



**REPUBLIC OF RWANDA**  
**NATIONAL UNITY AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION**



**RWANDA RECONCILIATION  
BAROMETER 2020**



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BAROMETER 2020**



P.O. Box: 174 Kigali, Rwanda  
Website: [www.nurc.gov.rw](http://www.nurc.gov.rw)  
Email: [unity@nurc.gov.rw](mailto:unity@nurc.gov.rw)



# TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES .....	V
LIST OF FIGURES .....	VI
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS .....	IX
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY .....	X
<b>1. INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1. Background.....	1
1.2. Reconciliation in Rwanda: The unique option for post-genocide reconstruction. ....	2
1.3. Unity and Reconciliation Efforts since 1994.....	3
1.4. The status of reconciliation: 2016-2020. ....	4
1.5. Questions and objectives.....	5
<b>2. THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL PERSPECTIVES .....</b>	<b>6</b>
2.1. Reconciliation: An overview. ....	6
2.2. Reconciliation: The Rwandan perspective.....	9
2.3. Conceptual framework of reconciliation in Rwanda. ....	9
2.3.1. Understanding the past, present and envisioning the future.....	10
2.3.2. Citizenship, identity, and responsibility. ....	11
2.3.3. Political culture and governance. ....	12
2.3.4. Security and well being. ....	15
2.3.5. Justice, Fairness, and Rights. ....	15
2.3.6. Social cohesion.....	16
<b>3. METHODOLOGY .....</b>	<b>18</b>
3.1. Preparation and coordination.....	18
3.2. Methodological approach. ....	18
3.3. Study design. ....	19
3.4. Study area, population, and units of analysis.....	19
3.4.1. Study population. ....	19
3.4.2. Units of analysis ....	19
3.5. Sampling methods.....	20
3.5.1. Sampling procedure for quantitative data collection.....	20
3.5.2. Sampling procedure for qualitative data collection. ....	25
3.6. Data collection methods and tools.....	25
3.6.1. Primary data.....	25
3.6.2. Secondary data. ....	28
3.7. Data analysis methods and tools. ....	29
3.8. Training of data collectors and review of data collection tools.....	29
3.9. Control measures.....	30
3.10. Quality assurance and research ethics.....	30
3.11. Main challenges and mitigation strategies. ....	31
<b>4. RESULTS: THE STATUS OF RECONCILIATION IN 2020 .....</b>	<b>31</b>
4.1. Respondents' socio-demographics.....	32
4.2. Understanding the past, the present, and envisioning the future. ....	35
4.2.1. Opinions on the past.....	35
4.2.2. History and how it is shared. ....	36
4.2.3. Ownership of reconciliation.....	39
4.2.4. Envisioning the future. ....	41
4.3. Citizenship, identity, and responsibility.....	50
4.3.1. National identity. ....	50
4.3.2. Individual proudness of a shared identity. ....	52
4.3.3. Shared values and vision.....	55
4.3.4. Commitment to national identity.....	56

4.3.5. Critical thinking .....	57
4.4. Political culture and Governance.....	59
4.4.1. Appreciation of the role of institutions.....	59
4.4.2. Agreement regarding the performance of leaders.....	79
4.4.3. Agreement on citizens' empowerment and participation in the governance.....	82
4.5. Security and wellbeing. ....	87
4.5.1. National security and reconciliation.....	87
4.5.2. Personal security and reconciliation.....	88
4.5.3. Economic security and rights to properties. ....	91
4.5.4. Opinions regarding fair distribution of infrastructure. ....	96
4.6. Justice, fairness and rights. ....	104
4.6.1. Truth about the past and punishing genocide and related crimes.....	105
4.6.2. Compensation of properties looted or destroyed during the genocide. ....	108
4.6.3. Apology and forgiveness. ....	112
4.6.4. Individual healing. ....	115
4.6.5. Fairness and respect of basic human rights .....	121
4.6.6. Summary of findings on justice, fairness and rights.....	130
4.7. Social cohesion.....	130
4.7.1. Trust among Rwandans. ....	134
4.7.2. Tolerance and interactions. ....	134
4.7.3. Solidarity among Rwandans. ....	138
4.7.4. Conviviality and friendship among Rwandans. ....	141
4.7.5. Summary on social cohesion findings.....	143
4.8. The current status of reconciliation .....	144
4.9. Mechanisms promoting reconciliation in Rwanda.....	146
4.10. Factors inhibiting reconciliation.....	148
5. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	153
5.1. Conclusion.....	153
5.2. Recommendations.....	154
5.3. Points to consider for future assessments. ....	157
References.....	158
.....	160

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.The currentstatus of reconciliation in Rwanda. ....	XI
Table 2.Comparison between the RRB2010, the RRB2015, and the RRB 2020.....	XIII
Table 3. Factors hindering reconciliation. ....	XIII
Table 4. Pillars, hypotheses and indicators for RRB 2020. ....	17
Table 5. Distribution of villages. ....	23
Table 6. Distribution of institutional households by Province. ....	25
Table 7. List of participants in Klls.....	27
Table 8.List of participants in FGDs15s.....	28
Table 9. Distribution of respondents by Province and gender. ....	32
Table 10. Average scores on 'Understanding the past, the present, and envisioning the future of Rwanda'.....	49
Table 11: Average scores on Citizenship, identity and responsibility. ....	58
Table 12: Average scores on Political culture and Governance. ....	86
Table 13: Average scores on security and wellbeing.....	103
Table 14: Average scores on Justice, fairness and rights. ....	128
Table 15: Average scores on social cohesion. ....	143
Table 16: The current status of reconciliation in Rwanda. ....	145
Table 17.Factors hindering reconciliation. ....	148
Table 18.Disaggragate per District of "Rwandans believe they areRwandans first before everything else". ....	149

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Other factors hindering reconciliation.....	XV
Figure 2. Conceptual framework .....	9
Figure 3. Convergent parallel approach. ....	18
Figure 4. Distribution of respondents by age category.....	33
Figure 5. Distribution of respondents by marital status.....	33
Figure 6. Distribution of respondents by level of education. ....	34
Figure 7. Distribution of respondents by religion.....	34
Figure 8. Opinions on understanding the facts. ....	35
Figure 9. History and how it is shared. ....	37
Figure 10. Disaggregate by gender on 'History and how it is shared' . ....	38
Figure 11. Disaggregate by age category on 'History and how it is shared' '.....	39
Figure 12. Ownership of reconciliation. ....	3.9
Figure 13. Disaggregate by gender on the ownership of reconciliation.....	40
Figure 14. Disaggregate by age category on the ownership of reconciliation.....	41
Figure 15. Envisioning the future.....	41
Figure 16. Disaggregate by gender on 'envisioning the future' . ....	44
Figure 16. Disaggregate by gender on 'envisioning the future' . ....	44
Figure 17. Disaggregate by age category on 'envisioning the future' . ....	44
Figure 18. Citizen opinions per District on 'There are still issues that show genocide can happen again in Rwanda' .....	45
Figure 19. Citizens opinions per District on 'There are Rwandans who are likely to commit genocide if they get opportunity' . ....	46
Figure 20. Opinions on national identity. ....	51
Figure 21. Disaggregate by gender on 'National identity' . ....	51
Figure 22. Individual proudness of a shared identity.....	52
Figure 23. Disaggregate by gender on 'Individual proudness of a shared identity' . ....	53
Figure 24. Citizens opinions per District on "Individual proudness of a shared identity" . ....	54
Figure 25. Opinions on shared values and vision.....	55
Figure 26. Disaggregate by gender on 'Shared values and vision' . ....	55
Figure 27. Commitment to national identity. ....	56
Figure 28. Disaggregate by gender on 'Commitment to national identity' . ....	56
Figure 29. Critical thinking.....	57
Figure 30. Disaggregate by gender on 'Critical thinking'.....	58
Figure 31. Administrative institutions. ....	59
Figure 32. Citizens' opinions per District on 'Appreciation of the role . of Central Government' .....	60
Figure 33. Citizens' opinions per District on 'Appreciation of the role of Local administration' .....	61
Figure 34. Justice system institutions .....	62
Figure 35. Citizens' opinions per District on 'Trust in Mediators'.....	63
Figure 36. Citizens' opinions per District on 'Trust in Maisons d'Accès à la Justice' . ....	64
Figure 37. Citizens' opinions per District on 'Trust in Professional bailiffs' . ....	65
Figure 38. Citizens' opinions per District on 'Trust in Judiciary' . ....	66
Figure 39. Citizens' opinions per District on 'Trust in Prosecution'.....	67
Figure 40. Citizens' opinions per District on 'Trust in Rwanda Investigation Bureau' . ....	68

Figure 41. Other institutions .....	69
Figure 42. Citizens' level of trust in 'District Councils' by District .....	70
Figure 43. Citizens' level of trust in 'National Commission for Human Rights' by District. ....	71
Figure 44. Citizens' level of trust in 'the Media' by District .....	72
Figure 45. Citizens' level of trust in 'Security Organs' by District .....	73
Figure 46. Citizens' level of trust in 'Civil societies' by District .....	74
Figure 47. Citizens' level of trust in 'The National Commission for the Fight against Genocide' by District .....	75
Figure 48. Citizens' level of trust in 'National Unity and Reconciliation Commission' by District .....	76
Figure 49. Citizens' level of trust in 'National Electoral Commission' by District .....	77
Figure 50. Citizens' level of trust in 'Political parties' by District .....	78
Figure 51. Agreement regarding the performance of leaders. ....	79
Figure 52. Disaggregate by gender on 'Performance of leaders' .....	82
Figure 53. Agreement on citizens' empowerment and participation in the governance. ....	82
Figure 54. Disaggregate by gender on 'citizens' empowerment and participation in the governance' .....	85
Figure 55. National security and reconciliation. ....	88
Figure 56. Personal security and reconciliation.....	88
Figure 57. Disaggregate by gender on 'Personal security and reconciliation' .....	89
Figure 58. Disaggregate by age category on 'Personal security and reconciliation' .....	90
Figure 59. Economic security and rights to properties.....	91
Figure 60. Opinions on the way people are getting out of poverty in their areas by District.....	92
Figure 61. Opinions on individuals' rights to have properties (land, housing ...) by District.....	93
Figure 62. Opinion on Rwandans satisfaction with the settlement policies by District.....	94
Figure 63. Opinions on Rwandans' satisfaction with access and use of personal property (land, housing, etc.) by District.....	95
Figure 64. Opinions regarding fair distribution of infrastructure .....	96
Figure 65. Citizens' opinion on 'Fair distribution of water, hygiene and sanitation. ....	97
Figure 66. Citizens' opinion on 'Fair distribution of electricity' by District.....	98
Figure 67. Citizens' opinion on 'Fair distribution of roads' by District. ....	99
Figure 68. Citizens' opinion on 'Fair distribution of education facilities' by District. ....	100
Figure 69. Citizens' opinion on 'Fair distribution of health facilities' by District.....	101
Figure 70. Citizens' opinion on 'Fair distribution of ICT facilities' by District.....	102
Figure 71. Truth about the past and punishing genocide and related crimes.....	105
Figure 72. Disaggregate by gender on 'Truth about the past and punishing genocide and related crimes' .....	107
Figure 73. Disaggregate by age category on 'Truth about the past and punishing genocide and related crimes' .....	108
Figure 74. Citizens' opinions on compensation of properties destroyed or looted during the genocide.....	109
Figure 75. Citizens' opinion on the compensation of properties looted or destroyed during the genocide by District.....	110
Figure 76. Citizens' opinion on whether Execution of 'Gacaca' judgements regarding destroyed and looted properties is done properly by District. ....	111
Figure 77. Apology and forgiveness.....	112

Figure 78. Citizens' opinion on whether or not former genocide convicts apologized for crimes they committed by District.....	114
Figure 79. Citizens' opinion on whether or not Genocide survivors have granted forgiveness to perpetrators who apologized by District. ....	115
Figure 80. Individual healing.....	116
Figure 81. Disaggregate by gender on 'Individual healing'. ....	118
Figure 82. Disaggregate by age category on 'Individual healing'.....	119
Figure 83. Disaggregate by District on "I feel I have been healed from the wounds cause by the genocide and divisive politics.....	120
Figure 84. Fairness and respect of basic human rights.....	121
Figure 85. Disaggregate by gender on 'Fairness and respect of basic human rights'. ....	122
Figure 86. Disaggregate by age category on 'Fairness and respect of basic human rights'. ....	123
Figure 87. Disaggregate by District on 'All Rwandans have equal access to employment opportunities'.....	124
Figure 88. Disaggregate by District on 'All Rwandans have equal access to education'. ....	125
Figure 89. Disaggregate by District on 'All Rwandans have equal access to health services'. ....	126
Figure 90. Disaggregate by District on 'There is gender equality in Rwanda'. ....	127
Figure 91. Trust among Rwandans.....	130
Figure 92. Disaggregate by District on 'Trust among Rwandans'. ....	132
Figure 93. Disaggregate by gender on 'Trust among Rwandans'. ....	133
Figure 94. TDisaggregate by age category on 'Trust among Rwandans. ....	134
Figure 95. Tolerance and interactions.....	135
Figure 96. Disaggregate by District on 'Tolerance and interactions',.....	136
Figure 97. Disaggregate by gender on 'Tolerance and interactions'. ....	137
Figure 98. Disaggregate by age category on 'Tolerance and interactions'.....	137
Figure 99. Solidarity among Rwandans. ....	138
Figure 100. Disaggregate by District on 'Solidarity among Rwandans'.....	139
Figure 101. Disaggregate by gender on 'Solidarity among Rwandans'. ....	140
Figure 102. Disaggregate by age category on 'Solidarity among Rwandans'.....	140
Figure 103. Opinions on 'Conviviality and friendship among Rwandans'. ....	141
Figure 104. Disaggregate by gender on 'Conviviality and friendshipamong Rwandans'. ....	142
Figure 105. Disaggregate by age category on 'Conviviality and friendship among Rwandans'. ....	142
Figure 106. Comparison between RRB 2010, RRB 2015, and RRB 2020.....	146
Figure 107. Factors/Mechanisms promoting reconciliation in Rwanda. ....	147
Figure 108. Other factors hindering reconciliation.....	151

## ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AERG	: Association des Etudiants Réscapés du Génocide
CNLG	: Commission Nationale de Lutte contre le Génocide
CRC	: Citizen Report Card
CSO	: Civil Society Organization
EA	: Enumeration Area
EICV	: Integrated Households Living Condition Survey
FARG	: Fond d'Assistance aux Réscapés du Génocide
FGDs	: Focus Group Discussions
GSC	: Governance Score Card
ICT	: Information, Communication and Technology
KII	: Key Informants Interview
MAJ	: Maison d'Accès à la Justice
MDGs	: Millennium Development Goals
MFIs	: Micro Finance Institutions
MINALOC	: Ministry of Local Government
MRND	: Movement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement
NFPO	: National Forum of Political Organizations
NISR	: National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda
NURC	: National Unity and Reconciliation Commission
REB	: Rwanda Education Board
RGB	: Rwanda Governance Board
RMI	: Rwanda Management Institute
RRB	: Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

## Background

This report is an assessment of the status of reconciliation in Rwanda, from the year 2016 to 2020. It seeks to assess how much efforts of the government, development partners, the civil society, the media, as well as those of private businesses have succeeded in bringing about unity and reconciliation among Rwandans since 1994. In 2010 the NURC undertook a national survey that formed the basis of the first national reconciliation barometer. A subsequent edition of the national reconciliation barometer was presented in 2015. The 2015 report highlighted the gains made since 2010, as well as challenges to reconciliation that needed special attention. Factors that hindered reconciliation as indicated in that report included ethnic-based stereotypes at 27.9%, lingering genocide ideology at 25.8%, and wounds resulting from past divisions and genocide not fully healed yet, at 4.6%.

The RRB2020 comes 26 years after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi and in social science studies this would constitute a generation. Building from the findings of the RRB2015, the 2020 reconciliation barometer sought to achieve two objectives:

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

## Methodology

Titled Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer 2020, the present research was carried out using a mixed-method approach, meaning both quantitative and qualitative methods. It was conducted in all 416 sectors of the country, where 9720 private households and 2880 institutional households were selected to participate in the research findings. In total, the study involved 12,600 households selected through probability sampling techniques for quantitative data collection. To select participants for qualitative data collection, the research used snowball sampling and purposive sampling techniques. Through these techniques, a number of Districts and institutions, as well as some key individuals were selected.

To analyze the data, the research was inspired by six pillars that the NURC set in assessing the status of reconciliation in Rwanda. Some aspects and new variables were added to adapt the indicators to the current context.

## Results

The following table presents the summary of quantitative results per pillars, showing scores of each indicator, the average percentage of each pillar, and the average percentage of the status of reconciliation at the national level.

**Table 1.**The current status of reconciliation in Rwanda

Pillars	Indicators	Findings (%) in 2015	Findings (%) in 2020	Average (%) in 2020
1. Understanding the past, the present and envisioning the future of Rwanda	Understanding of facts	91.7	95.8	94.6
	History and how it is shared	93.5	92.8	
	Ownership of reconciliation	91.1	95.1	
	Envisioning the future	91.2	94.8	
2. Citizenship, identity and responsibility	National identity	95.6	99.4	98.6
	Individual proudness of a shared identity	97.3	98.2	
	Shared values and vision	96.6	99	
	Commitment to national identity	97.4	99.2	
	Critical thinking <sup>1</sup>		97	
3. Political culture and Governance	The role of institutions	89.7	93.8	90.6
	Leaders' performance	95.4	94.8	
	Citizens' empowerment and participation in governance	89.0	83.1	
4. Security and wellbeing	National security and reconciliation	96.8	92.8	94.3
	Personal security and reconciliation	95.4	96.9	
	Economic security and rights to properties	88.2	95.2	
	Fair distribution of infrastructure	82.7	92.4	
5. Justice, fairness and rights	Truth about the past and punishing genocide and related crimes	94.4	98.3	93.1
	Compensation of properties looted or destroyed during the genocide	88.2	91.4	
	Apology and forgiveness	93.7	95.8	
	Individual healing	88.6	86.7	
	Fairness and respect of basic human rights	89.5	93.4	
6. Social cohesion	Trust among Rwandans	95.1	95.6	97.1
	Tolerance and interactions among Rwandans	96.1	96.9	
	Solidarity among Rwandans	96.8	98.2	
	Conviviality and friendship among Rwandans	96.4	97.8	
<b>AVERAGE</b>		<b>92.5</b>	<b>94.7</b>	
Factors/Mechanisms promoting reconciliation in Rwanda		98.7	98.3	

As displayed in Table 1, almost all the pillars and indicators have seen the status of reconciliation progress between 2016 and 2020, except for certain aspects that regressed.

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that indicators and elements that constitute them continued being improved along the years. Therefore, for variables and elements that were changed completely or added later, only existing results are presented.

The indicators that saw some regression in comparison to the assessment of 2015 include the way history is understood and shared that went from 93.8% in 2015 to score 92.8% in 2020. The qualitative data analysis relates this regression to sensitivity to what participants call “inyigisho zo ku mashyiga” or the teaching of ethnic hatred done by some parents. This is associated with the lingering genocide ideology and related offenses, and is seen in the fact that more than 9.8% of Rwandans who participated in this assessment said that the family remains the main place where history of hatred and division is taught today, while 8.6% argued that there were some Rwandans who continued to inculcate genocide ideology among others.

Where as this is a rationale for not relenting but putting more efforts in unity and reconciliation programs, such cases should be understood in the context of the long journey for reconciliation, rather than a weakness that undermine the validity and reliability of the scores.

The pillar of political culture and governance in the lenses of reconciliation saw two indicators whose 2020 scores regressed in comparison with those of 2015. These are views regarding leaders' performance in relation to reconciliation that went from 95.4% in 2015 to 94.8% in 2020, and views regarding citizens' empowerment and participation in governance that went from 89% in 2015 to 83.1% in 2020. It should be noted that 93.8% of Rwandans showed that they appreciated the role of institutions, and saw that these institutions were all working to promote reconciliation. However, qualitative data analysis show that Rwandans disapprove certain leaders' tendency to disregard problems of citizens, failing to provide them with needed services. Some respondents see such characters of some local leaders as a factor that hinders reconciliation. Regarding citizens' empowerment and participation in governance, qualitative data show a mixed image. Indeed, respondents show that citizens have now understood their capacity to hold leaders accountable, but also consider that leaders have not reached the intended level of valuing the population's ideas in decision-making.

Under the pillar of security and wellbeing, the indicator of national security and reconciliation regressed from 96.8% in 2015 to 92.8% in 2020. According to qualitative data, this is highly associated with recent events of insecurities and propaganda of imminent wars through social media. But scores of other indicators like personal security, economic security and appreciation of infrastructure distribution have considerably increased.

The indicator of individual healing under the pillar of justice, fairness and rights went down from 88.6% in 2015 to 86.7% in 2020, results that are reflected also in the qualitative data where respondents show that more efforts are still needed to assist various categories of the population in the healing process. They demonstrate that, while the tendency has been to associate trauma with only genocide survivors, there are other categories of the Rwandan society, such as former genocide convicts, children whose parents and spouses whose partners committed genocide, who live with mental problems caused by the genocide.

While table 1 has displayed the findings of Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer 2020 in comparison to 2015, it should be noted that NURC commissioned similar studies, not only in 2015 but also in 2010 as well. The following table presents a comparison of average percentages for all the six pillars between the RRB 2010, the RRB 2015 and the RRB 2020.

**Table 2.** Comparison between the RRB 2010, the RRB 2015, and the RRB 2020

	RRB 2010	RRB 2015	RRB 2020
1. Understanding the past, the present and envisioning the future of Rwanda	81.7	91.8	94.6
2. Citizenship, identity and responsibility	95.2	96.7	98.6
3. Political culture and Governance	77.8	88.4	90.6
4. Security and wellbeing	74.7	90.7	94.3
5. Justice, fairness and rights	77.2	91.4	93.1
6. Social cohesion	87.3	96.1	97.1
<b>AVERAGE</b>	<b>82.3</b>	<b>92.5</b>	<b>94.7</b>
Factors/mechanisms promoting reconciliation	—	98.7	98.3

Table 2 above is evidence of the progress that Rwanda has continued to make in terms of reconciliation. Indeed, figures clearly show that percentages of all indicators have increased in all assessments since the year 2010 to the present assessment of 2020. It should also be noted that, apart from seeking to evaluate the status of reconciliation in Rwanda in 2020, the research sought to identify and assess factors Rwandans believe contribute to the promotion of reconciliation. These factors were assessed through assessing citizens' opinions regarding the role various mechanisms and institutions play in promoting reconciliation, even if their primary mission might not be unity and reconciliation as such. This was based on the fact that unity and reconciliation in Rwanda is viewed as a cross cutting issue for which every individual person/institution/organization is responsible. Results, as presented in figure 107, show that Rwandans appreciate the role that various mechanisms play in promoting reconciliation, as all scores are beyond 90% with an observable high increase since 2015.

Moreover, apart from factors believed to contribute to promoting reconciliation, respondents were also asked to provide factors they saw as hindering the process of reconciliation. For easy analysis, the factors have been associated with various themes, as summarized in the following table:

**Table 3.** Factors hindering reconciliation

<b>Factors</b>	<b>Findings (%) 2010</b>	<b>Findings (%) 2015</b>	<b>Findings (%) 2020</b>
Rwandans who still sow genocide ideology and divisive politics	31.5	<b>25.8</b>	<b>8.6</b>
Ethnic-based stereotypes	30.5	<b>27.9</b>	<b>1.8<sup>4</sup></b>
Unhealed wounds caused by the genocide and divisive politics	11.6	<b>4.6</b>	<b>26.9</b>

<sup>4</sup>This figure comes from the variable 'Rwandans view themselves as Rwandans first before anything else' that scored 98.2% of positive answers. The difference, or the negative answers, is the one that stands at 1.8%.

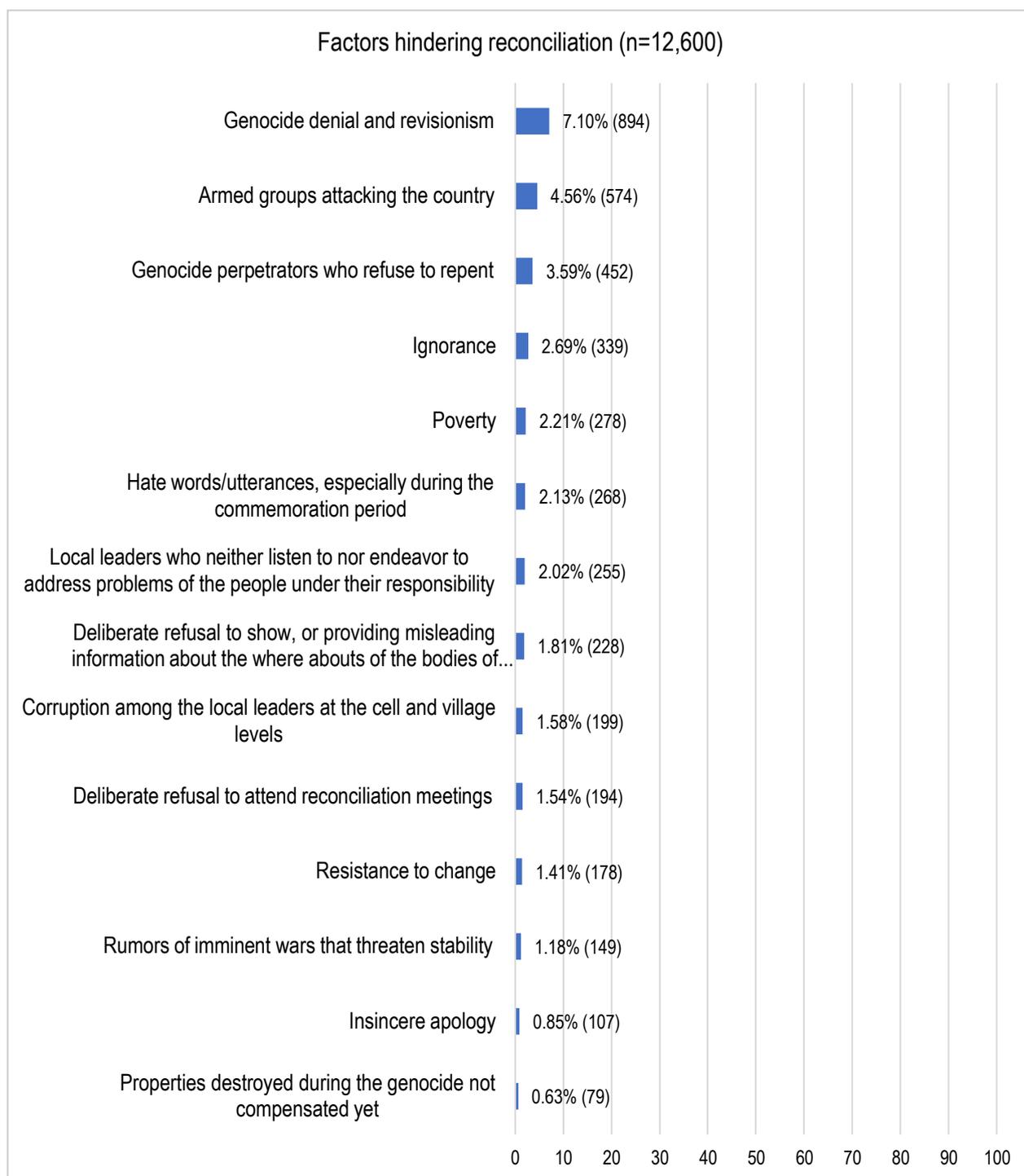
As table 3 displays, there are factors that were seen as hindering reconciliation in the 2010 and 2015 assessments. In spite of obvious results in addressing these challenges, the 2020 assessment shows that the same factors are still viewed as inhibiting the process of reconciliation, although at lower percentages comparing to past reports. Indeed, table 3 shows that efforts put in place to address dissemination of genocide ideology and divisive politics, as well as ethnic-based stereotypes bore fruits. For example, the variable that assessed whether there were Rwandans who still sow genocide ideology and divisive politics went down from 31.5% in 2010, to 25.8% in 2015, and to 8.6% in 2020. This big achievement is seen as a result of efforts to discourage the culture of impunity, and the enactment of laws to punish genocide ideology and other related crimes.

In 2020, the assessment did not examine the question of whether there are still Rwandans who view themselves and others through ethnic lenses, but a quite similar question is asked under the pillar of citizenship, identity and responsibility. Here, respondents reflected on whether Rwandans view themselves as Rwandans first, meaning that they have gone beyond tendencies to be attached to small identities. Findings on this question show that the percentage of Rwandans who view themselves as Rwandans first before anything else has increased from 95.6% in 2015 to 98.2% in 2020, meaning that those who did not agree with that statement were 1.8% of the respondents.

The smaller percentage of 2020 (1.8) on this statement should not be seen as a result of a miracle, but as evidence that Rwandans have no issues regarding citizenship and shared identity of Rwandans. What this means broadly is that Rwandans are not considering that ethnicity would be instrumentalized to hinder reconciliation as it used to be. As qualitative data have demonstrated, the fact of not seeing ethnicity as a threat to reconciliation is highly a result of the choice to base politics on ideology rather than ethnicity, as well as the policy of unity and reconciliation.

Apart from the three factors displayed in table 3, the RRB 2020 identified other factors Rwandans believe hinder efforts of reconciliation in the country, as portrayed in the following figure.

**Figure 1.** Other factors hindering reconciliation



Factors displayed in Figure 1 are also believed to hinder reconciliation. As the table displays, Rwandans are mainly worried about genocide denial and revisionism, because this factor was repeated 894 times, which gives the score of 7.10%. In the same line there is also hate words or utterances, especially during the commemoration period, deliberate refusal or providing misleading information about the whereabouts of the bodies of genocide victims, etc.

Another factor that seems to raise concern among Rwandans is the fact that some groups have resorted to using violent means against the country. This culture of violence is also seen in individuals who openly or covertly resist to initiatives put in place to rebuild the country after the Genocide against the Tutsi. Figure 1 provides other factors, such as local

leaders who fail to address problems of the people, people convicted for genocide crimes who refuse to repent, insincere apology, etc., that, similar to those already discussed, are as deterring the process of reconciliation.

## Recommendations

On the basis of the challenges and other results, participants formulated a number of recommendations. First of all, understanding that reconciliation remains a journey in progress is fundamental. On this journey, individual citizens can not be at the same pace, but the government or the leadership remains a key player in creating, providing, and maintaining national reconciliation, which is a safe environment for individual reconciliation to occur. It is therefore crucial to continuously be aware and reinforce existing factors believed to make reconciliation possible, like Ndi Umunyarwanda, but also devise new measures that help to address factors seen as inhibiting the process of reconciliation.

# 1. INTRODUCTION

This report presents the assessment of the status of reconciliation in Rwanda, from the year 2016 to 2020, which justifies the title "Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer 2020". Carried out in all Districts of Rwanda, this report is a response to the need to examine how Rwandans appraise the standing of reconciliation in the stated period.

The introductory section presents the background of the research, a brief rationale for reconciliation in Rwanda, an overview of reconciliation efforts the government of Rwanda has put in place since 1994, a rationale for the Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer 2020, and finally, objectives and questions the present report has addressed.

## 1.1. Background

As a united and sovereign country, Rwanda exists long before colonization. Indeed, in the pre-colonial period, all Rwandans loved their country, felt that they shared the Rwandan nationality, and did not identify themselves as Hutus, Twas or Tutsis, because they had their own clans which contained Tutsis, Twas and Hutus (Rutembesa, 2003). Being in Rwanda in the 1930s, the French specialist in history, Louis de Lacger, was astonished by the way Rwandans of the 1930s were characterized by the feeling that they shared the same country and really loved it (patriotism). Here is how he characterized Rwanda:

*The indigenous of this country (Rwanda) have the feeling of forming one people, the Banyarwanda, which gives the name to this territory. This feeling is the same as the one noticed in civilized people who are attached to their land, to their family, to their District, and most importantly to their entire territory obeying to a same prince (de Lacger, 1939).*

For the above writer, an element that was at the origin of that patriotism was the existence of one single language, Ikinyarwanda, which is, up to now, spoken by all Rwandans all over the country.

