to enhance the welfare of one's fellows.

• An action is right just insofar as it promotes the wellbeing of others without violating their rights, an act is wrong to the extent that it either violates rights or fails to enhance the welfare of ones' follows without violating rights.

• An action is rights just insofar as it positively relates to others and thereby realizes oneself, an act is wrong to the extent that is does not perfect one's valuable nature as social being.

• An action is right and just insofar as it is in solidarity with groups whose survival is threatened; an act is wrong to the extent that it fails to support a vulnerable community. An action is right and just insofar as it produces harmony and reduces discord; an act is wrong to the extent that it fails to develop community [Bishyanuka 2017: 146 – 149]

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Ainsi donc l'*Ubuntu* nous rappelle la rationalité relationnelle. Je suis parce que nous sommes, comme les Zulu disent *Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* je suis ce que je suis grâce à ce que nous sommes. Avant de continuer sur l'autre aspect éthique, je voudrais dire qu'il faut absolument se départir de l'idée, largement répandue chez les anthropologues culturalistes et dans une large frange de la population Rwandaise que la culture du mensonge au Rwanda, dit '*Ubwenge* est un fait culturel indéniable.

Comparaison n'est pas raison. Je n'ai jamais entendu aucun chercheur taxer la civilisation grecque de civilisation du mensonge. Mais il arrive que l'Université de Paris Sorbonne organise un colloque sur 'Tours et détours de la parole dans la littérature antique. Intentions et stratégies discursives (Sorbonne, 28 rue Serpente, 13-14 Mars 2015).

Dans l'argumentaire du colloque, il est dit ceci : « la question de la proximité du mensonge et de la fiction a déjà souvent été abordée par les spécialistes de littérature ancienne, ces dernières années connaissent un regain pour la confrontation de cadres théoriques venus du champ de la linguistique ancienne à des corpus de la littérature ancienne. Cette confrontation a pu donner lieu à des contributions travaillant à partir de la théorie des actes de langage élaborée par HP. Austin, et, à sa suite, par J.R. Searle…

En partant, notamment, des théories fondatrices de H.P. Grice, selon lesquelles, dans le cadre d'une interaction entre deux interlocuteurs, chaque contribution doit être régie par un principe de coopération reposant sur différentes «maximes conversationnelles» (quantité, qualité, relation, modalité), la journée d'étude se fixe pour objectif d' examiner différents cas de transgressions intentionnelles des régies de communication dans le champ de la littérature antique. Donner trop ou trop peu d'informations, asserter quelque chose que l'on sait ou croit faux, apporter une information sans rapport avec l'objet de la conversation, s'exprimer de manière obscure, ambiguë, anormalement prolixe ou désordonnée, peuvent constituer à ce titre des comportements non coopératifs ou bien construire une «implication », si la violation d'une loi conversationnelle est manifeste. On s'intéressera en particulier aux cas où ces transgressions apparaissent comme intentionnelles : quelles stratégies président à ces violations des règles de la communication… Pourra également être interrogée la valeur intentionnelle et fonctionnelle de la transgression des règles de communication supposées connues des interlocuteurs: malentendus, ratés dans la distribution des tours de parole, interruptions, non-respect des principes de politesse, ratés d'élocution (bafouillèrent, lapsus), rectifications, reformulations, marques d'hésitation, énoncés inachevés ou mal construits » etc.

Le *Munyarwanda*, s'il utilise-la parole oblique emploie-t-il nécessairement une parole fausse? Certes le mensonge existe et il est représenté dans le langage populaire par le personnage de *Semuhanuka*, le menteur attitré. Mais je voudrais dire que dans toutes les cultures, on préfère la parole raisonnée à la parole dangereuse. Je pense ici à la catégorie rwandaise de l'*ubwenge*. Coupez et Kamanzi [1970] en parlent ainsi :

> *Il s'agit d'une forme particulière d'intelligence, qui vise l'acquisition d'avantages matériels et sociaux par quelques moyens que ce soit. L'équivalent français le plus acceptable serait «fourberie», si ce terme n'avait une connotation péjorative alors que celle d'*ubwenge *est admirative* [Coupez et Kamanzi 1970 : 19][368].

Non, le *Kinyarwanda* n'est pas une langue piégée pour reprendre, André Coupez[369].P. Crépeau [1973] l'écrit si bien :

> L'ubwenge *n'est pas seulement ni d'abord fourberie et tricherie, elle est foncièrement une qualité de l'esprit qui suscite l'admiration. Cette admiration pourra se teinter d'un regret ou d'un reproche, lorsqu'on aura été la victime d'une «*ubwenge*» sans scrupule, mais elle peut aussi être objet d'un être sans réserve aucune. De fait l'*ubwenge *se situe purement et simplement au niveau de l'intellectualité et de l'esthetique sans aucune référence à l'ordre éthique* [Crepeau 1973 :38][370].

Nous pouvons donc réhabiliter une catégorie mentale, l'*ubwenge*, qui a été confondue avec la fourberie. L'*ubwenge* qui n'est ni l'apanage d'une classe sociale ni d'une ethnie donnée, ne se situe pas à un niveau éthique, celui de la sincérité ou de l'hypocrisie. Elle est d'abord une certaine praxis, une intelligence pratique pour réussir dans la vie, un peu à l'image du lièvre dans les contes populaires.

On met dans la bouche de Semuhanuka, ces paroles : « Semuhanuka dit à son fils que le mensonge fait vivre. Alors ce dernier sort un instant de la hutte familiale et revient en criant père, je viens de cogner ma tête contre le ciel ». Et Semuhanuka de lui répondre : « utilise d'autres mensonges, mon fils, car celui-là fait perdre au menteur ses biens ». Ainsi l'*umunyabwenge* est-il à l'image d'Ulysse polymekanos, l'homme aux milles ressources qui avec sa mètis sait se

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368. A. Coupez et Thomas Kamanzi, *Littérature de cour au Rwanda*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1970, p.19.

369. A. Coupez. "Le rwandais, langue piégée". In Francis Jouannet, éd *Le Kinyarwanda*, Selaf, Paris 1983.

370. Pierre Crépeau, *Les proverbes du Rwanda. Essai d'analyse du contenu*, Mémoire de maîtrise. University Laval : Montréal, 1973, p.38.

tirer des situations dramatiques. Ce ne sont pas les rwandais qui savent qu'avant tout propos proféré, les murs ont des oreilles et que parfois ils parlent. Un peu de sémantique également. *Ubwenge si uburyarya, si ubucakura* : *Ubwenge*, ce n'est ni la duplicité, la ruse ou la flatterie.

Les rwandais qui déprécient le concept d'*ubwenge* seront –ils fiers qu'on dise d'eux que « *Nta bwenge bagira* » : (Ils n'ont pas d'intelligence). *Ni ba-gipfamutima*, ils n'ont pas conscience de quoi que ce soit. Il est vrai qu'ils ont hâte d'ajouter que l'*Ubwenge* caractérise essentiellement un groupe ethnique (à la mode de P. Péan, P. Erny, S.Desouter) qui a eu tort de la faire propager à l'ensemble de la population. Le Père Blanc Rodegem écrit « Quand un *Tutsi* te dit oui, cela veut dire peut être, s'il te dit peut-être, cela veut dire non et s'il te dit non c'est qu'il n'est pas *Tutsi* ». Qui est cet Européen qui sait facilement décoder ce message où le mensonge est un «sport national»? C'est qu'il est plus que doué d'*Ubwenge*. Comment voulez-vous communiquer dans une société où tout le monde ment à tout le monde ?

Ces stéréotypes se sont également appliqués aux Arabes et à d'autres peuples. Cela étant, diverses institutions se sont mises à inventorier les valeurs positives et les contre valeurs de la société rwandaise et à en tirer des comportements en vue d'un développement harmonieux.

6. Analyse succincte de la culture au Rwanda

Je pense aux départements ministériels en charge de la culture, de l'éducation, de l'administration locale, à Unity Club, à l'Académie rwandaise de culture etc. La bibliographie in fine renvoie à certaines publications y relatives. Une étude d réalisée par Unity Club propose un tableau d'analyse de la culture au Rwanda selon la méthode SWOT.