However, the advent of colonization in 1885 did not only destroy the unity of Rwandans but also it instituted division and favoritism as political ideologies. Indeed, with their divide-and-rule system, colonizers, especially the Belgians, instrumentalized ethnicity in Rwanda (NURC, 2004 or 2006). In this instrumentalization of ethnicity, the understanding of Hutu, Twa, and Tutsi as social classes that shared the same citizenship (De Lacger, 1939) got changed into ethnicity (Harroy, 1984). In the same line of thinking, De Heusch (1995) observed, the construction of Tutsi, Hutu and Twa as different ethnic groups was the ideologues of colonizers who presented it in this fallacious way. It is in this period where new theories such as that of settlements of separating Rwandans were developed. One example of these theories is the one that traced "Abatutsi" to be the late comers in Rwanda who migrated from Ethiopia, which made them foreigners unlike the 'indigenous' Hutus and the Twas. This fallacious definition is one of the causes of recurring killings that took place after the so-called Hutu Revolution of 1959 (Louis de Lacger, 1939; Luc de Heusch, 1995).

While Rwanda gained independence in 1962, successive governments failed to unite Rwandans. Instead, the First and Second Republics promoted divisions along ethnic lines, excluding one component of the population from all kinds of social, economic and political rights. Right from the Belgian colonial era, where identities were ethnicized by the introduction of identity cards bearing one's ethnic 'identity,' the issue of identity became a political tool to be used whenever politicians believed it was politically convenient to do so (NURC, 2017). Such divisive politics resulted into killings and expulsion of a group of Rwandans in 1959, 1963, 1973, etc. In 1994 over a million Tutsi got massacred by their fellow Rwandans in what the UN (UN decision A/72/L.31)<sup>7</sup> has qualified as the Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda.

It was in July 1994, after stopping the genocide against the Tutsi in the country, that the RPF led the establishment of Government of National Unity in accordance with the Arusha Peace Agreement. It is therefore justified to argue that the period before, during and after the genocide left Rwanda a divided nation. In these circumstances, the post-genocide era presented the country with an immediate imperative of the Government of National Unity and its stakeholders to put in place measures to unite and reconcile the people. Before discussing in details measures put in place to enhance unity and reconciliation, the section below presents a brief rationale for why Rwanda needed reconciliation.

## **1.2. Reconciliation in Rwanda: the unique option for post-genocide reconstruction**

The most important and enduring puzzle for social scientists is explaining sociality and how it is maintained. How do groups of individual actors maintain social order despite competition and conflict among themselves? Galtung, J. succinctly captured the enigma as he observed: "The fact that we are around testifies to a lot of conflict resolution capacity. And reconstruction. And reconciliation. How come (Long & Brecke, 2003: 1)?" Indeed, formal and informal observations of many levels of social organization acknowledge the tension between aggressive pursuit of self-interest and societal harmony (ibid.). Many of these observations also point to the importance of reconciliation- mutually conciliatory accommodation between former antagonists- as one process integral to mitigating future violence and maintaining societal relationships after violent conflict.

Violent conflicts often pit one person or group of persons who believe their goals are incompatible that they cannot find peaceful solutions to their differences. Generally, societies affected by violence are already divided, and the violence leaves them deeply divided with multiple questions to address for reconstruction. Studies highlight difficulties post-conflict societies face, such as immediate challenges of humanitarian support and post-conflict reconstruction of the social, economic and political infrastructure destroyed during the period of violence (Themnér & Utas, 2016).

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<sup>7</sup>This decision corrects mistakes that existed in resolution A/RES/58/234 where it was not clarified that the Tutsi constituted the group targeted for extermination.

Another challenging legacy of violent conflicts is the need for reconciliation, in other words the restoration of pre-violence relations between the persons or groups. Post-conflict societies have sought to address the issue of reconciliation through a variety of methods, including setting up truth and reconciliation commissions (Hirsch et al., 2012), truth and justice commissions, and many others.

Similar to other post-violence societies, Rwanda also chose its path for reconciliation. But this was far from being an easy journey, given that the country was left with traumatized survivors, numerous orphans and widows, thousands of handicapped people, and a generally traumatized and vulnerable population (NURC, 2014). The State and its institutions, particularly the Army and the Police, having participated in the genocide, had lost credibility among the people, which made it difficult to restore trust in the State and Government institutions. Therefore, the overall challenge remained centered on how to unite and reconcile a country, not only devastated by serious human rights abuses, but also inhabited by wounded and traumatized people.

Despite this deep darkness the country was facing, reconciliation was identified as the unique option, the sole pathway towards national reconstruction. Indeed, the Arusha Peace Agreement had already portrayed unity and reconciliation as a necessary process for the stability and development of the country. In that agreement, the then Government of Rwanda and the RPF considered unity and reconciliation as an imperative prerequisite for the re-establishment of democracy, peace and tranquility, the rule of law, national cohesion, and a holistic development (NURC, 2010). Having discussed the necessity for reconciliation in Rwanda after the genocide against the Tutsi, the following section highlights the major mechanisms the Government of National Unity put in place to execute its vision of reconciling the Nation.

### **1.3. Unity and Reconciliation Efforts since 1994**

Since 1994, the Government of Rwanda, working with partners and its citizens, has undertaken significant efforts to reconcile and unite the people of Rwanda following decades of divisive politics and policies. As stated in the previous section, the first step towards rebuilding the nation and fostering national unity and cohesion was made during the Arusha Peace Agreement in which it was agreed to form a transitional government of national unity in which all parties were invited and included. When this failed, a Government of National Unity was formed in 1994, and it continued with the work of bringing Rwandans together. As in other post-conflict societies, Rwanda's national reconciliation process started with the peace process (the agreements), followed by putting in place policies, laws and institutions to promote the reconciliation process.

In 1999, the government set up a formal process and structure for advancing national unity and reconciliation by establishing the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission. The mandate of the NURC was and remains to promote national activities related to reconciling and uniting Rwandans by promoting a re-defined "Rwandan identity and building a shared sense of Rwandanness" (NURC, 2014).

The functions of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission include:

- (i) Preparing and coordinating the National program for the promotion of national unity and reconciliation,

- (ii) Putting in place and developing ways and means to restore and consolidate unity and reconciliation among Rwandans,
- (iii) Educating and mobilizing the population on matters relating to national unity and reconciliation

It is clear that promoting national unity and reconciliation remains the core function of the commission since its founding.

Another challenge the Government of National Unity had to address was to prosecute thousands of cases arising out of the genocide. This was practically impossible under the formal court system. The introduction of the Gacaca courts in 2001, a tradition justice system where “survivors, witnesses and alleged perpetrators converge under the supervision of lay judges to determine the truth and justice about the genocide” (Chakravarty, 2006:132) was able to expedite the process of justice. However, Gacaca courts also played a role in uniting and reconciling Rwandans through promoting truth telling, confession and forgiveness. Justice was served while also promoting reconciliation.

The government continued to promote national unity and reconciliation through different measures. These include, but are not limited to,<sup>8</sup> the promulgation, in May 2003, of the Constitution<sup>9</sup> through a referendum, and the decentralization of power and authority to bring services closer to the people. The measures also include the holding of regular elections as stipulated in the Constitution, the setting up of the National Itorero Commission, the introduction of the Ndi Umunyarwanda and the issuance of a national identity card that, for the first time since 1943, does not indicate any ethnic category of the holder.

As an institution tasked with planning and coordinating national efforts of unity and reconciliation, the NURC has been conducting research – titled Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer – to understand and assess the status of reconciliation in the Rwandan society.

#### **1.4. The status of reconciliation: 2016-2020**

Since its establishment, the NURC has been conducting research on various aspects of unity and reconciliations in the post-genocide Rwanda. In 2010 the Commission undertook a national survey that formed the basis of the first national reconciliation barometer. In 2015, the NURC carried out the second edition of the RRB. This assessment highlighted the gains made since 2010 as well as factors that hindered the reconciliation process. The Barometer showed that those factors included, among others, ethnic-based stereotypes at 27.9%, lingering genocide ideology at 25.8%, and wounds resulting from past divisions and genocide not fully healed yet, at 4.6%.

Following various recommendations, government institutions and their partners put in place and continued to implement different programs aimed at addressing the challenges to reconciliation and improve living conditions of Rwandans. It is now 5 years after the 2015 RRB was published, which gives a better opportunity for conducting another 5-year-assessment<sup>10</sup> of reconciliation in Rwanda. Therefore, building from the

<sup>8</sup>Sentama (2014) gives more details about mechanisms Rwanda put in place to boost reconciliation.

<sup>9</sup> Article 178 of the 2003 Constitution gives a mandate to the NURC whose functions include planning and coordinating programs meant for promoting unity and reconciliation

<sup>10</sup>The NURC commissions and assessment of the status of reconciliation, termed Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer, every five years.

results of Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer 2010 and 2015, the present inception report is about Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer 2020.

The 2020 Unity and Reconciliation Barometer comes 26 years after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, and in social science studies this would constitute a generation. This means that people born after 1994 have now reached adulthood. It would be important to determine what this generation knows about unity and reconciliation, and what their thoughts about the future of the country are.

Second, the National Strategy for Transformation, which is the flagship government program for the 7 years ending in 2024, has got, as one of its key priority areas, the promotion of national unity and reconciliation. Rwanda has also completed its UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) assessment and embarked on the attainment of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) by 2030. Moreover, there have been various activities that have threatened the security of Rwanda, such as soaring relations with Uganda and Burundi, and killings of civilians by armed groups from neighboring countries.

These events and many others that have happened at the national, regional and international levels have had impacts on various angles of life in Rwanda. Indeed, there is no doubt that these events impinge upon the relationship between people, and on community and social cohesion. It is therefore important to gauge whether the unity of Rwandans has continued to be strong through the last five years and if that has been the case, to establish what has made that possible by identifying the supporting/favorable factors. Should it be found to have faltered, the study should highlight the factors that weaken or inhibit national unity and reconciliation.

## 1.5. Questions and objectives

Before elaborating on the objectives RRB 2020, it is important to remind that unity and reconciliation in Rwanda is seen as a “responsibility of every Rwandan and every institution.” It is viewed as “the only option for peace that Rwanda chose to undertake after the discriminatory and divisive politics that plunged the country into wars and the Genocide against the Tutsi” (NURC, 2007). This justifies the purpose of RRB 2020 to assess the status of reconciliation in Rwanda by analyzing views of citizens regarding unity and reconciliation. Therefore, building from the findings of RRB 2015, the 2020 reconciliation barometer sought to achieve two objectives:

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

## 2. THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL PERSPECTIVES

This chapter presents key concepts that guided the analysis of findings. It presents the frame under which reconciliation should be understood through theoretical perspectives on one side, and conceptual framework on another one. Prior to that, the chapter describes the perspectives under which reconciliation should be understood in this report.

### 2.1. Reconciliation: an overview

Despite its increasingly common usage in a range of diverse contexts, there is lack of common understanding about the definition of reconciliation. Reconciliation remains a complex and context-dependent concept (Evaldsson, 2007). To add to the complexity is the fact that this concept is defined, both as a goal – something to achieve – and a process – a means by which to achieve that goal, which raises the controversy as the two ideas get always confused. According to Kumar (1999), reconciliation is a process of bringing together again individuals in post-war, post-genocide societies, or people who have been subjected to social exclusion. It refers to efforts of bringing together communities and societies that experienced violent conflicts by establishing new conditions for coexistence, social healing, overcoming fear and mistrust at different levels of these communities (Krondorfer, 2018).

Reconciliation is also seen as a different approach of thinking about the needs of communities in which people have experienced acts of mass violence and abuse of human rights to restore their mutual trust and cooperation. It complements retributive justice that emphasizes on the idea of punishment of perpetrators to hold them accountable about their unhuman acts. Supporters of reconciliation put emphasis on the fact that reconciliation is dynamic whereby former adversaries move slowly in building new relationships, hence paving ground to building new community or society.

Reconciliation may be seen as the process of restoring a peaceful coexistence between one person or group of persons and another and that it is desirable to restore or even reconstitute a more viable coexistence perhaps even more constructive and productive than the pre-conflict state of social relations. The implicit assumptions are that there was a relationship before and after conflict which was damaged at some point. Reconciliation, as a construct, is complex and it is understood to mean both a process and an end in itself (IDEA, 2003). Moreover, reconciliation occurs in different contexts and at different levels allowing for a broader understanding and conversation among researchers, academicians, policy makers and ordinary citizens to engage richly on the subject matter of reconciliation. As a process, reconciliation is a long term, deep and broad process "through which a society moves from a divided past to a shared future" (ibid. p.13).

Reconciliation, therefore, is about dealing with the issues that divided a society in a sustainable manner in order to build a more desirable future. It is in this regard that reconciliation encompasses aspects of truth, justice, tolerance, governance, human rights, rule of law among others. Reconciliation has also been conceptualized in different models. The first model of reconciliation is concerned with what is called Intrapersonal reconciliation-the process by which individuals who suffered from, or conducted violence, need to reconcile with themselves. It is of ten referred to as trauma 'healing' (Stovel, 2006).

The second model of reconciliation is called interpersonal reconciliation, sometimes also called thick reconciliation, associated with a religious paradigm-with individuals as units of analysis. It is concerned with the reparation of relationships between victims and those who harmed them or their loved ones (ibid.). Here reconciliation happens to individuals, usually between two (a group of) people (survivor and former genocide convicts), but also sometimes with an individual themselves. The interpersonal understanding of reconciliation is characterized by "a shared comprehensive vision, mutual healing and restoration, and mutual forgiveness". Its elements also include "confession, sacrifice, and redemption" (Borer,2006). Although this model varies according to individual emphasis, certain concepts are strongly identified with it, including healing, apology, forgiveness, confession, and remorse.

In this model, individual reconciliation can foster sustainable peace if and when the following core elements, as outlined by Assefa(2008), are taken into consideration: (a) honest acknowledgment of the harm/injury each party has inflicted on the other; (b) sincere regrets and remorse for the injury done;(c) readiness to apologize for one's role in inflicting the injury; (d) Readiness of the conflicting parties to 'let go' of the anger and bitterness caused by the conflict and the injury,(e) commitment by the offender not to repeat the injury; (f) sincere effort to redress past grievances that caused the conflict and compensate the damage caused to the extent possible; and (g) entering into a new mutually enriching relationship.

The third model of reconciliation can be described as political reconciliation, often referred to as 'National Reconciliation', and also called thin reconciliation, associated with a national or political paradigm with socio-political institutions and processes, as units of analysis. Some also talk of National Unity and Reconciliation (Borer, 2006).

This approach to reconciliation, unlike the second (thick reconciliation), assumes that former enemies are unlikely to agree with each other or even to get along very well. In this regard, one important aspect of national reconciliation is 'the development of a political culture that is respectful of the human rights of all people'. As Borer (op cit.) stresses, the emphasis of national reconciliation is that "the state should strive to build legitimate and representative state institutions that respect fundamental human rights" and in which it is the state's responsibility to "create a culture of rights based up on an inclusive and democratic notion of citizenship." In sum, the national reconciliation model of reconciliation is most closely associated with the following terms: tolerance, rule of law (justice), democracy, human rights culture, conflict resolution, transparency, and public debate.

The fourth model of reconciliation is an Alternative Model: Reconciliation as Forgiveness. An alternative approach asserts what we call the forgiveness hypothesis: reconciliation is part of a process of forgiveness, transforming certain emotions (moving from anger to affinity) and transcending certain beliefs about oneself and the other, which opens the possibility of new, beneficial relations. It begins by observing that reconciliation is a ubiquitous mechanism for solving the enduring problem of sociality. It then builds a model or explanation for this patterned behavior based on an evolutionary theory of the mind that assumes the mind has evolved to solve specific, recurring problems such as how to maintain social relations through integration of emotion and reason.

Specifically, the general forgiveness hypothesis suggests the following: an adaptive problem that humans and our ancestors encountered for several million years (since they first lived in groups) is the problem of sociality, how to restore social order and the benefits of affiliation despite inevitable conflicts and injuries. In response, the often-witnessed and variously documented ability to forgive and the process of reconciliation are, hypothetically, modern manifestations of a functionally specialized, emotionally assisted, human problem-solving capability that we possess to explicate ourselves from this recurrent dilemma. Without such a mechanism, Hannah, A. (1989) supposed, "Our capacity to act would, as it were, be confined to one single deed [conflict] from which we could never recover; we would remain the victims of its consequences forever, not unlike the sorcerer's apprentice who lacked the magic formula to break the spell"

The previously discussed models on reconciliation make it clear that reconciliation is a complex concept that creates ambiguities owing to its diverse dimensions.

## 2.2. Reconciliation: the Rwandan perspective

A number of studies have been undertaken to understand the process of reconciliation in the aftermath of violence and atrocities, such as the Holocaust (Longerich, 2010), the racism of Apartheid systems in South Africa (François du Bois and Antje du Bois-Pedain, 2009), the Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda (NURC, 2014); religious conflicts in North Ireland (Brewer & Higgins, 1998), and the political oppression perpetrated by non-Indigenous Australians against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians in Australia (Gunstone, 2007), among others.

The term reconciliation remains a contested one both as a process and as a goal (Skaar, 2013), but one could argue that each process of reconciliation has been adapted to the context of the country and circumstances surrounding they type of violence the countries have experienced. Indeed, theorists try to understand what the theory or theories are saying and then offer a critique of the theory's features. In light of such discussions, other scholars and practitioners adapt the theories to their own needs and realities in the context of their own cultures and situations. In the same vein, Becker& Luckman stressed: "humanism states that the development of social reality is rooted in the human consciousness; especially, a consciousness of the precariousness and non-finality of all social arrangements and occurrences. As normative beings, people create their own social reality, including their own norms and values. Observations therefore can never be value free. People sharing the same social reality form their own community, which cannot be analyzed according to a neutral universal methodology, but only by their own contextually bound social reality through a dialogical process-conscientisation."

Rwanda's conceptualisation of reconciliation bends toward key pillars based on different values that may lead to successful reconciliation process. In the post-genocide Rwanda, reconciliation is conceptualized as an effort to redefine the Rwandan identity and build a shared sense of Rwandanness (NURC, 2010). As stipulated in the national policy on reconciliation, Rwandans have adopted a contextualized conceptualization of reconciliation as follows:

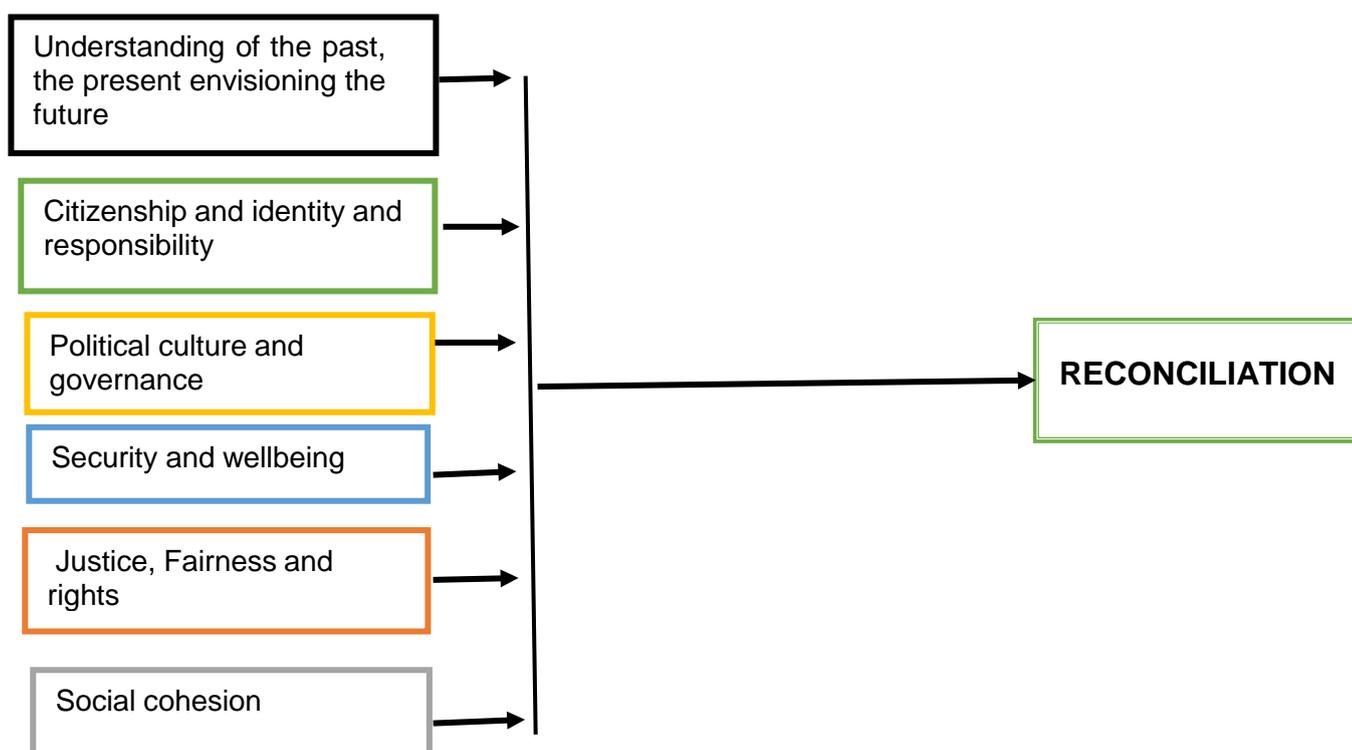
*Reconciliation is a consensus practice of citizens who have common nationality, who share the same culture and have equal rights; citizens characterized by trust, tolerance, mutual respect, equality, complementary roles/interdependence, truth, and healing of one another's wounds inflicted by our history, with the objectives of laying a foundation for sustainable development (ibid.).*

The above definition clarifies what Rwandans value in regard to their journey towards reconciliation. In summary, the definition brings to light values that have appeared in every assessment of reconciliation in Rwanda, be it the one of 2010 and that of 2015, and which also is characteristic of the RRB 2020. These are, among others, common nationality, equal rights cultural respect, truth and healing, trust, tolerance and complementarity. The following section puts these values under six variables, each with related indicators that have inspired the analysis of empirical data on the status of reconciliation in Rwanda, between 2016 and 2020.

### 2.3. Conceptual framework of reconciliation in Rwanda

Both the 2010 and 2015 barometers identified and used 6 key thematic indicators to assess the degree of reconciliation and national unity namely (1) understanding the past, present and envisioning the future, (2) citizenship and identity, (3) political culture, (4) security and wellbeing, (5) justice, fairness and rights, and (6) social cohesion. Below is a discussion of each pillar and the associated indicators, as well as reasons why all the variables matter for RRB 2020. The discussion takes into consideration other existing sources of information to assess their scope and relevance for this study. The following figure displays the pillars, their linkage with the Ndi Umunyarwanda, and how all of them are analyzed to understand the status of reconciliation in Rwanda.

**Figure 2.**Conceptual framework



The above diagram shows the framework within which the national reconciliation process in Rwanda is situated. As discussed in the section below, the Rwanda reconciliation framework is situated within the context of a history full of divisionism, nepotism, and genocide. Each of the six pillars has a number of variables that contribute to national reconciliation. The cumulative effect of the interaction among the indicators together with the prevailing policy environment create the right conditions that drive reconciliation among the people.

The following sub-sections provide detailed presentations and discussions of the pillars, indicators, their associated variables, and the rationale for each indicator as far as RRB 2020 is concerned.

### **2.3.1. Understanding the past, present and envisioning the future**

As it has already been indicated, before colonization Rwandans felt united sharing the territory of Rwanda and the benefits it could provide. Colonizers used social classes to which all Rwandans adhered, which resulted into the instrumentalization of ethnicity in the country. In fact, the existence of clans as sociopolitical organizations was not unique to Rwanda. Indeed, this was a common reality among communities in the Great Lakes Region known as the inter-lacustrine region of East Africa.

Attempts have been made to provide an accurate historical record of the evolution of Rwanda as a nation. Today, people are gradually becoming aware of the way historical accounts have been twisted. The 2015 Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer, for example, shows that the pillar of 'understanding of facts' was highly rated at 91.7%. This means that the Rwandan public are able to establish and interrogate historical accounts, not simply by absorbing any account presented to them without questioning its veracity and source. Although Rwanda's historical past, like that of most other nations, remains a matter of interpretation by individuals who access it, there are certain aspects of it that are clearly known. To try and distort these for purposes of political mileage and expediency is not only disingenuous but also dangerous, and it is this sort of intellectual dishonesty that led to catastrophe and mass murder of Tutsis since the 1950s up until the genocide of 1994.

The way history is taught in schools to children and presented to the general public in different discourses by leaders and experts has been part of the problem. The presentation of historical events as incontestable rock-solid truths without a caveat on some of the areas of history and without providing the various perspectives to the readers is tantamount to intellectual dishonesty on the part of the teacher. History used to be taught to emphasize differences and divisions and the nature of relationships between the different groups that existed was presented only as one of dominance and servitude and never one of mutual peaceful coexistence. No attempt was made to provide context under which all this happened and how the relationship evolved over time. Public discourses, poems and other historical experiences were clothed only in terms of differences among the people making the historical account extremely toxic. Little wonder that even under the slightest of circumstances, it was possible for murder to happen.

Fortunately, the RRB 2015 indicated that there has been a deliberate attempt to change the way history is taught and presented in schools and in public discourses. This indicator 'history teaching' scored 93.5%. Although these scores appear to be high, there is still room to determine if the public is totally convinced that history is properly taught and presented in public discourses. Furthermore, apart from looking at how history is taught, there is also need to assess how history, especially what historical content, is talked about in families. This is due to the fact that there have been reports that divisive tendencies, particularly based on negative ethnicity, are still disseminated at family level, which can constitute the crime of genocide ideology and its other crimes related to it.

Ownership of reconciliation as a result of a proper understanding of the historical past as well as a teaching and presentation of history that does not distort facts or historical experiences for political or any other form of expediency is necessary to rebuild a broken society. This indicator scored 91.1% and was the lowest under this pillar. It is therefore necessary to retain this indicator to determine if there has been an improvement or not. In any case, the public commitment to reconciliation is a very important part of the reconciliation process. Without the unwavering public ownership of the process, reconciliation would not yield any results.

Sharing a common destiny in which each person sees their future and that of their children provides a basis for working together to attain that future. A common future means that each and every person knows their role and place in the scheme of things and is accountable to others for this common destiny. In the late 1990s, Rwandans agreed on a common vision for the future dubbed 'Vision 2020'. Today a new destiny has been formulated dubbed 'Vision 2050'.

It is pertinent to establish if Rwandans still share a common understanding of the new vision of the nation and the direction it is taking. This involves also taking stock of the achievements of Vision 2020. In RRB 2015, this indicator scored 91.2%, but with multiple events that characterized the period between 2016 and 2020, further investigation is needed for this indicator. Some of these include the revision of the history curriculum in schools, the training of teachers on the teaching of history, and the publication of different history books.

It should be noted that part of the problems facing this country has been the attempts to present historical facts in a distorted way to the detriment of the unity of Rwandans. This can only be corrected by the truth telling, memory and other tools that have been devised. One of the challenges of Rwanda's historical past has been the little written records, yet, written historical events are believed to provide a reliable historical source. It is also important to assess the extent to which the public has maintained the level of trust in the way historical facts are presented and disseminated in the Rwandan society by various actors such as government officials, schools, religious institutions, parents and the media.

### 2.3.2. Citizenship, identity and responsibility

In the RRB 2015, the second pillar used was Citizenship and Identity. In order to estimate its magnitude four (4) indicators were utilized, namely National identity, Individual proud of shared identity, Shared values and vision, and commitment to national identity. It should be noted that this was the highest scoring pillar with 96.7%, and all the indicators scored above 95% with the highest being commitment to national identity (97.4%) and the lowest being national identity (95.6%). Although the pillar had the highest score of all pillars, it is important to determine if this level of commitment to citizenship and identity continues to hold. This is mainly because of multiple efforts that have been put in place to entrench Rwandaness as the most fundamental definition of identity through Ndi Umunyarwanda, as well as due to the past historical injustices built around identity politics. Furthermore, RRB 2020 also sought to assess the place of citizens' responsibility in choice they make in regard to whom they are and where the meaning they give to their relationship with their country. Although, as indicated above, the issue of citizenship and national identity seems entrenched, this study assessed whether these views are persistent or malleable considering the passage of time. Since 2015, there have been efforts to galvanize national unity through a definition of Rwandan identity and the promotion of Rwandan values and norms that define a Rwandan.

### 2.3.3. Political culture and governance

Political culture and governance is the pillar that refers to how people relate and view the political system they are in and how legitimate it is to them. It is an assessment of the attitudes, beliefs, and emotions with which people are associated in relation to the political process and its outcomes (Winkle, 2018). Although the term political culture has been discussed in the literature with different views provided as to its definition and measurement, it has also been found to be useful once an operational definition is provided as to what is being described. Furthermore, while allusions to what constitutes political culture are as old as politics itself, a more contemporary exploration of the meaning and characteristics of different types of political cultures was made popular by and since the seminal work of Almond and Verba, *The Civic Culture*, published in 1963. Through surveys carried out in different Western democracies, Almond and Verba (1963) came up with three types of political culture, namely the parochial political culture, the subject political culture, and the participant political culture.

The parochial political culture is one where citizens have virtually no role in determining who, when and how they are governed. They are completely deprived of any authority or participation in the affairs of the state and are thus completely detached from state matters. In a subject political culture, individuals are allowed to participate only to a limited extent mostly complying with set norms and rules as well as having confidence in the institutions of state. They have a few rights that they can exercise but are mostly expected to comply with norms that have been set.

The participant political culture allows the citizen to actively participate in the political process, by voting, by participating in civic duties, question political decisions, actively debating and discussing alternative political ideas. A participant political culture balances rights with duties and obligations of the citizen and allows the citizen to be in the driving seat of the political process.

A proper mix of the subject and the participant political cultures produces a civic culture that allows the flourishing of a democratic culture. The Encyclopedia Britannica defines the political culture of a nation as "set of attitudes, beliefs and sentiments that give order and meaning to a political process and which provide the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behavior in the political system" (Badie et al., 2011).

Rwanda's political culture is best captured by the Preamble to the 2003 Constitution in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> paragraphs which stipulates as:

*Committed to building a State governed by the rule of law, based on the respect for human rights, freedom and on the principle of equality of all Rwandans before the Law as well as equality between men and women;*  
(para 6)

*Committed further to building a State based on consensual and pluralistic democracy founded on power sharing, national unity and reconciliation, good governance, development, social justice, tolerance and resolution of problems through dialogue;* (para 7)

In formulating the Constitution and subjecting it to a referendum, the leadership of Government of Rwanda sought to strengthen and promote citizen participation in the governance process.

Since 1994, Rwandans have preferred to be governed by consensus politics with shared responsibilities among the different political contestants. Right from the formation of a government of national unity in 1994 to the enactment of the Constitution in 2003 and beyond, Rwandans have been engaged in nation building by the participation of all adults in all processes that deepen and promote a democratic political dispensation. This culture of citizen participation and engagement in the political decisions of the country is enshrined in the constitution, the decentralization policy, the nature and functioning of political organizations and is cemented by periodic elections of leaders by popular participation. The Constitution also guarantees inclusive politics by ensuring that the leaders of the different arms of government come from different political parties. To avoid polarizing and divisive politics that brought mayhem and genocide against the Tutsi, Rwandans agreed to set a political platform where all political issues are discussed in the public interest. This is the National Forum of Political Parties (NFPO) where representatives of political parties meet to discuss matters of national development in a free and responsible manner to promote national unity even when disagreeing on specific matters and approaches.

Since the publication of the 2015 Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer (RRB2015), a number of institutions have also produced their own reports. The most notable reports have been produced by the Rwanda Governance Board (RGB). These are the Rwanda Governance Scorecard (RGS), the Citizen's Report Card, and the media barometer, among others.

In the 2019 Governance Scorecard (see RGB, 2019), it is reported that Rwandans have maximum confidence in the ability of government and its institutions and branches to perform certain duties and functions. These include safety and security (94.29%), rule of law (84.70%), political rights and civil liberties (85.17%), and control of corruption, transparency and accountability 84.28% (ibid.,). In the 2015 edition of the RRB, many of

these indicators particularly those pertaining to the rule of law, political rights and civil liberties formed part of the body of questions asked. The 2020 assessment has also examined these indicators, focusing on their relatedness to reconciliation.

Similarly, the same RGS 2019 indicates that citizens participation in governance, captured in the variable 'participation and inclusiveness', scored 73.00%. One of the indicators is citizen participation which scored 72.68%.