Tableau d'analyse de la culture du Rwanda selon la méthode SWOT

Forces	Faiblesses
• Idéalisation De L'héroïsme, Honnêteté, Mérite, Sens Du Devoir Et De L'honneur • Sauvegarde De La Paix, Générosité, Humanisme Et Patriotisme • Vision De Production Qui Est Prospère • Moteur De La Sagesse Et De La Créativité	• Attitude De Résignation Fortement Ancrée Dans La Mentalité. • Certains Interdits Non Motivés Et Non Justifiés Dans L'objectif De Limiter La Confiance En Soi Et L'accès À Certains Avantages Ou Pour Discriminer Et Victimiser.

• Fierté De L'harmonie Et De La Splendeur	• Sens De L'entreprenariat Peu Développé.
• Sens Profond De L'amitié Et De L'humour	• Tabous Entourant La Sexualité Et Les Questions Liées À La Santé De La Reproduction.
• Idéalisation Des Règles De Courtoisie Et De Bienséance.	
Opportunités	**Contraintes / Menaces**
• Même Langue, Même Culture Et Longue Histoire Commune Permettant D'avoir Une Vision Commune Du Même Destin	• Système Patriarcal.
• Cadre Constitutionnel Et Légal Favorable	• Féminisation De La Pauvreté Et Violences Basées Sur Le Genre.
• Volonté Politique Et Engagement Des Responsables Et Autorités Librement Choisis Par Le Peuple	• Conséquences Du Génocide Et Persistance De L'idéologie Génocidaire
• Cadre Institutionnel Cohérent De Vision Et De Gestion Des Programmes, Politiques Et Stratégies Sectorielles De Développement (Vision **2020,** Edprs...)	• Ignorance Qui Entraîne La Persévérance Dans Certains Aspects Négatifs De La Culture.
• Institutionnalisation Des Mécanismes De Bonne Gouvernance (Itorero Ry' Igihugu, Commissions Et Offices… Et Intégration Du Genre.	• Apport D'éléments Négatifs D'autres Cultures Et Leur Adoption Sans Censure Ni Discernement.

Source **:** *Unity Club 2010, 29-30*

Si je prends l'exemple d'un département ministériel, le Ministère de la Santé, s'il veut intégrer la culture dans sa politique, il devait entre autres :

• Valoriser la pharmacopée et la médecine traditionnelle et les mettre au service de la population, aider et collaborer avec les tradipraticiens tout en stigmatisant les charlatans;

• Conscientiser le peuple à veiller au bien suprême qu'est l'*ubuzima*, car il est irréversible et vaut mieux prévenir que guérir;

• Veiller à la déontologie car la façon d'accueillir les malades compte autant que l'administration des soins. On se référera à l'importance du *gutongera* dans la culture traditionnelle ou des *carmina* qui soignaient autant le malade que les potions ; il faudra également insister davantage sur l'importance du secret *ibanga*, qui signifie aussi bien fonction exercée que secret gardée.

Dans le domaine des affaires, il existe un *business ethics* qui se base selon Bishyanuka (2017) aux valeurs fondamentales de la culture rwandaise telle que : honesty and integrity ; premise keeping and trust worthiness ; loyalty and

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fairness ; concern for others and respect ; low abiding and binding ; responsibility and accountability.En un mot «*kuba inyangamugayo,ntube bihemu»*.Je renvoie encore le lecteur au livre du RALC (2016), *Inkingi z'umuco w'u Rwanda zihutisha iterambere.*

7. Adapter la langue et la culture aux besoins de la modernité

En terminant par ce point, nous voudrions souligner que la culture comprend aussi bien la tradition (*Umurage*),la création ou la créativité (*Ibihangano*) et les emprunts nécessaires et utiles (*Ibitirano*). S'agissant de la langue, il s'agit de moderniser son statut et son corpus. Il faut identifier les domaines d'utilisation des langues en présence notamment dans les domaines : de l'école et du processus de scolarisations ; de la famille et du milieu social communautaire ; de la gestion de l'état ou de la langue/des langueurs du pouvoir politique ; de l'activité économique ; de l'activité technique et scientifique.

Jusqu'à présent, les contours de la politique linguistique du Rwanda ne sont pas définis. La langue doit également s'adapter aux réalités modernes par création lexicale spontanée ou la plupart du temps délibérée: dérivation, composition, emprunt, transposition, calque, extension /restriction sémantiques etc. La langue doit faire face à la mondialisation. Dans les années 1980, nous posions que le *Kinyarwanda* peut exprimer les réalités scientifiques et que s'il est pauvre, c'est qu'on choisit de l'appauvrir. Toute langue évolue. Elle comporte des archaïsmes et des néologismes.