Confidence in private sector institutions is captured in the Citizens Report Card 2019 (see RGB, 2018) where it scores 63.8%. This represents a significant reduction if compared with the RRB 2015 where it scored 72.4% and also in comparison with CRC 2018 where it was 64.4%. Based on the CRC trends, the public confidence in the private sector has been decreasing. In CRC 2017, it was 74.9%. The poor performance is largely attributed to poor quality services in cooperatives, transport sector, and hotels and restaurants.

The indicators used were the use of telephones and ICT, services provided by banks and MFIs, performance of cooperatives, transport services and services provided by hotels and restaurants. Considering the aim of RRB 2020, the above information regarding confidence in private sector institutions, there would be no added value in collecting data again on the same indicators. Nonetheless, RRB 2020 will use existing trends to assess what the decrease in confidence in private sector institutions could mean to reconciliation, and provide recommendations for the way forward.

In the same vein, the same reports indicate that Rwandans stated that certain areas of their lives in relation to the social contract with the state need further improvement and these are participation and inclusiveness (73.0%), investing in human and social development (68.53%), quality of service delivery (70.54%) and economic and corporate governance (76.43%). The CRC (2019) further supports some of the above findings of the GSC 2019. In particular, it is reported that 79.7% of citizens were satisfied with the delivery of governance and justice overall. This pillar included service delivery by local administration entities (71.3%), justice (76.4%), respect for principles of good governance and trust in leaders and service delivery institutions (88.5%), safety and security (89.4%) as well as the role of citizens in good governance (73.1%). Building from these findings, RRB 2020 will be able to formulate appropriate recommendations in regard to unity and reconciliation without seeking to collect more data on indicators already covered in recent reports.

In regard to Abunzi, the reports indicate that these committees have also played an important role in unity and reconciliation. According to RGB (2019), Abunzi committees have participated in resolving conflicts in families, thus "promoting peace in their communities, providing an inclusive and affordable justice, and strengthening social cohesion." As a result of their critical role in resolving conflicts and the manner in which they deliver justice at the community level, Rwandans have expressed confidence in the Abunzi committees. In particular, in all the Districts of the country, citizens were satisfied by a score of over 90%, the highest being Rutsiro (98.5%) and the lowest being Nyamagabe (92.48%). The fact that the Abunzi committees seek to resolve issues while promoting harmony means they promote unity and reconciliation among Rwandans, and existing information is sufficient enough. Based on the above reasons, there was no need to

collect more data on the political culture variable, but RRB 2020 will use information published in recent reports to formulate appropriate recommendation regarding this variable and its place in the journey for reconciliation in Rwanda.

Therefore, the 2020 assessment of these indicators in their link to the process of reconciliation is of great importance. It should also be remembered that Rwanda's history was replete with the denial of citizenship rights to the Tutsi since the 1950s through the period of the first and second Republics, which culminated in the Genocide against the Tutsi. The post-genocide efforts have attempted to address this issue and, although this issue is no longer as entrenched as it was during the previous eras, there is still need to eradicate any form of argument that denies one section of a people the rights to citizenship. It is important to interrogate the views of the public on the issue of identity, as well as the right to citizenship.

#### **2.3.4. Security and well being**

The variable termed as "security and wellbeing" covers national security services provided by various agencies, such as the army, the police, and the intelligence services as well as a host of local security agencies, but also security at the personal level with its various ramifications. Security agencies provide security for the sovereignty of the nation as well as security of persons and their property. They are also charged with maintaining law and order. The indicators used to measure this variable in the RRB 2015 were national security, personal security, economic security, and rights to basic assets and infrastructures. The same indicators were kept for the RRB 2020, particularly those pertaining to economic security and rights to basic assets and infrastructures, which are very associated with human security in general.

An important point to note here is that, far from being considered as mere repetition, indicators and variables in this report are analysed in regard to their contribution to reconciliation.

#### **2.3.5. Justice, fairness and rights**

As discussed earlier, although reconciliation has religious connotations root today, it is employed in national and international debates as a channel of restorative justice (Krondorfer, 2018). It encompasses dimensions such as right conduct, virtue ethics, forgiveness, tolerance, and rapprochement.

Since 1994, the national reconciliation effort had to be undertaken while addressing the issues of justice for victims and survivors of the genocide against the Tutsi. The conventional criminal justice system was incapable of dealing with the numbers involved as well as promoting the unity of the nation. This is when the traditional/transitional justice system known as 'Gacaca Courts' were introduced to address the issue. In addition to the courts, a system of conflict resolution based on a tradition of *Abunzi* (mediators) was catalyzed to support the resolution of conflicts at the community level while also promoting unity and reconciliation. Although the Gacaca courts were closed, there is still the issue of enforcing some of the decisions of these courts particularly the issue of compensating victims. Additional efforts are being made to identify places where people are still buried. This is continuing and all the genocide memorial sites have been properly

built and bodies that are discovered are taken to the sites for decent burial. In RRB 2015, this variable had the following indicators: Truth, punishment of criminals, compensation of properties destroyed/looted, apology and forgiveness, individual healing, fairness and respect of basic human rights.

In RGS (2019: 19) the variable called 'political rights and civil liberties' had an indicator named 'respect for human rights and core international conventions' with a score of 86.41%. Although this indicator provides useful information that make refer to reconciliation, the institutions covered as well as the nature of these institutions' contribution to reconciliation were not adequately probed. This makes it necessary to retain the indicators that were used. It also allows for expanding the coverage of institutions by assessing the impact the current status of justice, fairness and rights has had on reconciliation.

### 2.3.6. Social cohesion

Social cohesion is characterized by people working together to address the issues that they face in a manner that respects each other's views and dignity. Targeting social cohesion, reconciliation prioritizes human relationships such as psychological, emotional, cognitive, and reparative (Longerich, 2010; François duBois and Antje du Bois-Pedain, 2009; NURC, 2014). Promoting social cohesion has been at the core of the government's social programs. In a nutshell, social cohesion is an outcome of the different social programs that have been implemented. Social cohesion manifests itself in trust, willingness to speak the truth, speaking on behalf of the weak, giving others the voice, civic participation and a sense of belonging to a community.

Whereas the political aspect of reconciliation emphasizes on the legal framework, the social dimension of reconciliation lies on trust into storytelling that promotes reconciliation and unity among former enemies. There are efforts at local level to foster unity by addressing conflicts through Abunzi and the Maison D'Acces à La Justice (MAJ) as well as weekly village meetings called Inteko y'Abaturage. Strengthening the family through Umugoroba w'Ababyeyi and other social institutions are also important efforts aimed at promoting social cohesion among Rwandans beginning with families. The process involves personal honesty and interpersonal reliability.

There are studies that have measured social cohesion in Rwanda, but this variable remains crucial for RRB 2020, and perceptions in its regards might change frequently given that it is based on personal relationships. In the RGS 2019, under the variable 'safety and security', an indicator 'reconciliation, social cohesion and unity' was included and this scored 93.99%. While such information is valuable, the variable on social cohesion in this assessment focuses more on daily interactions among the people, and what such interactions mean to people's evaluation of reconciliation at their personal, neighborhood, village level, and beyond between 2016 and 2020. In this perspective, RRB 2020 has taken into consideration existing information, but also conduct its own data collection for proper analysis and formulation of conclusions and recommendations related to the question under study. On basis of the above, below is the table summarizing the pillars, hypotheses justifying the importance of such a pillar, and associated indicators as they inspired the analysis of data for the RRB 2020.

**Table 4.** Pillars, hypotheses and indicators for RRB2020

Pillars	Hypotheses	Indicators
Understanding the past, present and envisioning the future	The more citizens are able to understand and confront the sources of their historical divisions, while getting committed to envisioning their future, the more reconciliation is likely to occur.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Understanding of facts</li> <li>• History and how it is shared</li> <li>• Ownership of reconciliation</li> <li>• Envisioning the future</li> </ul>
Citizenship, identity, and responsibility	A shared sense of national identity, inclusive, responsible, and critical citizenship will promote reconciliation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• National identity</li> <li>• Individual proudness of a shared identity</li> <li>• Shared values and vision</li> <li>• Commitment to national identity</li> <li>• Critical thinking</li> </ul>
Political culture & Governance	The more citizens believe that leaders and institutions value reconciliation in everyday life, coupled with citizens participation and empowerment in governance, the more reconciliation is likely to occur	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The role of institutions in reconciliation</li> <li>• Citizens empowerment and participation in governance</li> <li>• Leaders' performance and reconciliation</li> </ul>
Security and well being	The more citizens feel generally, economically, and physically well and secure, the more they will be willing to commit themselves to reconciliation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• National security and reconciliation</li> <li>• Personal security and reconciliation</li> <li>• Economic security and rights to properties</li> <li>• Fair distribution of infrastructures</li> </ul>
Justice, fairness and rights	The more there is justice, fairness and respect for human rights, the more reconciliation increases	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Truth about the past and punishing genocide and other related crimes</li> <li>• Compensation of properties destroyed/looted during the genocide</li> <li>• Apology and forgiveness</li> <li>• Individual healing</li> <li>• Fairness and respect of basic human rights</li> </ul>
Social cohesion	The more values of trust, respect, tolerance, and positive social interactions and friendship are present among citizens, the more reconciliation is more likely to occur	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Trust among Rwandans</li> <li>• Tolerance and interactions among Rwandans</li> <li>• Solidarity among Rwandans</li> <li>• Conviviality and friendship among Rwandans</li> </ul>

### 3. METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents information on approaches and methods used in the study. The focus is on the study design, study area, sampling protocol and sample size, data collection tools and methods, data analysis methods and tools.

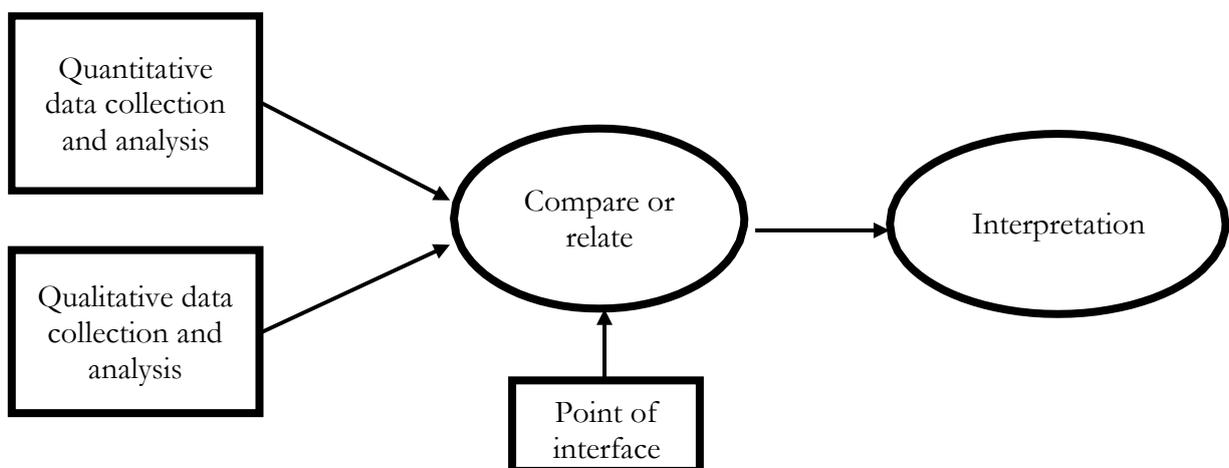
#### 3.1. Preparation and coordination

Following the presentation of the inception report, the NURC selected key researchers and civil society actors to be involved in this research on the 2020 Reconciliation Barometer. That group constitutes the National Reference Group, chaired by the NURC. This committee was established to oversee the development and implementation of the survey and review the findings. The NURC hired CAP Ltd to implement the quantitative data collection in February 2020 in every District and sector of Rwanda, and qualitative data collection in September 2020 in 10 selected Districts, namely, Gisagara, Nyarugenge, Gasabo, Musanze, Gisumbi, Rutsiro, Ngororero, Gatsibo and Ngoma.

#### 3.2. Methodological approach

This research used the mixed-method approach in which quantitative data were complemented by qualitative ones. Indeed, the assessment aimed at, not only tracking the current status of reconciliation in Rwanda, but also gaining a deeper understanding of perceptions, opinions, behaviors, as well as the underlying meanings and reasons behind them through people's narratives. With this broadened aim, a mixed-method approach is very helpful as it allows for a design in which the logic is based on the fact that a single method is not enough and adequate to address the study specific objectives. The following figure displays the convergent parallel approach as it was applied in this study.

**Figure 3.** Convergent parallel approach



Adapted from Creswell & Plano-Clark (2011)

### 3.3. Study design

The 2020 Reconciliation Barometer is a cross-sectional household survey of Rwandan population aged 18 years and above, designed to produce national-level and District-level estimates of reconciliation status. Cross-sectional surveys reflect a randomly selected, representative subset of the population, at one specific point in time - they provide estimates of relevant indicators at an acceptable level of precision by age-group, sex, other socio-demographic factors, etc.

The group of 18 years and above was selected as the most appropriate population to survey in order to better understand the status of reconciliation in Rwanda. It was determined that persons younger than 18 years old would not have the maturity to be able to answer the survey questions appropriately.

The study was conducted in both private and institutional households<sup>11</sup> to capture the reconciliation status in Rwanda. Both qualitative and quantitative research methods were used as complementary approaches.

### 3.4. Study area, population and units of analysis

This section discusses the area where the data were collected, the population from whom the sample was selected, and units of analysis.

#### 3.4.1. Study population

Empirically, the study was conducted at the Village (Umudugudu) level. The purpose was to get various view points from the whole country. However, due to limited time, not all administrative villages were covered, although all sectors were surveyed. In regard to the population of this research, this study involved all Rwandan citizens aged 18 or above living in Rwanda. Various categories of participants were taken into consideration and the sample was both representative and inclusive. The aim was to collect reliable information pertaining to the understanding of the picture of the status of reconciliation as perceived by Rwandans.

#### 3.4.2. Units of analysis

The unit of analysis for this study were the household as defined by the 2012 Rwanda Population and Household Census, Characteristics of households and housing Thematic Report (MINICOFIN & NISR, 2014). This report specifies two types of households:

- a) Private household consisting of one or more persons living together and sharing at least one daily meal. Persons in a private household may or may not be related, or may constitute a combination of persons both related and unrelated. Private households can be classified in four types:
  - (i) one-person households referring to a person who makes provision for his or her own food or other essentials for living without combining these endeavors with any other person:

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<sup>11</sup> For more explanations on these types of households, see section on study units.

- (ii) nuclear households composed of a single family consisting of a married or unmarried couple without children or of one or both parents and their children and eventually their house employees;
  - (iii) extended households defined as a household consisting of any one of the following: a single-family nucleus and other persons related to the nucleus, two or more family nuclei related to each other without any other persons, two or more family nuclei related to each other plus other persons related to at least one of the nuclei, and two or more persons related to each other, none of whom constitute a family nucleus; and
  - (iv) composite households referring to a household consisting of any of the following: a single family nucleus including other persons, some of whom are related to the nucleus and some are not, a single family nucleus including other persons, none of whom is related to the nucleus, two or more family nuclei related to each other including other persons, some of whom are related to at least one of the nuclei and some of whom are not related to any of the nuclei, two or more family nuclei related to each other including other persons, none of whom is related to any of the nuclei, two or more family nuclei not related to each other, with or without any other persons, two or more persons related to each other but none of whom constitute a family nucleus, plus other unrelated persons; and non-related persons only.
- b) Institutional household comprising a group of persons who are being provided with institutionalized care.

### 3.5. Sampling methods

This section highlights the types of sampling methods for both quantitative and qualitative parts by presenting details on the sample size calculation and its distribution within District. Note that due to the non-proportional allocation of the sample to the Districts and the possible differences in response rates, sampling weights were required for the selection of villages and were applied in analysing the data to ensure the actual representative of the survey results at District and national level.

#### 3.5.1. Sampling procedure for quantitative data collection

A three-stage sample design was used. In the first stage, 810 EAs were selected using Sampford's probability proportional to size (S-PPS) from the list of 14,837 villages provided by NISR. These 810 EAs were stratified by urban and rural, and because of the split-sample design, private and institutional samples were drawn independently. In the second stage, a fixed number of 12 households were selected by equal probability systematic sampling in each EA.

In the third stage, one eligible individual (female or male depending on the selected household) was randomly selected from the list of all eligible respondents (females or males aged 18 years and above) in each household to respond to the questionnaire. If no one was available for the household interview or if the selected individual was not available after three visits, the interview disposition was listed as unavailable. Unavailable households or individuals were not replaced.

At this point the following steps were considered:

**Step 1:** The national census sample frames were split into 30 Districts.

**Step 2:** The split of 810 Enumeration Areas (EAs) from the national frame the random sampling was used.

**Step 3:** EAs for each District were split into urban and rural EAs.

**Step 4:** For each EA one listing was compiled, for households. The listings served as sample frame for the simple random selections of households.

**Step 5:** 12 Households were sampled using systematic simple random sampling for each selected EA. Details are given below.

**Step 6:** One eligible individual was randomly selected from the list of all eligible respondents in each household.

### a) Sample size determination

Regarding the sample size, there was need to determine statistically the true number of people selected for the survey. This is because, as suggested by Lenth (2001), "An under-sized study can be a waste of resources for not having the capability to produce useful results, while an over-sized one uses more resources than are necessary". In addition, studies with less than required sample size are characterized by less power. The sample size, in this case, refers to the number of participants included in the research. Its determination was based on the base sample-size calculation and Contingency correction.

#### **Step 1: Base Sample-size calculation at District level**

The appropriate sample size for this survey was determined largely from the application of this formula for proportions (Cochran, 1963; Krejcie & Morgan, 1970; Israel, 2013) preferred to the one based on means due to lack of the values of variances estimates of the study variables.

$$n = DEff \left[ \frac{Z_{\alpha}^2 \cdot p \cdot (1 - p)}{d^2} \right]$$

Where n= required sample size, Z = standard value of 1.96 corresponding to a 95% confidence interval, p = percentage picking a choice (standard value of 0.5<sup>12</sup>), d = margin of error at 0.05%<sup>13</sup>, and the design effect of 1.8<sup>14</sup>. The use of the standard values listed above provided a basic sample size of 308 respondents.

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<sup>12</sup>This survey has the purpose of producing the reconciliation index and not the prevalence.

<sup>13</sup>The relative standard error was 10% as the minimum RSE on domains survey that's why we have 0.05 because the Z value was 1.96.

<sup>14</sup>The target number of respondents per cluster (m) will be set to 12 based on the number of households that must be visited per cluster for a single team to accomplish is approximately 60 households in a day. The ICC we proposed is 1/6.5 but the exact ICC will be computed after the data collection. Therefore the design effect was estimated using the following equation: DEFF = 1 + (m - 1)\*ICC = 1.8 therefore the A measure of efficiency of a complex sampling procedure compared to simple random sampling, defined as the ratio between the standard error using the given sample design and the standard error that would result if a simple random sample had been used.

## **Step 2: Contingency**

During a research, respondents may fail to answer (partially — with erroneous answers or totally) to the asked questions or enumerators may not record properly given answers to a series of questions. This is called contingency, and in case it occurs, it can increase the bias of the estimators due to the lack of the required number of responses for one or more characteristics under study.

To correct the above, it is generally proposed to consider a non-response rate of 5%, and then increase by 5% to account for contingencies such as non-response or recording error. For this research, the sample size became  $n + 5\% = 308 \times 1.05 = 324$ .

The minimum sample size was 324 and was considered for one domain or strata. Therefore, by multiplying that sample by 30 Districts, the total sample of private households selected at country level was  $324 \times 30 = 9720$  private households. The computation of the sample was based on the analysis of sampling errors.

The total number of study units is made of private households and institutional households, (prisons, high schools, higher learning institutions ...). In addition to the sample of 9720 private households, 2,880 institutional households were selected, making, thus, a total sample of 12,600 households for the quantitative data collection.

### **b) Distribution of villages for private households' survey**

As this study targets all households in Rwanda, the sample selection and distribution within Districts were based on the sampling frame made of households' data collected during the 2012 Population and Housing Census by National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda, and the data derived from Integrated Households Living Condition survey (EICV5) conducted by NISR in 2017 showing the distribution of households and population by District and by Urban-Rural areas. The enumeration areas (EA) or villages are distributed within Districts and reported in table 6 that follows. Note their selection used the Sampford's Probability Proportional to Size Sampling Method.

**Table 5.** Distribution of Villages

Province	District	Number of villages
Northern	Burera	27
	Gakenke	27
	Gicumbi	27
	Musanze	27
	Rulindo	27
Northern Total		135
Southern	Gisagara	27
	Huye	27
	Kamonyi	27
	Muhanga	27
	Nyamagabe	27
	Nyanza	27
	Nyaruguru	27
	Ruhango	27
Southern Total		216
Eastern	Bugesera	27
	Gatsibo	27
	Kayonza	27
	Kirehe	27
	Ngoma	27
	Nyagatare	27
	Rwamagana	27
Eastern Total		189
Western	Karongi	27
	Ngororero	27
	Nyabihu	27
	Nyamasheke	27
	Rubavu	27
	Rusizi	27
	Rutsiro	27
Western Total		189
City of Kigali	Gasabo	27
	Kicukiro	27
	Nyarugenge	27
City of Kigali Total		81
<b>Grand Total</b>		<b>810</b>

### c) Selection of households and administration of questionnaire

The selection of households named here Secondary Sampling Units (SSU) within the village or Enumeration Area (EA) was done following a Two-Stage sampling procedure:

**Stage 1:** At this stage, villages or EAs were selected using the Sampford's Probability Proportional to Size (Sampford's PPS) sampling method.

**Stage 2:** Selection of households (SSU) within EAs.

The selection of 12 households within each EA was done using the systematic sampling based on the list of households (sampling frame) available at sector/cell or village following the same procedure as in stage 1. Note that after the selection of households, the next step was that of identifying the eligible person to be interviewed. The questionnaire was administered to one member of the household aged 18 years or above.

### Selection probability and weighting for private households' survey

The selected villages are those for which the cumulative population contains one of the serial numbers calculated above. For the sampled EA<sub>i</sub> (village i) in a given stratum, the Selection Probability (P<sub>1i</sub>) was given by:

$$P_{1i} = \frac{\text{\# of EAs to be selected} \times \text{\# of HHs in EA}_i}{\text{Total \# of HHs in all EAs in a stratum}}$$

The probability (P<sub>2i</sub>) of a household being sampled in EA<sub>i</sub> is given by:

$$P_{2i} = \frac{\text{\# of HHs to be selected in EA}_i}{\text{Total \# of HHs in EA}_i}$$

The overall probability of selecting a household in a village i was given by  $P = P_{1i} \times P_{2i}$

As the estimation of population parameters was done by inference, consisting in extrapolating the results from the sample to the total population, there was a need of weighting the results using the overall weight  $W=1/P$ .

We note that the weighting procedure for institutional households was made after the calculation of selection probabilities to be performed after the listing of all institutions in provinces.

### d) Distribution of institutional households

The selection of institutional households was done using random sampling where in each province, 1 prison was selected, making 5 prisons in total, and 55 other institutions like high schools, higher learning institutions, etc. Respectively, 81 respondents and 45 respondents were randomly selected in each prison and other institution. Their selection used the sampling frame provided by the visited institution. This made a total of 2,880 respondents from institutional households. Details on the sample distribution within institutional households are presented in the table that follows.

**Table 6.**Distribution of institutional households by Province

Province	# Prisons	# other types of institutional household	Sample per prison	# other types of institutional households	Sample per one other institutional household	Sample in other cases	Total sample per Province
Kigali City	1	11	81	11	45	495	576
Southern	1	11	81	11	45	495	576
Western	1	11	81	11	45	495	576
Eastern	1	11	81	11	45	495	576
Northern	1	11	81	11	45	495	576
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>405</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>495</b>	<b>2,475</b>	<b>2880</b>

### 3.5.2. Sampling procedure for qualitative data collection

The qualitative data collection was conducted using the snowball sampling (respondent driven sampling). With this technique, respondents who were selected and interviewed were asked to identify other similar respondents. The purpose sampling technique was also used so as to identify potential participants in key informants' interviews and focus group discussions. As in qualitative research the information given by respondent matters, the principle of theoretical saturation was followed.

In this regard, Marshall (1996) observes that '...an appropriate sample size for qualitative study is one that adequately answers the research question'. Therefore, the sample was adjusted taking into account when:

- ✓ No new or relevant data emerged regarding a theme under study;
- ✓ The theme was well developed in terms of its properties and dimensions demonstrating variation; and
- ✓ The relationships among variables/themes were well established and validated.

## 3.6. Data collection methods and tools

Four types of data collection tools were used during this study. They include: Desk review, Individual questionnaire, Key Informants interviews and Focus Group Discussion Guides. The collected data were from two sources – primary and secondary data – as explained in the following subsections.

### 3.6.1. Primary data

These data were obtained from the information obtained through interviews, FGDs and questionnaires.

#### a) Household questionnaire

A household questionnaire, with closed ended questions, was administered to the 12,600 respondents. The questionnaire comprised of a range of questions set from the following indicators: political culture, human security, citizenship and identity, understanding of the past, transitional justice, social cohesion. It also aimed to identify other indicators that

might help to address the research problem. However, to avoid evasive responses or tendency to remain neutral, the majority of the questions were perception-based and were therefore in form of scale-questions (5- Likert scales).

In the process of data collection, the enumerator was in direct contact with respondents. This exercise was carried out by skilled data collectors/enumerators and team leaders recruited and trained for this end. The training covered issues such as survey methods, questionnaire structure and content, data collectors/generators and supervisors' responsibilities, as well as on survey ethics. Quantitative data were collected using Android tablets, an electronic tool equipped with KOBO Collect software allowing direct data entry, and data were transferred in SPSS for statistical analysis. The use of android tablets improved data quality and security, eliminated the need for paper, and shortened the time needed by enumerators to collect and enter data.

It is worth noting that some challenges regarding the use of these android tablets were observed. These mainly include their power discharge after few hours of work and those that failed to work properly after few days. All these issues have been properly addressed by supplying power banks and replacing defective tablets where needed. Where this happened, enumerators were provided with paper-based questionnaires to be used in case the tablet is not working and then enter the data into the system after the issue is addressed.

#### **b) Key Informant Interviews (KIIs)**

Key informant interviews were held with selected persons knowledgeable about unity and reconciliation. The interview was conducted at a place chosen by each informant to allow him or her to speak freely. The interviews focused on issues regarding the main components of the study. Empirical data were also collected through personal interviews, which implies that the researcher had direct face-to-face interactions /contact with respondents participating in this study. In addition, field notes for relevant behaviors or facts observed while interviewing were also being conducted. It is in this regard that a qualitative interview guide with open-ended questions guide was used. Interviews were conducted in Kinyarwanda, recorded with permission of interviewees, and later transcribed and translated into English. The following table presents the list of all key informants that participated in this research.

**Table 7.** List of participants in KIs

Institution	Participants
NURC	NURC Representative, and Unity & National Identity Regional Coordinators
IBUKA	Representative
CNLG	Representative
Never Again Rwanda	Representative
Avega Agahozo	Representative
National Itorero Commission	Representative
Rwanda Civil Society Platform	Representative
Media Self-Regulatory Body	Representative
National Forum of Political Organizations	Representative
Senate: Commission on Social Affairs and Human Rights	President and Vice President
Chamber of Deputies: Commission on Reconciliation, Human Rights and the Fight against Genocide	President and Vice President
Catholic Church: Justice & Peace Commission	Representative
Association Modeste et Innocent	Representative
Community-Based Sociotherapy (Mvura-Nkuvure)	Representative
Prison Fellowship	Representative
AERG	Representative
African Evangelistic Enterprise (AEE)	Representative
International Alert	Representative
Aegis Trust	Representative
Researchers and Key personalities	Prof P. Rutayisire, Hon. T. Rutaremara, Dr. A. Rutayisire, Prof. F. Masabo, Dr. Aggée M. Shyaka
Global Initiative for Environment & Reconciliation	Representative

### c) Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

To supplement the interviews, site observation and FGDs were organized at each site sampled for data collection. The FGDs allowed the consultancy team to verify the relevancy of specific issues as well as perceptions regarding unity and reconciliation. The FGDs gathered different categories of people and each had 8-12 participants and not exceed 1 hour. The FGDs venue was chosen based on the proximity of the participants' area of residence. During the FGDs, the facilitators used the same guide as the one used for interviews, but this time involving more than one interviewee by asking guiding questions and then letting the group move into various topics. The voice recording and

note taking of the FDGs proceedings were carried out as appropriate in order to enhance the quality of reporting and presentation of findings. The following table displays participants who took part in FDGs.

**Table 8.** List of participants in FDGs<sup>15</sup>

Category	Participants in each selected District
Abarinzi b'Igihango <sup>16</sup>	1 participant
Former genocide convicts	1 participant
Genocide survivors	1 participant
Spouses of genocide perpetrators	1 participant
Widows/ers survivors of genocide	1 participant
Faith Based Organisations	1 participant
Inyangamugayo za Gacaca <sup>17</sup>	1 participant
Inshuti z'Umuryango <sup>18</sup>	1 participant
Youth whose parents perpetrated genocide	1 participant
Mental Health counselor	1 participant
Orphans of Genocide	1 participant
Clubs for Unity and reconciliation	1 participant
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>12 participants</b>

### 3.6.2. Secondary data

The desk research involved the review of relevant and available documentation related to the task of designing the Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer. These documents include research reports and publications from various researchers and institutions (text books, reports, journals, newspapers, magazines, periodicals, and other resources,...). Data empirically collected were discussed in comparison with the existing literature, notably previous data of the 2015 Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer towards an exploration of achievements and/or challenges in reconciliation.

### 3.7. Data analysis methods and tools

Quantitative data collected using KOBO Collect were directly exported into SPSS for analysis. The analysis was preceded by data management and cleaning process to detect the missing and duplicated cases, compilation of data dictionary which consists

<sup>15</sup> In the analysis and for condition of confidentiality, Key informants have been coded as (KI) to refer to key informants plus the number from 1 to 25 (the maximum number of key informants) and Focus Group Discussion participants have been coded as (D) to refer to District plus the number from 01 to 10 (the number of selected districts). All was done in no particular order.

<sup>16</sup> Umurinzi w'Igihango is a person who has protected or still protecting the pact of Rwandan unity.

<sup>17</sup> These are persons of integrity elected by local population to try cases during Gacaca Courts

<sup>18</sup> These are committees of persons of integrity elected by the population to assist in family conflict resolution (prevention of violent conflicts)

of variable and value labels, the back-up of data on a removable disk. Descriptive statistics and graphical analysis were used to measure the level of reconciliation for each considered pillar.

It is worth noting that all reconciliation indicators were assigned equal weights during the analysis. In addition, the 5-Likert scales results were transformed into Yes or No to ease the computation of the reconciliation index. In this case, the percentage of Yes was computed as to the cumulative percentage of affirmative responses, namely: *Strongly agree/Very satisfied/Very high and Agree/Fairly agree/High*. In other words, YES represents the percentage of respondents who at least agree (cumulative of satisfied/Very high and Agree/Fairly agree/High) with the statement in the questionnaire. This procedure followed Kane et al. (2004) who demonstrated that, on a large sample, dichotomization of Likert scales data does not change the data structure, but, rather, yields in similar statistical results. These authors observed this using Mixed Effects Model and Factor Analysis with the Principal Components Analysis and Varimax method with Kaiser Normalization.

Qualitative data were presented in the form of text. During qualitative data analysis, concepts and themes, as used by respondents, were examined across different recordings and transcriptions to combine the material into a coherent text. Qualitative data thus portrayed the shades of meaning through the words of Rwandans. The method of analysis consisted especially in reporting results as text, illustrated in the direct speech.

### **3.8. Training of data collectors and review of data collection tools**

Given the need to collect quality information, only experienced data collectors were recruited. The data collectors were trained by the consultants before the field activities.

The following aspects were covered by the training process:

- (i) the importance of the study (objectives, tasks and outputs)
- (ii) terms and concepts of the study to ensure consensus on interpretation
- (iii) review of sampling techniques to be used in each of the study zone and sector
- (iv) techniques of questionnaire administration
- (v) how to approach and motivate the respondents (on ethical considerations)
- (vi) detailed review of the questionnaire
- (vii) teamwork development and discussion on the code of conduct for the study, and
- (viii) road-map of the data collection process

Through a role-play exercise, enumerators demonstrated how to use the acquired interview skills and techniques on the field.

The review of data collection instruments was based on the pre-test survey. This pre-test was conducted in Kabuga and Rusororo Sectors, the main purpose being to assess whether the respondents were willing to answer questions in the way they are asked, whether the questions are well understood, the misinterpreting of the instructions by research assistants, the time taken by the interview. This led to the finalization of data collection instruments.

### 3.9. Control measures

The first level of control was the field team leaders and supervisors. The second level of control was the staff from the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission and partner institutions. During the data collection exercise, the team leaders and field supervisor made necessary follow-up to ensure smooth conduct of the data collection task. Collected data were saved and uploaded to the server on a daily basis by each enumerator at the end of each day.

In addition, the study methodology and tools were finalized after addressing comments from various workshops involving researchers, experts from the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, and its Board Members and Stakeholders at national level (representatives from the parliament both chambers, the central and local governments, the Academia, the National Institutes of Statistics of Rwanda, the Civil society, the media, the Religious denominations, etc.) through the validation of the inception report.

### 3.10. Quality assurance and research ethics

The quality of a research study depends at the large extent on the accuracy of data collection procedures; that is, data reliability and validity. For reliability and validity to exist, the data collection techniques must yield information that is not only relevant to the research question but also correct. Thus, reliability and validity are measures of this relevance and correctness (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003).

In order to hit the above target, in this study the following was considered:

- (i) Enumerators recruitment was based on competence (Bachelor degree holders) and experience in social science research
- (ii) The main objective of the study was explained to enumerators through an organized workshop
- (iii) Training of the entire research team on the questionnaire, interview guide and Focus Group Discussion and checklists was undertaken
- (iv) The training of data entry clerks and double entry data type was used to avoid any typing error
- (v) Simple and comprehensive words were used for better understanding of all research instruments by respondents
- (vi) A pilot study was conducted before the dissemination of questionnaire to check the level of understanding of the study
- (vii) The mechanism of the follow-up of data collection process on a regular basis was put in place
- (viii) The reporting system on a regular basis was put in place

Concerning ethical issues, enumerators were required to abide to research ethical standards by taking into consideration the following:

- (i) A research permit from NISR was issued for authorizing CAP to carry out the study
- (ii) A clearance letter from NURC was issued and presented to respondents by enumerators for easy information access from all concerned villages in the country.
- (iii) Respondents were ensured that the information they give would be treated with confidentiality and used only for the purpose of the study
- (iv) Voice recording required a prior consent from respondents where applicable.

### **3.11. Main challenges and mitigation strategies**

During the implementation of this 2020 Reconciliation Barometer, particularly during the data collection exercises, some challenges were experienced by the team in charge of the work. The main challenges, as well as the associated mitigation strategies, include, but are not limited to:

- (i) In some households, all eligible persons to take part in the interview were not present in the households when data collectors visited them. To mitigate this challenge, a message announcing that a new visit of the household was planned in the evening or the day after was given to the head of the village or Isibo.
- (ii) In urban areas, some respondents were not available during the working time. This was mitigated by re-visiting the households during the evening or afterwork hours.
- (iii) At village level, the selection targeted only 12 households. In most cases, these households were scattered and hardly reached. This led to the increase of the transportation fee used by the data collectors to facilitate their task.
- (iv) During the use of android tablets, some challenges were observed. These include their power discharge after few hours of work and those that failed to work properly after few days. All these issues were properly addressed by supplying power banks and replacing defective tablets where needed. Where this happened, enumerators were provided with paper-based questionnaires to be used in case the tablet is not working and then enter the data into the system after the issue is addressed.

It should be noted that the challenges were minimal and did not affect the reliability and validity of the data, mainly due to the promptness and readiness of the research team to address the challenges immediately.

## **4. Results: The Status of Reconciliation in 2020**

This chapter presents the findings of this report, portraying the current status of reconciliation in Rwanda. Prior to presenting the findings of the status of reconciliation, this chapter discusses respondents' socio-demographic characteristics.

## 4.1. Respondents' socio-demographics

**Table 9.** Distribution of respondents by Province and gender

			Female	Male	Total
Province	City of Kigali	Count	884	681	1565
		%	56.5%	43.5%	100.0%
		% of Total	7.1%	5.5%	12.5%
	Southern	Count	1575	1542	3117
		%	50.5%	49.5%	100.0%
		% of Total	12.6%	12.4%	25.0%
	Western	Count	1307	1547	2854
		%	45.8%	54.2%	100.0%
		% of Total	10.5%	12.4%	22.9%
	Northern	Count	1088	1103	2191
		%	49.7%	50.3%	100.0%
		% of Total	8.7%	8.8%	17.6%
	Eastern	Count	1343	1402	2745
		%	48.9%	51.1%	100.0%
		% of Total	10.8%	11.2%	22.0%
Total		Count	6197	6275	12472
		%	49.7%	50.3%	100.0%
		% of Total	49.7%	50.3%	100.0%

In view of the information displayed in Table 9 above, it is clear that respondents are equally distributed in terms of gender. Indeed, females are 49.7% while males are 50.3%. These statistics are different from the ones that the Fourth Population and Housing Census has reported, which show that 71% of private households in Rwanda are headed by males and 29% by females. A possible explanation for this difference could be the fact that male household heads, especially in the rural areas, are generally the ones who leave the households for casual or permanent work during the day. It is strongly believed that when data collectors were visiting households, heads of male households were still at work. Table 9 also shows that the Southern Province comes with a large number of respondents with 25% followed by the Western Province with 22.9%. The City of Kigali and the Northern Province are the provinces with a small number of respondents with 12.5% and 17.6% respectively.

**Figure 4.** Distribution of respondents by age category

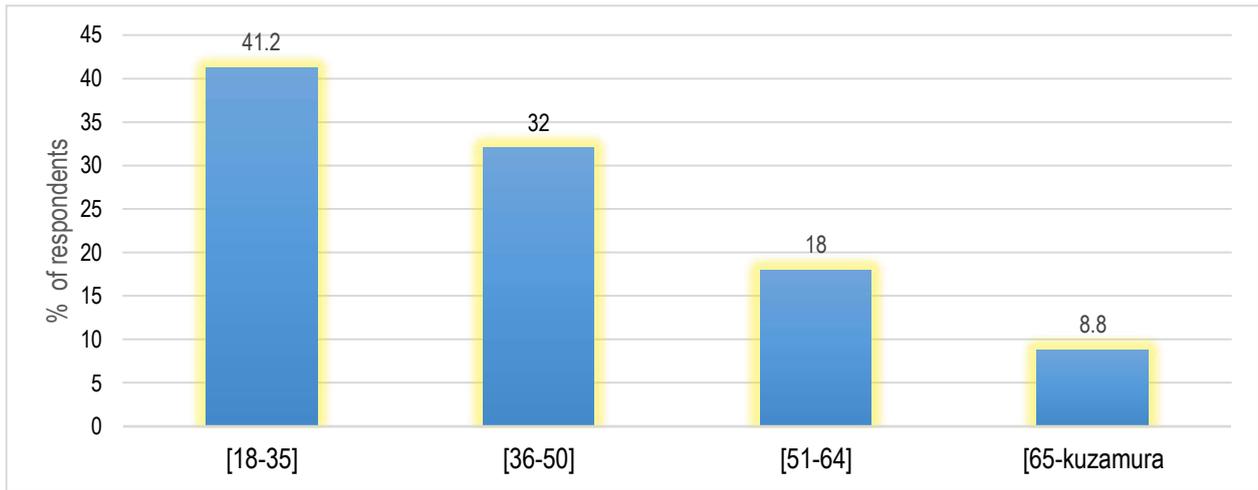


Figure 4 above portrays that the majority (41.2%) of the respondents are those aged between 18 and 35 years. Respondents aged between 36 and 50 years constitute 32% while elders aged 65 years and above who participated in the study were counted for 8.8%. These findings reflect the reality that the majority of Rwandans are aged between 18 and 44 years (NISR, 2014), but also that respondents in this research are mainly Rwandans who are still professionally active and engaged in various activities of national development.

**Figure 5.** Distribution of respondents by marital status

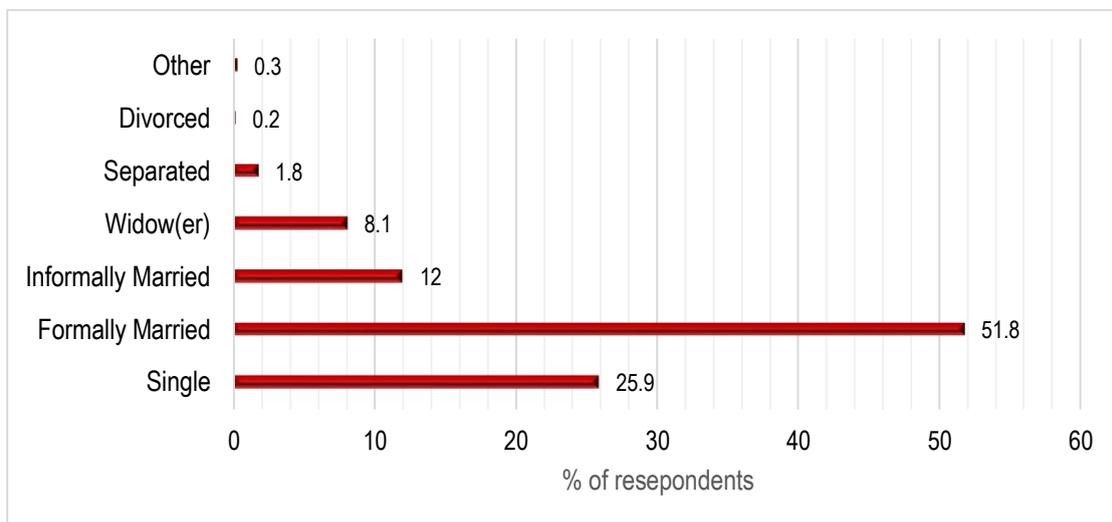
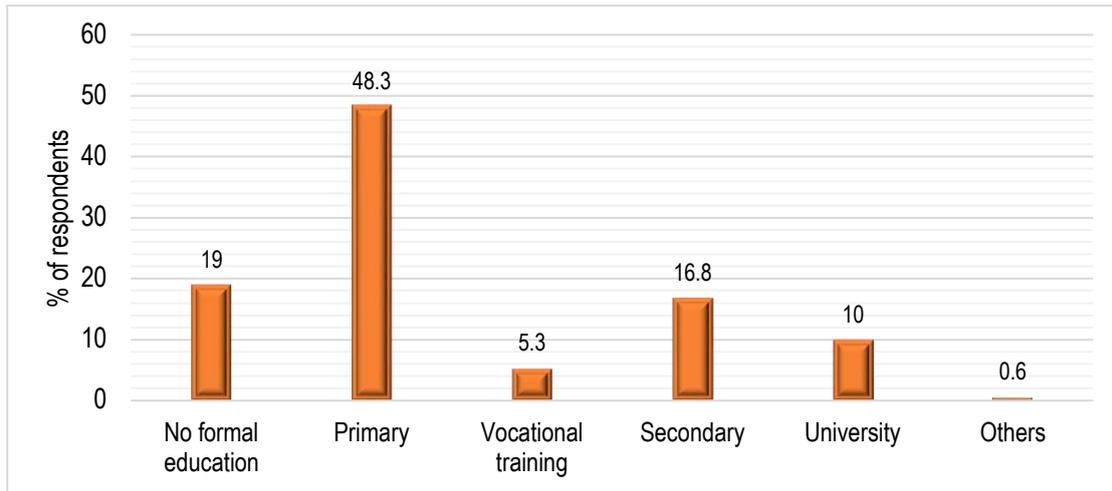


Figure 5 highlights that the main categories of Rwandans, in terms of marital status, have also been taken into consideration in this study. The results show that the majority of people who took part in the study were married (51.8%) followed by single people counted for 25.9%. These results corroborate those found in the Fourth Population and Housing Census that reveal that around 86% of Rwandans are married (MINICOFIN & NISR, 2014).

**Figure 6.** Distribution of respondents by level of education



The education level of the respondents is characterized by a large number of respondents whose formal education level is the first cycle of primary school or below. Those who have never been to school represent 19% while those who just completed the vocational training and secondary school are 5.3 and 16.8% respectively. In the entire sample, the respondents who have an education level beyond the primary school are 32.7% with 5.3% who followed a vocational training programme, 16.8% who have attended secondary school classes and 10.6% who joined the university and other postgraduate programmes.

**Figure 7.** Distribution of respondents by religion

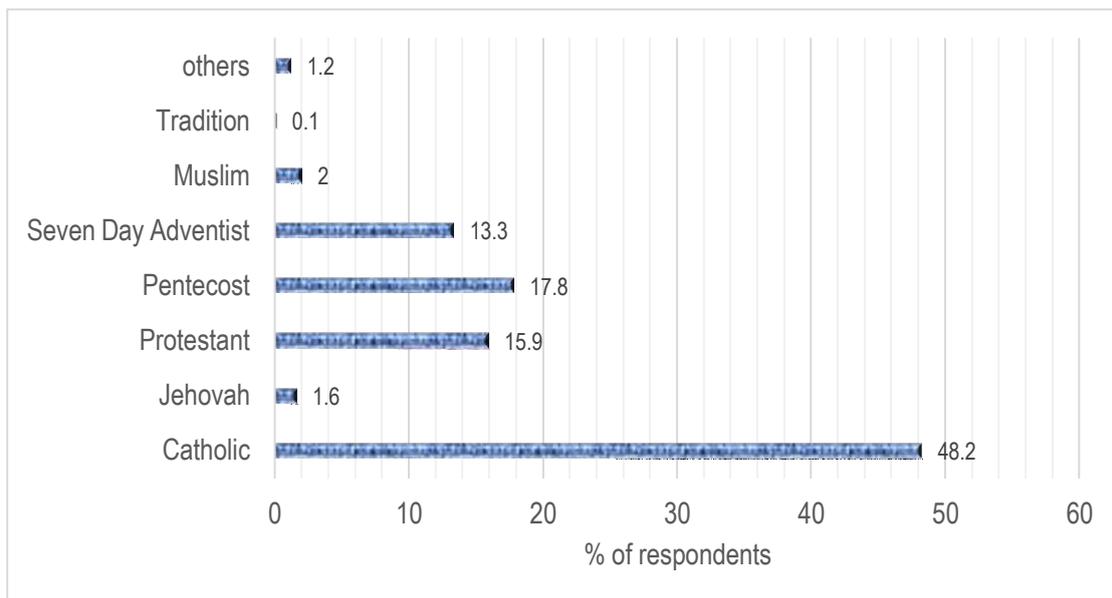


Figure 7 shows that Rwandans from various religious denominations have been taken into consideration, whereby the majority of them (48.2%) were Catholics, followed the Pentecost Christians, Protestants, and the Seven Day Adventists. The Muslims and Jehovah witnesses count for only 2 and 1.6% respectively. This consideration indeed appears to have respected the general trend of membership in religious institutions in Rwanda.

## 4.2. Understanding the past, the present, and envisioning the future

Understanding the past, the present, and envisioning the future is critical to Rwanda's reconciliation process given the manner in which historical events and their interpretation were used to drum up hatred among the peoples of the country. Knowing that the people share a common understanding of major historical events helps craft a common destiny. In the 2010 RRB, this variable had an overall score of 81.7%, rising to 91.8% in the 2015 RRB and showing a further increase to 94.6% in 2020 RRB.

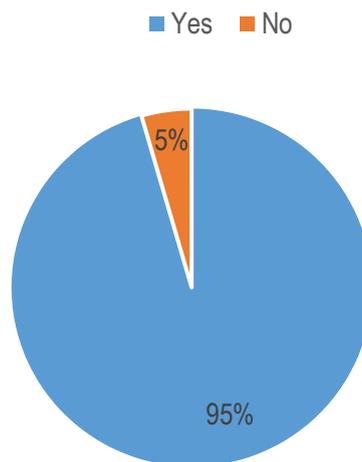
### 4.2.1. Opinions on the past

One of the most important questions in post genocide Rwanda was 'what really led to the genocide against the Tutsi?' There have been multiple discussions about causes of the Genocide against the Tutsi, and respondents in this assessment have reminded most of them. These include, but are not limited to, politics based on ethnic division, poor leadership, political and economic marginalization of a group of Rwandans, political parties founded on ethnic basis, the culture of impunity, and many more.

The post genocide government of national unity embarked on the process of raising public awareness on this and many other historical questions while also embarking on exposing the lies and distortions of history as done by the regimes in the past.

It is in this regard that during the survey, the statement the causes or factors of the Genocide against Tutsi have been frankly discussed and commonly understood in Rwanda' was presented to the respondents. Below is the distribution of responses.

**Figure 8.** Opinions on understanding the facts



Among the respondents, 95% agreed that the causes or factors that led to the 1994 genocide against the Tutsis had been frankly discussed and commonly understood. This is a very strong result considering that genocide was a culmination of the divisions masterminded by politicians and some religious leaders about the history of Rwanda. Participants in interviews and focus group discussions also show a positive picture

regarding the understanding of the past. In an FGD session, one of the participants clarified this as she said:

*I also did not have a good understanding of the history of Rwanda. But since I started going into trainings and in Itorero , that is when we started getting good knowledge that the history of Rwanda had been distorted. I came to realize that, in regard to what happened in this country (to mean the Genocide against the Tutsi) for example, people killed their own relatives. If I start with the youth, for instance, you will find that the history that was taught to them focused on Hutuism, Tutsiism, and Twatism as ethnic groups. Such a distorted version of the history of Rwanda was created by the white people (colonialists). But if I go back to what my parents used to tell us, the right version of our history is that Rwandans had no reason to use ethnicity to kill their own relatives, because Hutu, Tutsi and Twa were not ethnic groups in Rwanda. Rwandans considered aligned to other types of ethnicity, such as Umunyiginya, Umucyaba, ..., which derived from each and every Rwandans' great grand parents whose names were Kanyiginya, etc. This is the reason why all Rwandans felt united to one another; if your child got sick you could go to any of your neighbours and get milk<sup>23</sup>, free of charge, to feed the kid. This is how the ancient Rwanda was before the arrival of colonialists who instilled negative ethnicity among us, which led to the genocide(D08).*

As the above quote clarifies, Rwandans recall that they have discussed and developed an understanding of historic factors that led to the Genocide against the Tutsi. While these causes are many, divisive politics founded on negative ethnicity – Hutu, Tutsi, Twa – created and institutionalized by colonialists, Kayibanda, and Habyarimana's regimes, are highlighted as the main historical factors in the above quote.

Still on the most divisive factors in Rwanda's historical narrative, it should be noted that the distorted history was taught and disseminated among Rwandans. There have been interpretations of events that were so laden with hatred that some individuals latched on these narratives to sow discord in the past. On the one hand, it is re-assuring to note that Rwandans view that causes of the Genocide against the Tutsi have been frankly discussed and commonly understood. On the other hand, it is important to look at the way history is taught and shared as the journey of reconciliation continues.

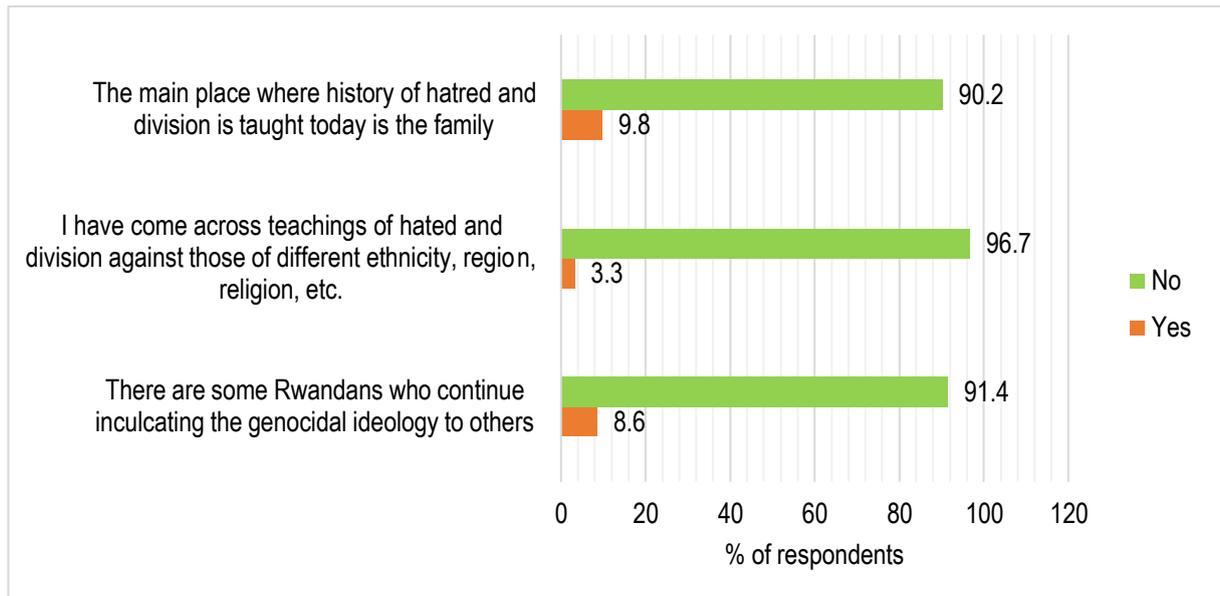
#### **4.2.2. History and how it is shared**

History shapes the present and the future and so the salient aspects of a people's history and the manner in which it is passed from one generation to another is extremely important. In Rwanda, like in most African societies before the advent of colonialism, history is mostly passed on orally.

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<sup>23</sup> Rwandans take milk as the most important beverage and even food. Every child (even adults), particularly one who is sick, is given milk. Missing milk for your child is considered as the highest degree of poverty. Rwandans despised, and still despise, somebody who refuses to give milk to a child.

**Figure 9.** History and how it is shared



The family plays a very critical role in the reconciliation process. Discourses by parents, relatives, friends of the family and neighbourhoods play a very crucial role in shaping the ideology of unity and reconciliation. Unfortunately, 9.8% of the respondents during the survey agreed with the statement that 'the main place where history of hatred and division is taught today is the family'. The same is confirmed by the data from interviews, where, for instance, one participant said:

*I remember when we were teaching young students in secondary and higher education. Students told us that in schools we teach them a certain version of history, but when they are at home their parents teach them other versions of history. You find that elder people who were alive during the times of divisive politics along ethnic lines still align with such kind of narratives. The bad thing is they do not keep it to themselves but continue to teach their children the distorted history that promotes divisions along ethnic lines. This means that we still have genocide ideology disseminated in families by parents (K123).*

Respondent K 123 is a member of one of the two branches of the Parliament. She shares views of young students regarding parents who still align with the divisive history along ethnic lines, and who disseminate such distorted history among children. This might have its basis in the fact that parents believe it is their obligation to tell their children about the past, which is correct, but they often do so from their point of view, which is generally shaped by the distorted past historical events and their own experiences. The difficulty with the teaching of history should not be limited to the family alone. Indeed, respondents explained that some teachers in formal education, who also shared the same experiences of distorted history, tend to also associate with the distorted history, which makes them unable to dissociate with the divisive history. The following respondent, who works in the academia, clarified this saying:

So, regarding the teaching of history, today there are those (some teachers) who teach the history they do not believe in, there are those who teach history with reservations, and there are those who teach it to cover their faces or to throw a monkey wrench into the unity and reconciliation plans(KI21).

As portrayed in the above quote, teachers, like all other Rwandans, have also been victims of the history of hatred that was taught and disseminated by former regimes. Having been educated through such kind of divisive politics, it should be predictable that certain teachers have difficulties and take more time to dissociate with such discourses that to some have become beliefs. It is within this context that today some of these teachers choose avoidance as far as teaching history is concerned, others seem to carry historical wounds and shame, thus teaching history to just cover their faces, while others go to the level of willingly or not, hindering efforts of reconciliation by teaching distorted history.

Closely associated with the role of the family is the opinion of respondents that there are some Rwandans who continue inculcating the genocidal ideology to others. Although the percentage of such opinions is small (8.6%) comparing to those who do not see such a possibility (91.4%), efforts should be deployed to ensure that even that small percentage overcomes their penchant for genocide ideology. Indeed, failure to address deep-rooted genocidal ideologies, though with a smaller percentage, can pave ways to more ingredients of genocidal events, such as impunity, ethnic-based discrimination, etc. As one respondent summed it up, "there are many things that have already been achieved (as far as developing a common understanding of Rwanda's history), but the journey is still long."

**Figure 10.** Disaggregate by gender on 'History and how it is shared'

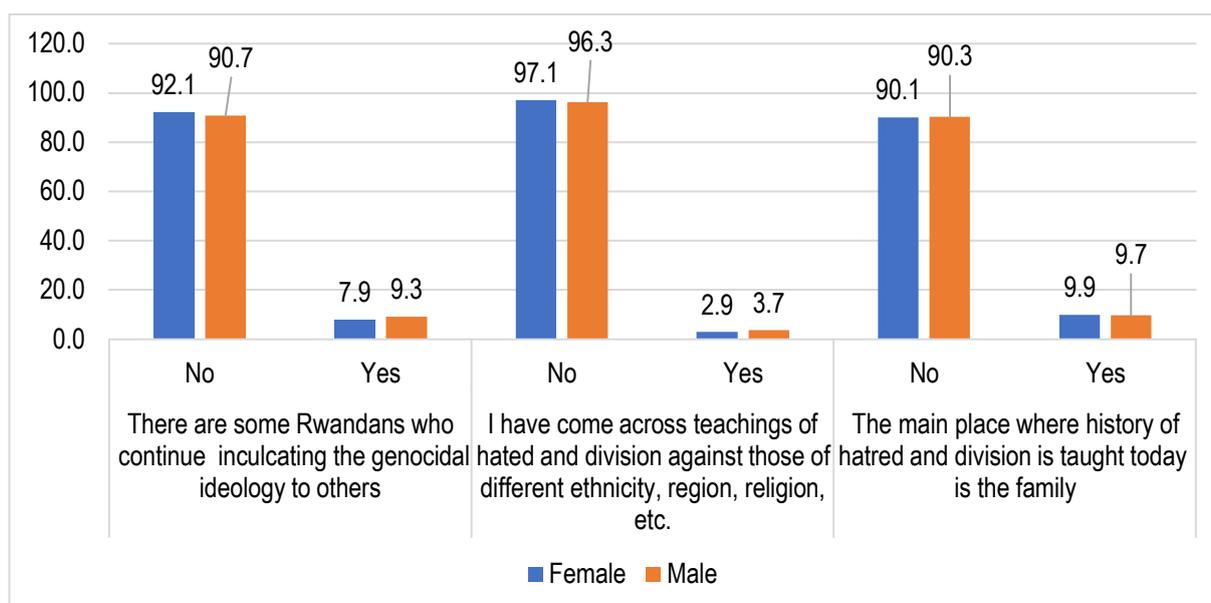
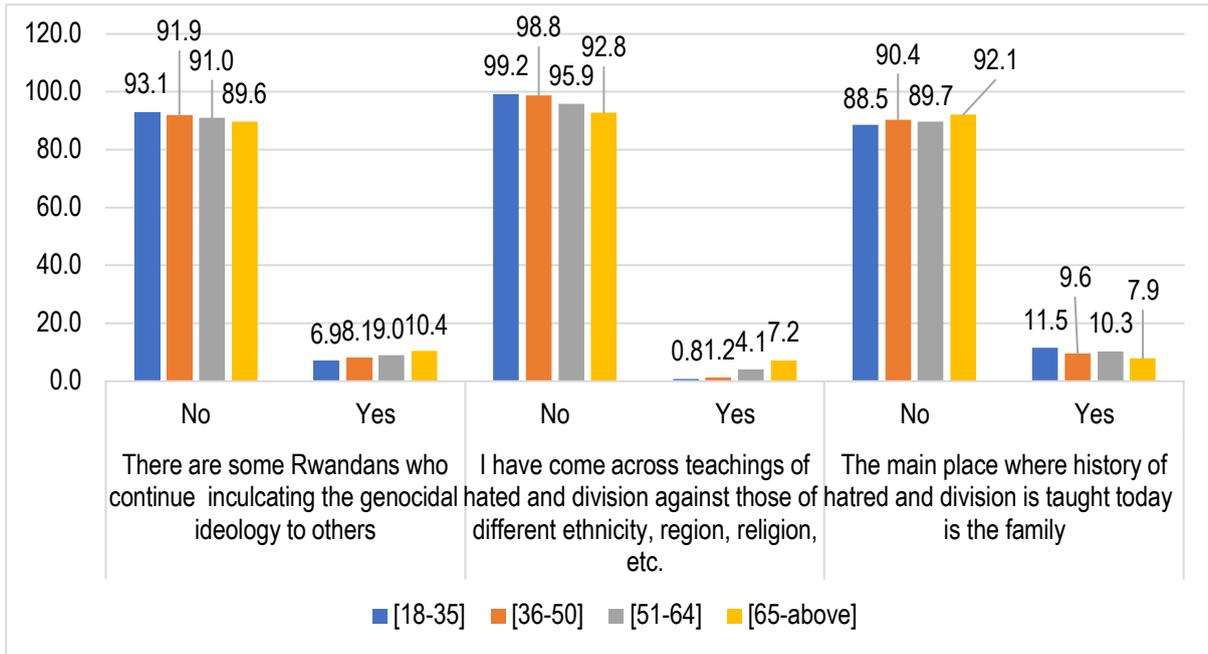


Figure 10 shows that both females and males agree beyond 90% that the way history is shared today does not pose a significant threat to reconciliation.

**Figure 11.** Disaggregate by age category on 'History and how it is shared'

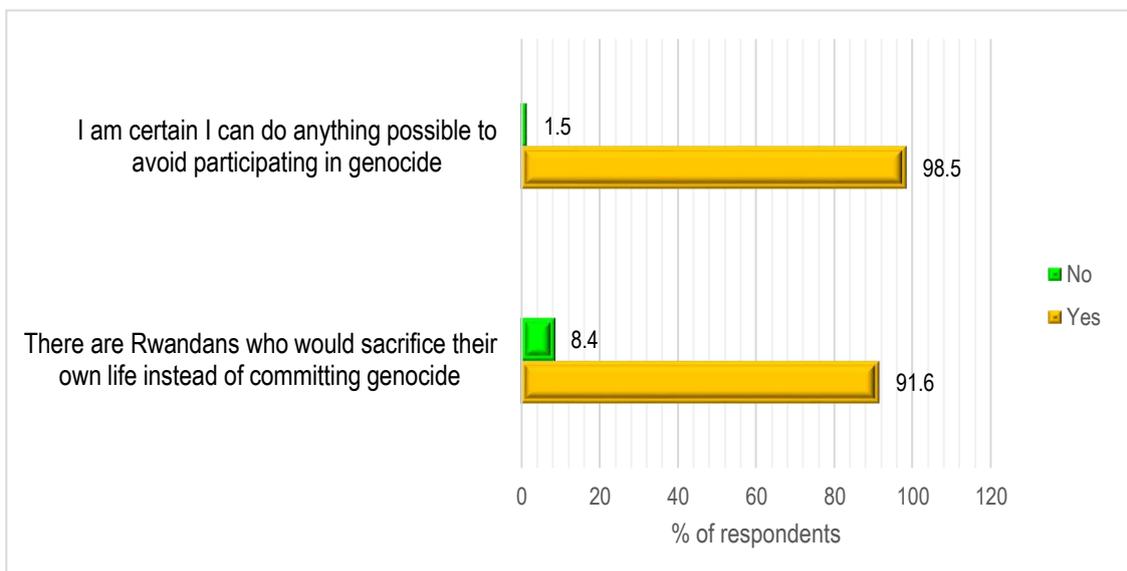


Similar to males and females, all ages that constituted the categories of respondents are of the opinion that history and the way it is shared today promotes reconciliation of all Rwandans. This is displayed in Figure 10 above.