Exemples d'archaïsmes :

* Umugabwa =Umugabo
* Itiro =ibitotsi
* Kuraka= Kurakara
* Impwevu=Umusatsi

Qui se rappelle le sens des mots – *Ibibanda, Umusakura, Induba. Amabano, Uruyundo* ? Comment les Rwandais ont-ils procédé pour distinguer léopard (In**gwe**), Chat (Injan**gwe**) et panthère (Urusama**gwe**) ? Je rends ici hommage au travail réalisé par l'équipe « *Urutonde* » au sein du ministère de l'éducation qui, par thèmes essayait de proposer le meilleur vocable, et si la création ne convenait plus, proposait des changements.

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Exemple Voirie :

- Route = Umuhanda
- Boulevard = Rwatamugi
- Avenue = Ibarabara
- Rue = Umugenderano
- Piste = Umuyira
- Sentier = Akayira
- Tunnel = Umurombero

Exemple musique :

- Accelerando = Shibura
- Accente = Cinya
- Pretissimo = Nyaruka
- Vivace = Kataza

Enfin la langue doit avoir une écriture normalisée et être utilisée dans les travaux de création littéraire, artistique et scientifique. S'agissant de la culture, ce processus d'adaptation-changement est également nécessaire. Dans la tradition, la femme n'a pas de nom. Elle est la mère de ou la femme de X qui est toujours un homme (Mukankusi, Nyinawankusi). De même la distribution de la parole se faisait suivant les paramètres qui épousaient ceux des acteurs sociaux.

Parole/Silence   Riche/Pauvre

Homme/Femme   Adulte/Enfant

Mais actuellement, avec le changement social qu'apportent la complémentarité et l'égalité des genres, ce langage a disparu dans la politique. La parole est accordée aussi bien aux jeunes et aux femmes. On peut dire aussi que les Rwandais délaissent aujourd'hui les noms propres à connotation négative ou péjorative qui étaient en vigueur il y a quelque années. Ces noms étaient censés écarter la mort ou se plaignaient des relations exécrables entre voisins:

Ex : Ndimubanzi=Je suis parmi les ennemis

Ngwijabanzi= Le nombre des ennemis est énorme

Banyangiriki= Pourquoi me détestent-ils ?

Nduguyemo = Je meurs dans mon pays

D'autre part, la culture moderne doit absolument intégrer la science et la technologie. Dans un texte riche et polémique, Innocent Butare 1987 (La Science et la Technologie et /ou la Culture rwandaise) montre que la culture rwandaise est par essence anti-scientifique : une mentalité abusant du consensus ; une certaine idée de Dieu et de la culture (Byose ni Imana). *Si la culture rwandaise veut s'imprégner de la méthode expérimentale comme outil de la connaissance et de l'action, elle devra nécessairement réaménager l'idée de Dieu et de la nature*

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écrit-il. Mais il montre aussi que dans le sens anthropologique large, la techno-logie est peut-être la composante la plus importante de la culture, car c'est elle qui détermine les rapports d'une communauté à son environnement. Là aussi, on voit que l'esprit de sagesse ne s'oppose pas à l'esprit de géométrie, comme di-sait Pascal.

Conclusion

La culture d'un peuple, dont la composante essentielle est la langue, consti-tue son âme. Si l'âme meurt le peuple disparaît. Comme disait Montesquieu, tant que le peuple n'a pas perdu sa langue, il peut garder espoir. Le Rwanda doit veil-ler comme à la prunelle de ses yeux à la sauvegarde de sa langue nationale. Elle a résisté à la colonisation, contrairement à la religion de *Lyangombe.* Cette langue doit être modernisée et guidée par une entreprise volontariste et cohérente.