### 4.2.3. Ownership of reconciliation

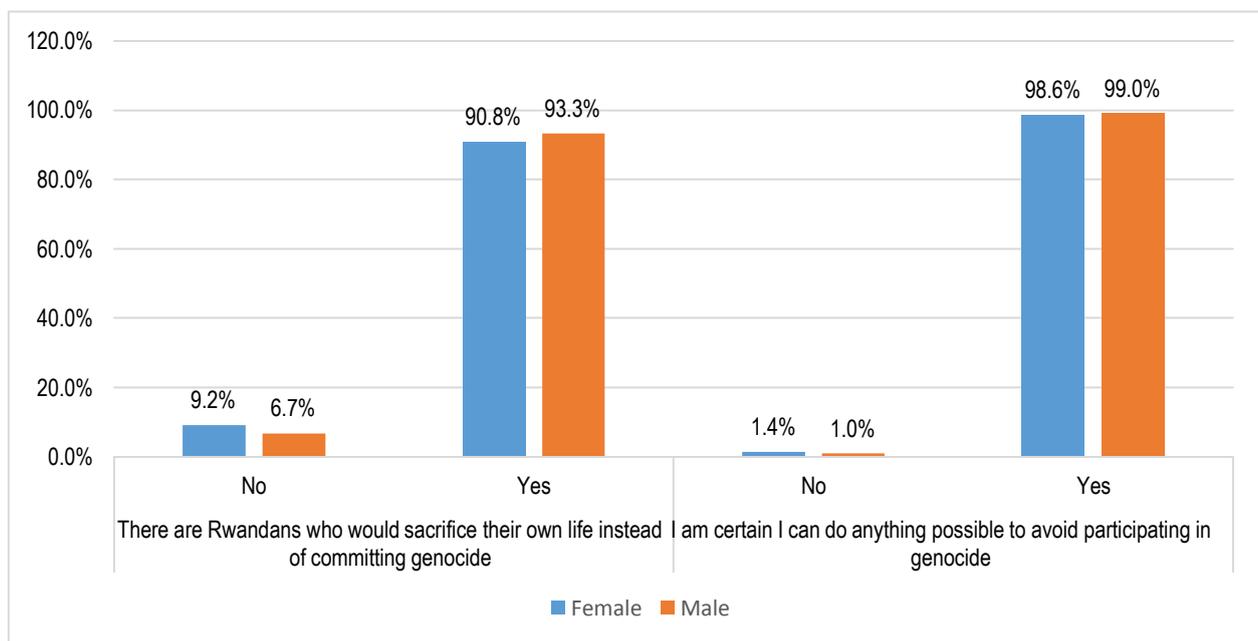
If the reconciliation process is to succeed, there is need for ordinary people to commit themselves individually and collectively to guard the process towards its final conclusion, which is the unity of the people. Below is the figure showing how the people who were interviewed indicated the degree of commitment to reconciliation and how much sacrifice or a price they are willing to pay to guard against any attempts to derail the process.

**Figure 12.** Ownership of reconciliation



Rwandans share a common destiny in terms of building a society free of any form of divisionism. They are willing to sacrifice their lives to ensure that there is no return to divisionism and genocide. They are ready to lay down their lives to safeguard the future from any retrogressive tendencies as indicated in their responses where 98.5 % say they are ready to do anything possible rather than be involved in genocide or related activities and 91.6% are ready to do whatever possible to prevent genocide including sacrificing their own lives. This level of individual and collective commitment to safeguard the fruits of reconciliation across the rank and file of Rwandans indicates a strong foundation upon which reconciliation is built and cements the 'never again' philosophy of reconciliation in the country. Below, the same responses are disaggregated by gender and age of the respondents.

**Figure 13.** Disaggregate by gender on the ownership of reconciliation

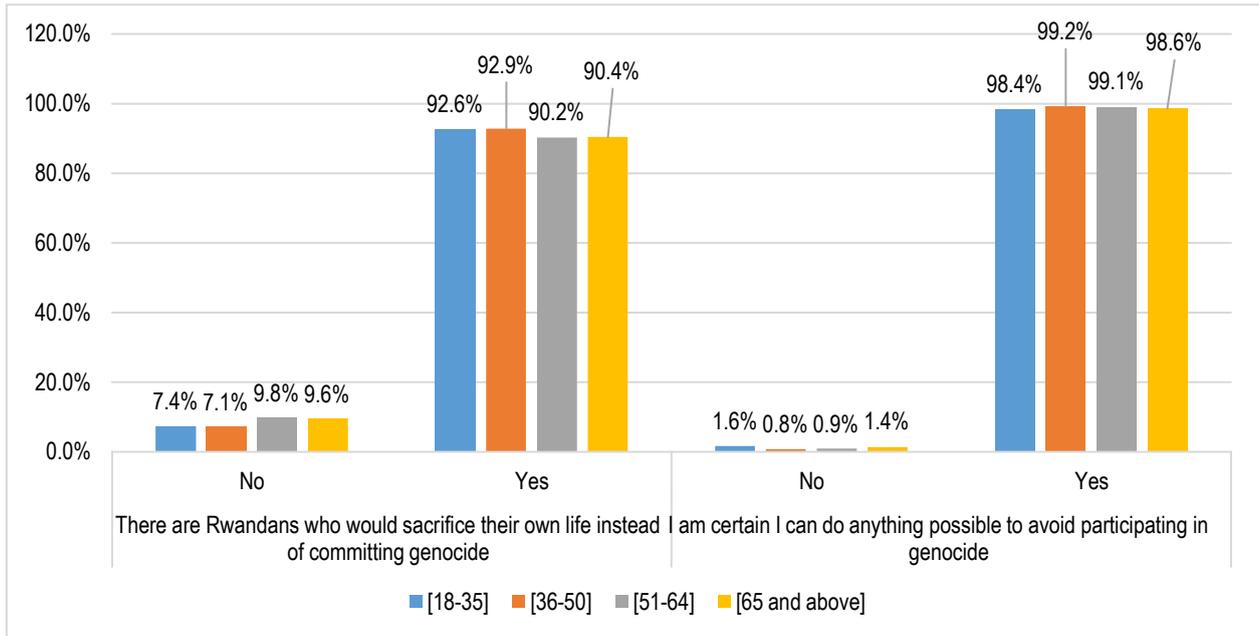


The responses as shown in the charts above do not appear to portray any significant differences across the gender. On the question of sacrifice, it appears men are willing to pay a slightly higher but insignificant price in terms of even preferring death than engaging in committing genocide. With regard to commitment to the reconciliation process, there is nearly no difference in views.

This shows that all Rwandans-men and women-are determined to pursue reconciliation, protect and consolidate the gains so far registered are willing to die rather than allow a return to the times of the past.

The views of the respondents according to the different age groups are presented in the following figure.

**Figure 14.** Disaggregate by age category on the ownership of reconciliation

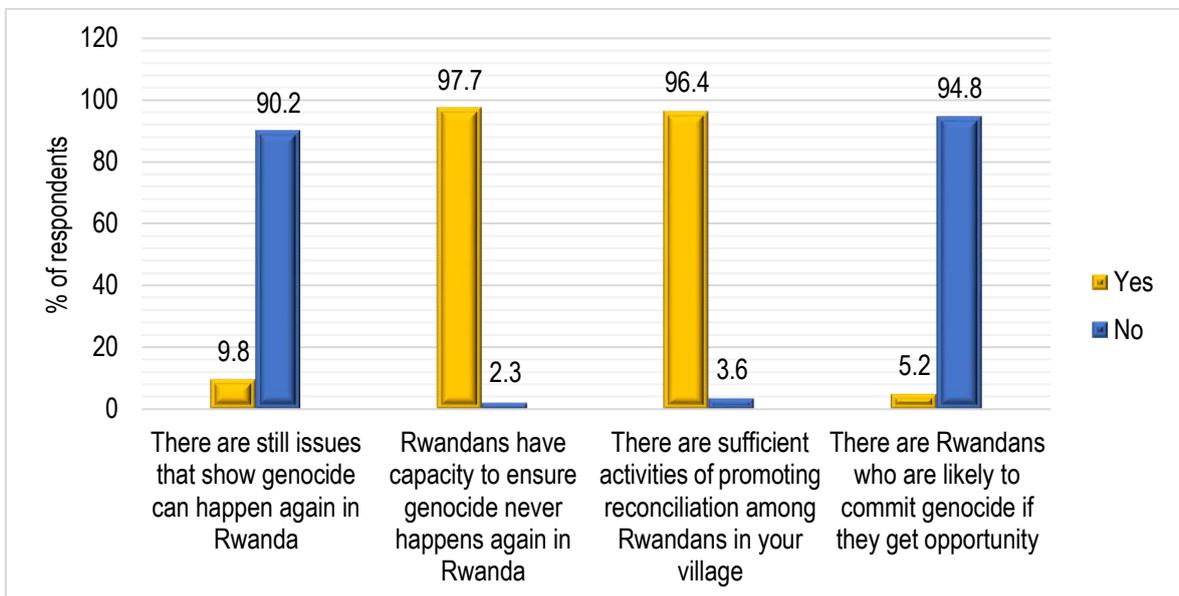


In terms of age, as shown in the chart above, there are no stark differences in views on how much price Rwandans are ready to pay to prevent a recurring genocide. The views are nearly uniformly distributed across all the age groups. This is an equally important observation since it shows that the young and the old are all committed to the process of reconciliation and are ready to sacrifice to the point of death to prevent a return to genocide.

#### 4.2.4. Envisioning the future

How people in a given society share the vision of the future provides an indicator of how they work closely if they refer to that future with pride and show total dedication commitment towards achieving that vision.

**Figure 15.** Envisioning the future



Rwandans have a forward-looking mindset and they take cognizant of the fact that the journey to the future still encounters some obstacles. As displayed in Figure 15, more than 90% of Rwandans do not see the possibility of experiencing genocide again in the country, while 9.8% still see issues showing that genocide can still happen again. It should be noted that the 2020 scores show a difference in comparison to 2015 findings. Indeed, the percentage of Rwandans who saw the possibility for the genocide to happen again in the country was 15.9% in 2015, while those who did not see that possibility were 84.1% (cf. NURC, 2015: 40). The same decline is also observed on the variable on whether there were Rwandans who would try to commit genocide should conditions be favorable. In 2015, those who agreed with such a statement were 28.9%, while the score stands at 5.2% in 2020.

The drop out of the percentages of the two variables - the possibility of the genocide to happen again and the likelihood of certain Rwandans to commit genocide if conditions are favorable – is highly associated with the growing trust in the capacity of the government to counter all practices leading to genocide. In fact, although 9.8% of the respondents believe that there are signs that show the potential for genocide to happen again in Rwanda, 97.7% believe that Rwandans today have the capacity and will to counter that possibility. This was reflected in various interview sessions. During an FGD, a respondent, for example, said:

*I can confirm that genocide cannot happen again in Rwanda. You know, even if the genocide ideology still exists, it is only among few people who are still unable to look ahead and see the consequences of the genocide that are still affecting our country. Genocide is an evil that cannot be forgotten. It cannot be allowed to happen again. You see, it happened in the past because of impunity. People could be allowed to form small groups and plan on killings their neighbours and nobody punished them. But today, you cannot form a group of people and harbor ideas of committing crimes and get away with it. The information will be known immediately and you'll be punished(D01).*

The above quote reminds the role of the government in preventing genocide or in allowing such a crime to happen. Actually, the same thinking was also reflected in the 2015 assessment where one participant said:

*I give you an example of myself. I committed genocide and I am now in prison because of that. I assure you that I can never engage in those things of killing people again or looting their properties. I have children and none is now taking care of them because my wife passed away. Had not I engaged in genocide I would have been with my children. I know the consequence of doing evil, I repented and I cannot repeat it again." (cf. NURC, 2015: 34).*

The quote by participant D01 underscores that governments before 1994 disregarded criminal acts like plotting to kill the Tutsi, which confirmed and encouraged thoughts, beliefs and choices that crimes committed against that category of the population were blessed by authorities. This is the context under which mass populations did not hesitate to

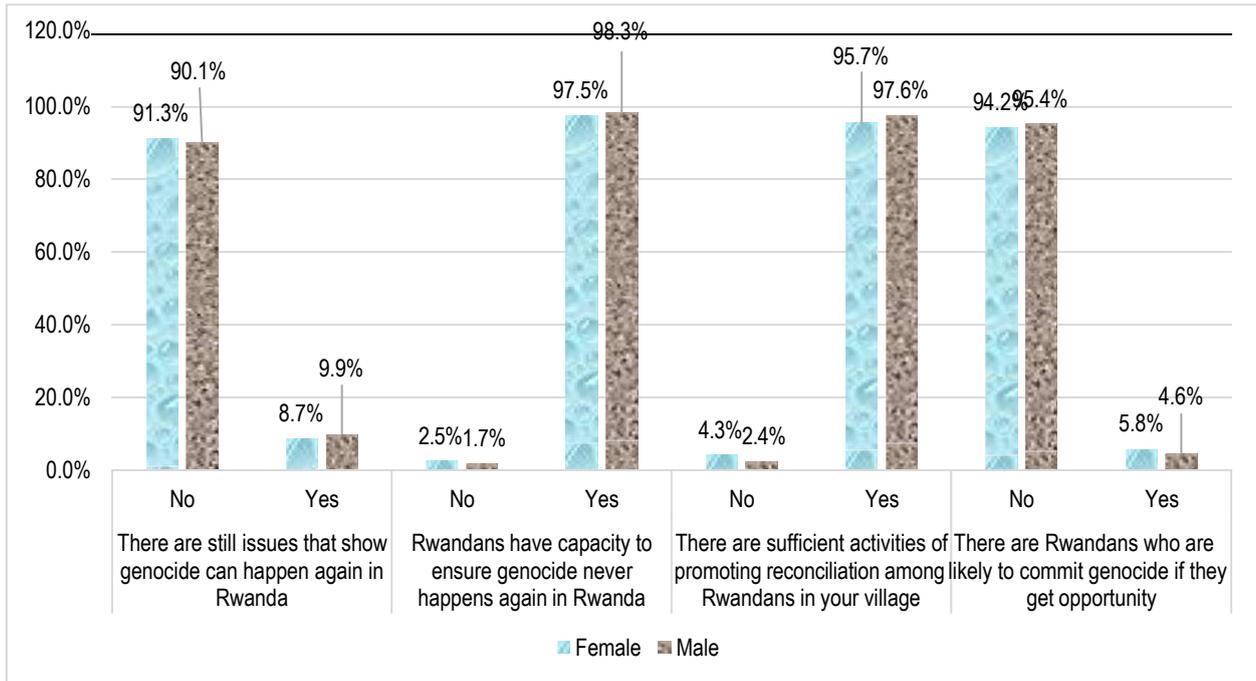
head the general call of the then government to commit the Genocide against the Tutsi between April and July 1994. Reflecting on the post-genocide Rwanda, the respondent in the quote underlines that fighting impunity is one of the reasons why Rwandans believe that genocide cannot happen again in Rwanda. According to him, genocide cannot happen again because people have understood that it is a crime against humanity that cannot go unpunished.

It should be recalled that eradicating the culture of impunity was among the five goals assigned to the Gacaca Courts established by the Organic Law no 40/2000 of January 2001 governing the creation of Gacaca Courts and organizing the prosecution of Genocide crimes and other crimes against humanity committed between October 1, 1990 and December 31, 1994. The report by the National Gacaca Services highlight the importance of fighting the culture of impunity to strengthen the message of respect of human rights to prevent genocide. Here is an extract from the report:

*Bringing to justice all genocide suspects from the instigators to the implemeners through Gacaca Courts was the only suitable way to leave a lesson of respecting human rights to all Rwandans of all layers. This also meant that whoever had committed any act that violated human rights during the genocide had to be held accountable for it. (...). This is because the culture of impunity had become prevalent in Rwanda for a long time, whereby some people could violate the huma rights of others to the extent of killing them with no fear of being brought to justice (NGCS, 2012).*

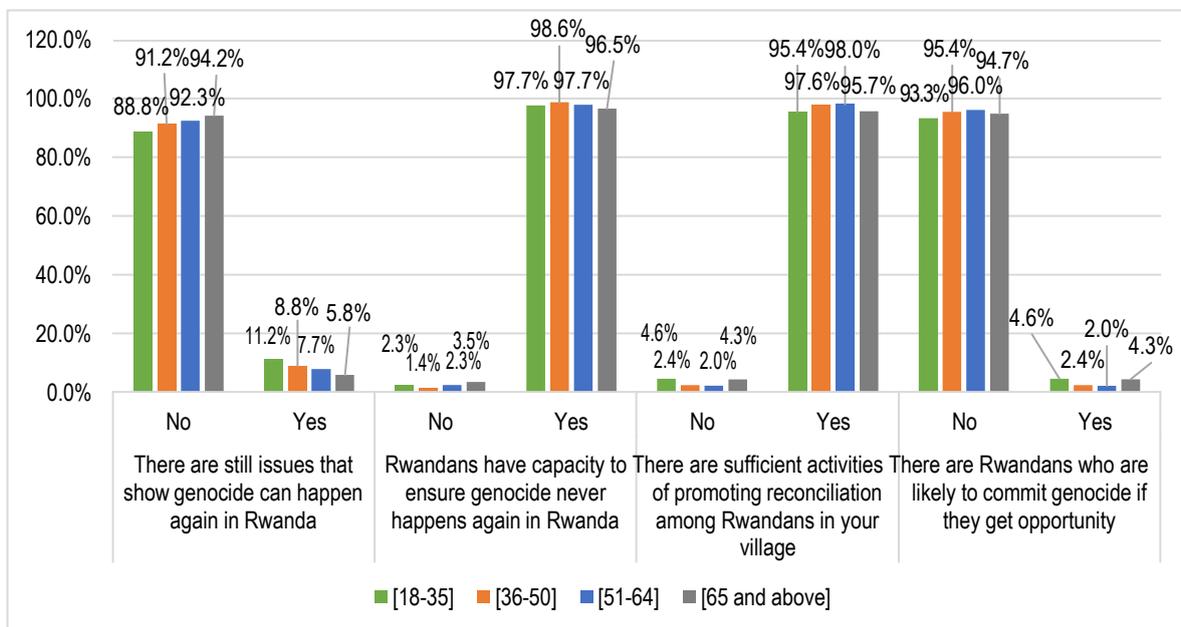
Moreover, 96.4% believe that there are sufficient activities within their local villages and communities that promote reconciliation. In fact, even if 5.2% of the respondents show that certain Rwandans are likely to commit genocide if they had opportunity, findings have shown a balanced view of the threats and the capacity to counter them. This balance shows the level of understanding that Rwandans have attained during the post-genocide period with regards to what led them to the genocide and how a return to that situation cannot be allowed to happen again. In short, they have learnt the lessons the hard way.

**Figure 16.** Disaggregate by gender on 'envisioning the future'



The above chart shows that there are no significant gender differences in terms of both the commitment to the process of reconciliation and the determination to prevent a return to any conditions that may lead to genocide again.

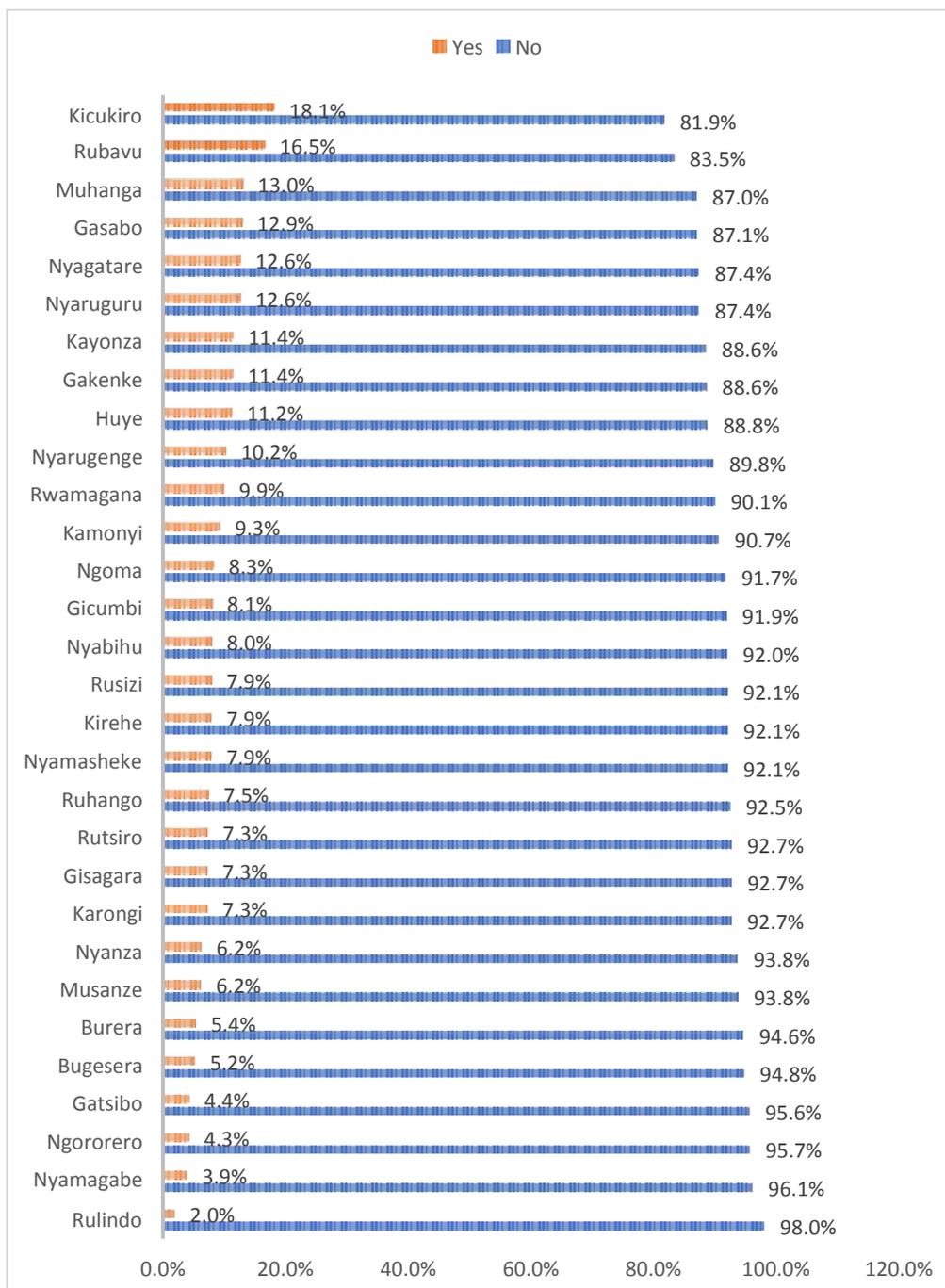
**Figure 17.** Disaggregate by age category on 'envisioning the future'



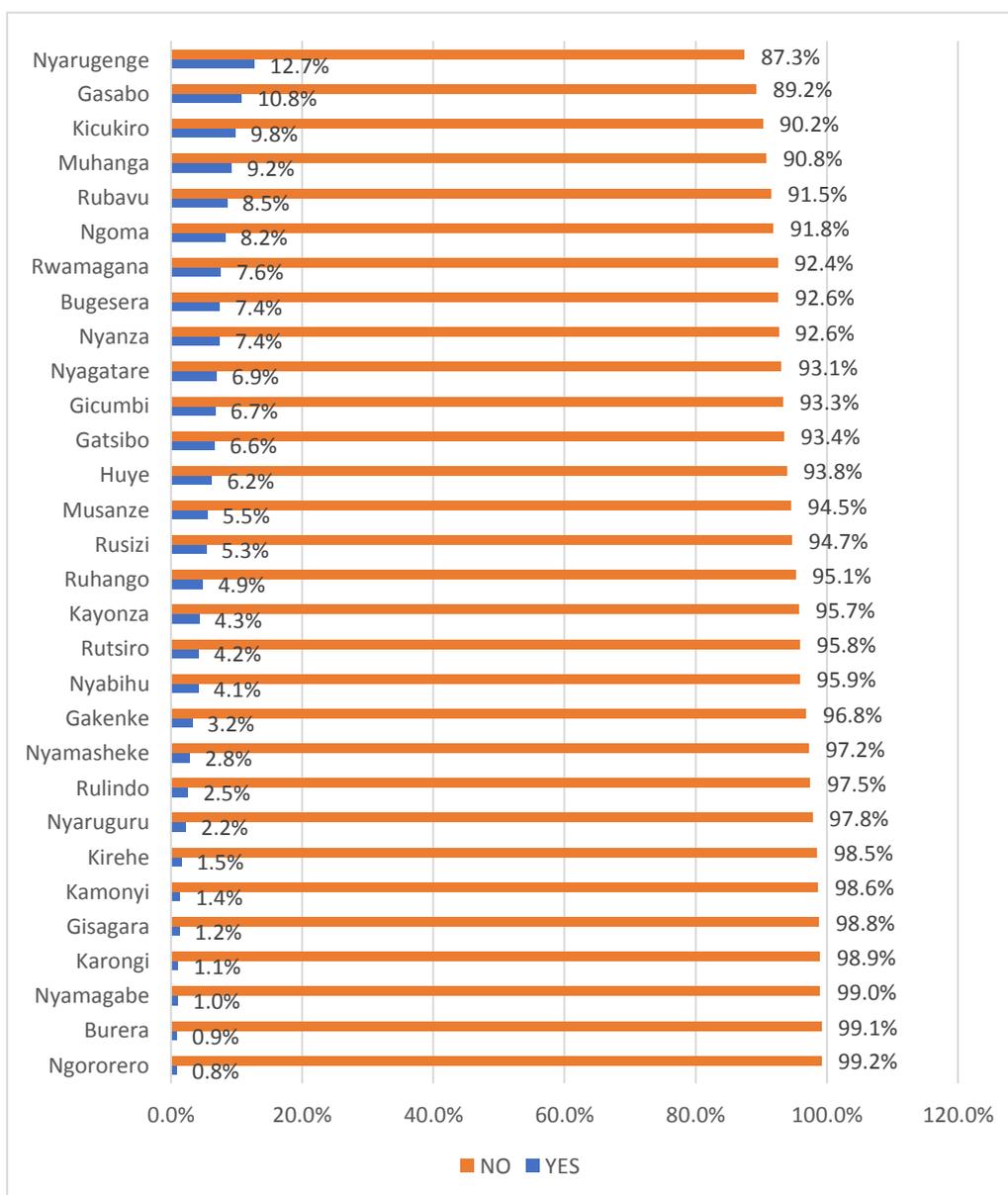
The above charts show that there are no significant differences in views across the different age groups on the commitment to reconciliation and prevention of a return to any form of genocide tendency. As has already been discussed above, this is important as it demonstrates that Rwandans of all ages appreciate the importance of reconciliation and are willing and determined to guard against anything that threatens to derail the process.

During the survey, it was also deemed important to assess whether people based on experience and perception felt that there are issues that show genocide would happen again in the country. The following figures provide responses across the the Districts on this indicator, as well as the indicator on whether 'there are Rwandans who are likely to commit genocide if they got opportunity.'

**Figure 18.** Citizen opinions per District on 'There are still issues that show genocide can happen again in Rwanda'.



**Figure 19.** Citizens opinions per District on 'There are Rwandans who are likely to commit genocide if they get opportunity'



From figures 18 and 19, it can be discerned that the distribution of responses shows an overall high score of Rwandans who do not see the possibility of the genocide to happen again in the country, as well as the likelihood that fellow Rwandans would commit genocide. The differences in scores may not be significant after all. This is important as it does show that the entire country is committed to reconciliation.

Determination, willingness, and commitment must be backed by capacity to resist, prevent or challenge anyone who attempts to create or propagate a genocide ideology. The fact that 97% of Rwandans perceive that the country has acquired such capacity, and given that 96.4% of Rwandans see that the country has got sufficient activities promoting reconciliation in their areas constitute remarkable achievements. They show the belief that Rwandans have the capacity to ensure genocide never happens again in their country. This observation confirms the earlier ones about the level

of commitment and determination expressed by Rwandans to reconciliation and to preventing any return to any form of genocide ideology.

In spite of the fact that Rwandans generally do not see the possibility of the genocide to happen again, as well as high scores in acknowledging that Rwandans have owned the process of reconciliation and have developed a common understanding of the causes of the Genocide against Tutsi, they also reminded that the journey was not over yet. They based this cautious remark on the fact some people continue to manifest the genocide ideology. This is what respondent K122, a member of the CSOs, highlighted as she said:

*Many things have already been achieved in terms of fighting genocide ideology. I think genocide is not likely to happen again due to the good leadership we have in the country, but people should not seat down and think that everything is perfect. The genocide ideology is still alive among elder people, especiall among those between 40 and 65 years. (...) If people are not careful, the genocide ideology can continue to be disseminated among the youth and create an environment for the genocide to happen again. Let me give you an example. During our field activities in Nyagatare District we came across some people who refused to assist in burial of persons of different 'ethnic group.' We also saw some people who refused to join certain churches, bars, or choirs due to ethnicity. Of course, because they know the government does not support such divisive practices, they hide their feelings but still live a divided life, which is the reason why all actors have to continue engaging more with unity and reconcilion (K122).*

The above extract calls all actors to continue working for reconciliation because some people still harbor genocide ideology. Recalling that 8.6% of the respodents said that some people continue to inculcate genocide ideology to others, especially in families (9.8%), the worry of the above quote that genocide ideology could continue being disseminated and increase the likelihood of genocidal crimes is relevant. According to the respondent, areas such as churches and bars require more efforts, reminding what other studies and reports have already established that religious organizations failed to openly denounce the genocide, some of them directly providing both ideological and institutional support to genocide perpetrators (cf. Longman, 2009; Carney, 2014; NURC, 2020).

Factors such as the genocide ideology and the percentage of individuals who continue to inculcate ethnic hatred among others deserve continuous attention, but they do not put into question the achieved results as far as reconciliation, both at the national and individual levels are concerned. As one member of a reknown political organization explained,

*After the genocide the main task related to history teaching was about correcting the distorted history that destroyed our unity. You should understand that correcting the history that was taught for many years, that people had grown to believe in, requires a lot of time. (...) But let me tell you this. The fact that few people still harbor genocide ideology refusing to embrace reconciliation should not be taken as a failure of the*

*policy. The good thing is that, young people who were not taught such divisive ideologies will continue working and moving together. For us old people who went through such teachings, change will take a long time. People can embrace the policy of reconciliation while they have not reconciled. But with good leadership and existing laws that punish genocide ideology, those who still associate with divisive ideologies are forced to keep it within themselves and remain silent, which reduces the level of disseminating genocide ideology. That's a big step toward national reconciliation. Then, the more people continue working together, studying in same schools, going to same markets and cooperatives, etc., that's how individual persons make a step of realizing that they actually have nothing against one another. It is at that stage that individuals make a good step to reconcile with one another. Thus, it is correct that reconciliation leads to unity, but it is equally correct that unity leads to reconciliation (K117).*

Respondent K117underscores the fact the journey for reconciliation is a long and progressive one, reminding that it will take a long time to undo the distorted history that was taught and disseminated for a long period. The respondent comes back to the idea that good leadership and laws punishing the crime of genocide play a significant role in discouraging dissemination of genocide ideology, thus providing a good environment for reconciliation to succeed.

#### **4.2.5. Summary of findings on 'Understanding the past and envisioning the future of Rwanda'**

This section presented findings on 'understanding the past and envisioning the future of Rwanda.' Here, the assumption was that the more citizens are able to understand and confront the sources of their historical divisions, the more they are committed to envisioning their future, the more reconciliation is likely to occur. Results of this variable have confirmed this assumption at a high level. The following table displays the findings of 2020 assessment together with those of 2010 and 2015 in order to be able to follow the changes that have happened across the years.

Table 10. Average scores on ‘Understanding the past, the present, and envisioning the future of Rwanda’

Pillar	Indicators	Findings (%) in 2010	Findings (%) in 2015	Findings (%) in 2020
Understanding the past, the present, and envisioning the future	1. Causes of the genocide frankly discussed and commonly understood	88.2	91.3	95.8
	<b>History and how it is shared</b>			
	2. Rwandans no longer inculcate genocide ideology among others	68,5	74,2	91.4
	3. Encounter with teachings of hatred and division			96.7
	4. Family is where history of hatred and division is taught today			90.2
	<b>Ownership of reconciliation</b>			
	5. Rwandans ready to sacrifice own life instead of committing genocide		89.7	91.6
	6. Certain to do anything to avoid participating in genocide		92.6	98.5
	<b>Envisioning the future</b>			
	7. Genocide can never happen again in Rwanda	83.0	84.1	90.2
	8. Capacity to ensure genocide never happens again in Rwanda		96.1	97.7
	9. Activities promoting reconciliation among Rwandans in villages			96.4
	10. Rwandans are unlikely to commit genocide again	60,1	71,1	94.8
	<b>AVERAGE</b>			

From table 10 above, it can be seen that almost all variables present positive improvements from 2015 to 2020. There are certain indicators whose scores saw very remarkable improvements in the last five years. These are views on whether there were Rwandans who continue to inculcate genocide ideology among others. In 2015, 25.8% of the respondents agreed with that statement, while in 2020 only 8.6% confirmed seeing some Rwandans who continue to instill genocide ideology among others. Similarly, the number of Rwandans who perceive that genocide would never happen again in Rwanda significantly increased from 84.1% in 2015 to 90.2% in 2020, whereas the score of the likelihood that some Rwandans would still commit genocide remarkably dropped from 28.9% in 2015 to 5.2% in 2020.

As already explained, these tangible achievements are highly associated with the government resolve to fight and punish genocide ideology, which discourages even the few who would want to see genocide ideology proliferated and culminating into the execution of genocide again. However, this should not be taken as implying that there is no longer genocide ideology and other related crimes in Rwanda. It should also be

recalled that genocide ideology is not more or less dangerous due to the number of those who have it because, like any other bad ideologies, it only takes the weakness, deliberate or not, on the side of the government/leadership, to see its rise and negative impact on the society. Indeed, the definition of the crime of genocide ideology and related crimes is broad and cannot be limited to only two variables discussed in this subsection. Further discussions on this are under the subsection of factors hindering reconciliation in Rwanda.

Due to the need to modify questions based on the lapse of time and the relevance of specific questions during the subsequent periods for which the reconciliation barometers were measured, some scores are not available in table 10. A general observation is that all the scores for the different indicators for which comparison can be made showed a rise in the score of that indicator. This means that reconciliation has taken deep roots in the social life of Rwandans and as time goes on. Rwandans have understood clearly the importance of reconciliation, the process itself, the challenges and the way it can be protected. This understanding is a result of the numerous government programmes that have been running since the setting up of the transitional government of national unity in 1994 and throughout the subsequent epoch.

### **4.3. Citizenship, identity and responsibility**

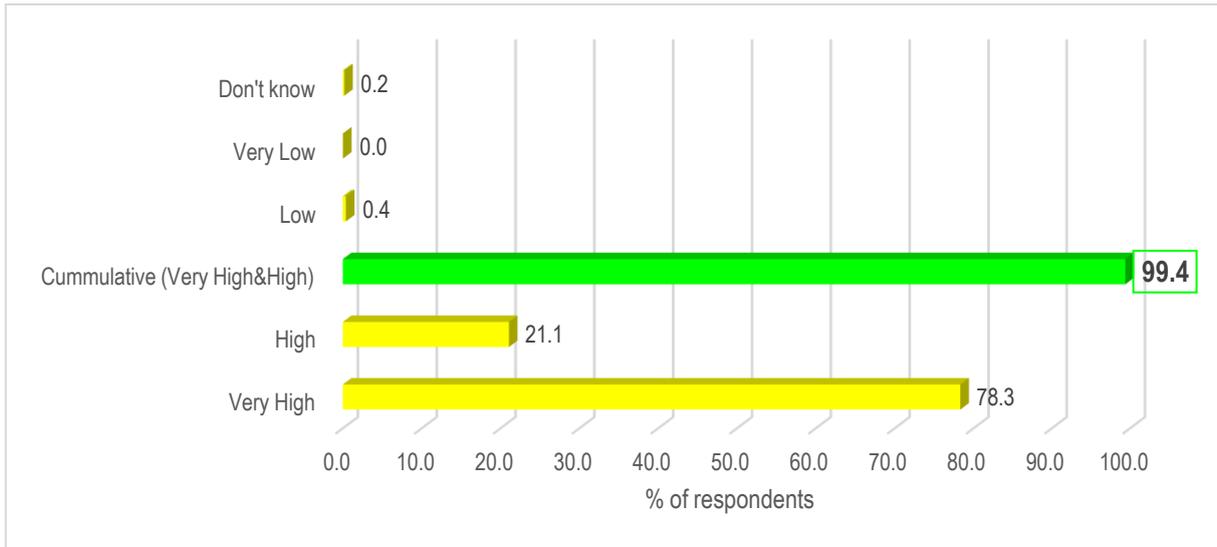
On citizenship, identity and responsibility, there has been a gradual increase in awareness and sense of identity of Rwandans since the first RRB 2010. The changes in terms of indicators most likely indicate a saturation in the manner in which Rwandans perceive matters of citizenship and identity. Of all the six composite variables of the RRB, this pillar has all its indicators scores above 95%, clearly showing that Rwandans now have a near universal confidence and pride in their identity and shared citizenship. This understanding has been consistent since RRB 2010. The commitment to national identity and the restoration of national pride have contributed to the stability of the view of identity and citizenship that appears solid. This is further strengthened by the ability of Rwandans, unlike in the past, to think critically about issues that affect their lives. The gullibility that characterized Rwandans in the past, where they would listen and do whatever they were told by the leaders of the time, is evidently being eroded by the constant exposure to facts.

#### **4.3.1. National identity**

Human beings like having a sense of belonging to a given social group or nation. An individual can take on multiple identities at different times. At some point, Rwandans were brought to associate with small identities, especially constructed ethnic groups of Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa, which led to the creation of the ethnic majority of Hutu, and the ethnic minority of Tutsi whom the then political discourse classified, symbolized and termed as foreigners, enemies of the nation, etc. This is the time when some Rwandans developed the feeling of being legitimate citizens, questioning and even rejecting the Rwandanness of the other part of the population, which highly destroyed the national identity. Building a sense of a collective national identity was one of the early tasks of the Government of National Unity after genocide against the Tutsi.

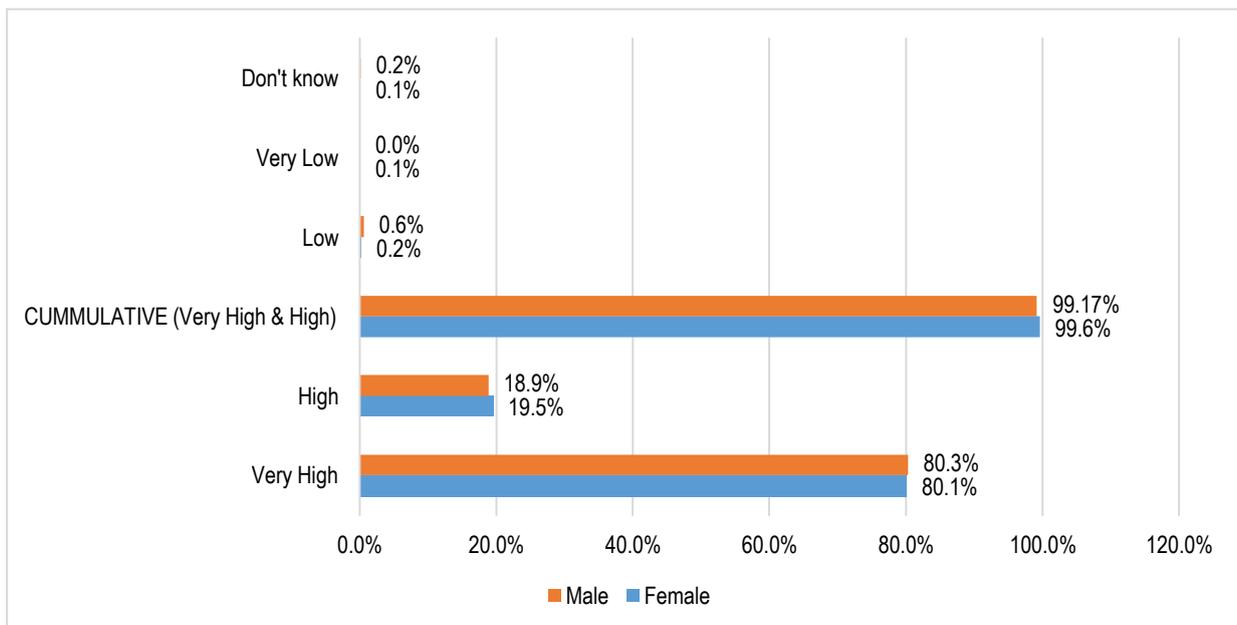
During the survey, questions around national identity, proud of being Rwandan among others were posed. Below are presentations of the responses.

**Figure 20.** Opinions on national identity



Today, as illustrated by the cumulative percentage in figure 20, Rwandans are proud of their national identity. The colonialists introduced a formal identification of people on the constructed identities that got used to divide and rule the people. It is therefore a very important achievement that, one generation after the genocide, the people have been able to shed off this identity crisis and forged a common national identity as 'Rwandan'. 99.4% of the respondents see themselves as Rwandans first, rather than viewing themselves as hutu, tutsi or twa, or even categorizing themselves along religious or regional lines. This 'national identity first' mentality is a paradigm shift in the thinking of Rwandans whom divisive politics had categorized into various small identities weakening the national identity that they all shared and were proud of before.

**Figure 21.** Disaggregate by gender on 'National identity'



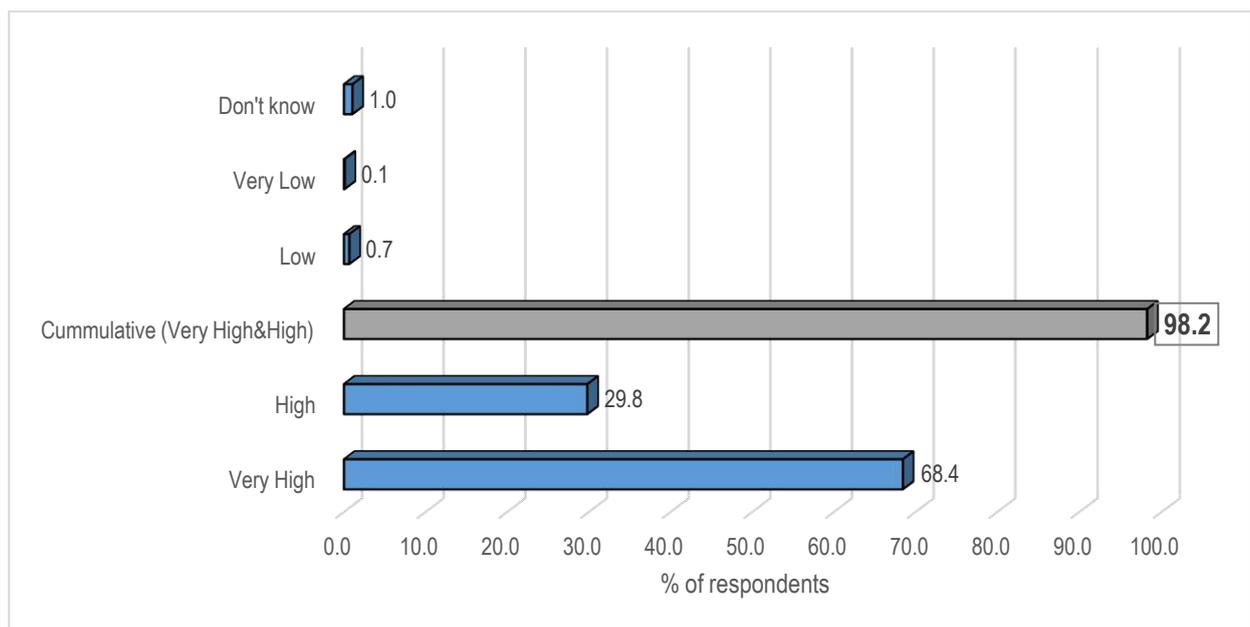
Rwandans – female or male – share the same sentiments about their national identity. They value that their country has regained its dignity and the people are respected by other peoples in other nations. Today, no one has a document that bears 'Hutu' or 'Tutsi'

or 'Twa' but Rwandan. This superiority of national identity over any other identities is evidence of the revolutionary change in the mindset of the people.

### 4.3.2. Individual proud of a shared identity

Being proud of a shared identity creates a bond of unity among people. Being proud of being a member of a community sharing culture and other aspects of social life is a sign of the deeper appreciation of others and of oneself. This entails being able to associate oneself with the shared national identity of Rwandans, rather than primarily viewing oneself in small identities like ethnicity, religion, etc.

**Figure 22.** Individual proudness of a shared identity



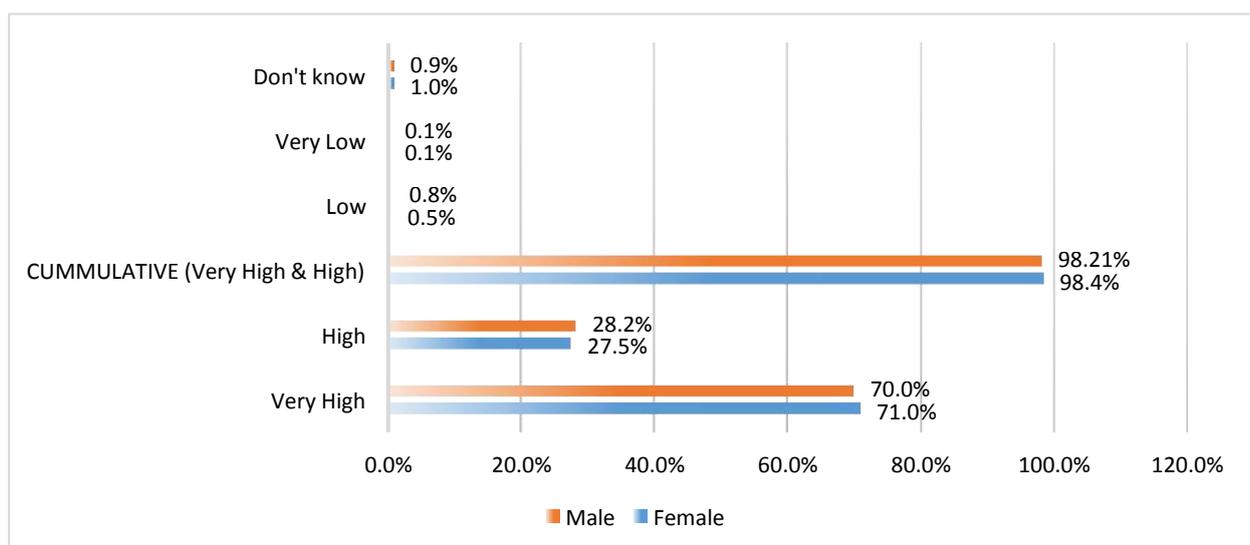
At the individual level, 98.2% indicated that they are proud of having a shared identity. The shared identity is that of viewing oneself as Rwandan first before anything else, and the fact that one now freely enjoys the privileges of being a national without feeling discriminated against on the basis of small identities like ethnicity, religion, etc. In comparison to the 2015 assessment, one might be tempted to question the 2020 score on this variable. However, a close look helps to see that the question is not the same for these two assessments. While the 2015 report assessed whether there were Rwandans who still viewed themselves and others through ethnic lenses, the 2020 assessment focused on examining the extent to which Rwandans had overcome the tendency to associate with small identities, thus identifying more with being Rwandans before anything else. Therefore, the 98.2% stand for the extent to which Rwandans identify themselves as Rwandans, even if they might have other small identities they associate with. A highly experienced member of the academia who contributed to this study explained the importance of national identity in the following terms:

*You see, the problem our country has faced is that politicians divided us along so-called ethnic groups. Otherwise, the most important factor for any nation's development is to make sure citizens associate themselves with their national identity instead of identifying with small groups. All countries start with creating a nation to which every citizen identifies. Our*

*problem here has been that politicians failed to construct a unified nation all citizens feel proud of instead of always feeling like a second-class citizen. (...) Actually, we are lucky in Rwanda because elements that divide us are few comparing to those that unit us. We speak the same language, we live in the same villages, there is no area known as Hutuland or Tutsiland, etc. All these are elements that can make our country powerful. What is needed is to only eradicate these constructed ethnic groups that were brought and instilled among us. We are actually set to be a powerful nation (K119).*

As the above quote illustrates, the history of Rwanda generally shows that Rwandans have always associated with the Rwandan identity. Divisions along so-called ethnic groups were constructed and instilled among Rwandans. However, even after ethnicity got used to classify a group of citizens as more Rwandans and the other as foreigners to be expelled, the later never forgot their Rwandan identity and continued to fight for their right to citizenship till the end of the struggle for liberation in 1994. Thus, instead of seeking to assess whether some Rwandans still view themselves and others through ethnic lenses – ethnicity seen in the sense of Hutu, Tutsi and Twa, future assessments should rather focus on examining whether there are Rwandans who still enjoy any benefits thanks to ethnic groups they are associated with. This way, people would be able to see the negative side of ethnicity because indeed, ethnicity is a socially constructed reality that becomes a problem when systemically used for some people's gains at the expense of others who otherwise would enjoy the same benefits. Participant K I21 demonstrated that one of the biggest achievements that has made Rwandans proud of their shared identity is national identity: "The conception of national identity means that the country has the political will and determination to strengthen what brings us together. This is seen through the laws, policies, and the resolve to equitably share what is available."

**Figure 23.** Disaggregate by gender on 'Individual proudness of a shared identity'



The sense of proud in the shared identity among Rwandans is gender-neutral since it can be seen from the above chart that both women and men equally express this sentiment. The findings were also disaggregated by District, as displayed in the following figure.

**Figure 24.** Citizens opinions per District on “Individual proudness of a shared identity”

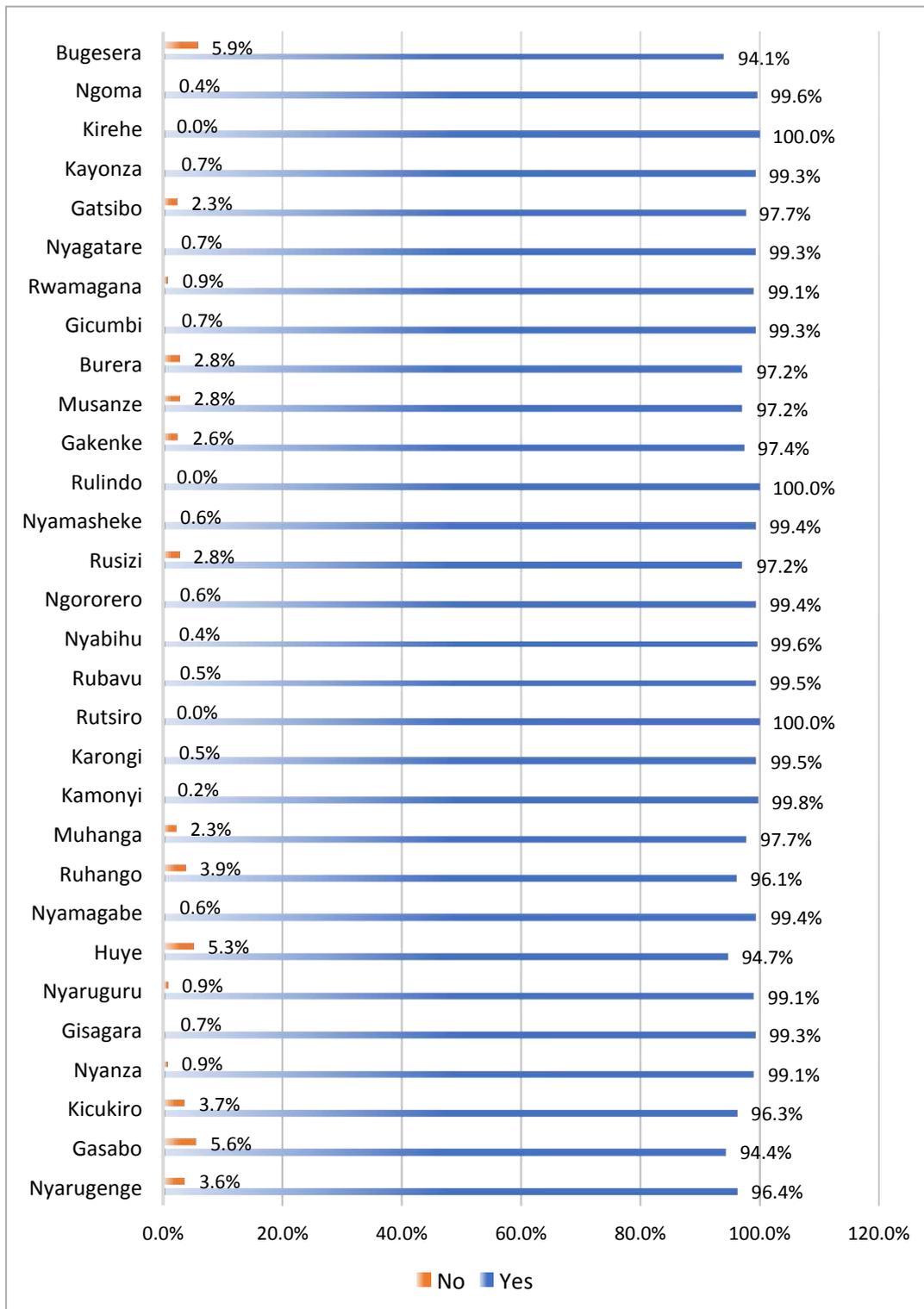
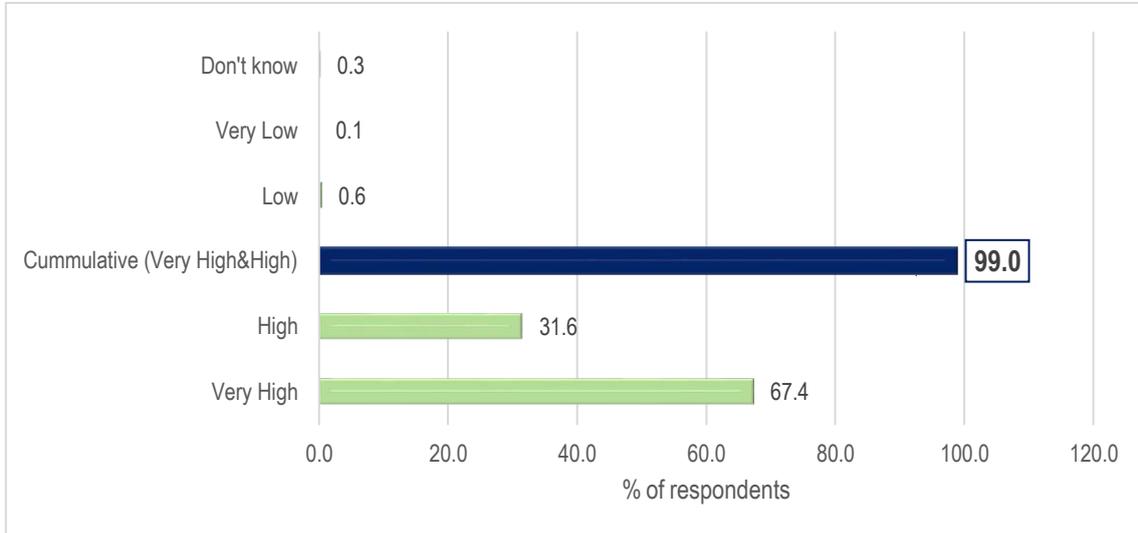


Figure 24 shows that Rwandans in all Districts have a high feeling of proud in being Rwandans, which is their shared identity. In some Districts, the score even went to 100% (see Kirehe, Rutsiro, and Rulindo,

### 4.3.3. Shared values and vision

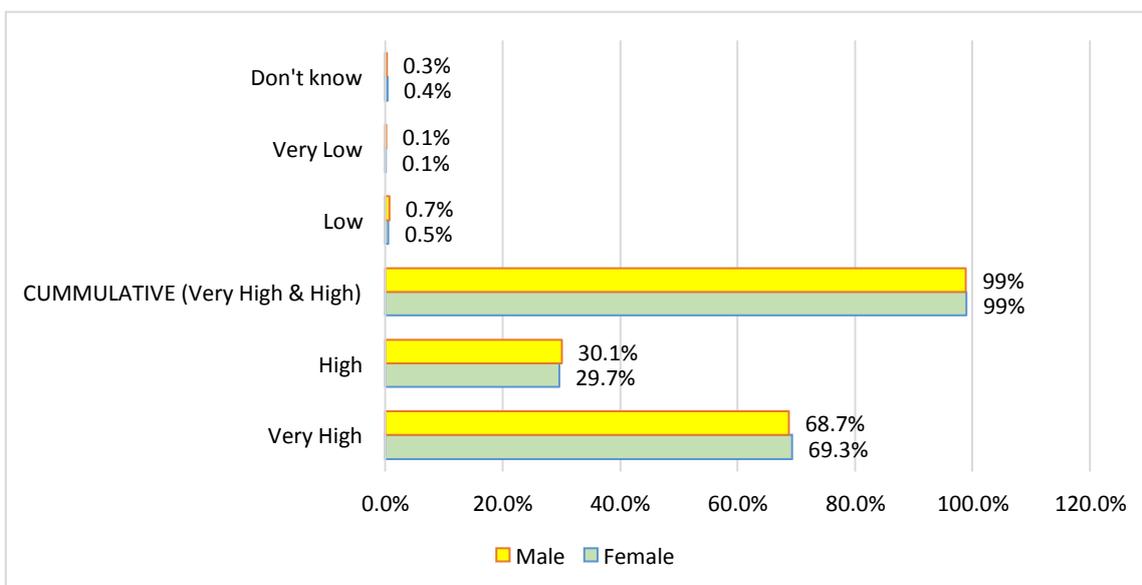
A shared pride, national identity allows people to agree and forge a vision of the future that they believe in.

**Figure 25.** Opinions on shared values and vision



Having a shared vision by a people is also an indication that all citizens believe in the direction of the future and that they have been part and parcel of that process. Moreover, it also means that people understand their role in making that future possible. 99% of the respondents shared this view. They indicated that they are both proud of the collective identity and vision for the future. Being proud means that they are ready to partake in the process of delivering that future while at the same time safeguarding and consolidating the gains that have been registered.

**Figure 26.** Disaggregate by gender on 'Shared values and vision'

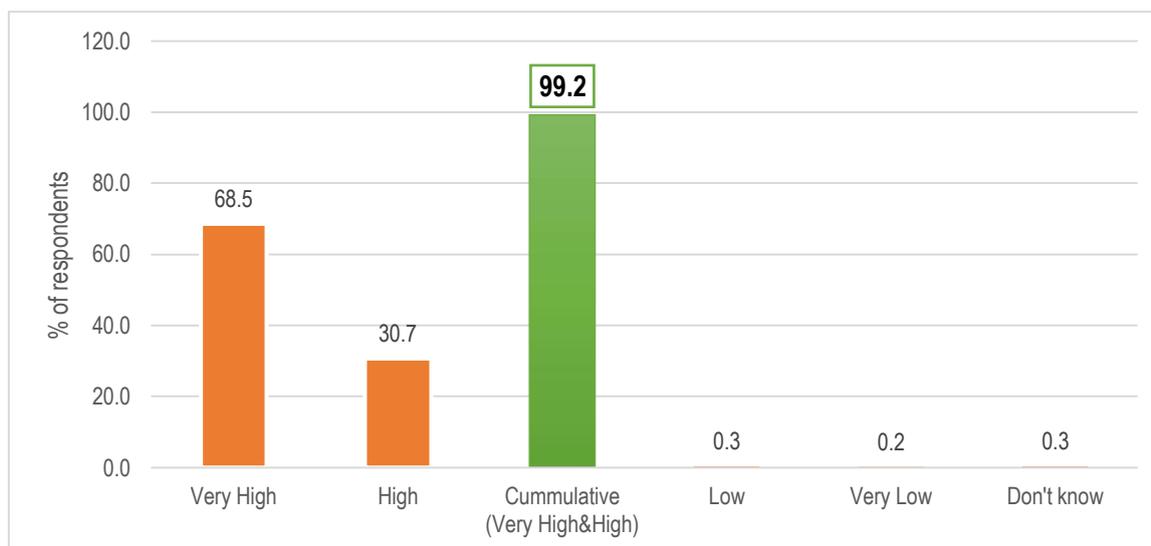


This is very interesting as the cumulative average for both males and females is high and equal (99%).

### 4.3.4. Commitment to national identity

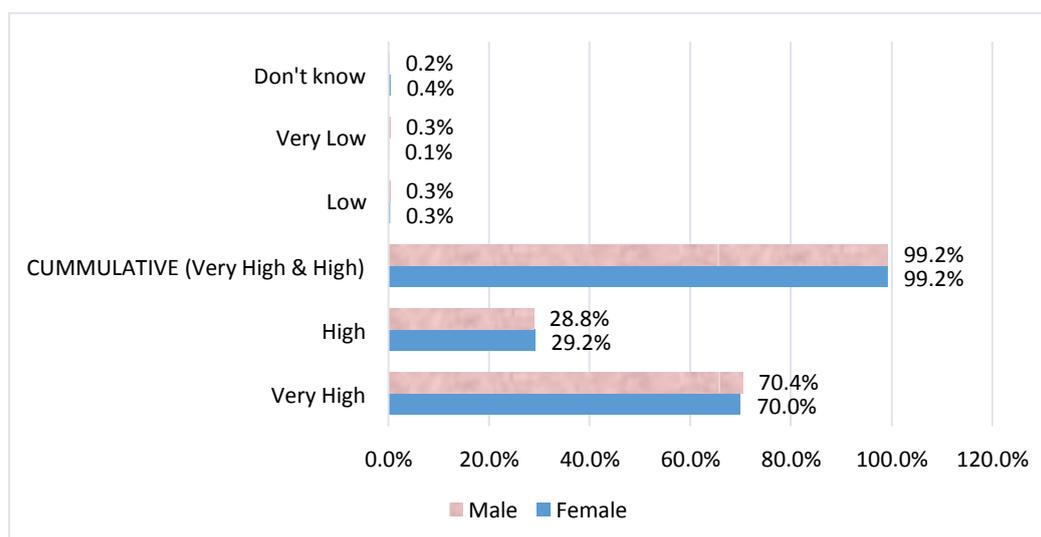
Commitment to a common national identity signals commitment to holding a national ethos and values that define a person as belonging to that community or society. Having an identity that you are willing to defend and cherish is a sign of nationalism and patriotism which both promote the greater good for all. Below we provide the responses as provided by Rwandans who were interviewed on the basis of age and Districts of residence.

**Figure 27.** Commitment to national identity



Being proud of one's national identity as well as being aware of a collective identity and vision are very important ingredients to creating a society of peace, harmony and shared prosperity. When people shed off or relegate other forms of identify in favor of a national identity, which is a sign of the commitment to a national identity, then one is assured that the identity will stick and is solid. 99.2% of the respondents indicated this level of commitment, meaning that they are ready to guard against any tendencies to demean the identity, are ready to stand and be counted as Rwandans and are ready to defend the dignity and pride that goes with that identity.

**Figure 28.** Disaggregate by gender on 'Commitment to national identity'

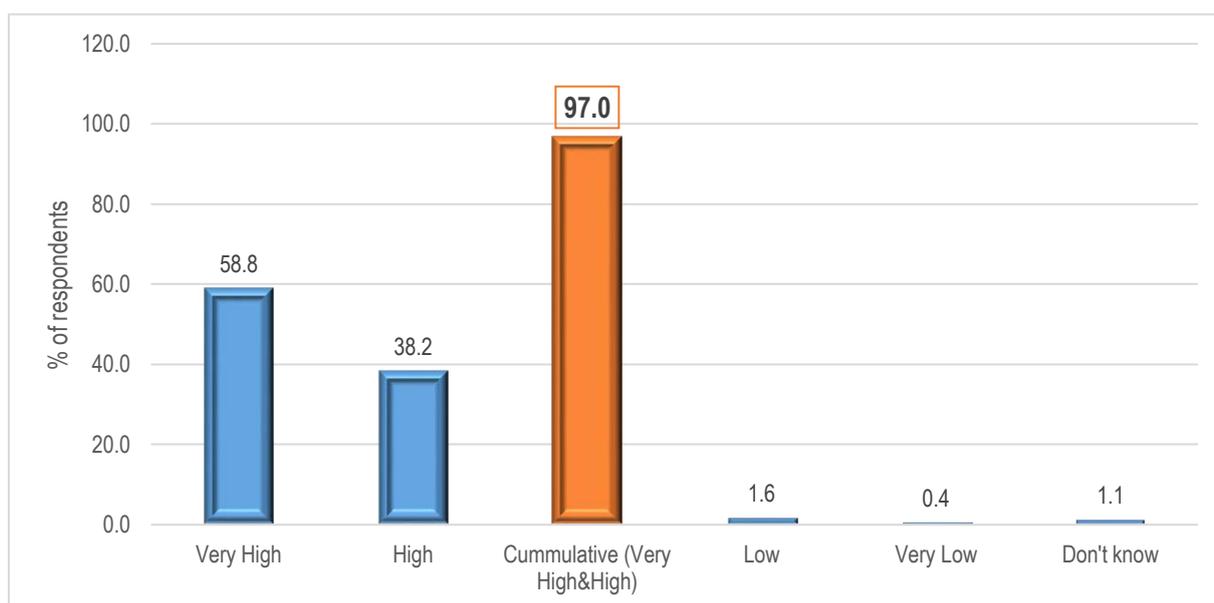


Like in the cases of all the previous indicators, both male and female Rwandans share a total commitment to national identity. This commitment cuts across gender, Districts of residence and age. As can be seen in the chart above, the commitment to national identity is absolute. This is a good foundation upon which to build a solid base of patriotism and nationalism that promotes unity and the good of all while taking care of individual needs. It is a strong pillar upon which reconciliation activities can be developed.