La Turquie moderne est née le jour où Kemal dit Ataturk, a modernisé le turc et a adopté notamment l'alphabet latin. Par la langue, l'homme s'exprime, et c'est pourquoi elle est un outil de démocratie bien conçue. Mais la langue et la culture doivent être orientées vers l'action et non pas être considérées comme signe d'érudition, ou seulement être préoccupées par les choses de l'esprit. Ainsi langue et culture doivent donnent lieu à un tourisme culturel, à des industries culturelles et créatrices. De même langue et culture ne doivent jamais être disso-ciées de l'éthique *Umuco* ; ce sont des valeurs à promouvoir et des contre –va-leurs à combattre. Dans tous les domaines de la vie économique, sociale, poli-tique etc…, il faut constamment :

- Identifier les valeurs et qualités à promouvoir

- Faire cas des meilleures politiques existantes (Best Practices)

- Montrer du doigt les comportements à modifier ainsi que les stratégies à adopter.

Au cœur de toute entreprise de développement durable, se trouve le choix du jugement à un moment donné, ce que les Anglais appellent le critical thin-king. Mais les Rwandais ont l'équivalent : *gushyira mu gaciro; kutitiranya icyat-si n'ururo*, ce qui nous amènera à *Kuba umugabo; Kuba imfura.*

Ceci impose des choix essentiels fondamentaux, le choix d'un projet de société, en fonction des déterminismes historico-géographiques. Comment le Rwanda doit-il sortir des cendres du génocide, tel le Phénix, et transformer le discours social de la haine et de l'exclusion en celui de la coexistence pacifique,

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de la tolérance pour un développement harmonieux? C'est la culture d'un peuple qui doit guider celui-ci à gérer la politique et les processus politiques, les ressources naturelles et l'environnement, l'économie, bref tout ce qui concerne la cité. C'est tout le sens de ma communication qui portait sur langue et culture comme source de développement endogène.

Un vœu qu'exprime une chanson populaire rwandaise pour terminer : (*Ntugahandwe ku rurimi na cyo ikirenge kirahari kandi ntugatumbe ku mutima* : Qu'aucune épine ne te pique sur la langue, le pied est là pour cela et que ton cœur ne soit jamais enflé).

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Postface

Christoph Stückelberger, 29 Dec 2018

I want to begin this Postface with a great thanks to the editors, authors and the Protestant University of Rwanda PIASS in Huye-Butare (where I had the honor to lecture and give trainings). The articles in this volume offer great academic insights to contextual Rwandan and African values and practical solutions for current challenges. In society. Merci aussi de publier des articles dans ce volume en anglais et en français at avec un très fort lien avec le *Kinyarwanda*. Le respect de la diversité des langues est une clé pour le développement et la réconciliation !

It is now 25 years – one generation – since the terrible Genocide in Rwanda in 1994 with one million people killed in only hundred days and with an international community not taking their responsibility. Such cruel disasters can lead to five reactions as history shows us: 1. Revenge - with its repetition of cruelties; 2. Psychological or political repression and suppression - with the effect, that undigested past or unfair peace agreements breaks out again few decades later as we have seen from first to second world war or in the Balkans; 3. Nationalism - with projection of all evil to external enemies with aggression against them as we often see in history; 4. Nihilism as an emptiness of values and benchmarks - which makes people vulnerable to all kind of new ideologies; 5. Subordination to new political or economic rulers – which offer solutions and promise heaven on earth.

Rwanda has chosen another way as it is documented in this volume in an impressive way: "Home Grown Solutions" HGS by rediscovering and re-interpreting values which are deeply rooted in society. After the terrible breakdown of values and norms from colonialism and unfortunately also Christianity, HGS was and is an attempt to rebuild a foundation for reconstruction and reconciliation, as my colleague and friend Prof. Elisée Musemakweli, VC of PIASS, writes in the Preface: "The traditional values did not resist the fury and barbarity of the "genocidaires" determined to exterminate a whole group of the Rwandan population. More seriously, the Christianity that most Rwandans had embraced (90% of Rwandans at the time were Christians) did not stand firmly together to prevent the planning and execution of the genocide… Paradoxically, it is these traditional values that served as a starting point for the reconstruction of Rwanda

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after the genocide." The other co-editor of the volume, colleague and friend Prof. Tharcisse Gatwa in his profound analysis calls the "Home Grown Initiatives: A Paradigm Shift in the Ethics of Reconstruction".

In fact, the four clusters of HGS (governance, social, economic, justice domains) cover key aspects of the reconstruction of society after the genocide by referring to Rwandan values : *Ubudehe (solidarity assistance), Gacaca (village court to reconcile protagonists and divided families), Abunzi (community mediator), Umuganda (community work), Imihigo (performance contract for economic growth), Umushyikirano (national conference for dialogue) etc.* But how to give meaning to such values in a modern society as they originate from agricultural and pastorate traditional societies?

This led to the key question to the authors of this volume: "The contributors to this volume were guided by the quest for transmission of founding heritages to next generations to lead them to their own sense of creativity." Values cannot be taken from the fridge like a frozen piece of meat. Values are living entities among living people in transforming environment. The articles interpret and further transform the traditional concepts in order to adapt them to current challenges such as environment, modern economic development, modern state-citizen-relations etc. The monographic articles in this volume analyse and explain these values in detail. The authors carefully study the past and the present and transform it creatively for the benefit of the future! They integrate methods of philosophy, social science, economy, political science and theological reflections. It also shows, how religions are part of cruelties and part of solutions. Christian Churches in Rwanda became guilty by justifying cruelties or not resisting enough. And they are part of the new values and reconciliation. Incarnation means enculturation. The core Christian conviction, that God became human, incarnated in Jesus, means God is enculturated in local, "home grown" cultures and values and at the same time transforms them.

The contributions of this book are relevant for Rwanda and its painful and successful transformation from Genocide to a promising modern small country in Africa. It serves many people and nations as an example how transformation, healing and reconciliation can happen! It is an example for an African development in dignity: "Pan-Africanism and African cultural and ethical values will be the bedrock, but at the same time the driving force for Africa's development." (Preface above).

But how are these "Home Grown Solutions" HGS now linked to global developments? Is it another form of Nationalism, Ethnicism and Protectionism of a

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country isolated from the world ? HGS could be abused for this, but the articles show that back to own roots must not be an isolationist solution. Rwanda and the rest of Africa is influenced by many value systems: China with its Confucian values and "Socialism with Chinese characteristics" is omnipresent, Saudi Arabia with its conservative Islam is present at least in Muslim parts of Africa, evangelical Pentecostals with their values are widespread in all countries, multinational companies with their globalized liberal value systems act in all countries. And the Big data as the most important production factor today, represented by the mega-companies of the Silicon Valley (Google, Amazon, Facebook) and of China (Baidu, Alibaba, Tencent) and dominating the Cyber space, challenge most value-systems in the world.

I suggest that a next research project and book volume could search for "Home Grown Values in Cyber Society". Solidarity, reconciliation, fair courts, community work are values which are valid also for the cyber world which dominates all sectors of society today.[371]

It can already be foreseen that migration conflicts will further increase in the 21st century by climate refugees, economic migration due to the poverty-wealth gap and religious-nationalist conflicts. Race theories, religious or cultural supremacy and nationalist historical concepts are and will be again and again used to justify closed boarders, wars or even future genocides.

This book is therefore a key contribution not only for the presence and future of Rwanda, but the whole continent of Africa and the whole world. "Home Grown Solutions" are important for cultural identity, deeply rooted values and dignity of respected people and nations. At the same time, "Home Grown Solutions" are viable and productive if they remain a contribution to the search for common values of humanity. Globethics.net which I founded in 2004, now a global community of 200'000 persons in 200 countries with a large diversity of values, religions and cultures, is since its inception united by the conviction that we live together in one world and that we have many values in common. Global values and contextual values need to be in balance, in a global balance, in Globalance[372]. Simply because we are human beings. As the World Congress of Philosophy in August 2018 in Beijing expressed it in its conference theme: "Learning to be truly human." Rwandan people are a light to the world in how

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371. See Christoph Stückelberger/Pavan Duggal, *Cyber Ethics 4.0. Serving Humanity with Values*, Globethics.net, Geneva 2018, free download and order print copies: https://www.globethics.net/global-series

372. Christoph Stückelberger, Globalance. The Way to Overcome Global Disorder, Globethics.net: Geneva, forthcoming (2019 or 2020)

– after a terrible Genocide – lives can be transformed in healing and reconciliation, thanks to Home Grown Solutions and God's help, in order to become truly human.

<div align="right">

Geneva, 1 January 2019
Christoph Stückelberger

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Christoph Stückelberger, Founder and President of Globethics.net, Professor of Ethics (emeritus) in Basel and Visiting Professor in Enugu/Nigeria, Beijing/China, Moscow/Russia.

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