### 4.3.5. Critical thinking

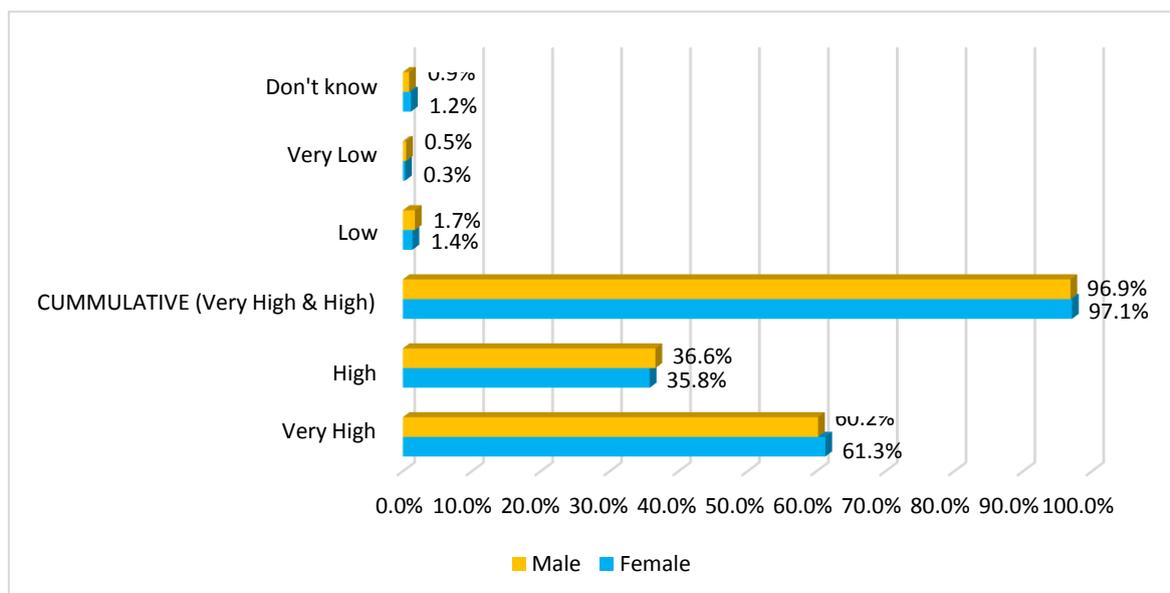
Critical thinking allows people to ask questions, seek answers to difficult questions and also question assumptions, beliefs and views of others. This is important as it allows the masses to not follow whatever they are told to do without subjecting it to critical scrutiny.

**Figure 29.** Critical thinking



The purpose of assessing the level of critical thinking in relation to matters of national identity and citizenship relate to the ability to influence people and their way of thinking without individual reflection and question of the views of leaders. 97% of the respondents believe that they have the capacity to think critically about the issues presented to them and to assess evidence and come to their own conclusions. This is partly a result of the level of exposure to alternative views that people are exposed to today, thanks to the proliferation of different sources of information particularly the diversified media sources.

**Figure 30.** Disaggregate by gender on 'Critical thinking'



The chart above shows that both male and female Rwandans have a critical understanding of the history of the nation, the factors that led to divisionism and genocide against Tutsi as well as a clear understanding of the national issues and vision of the country in general. This is an important element in ensuring that people with genocide ideology as well as attempting to spread falsehoods will easily be called to order by the masses.

#### 4.3.6. Summary of findings on Citizenship, identity and responsibility

This section focused on citizenship, identity and responsibility. The assumption here is that a shared sense of national identity, inclusive, responsible and critical citizenship promote reconciliation. Results of this variable have confirmed this assumption, as summarized in the following table, together with those of 2010 and 2015 in areas where comparison could be made.

**Table 11:** Average scores on Citizenship, identity and responsibility

Pillars	Indicators	Findings (%) in 2010	Findings (%) in 2015	Findings (%) in 2020
Citizenship, identity and responsibility	1. Proud of being Rwandan	97.9	97.3	99.4
	2. Rwandans view themselves as Rwandans first before anything else	98.1	95.6	98.2
	3. Rwanda is guided by values that help Rwandans to reconcile	96.4	96.6	99
	4. Rwandans are doing everything possible to protect the sovereignty of the country and Rwandans		97.4	99.2
	5. Rwandans are now critical enough to take informed and responsible decisions			97.0
	<b>AVERAGE</b>			

Stt can be seen that on all the four indicators for which comparison can be made between 2015 and 2020, all showed an increase in the scores. The changes in the scores however may not be significant because the 2015 scores were already high. It is however reassuring that none of the indicators declined in its score. Critical thinking was a new dimension that was introduced during the 2020 survey.

## 4.4. Political culture and Governance

On the nature, role and entrenchment of a political and governance culture among Rwandans, this has also evolved most dramatically of all the variables during the period 2010-2020. The pillar's score rose by more than 10 percentage points between 2010 (77.8%) and 2015 (88.4%) and by slightly more than 2 percentage points between 2015 and 2020 (90.6%). The main component of this pillar is the confidence that the Rwandan public has in a number of public institutions, especially in the promotion of reconciliation. The increased trust that the public has in some key institutions and their performance has grown over time. This is also confirmed by other surveys such as the Rwanda Governance Survey (RGS, 2019) where it is reported that public trust in the judiciary stood at 88.34%, 91.81% for the prosecution and 91.44% for the legislature.

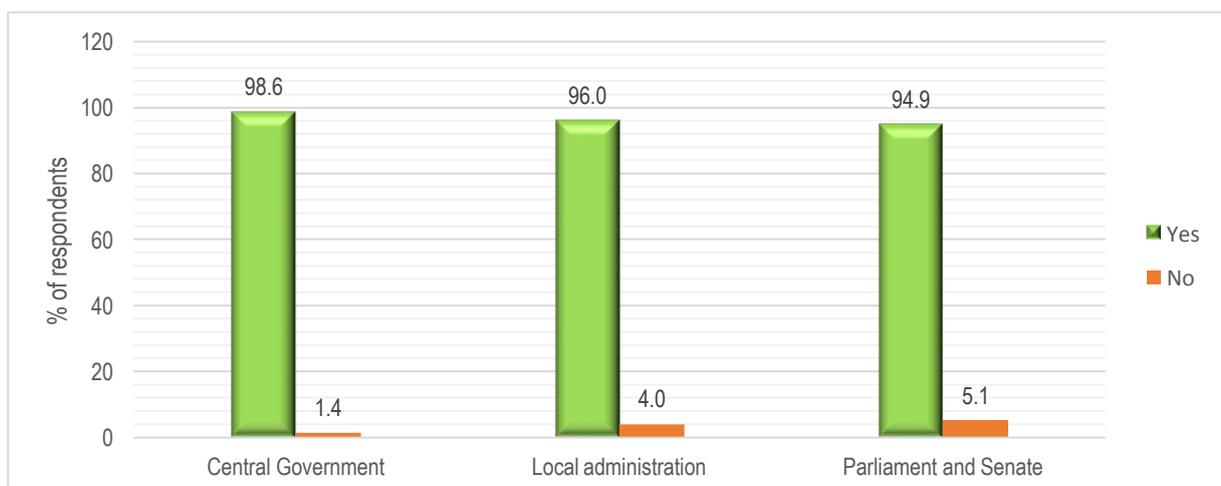
### 4.4.1. Appreciation of the role of institutions in promoting reconciliation

Institutions are responsible for public service and are the faces of the government interacting with the citizens. Gauging the level of appreciation of the public to the role of institutions is critical to understanding how the public views these institutions. This, in turn, gives one an opportunity to interrogate the role of these institutions in promoting reconciliation and national unity.

#### a) Administrative institutions

Administrative institutions generally interact most with the public, providing policy, services among others. Such institutions include the central government, the local government and the legislature.

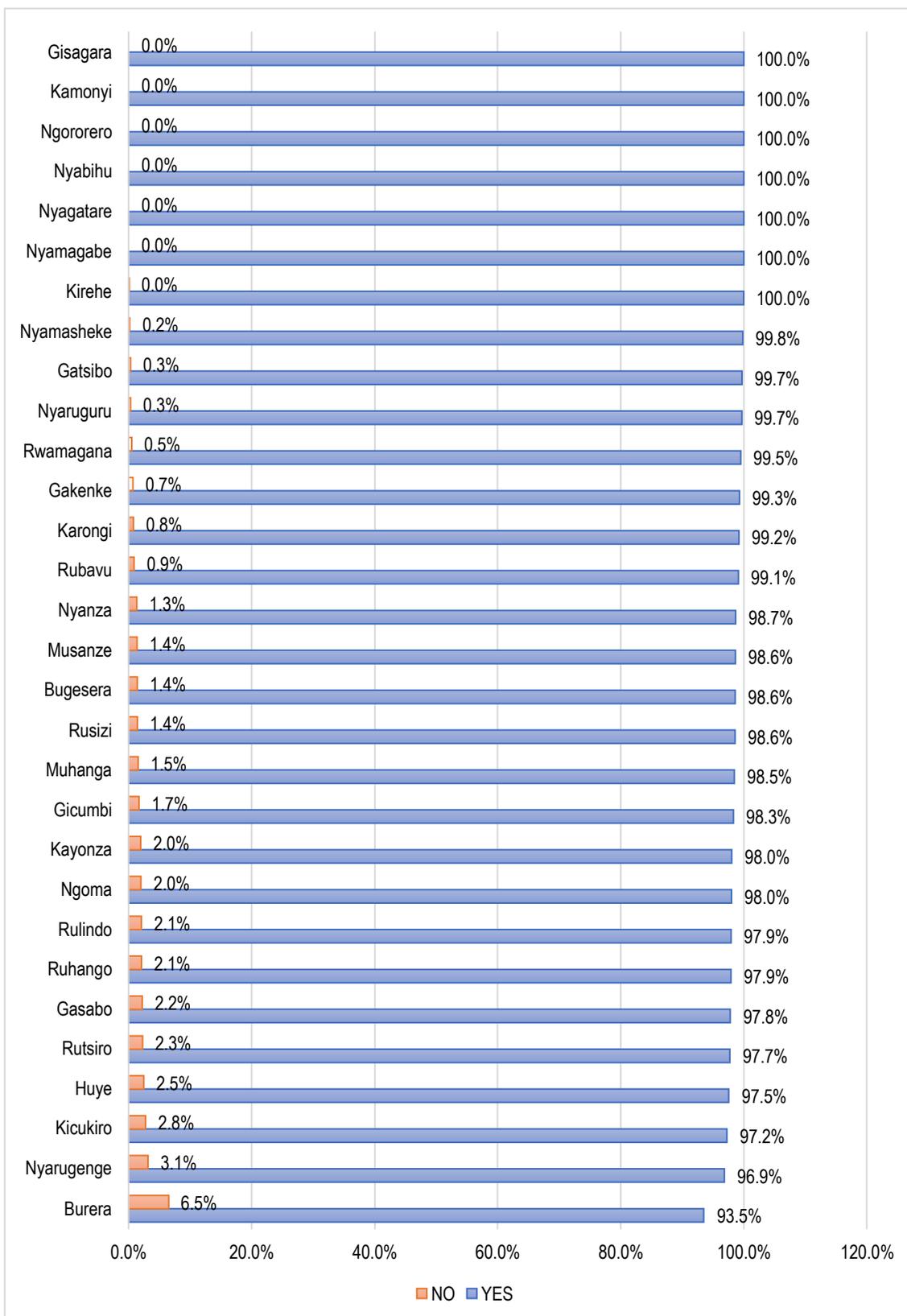
**Figure 31.** Administrative institutions



Rwandans show a consistent and persistent appreciation of the role played by main institutions of governance in reconciliation. 98.6% show appreciation of the role of the Central government, 96% show appreciation of the role of the local government and

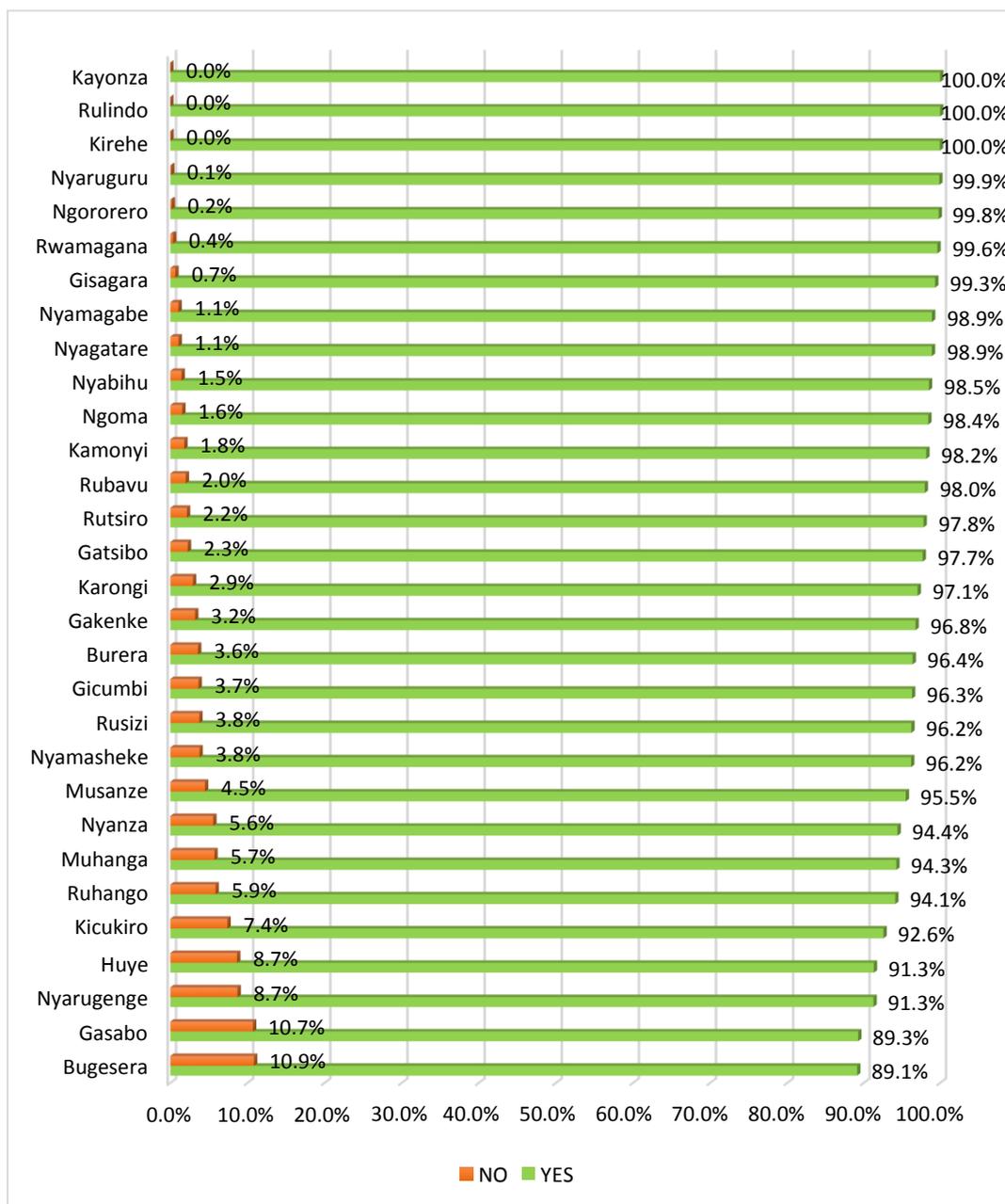
94.9% endorse the work done by the parliament and senate. This assessment is confirmed by public opinion in the surveys that have been done by the Rwanda Governance Board as stated in chapter 2. At District level, the appreciation of the role of the Central Government looks as follows.

**Figure 32.** Citizens' appreciation per District on 'the role of Central Government'



In a general sense, it can be seen that the Central government is well appreciated across the board in all Districts of the country. This means that people are aware of the different roles of the institutions. They therefore know where to go for what services and are therefore in a position to judge whether these institutions fulfill their duties and responsibilities adequately.

**Figure 33.** Citizens' appreciation per District on 'the role of Local administration'

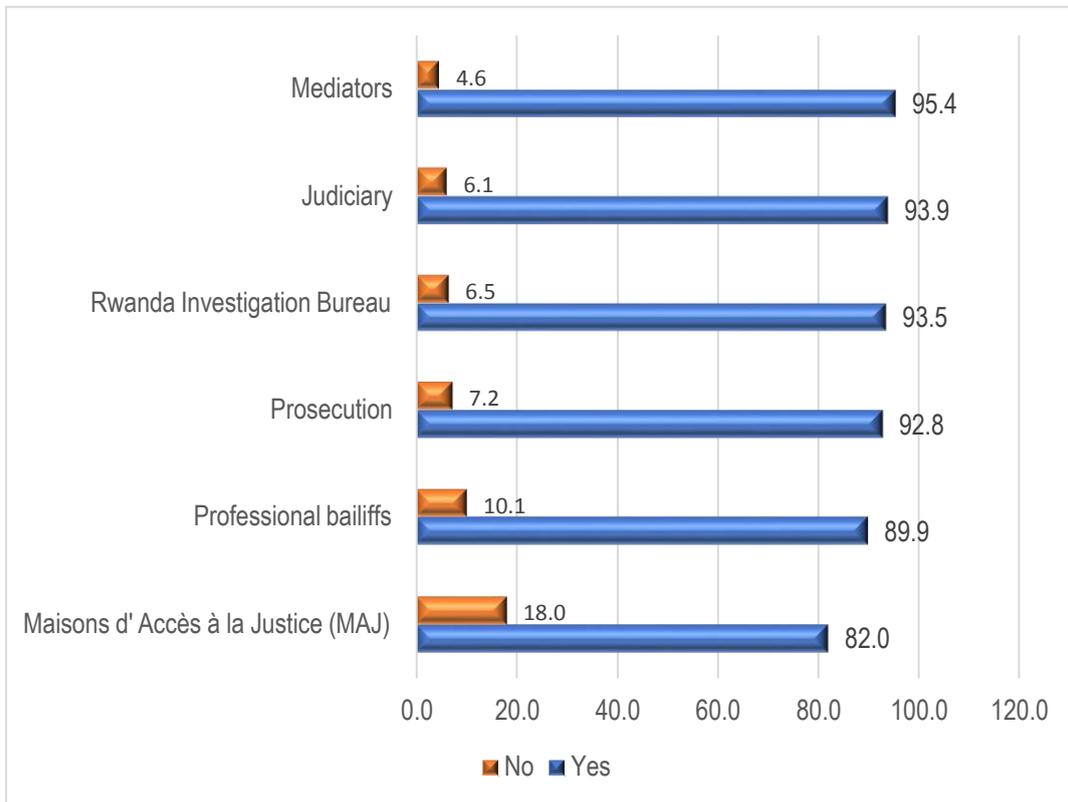


It can also be seen that the role of the local government is appreciated in all the Districts. This is very important because under decentralization, the Districts and sectors are the key service points for the people. Nearly all public services have now been devolved to the Districts and sectors. Social services, economic programmes as well as all public policy programmes are implemented by the Districts down to the village levels. That the public has a positive view of these institutions is a necessary condition for success of the different programmes including reconciliation and social cohesion activities.

## b) Justice system institutions

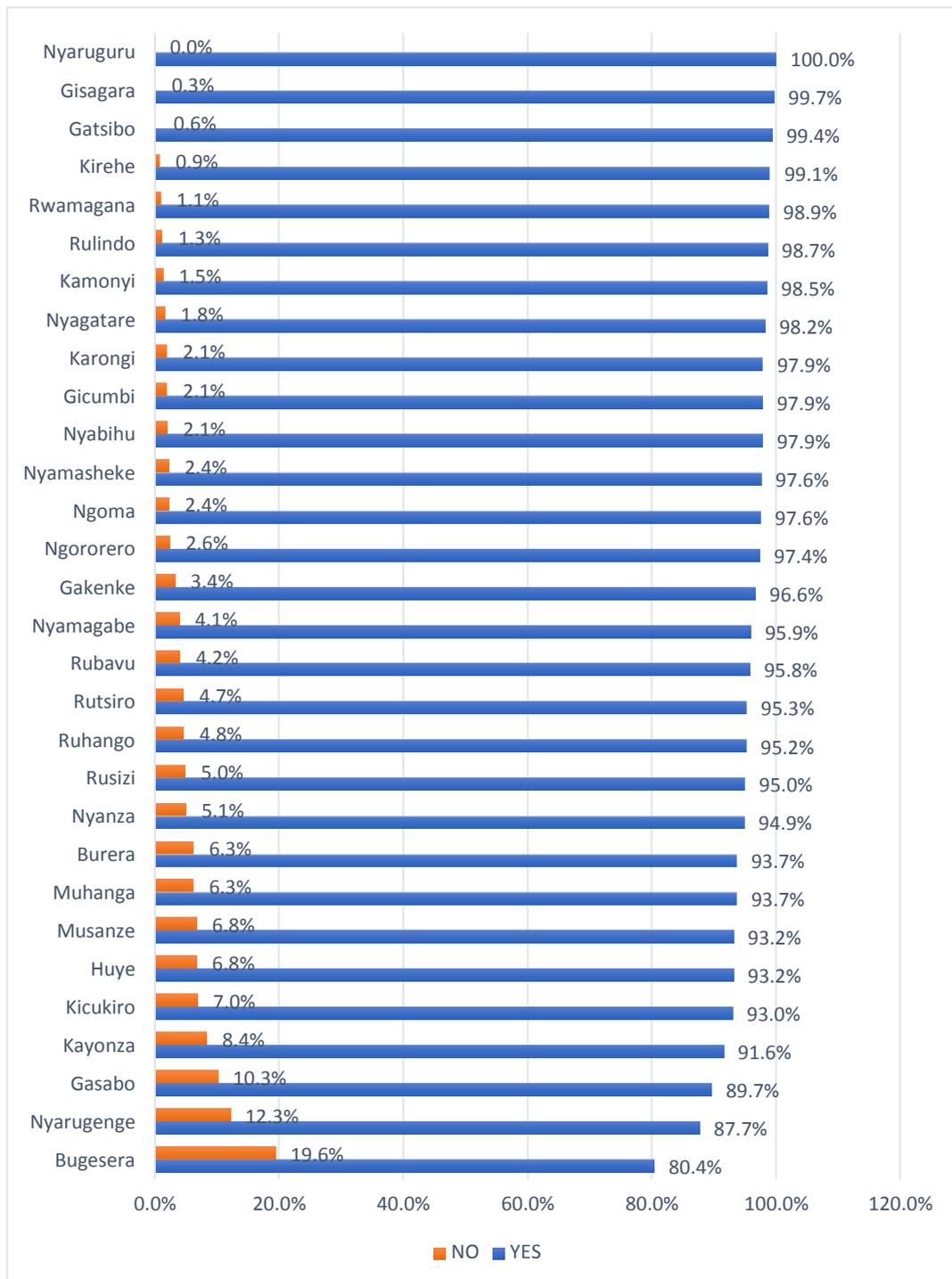
Institutions that deliver justice play a critical role in the reconciliation process. When the public lose trust or do not understand the role of justice institutions, they question their legitimacy to deliver justice. Given the need to eradicate the culture of impunity, there is need for the public to see fairness and impartiality of justice service institutions.

**Figure 34.** Justice system institutions



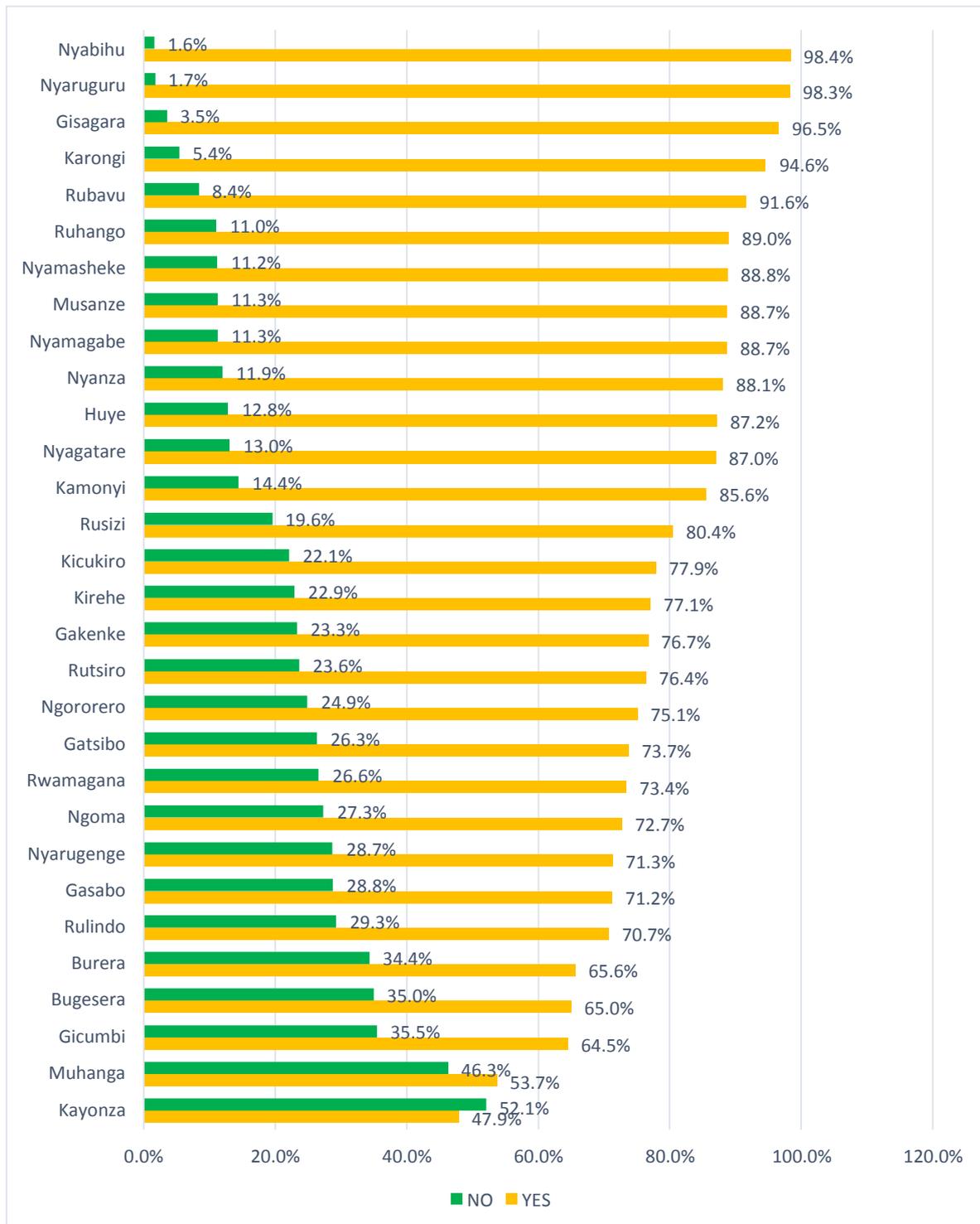
Appreciation of the role played by the judiciary is a key factor in promoting reconciliation and unity. When people know that they can expect to get fair justice whatever their status, then their trust in the justice system increases. The role the entire justice chain plays in promoting reconciliation is appreciated by over 80% Rwandans. This high rate is a result of appreciation in the role of the criminal investigation department RIB (93.5%), the work of court bailiffs (89.9%), the judiciary (93.9%), the prosecution (92.8%) and MAJ (82%).

**Figure 35.** Citizens' appreciation per District of 'the role of Mediators'



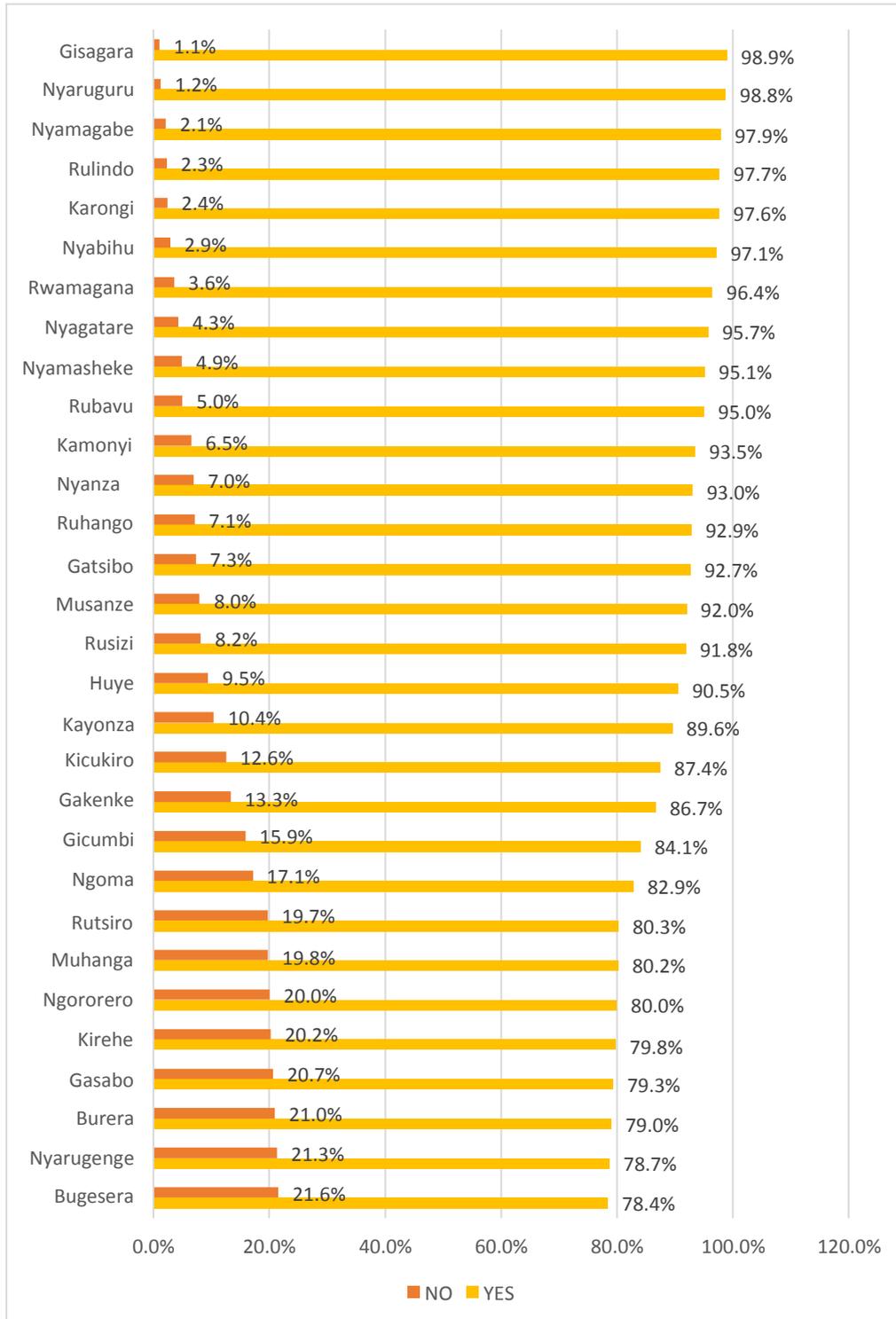
In all districts, the public appreciates the role of the mediators (abunzi) in addressing local issues.

**Figure 36.** Citizens' appreciation per District of 'the role of Maisons d'Accès à la Justice'



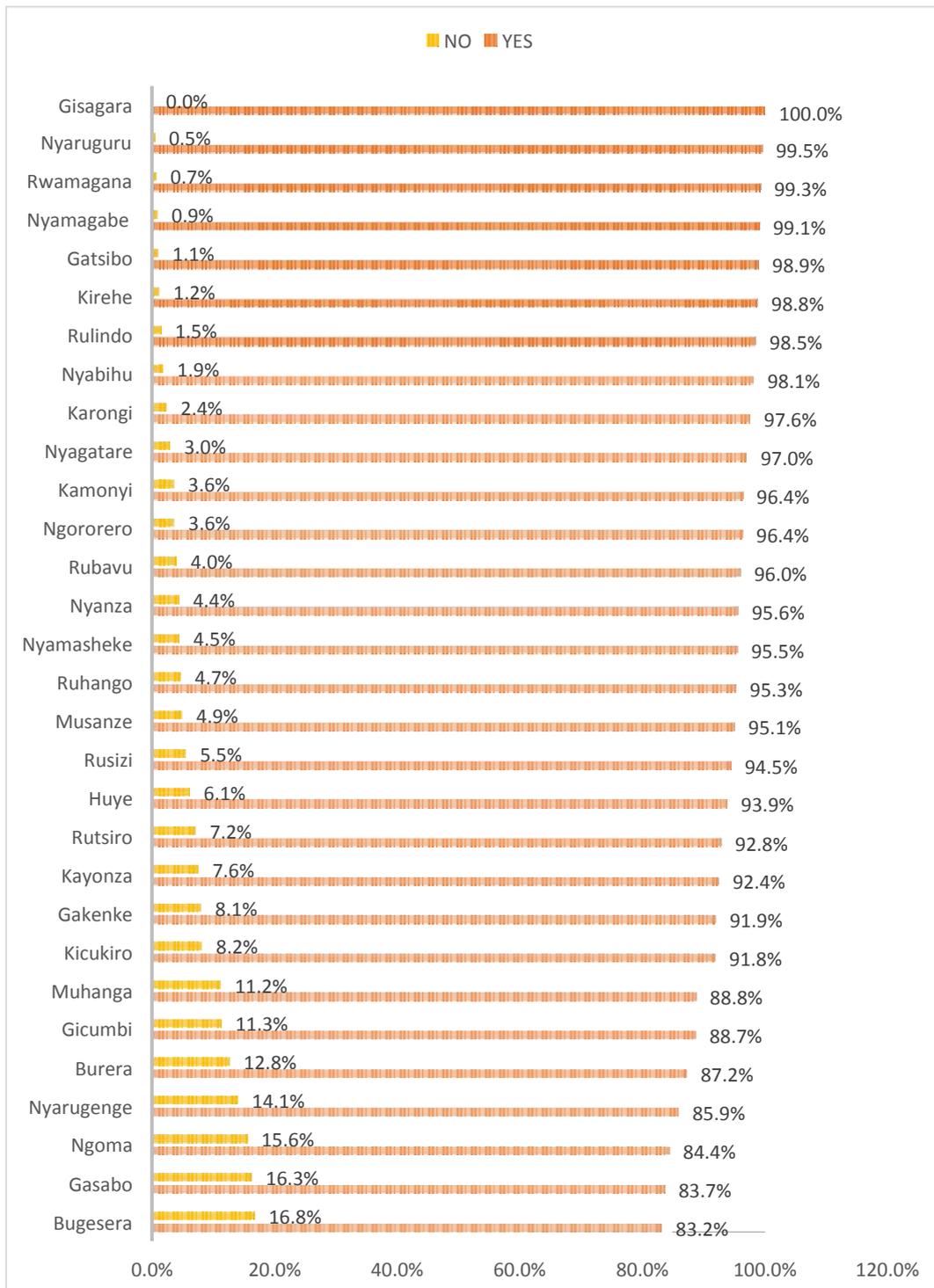
The chart above shows that in many places the services of the MAJ have not been adequately appreciated. The main reason for this, as it appeared during data collection, is because many people do not seem to have knowledge about this institution. This means that there is need for the MAJ to make itself publicly known to the population so that they can seek legal advice from them.

**Figure 37.** Citizens' appreciation per District of 'the role of Professional bailiffs'



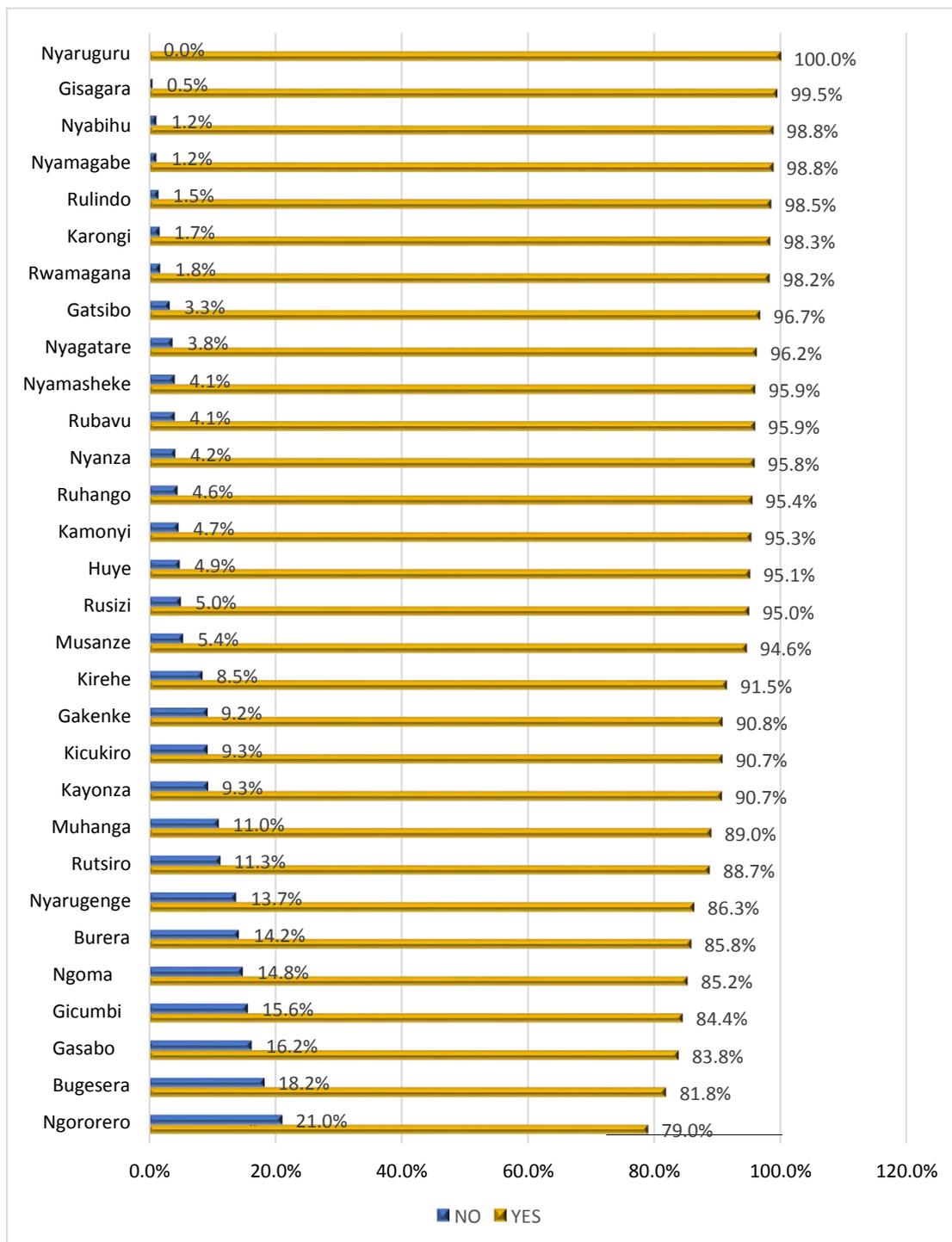
Public views on the role of professional bailiffs are also mixed. In some districts such as Rulindo, and Karongi, there appears to be very high awareness of the role of professional bailiffs.

**Figure 38.** Citizens' appreciation per District of 'the role of the Judiciary'



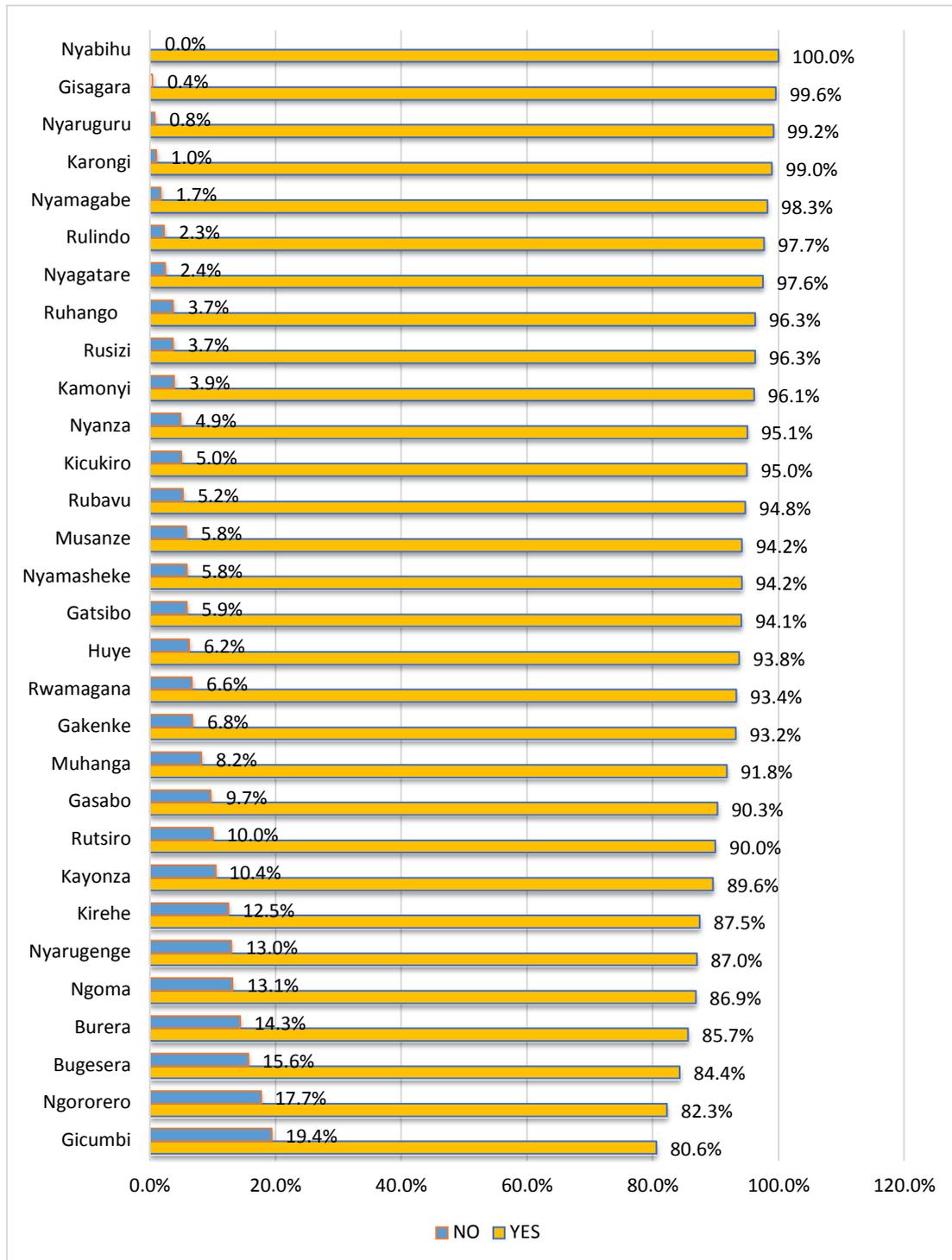
It is apparent that the public's appreciation of the role played by the judiciary is pervasive throughout the country

**Figure 39.** Citizens' appreciation per District of 'the role of the Prosecution'



The survey also indicates that the public appreciate to varying degrees the role of the prosecution in reconciliation. Although there are differences in the ratings, in general, there is high appreciation of the work done by the prosecution.

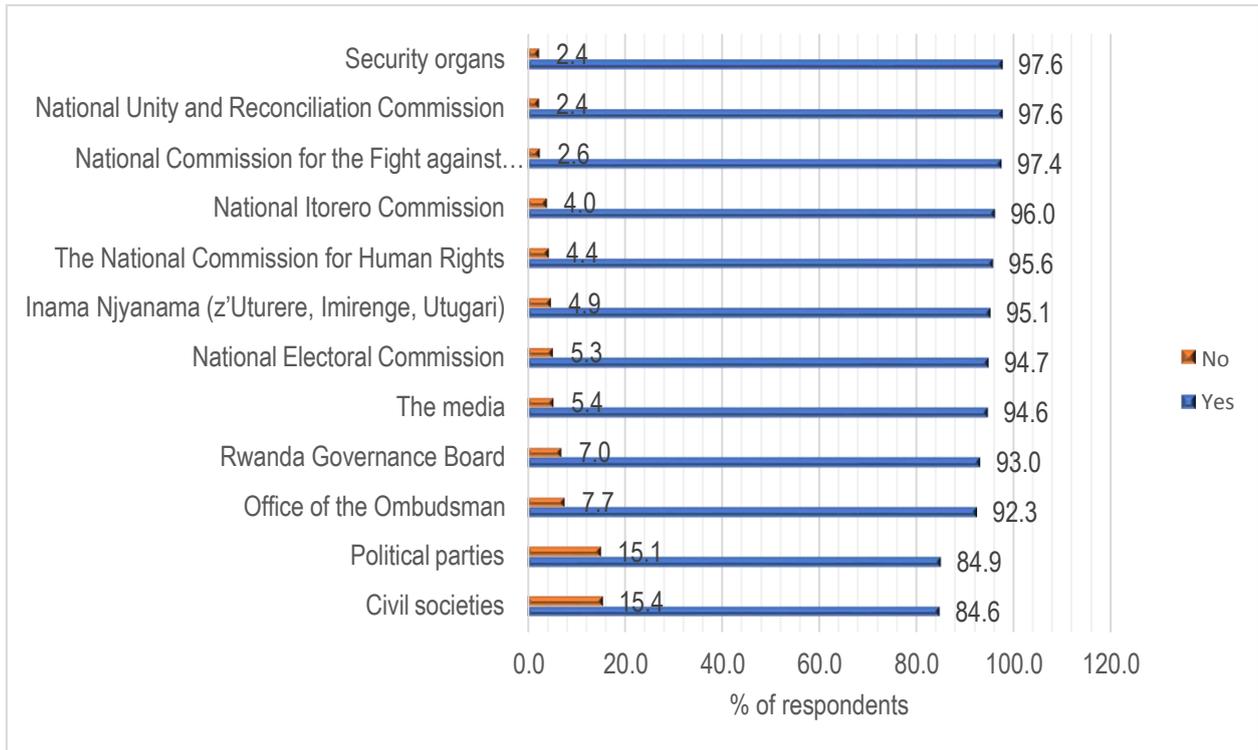
**Figure 40.** Citizens' appreciation per District of 'the role of Rwanda Investigation Bureau'



The Rwanda Investigation Bureau (RIB) is a new institution but it has become relatively popular and visible within the community. It is appreciated for its rapid response and the ability to apprehend criminal elements within the community. It is therefore not surprising that it is highly rated across the country.

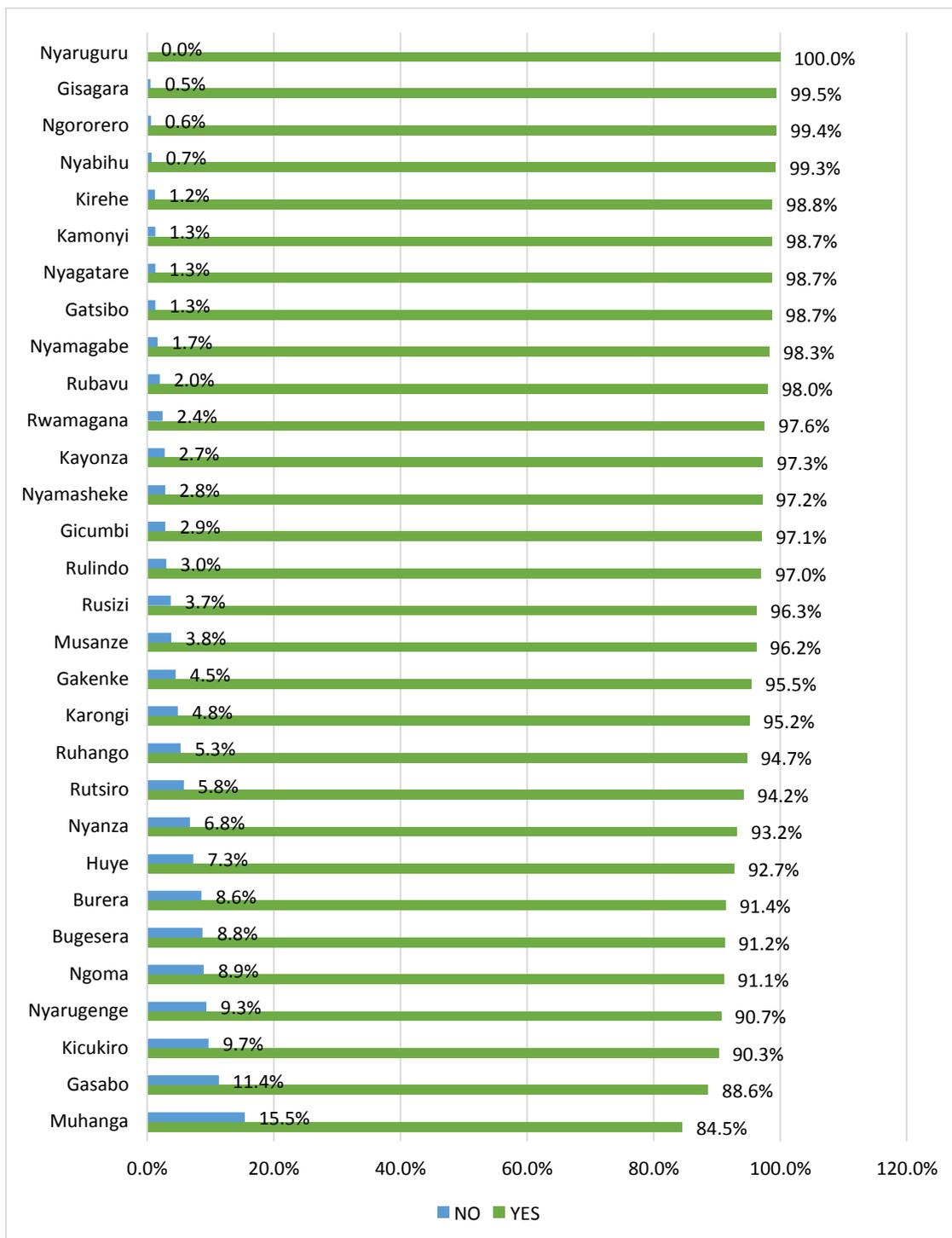
### c) Other institutions

Figure 41. Other institutions



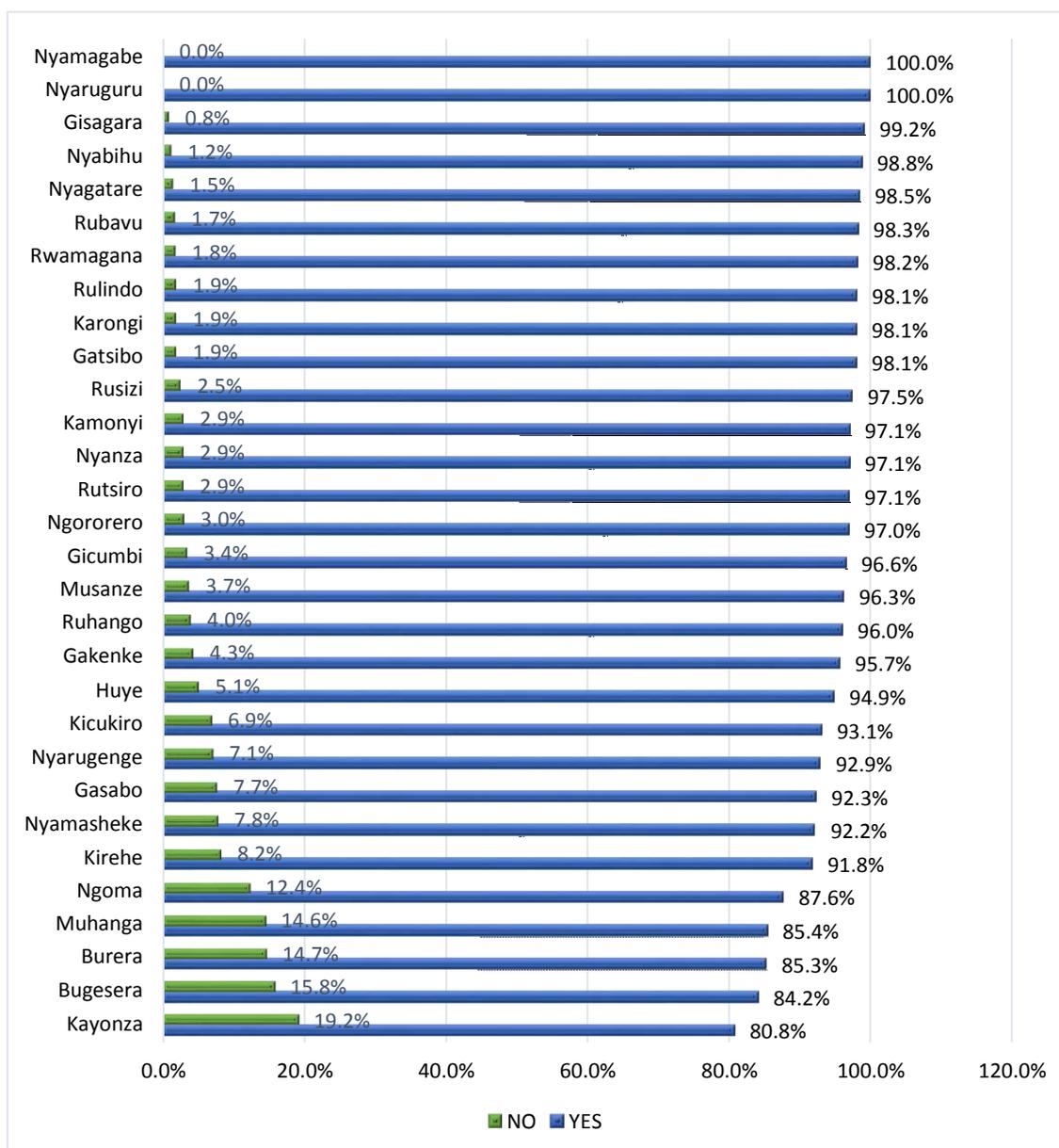
Rwandans are also aware of the roles played by many institutions in promoting reconciliation. In particular, Rwandans know and appreciate the roles of the main public organs at the forefront of fighting genocide ideology and promoting unity and reconciliation, namely the NURC (97.6%), the CNLG (97.4%), NIC (96.0%), the NHRC (95.6%), as well as the other public bodies. Of particular significance is the appreciation that Rwandans show over the work of the security organs. Although national security per se scores highly at 99.40% in the RGS 2019, the RRB2020 survey applied a reconciliation focused variable which scored 97.6%. The overall score of 93.8% indicates that the citizens appreciate the role of institutions in promoting reconciliation. Civil societies, the media, as well as political parties are also gaining more appreciation from Rwandans as scores went from 70.8%, 77.2%, and 73.1% respectively in 2015 to 84.6%, 94.6%, and 84.9% respectively in 2020. This report also assessed the level of appreciation of citizens regarding the role of Council Committees of Districts, sectors, and cells, and found that these committees that represent citizens' interest in the management of various local institutions enjoy a significant appreciation from Rwandans (95.1%).

**Figure 42.** Citizens' level of appreciation in 'District Councils' by District



District councils are administrative bodies with representatives of the people on each council. They work with the District authorities to put in place programmes for the District and to ensure the implementation of those programmes. With the exception of a few Districts that score in the lower 80s, the majority score above 90%. This is an indication that the public appreciate District Councils play in promoting reconciliation as the deliver on their mandate.

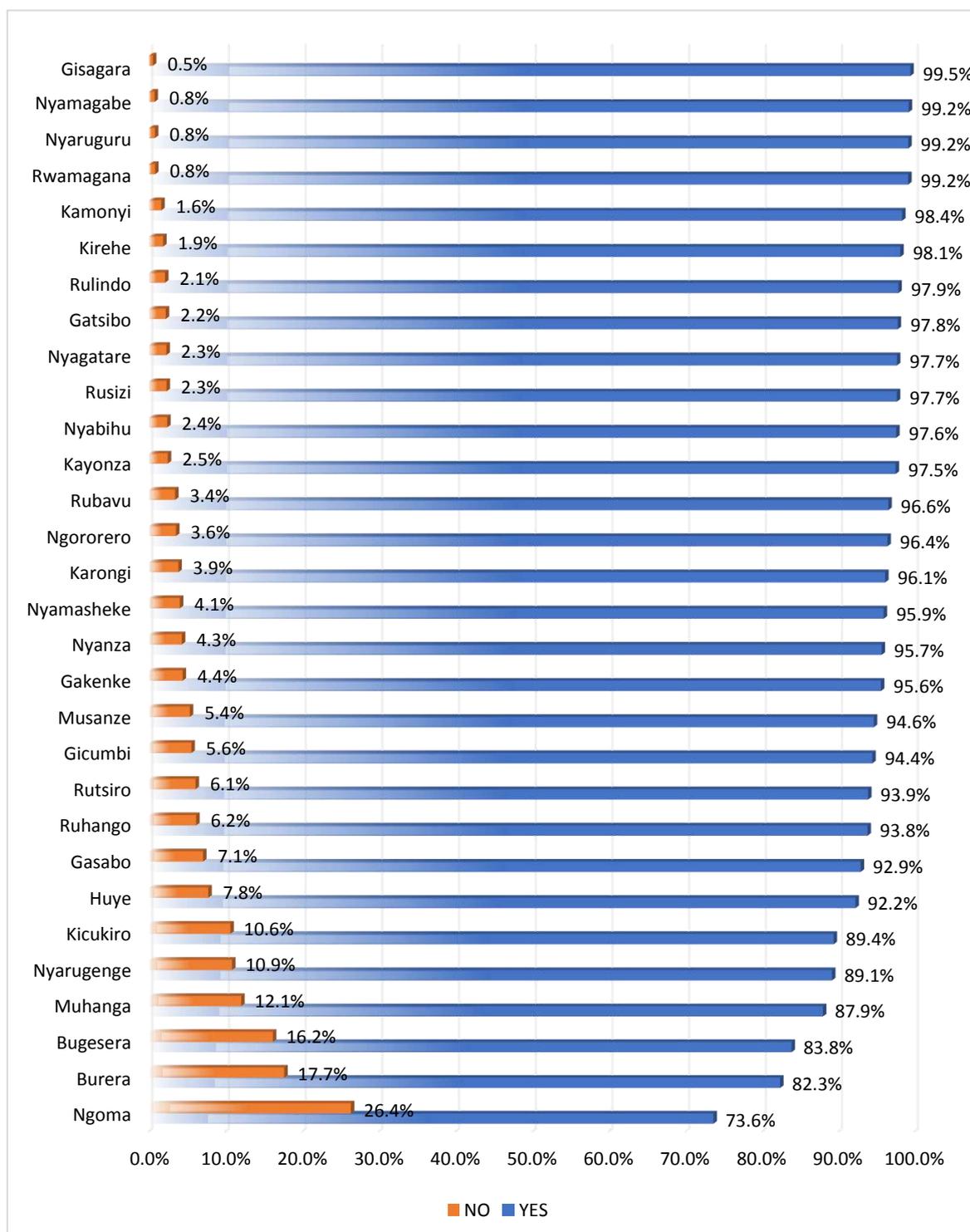
**Figure 43.** Citizens' level of appreciation of the 'National Commission for Human Rights' by District



The National Commission for Human Rights of Rwanda (NCHR) is a constitutional, independent, and permanent National Human Rights Institution with "A" Status accreditation from the International Coordinating Committee of National Human Rights Institutions for the promotion and the protection of Human Rights (ICC). It was established in 1999 by the Law N°04/99 of 12 March 1999 and was confirmed by the Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda of 4th June 2003 as amended to date in its article 177 which entrusts the National Commission for Human Rights of Rwanda with the mandate of promotion and protection of Human rights. The Commission is currently governed by the Law N°19/2013 of 25/03/2013 determining missions, organization and functioning of the Commission. The public rates the work of the commission in promoting reconciliation highly (above 90%) except in the four Districts of Muhanga, Burera, Kayonza and Bugesera that scored between 80 and 90%.

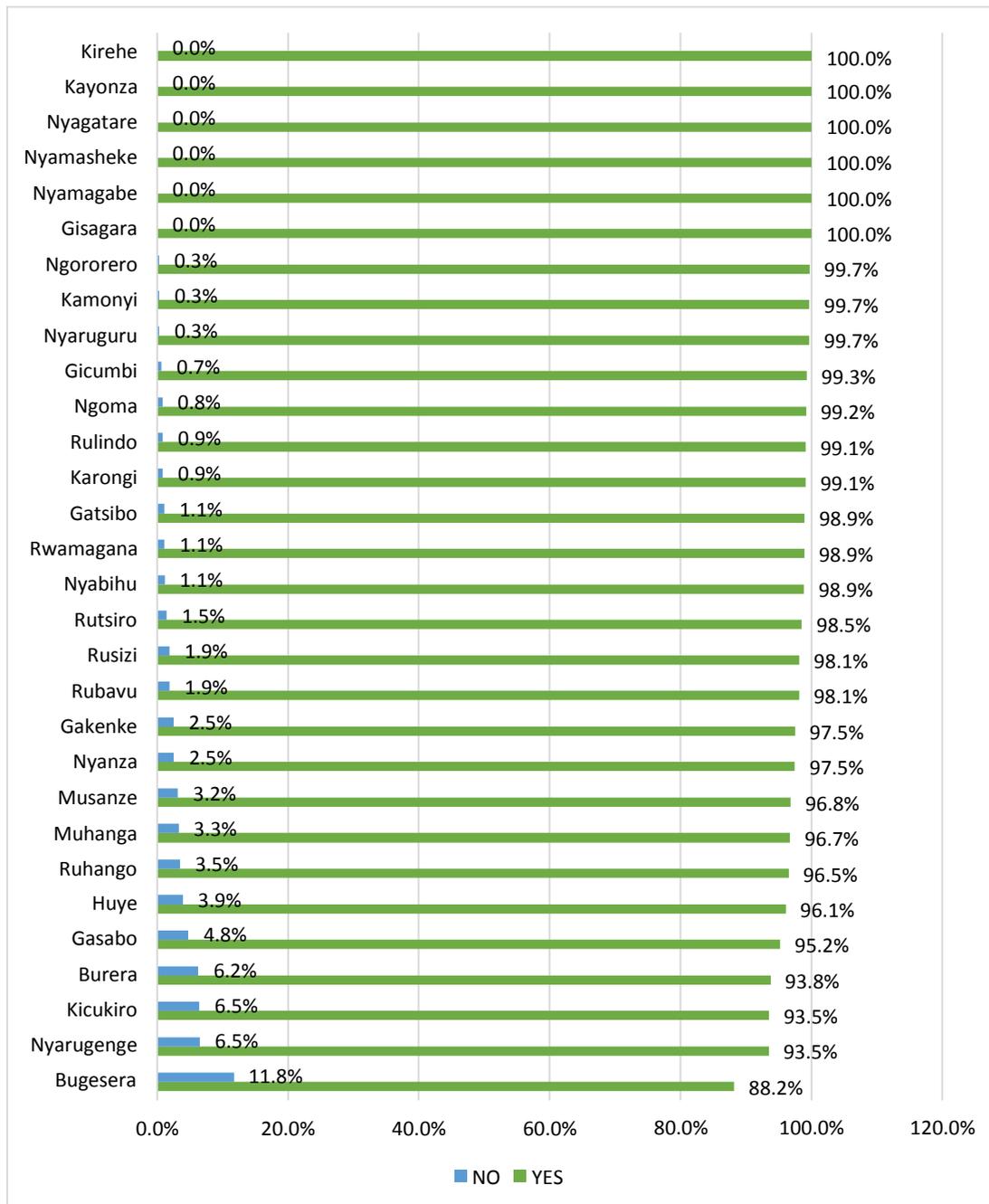
Another body that collectively plays a very important role in the reconciliation process is the media. The media played a negative role before and during the genocide by mobilizing people to engage in murder. The media today has been mobilized to educate the masses and provide information, especially because of its power to influence the public, and the historical role of the media in the genocide against the Tutsi.

**Figure 44.** Citizens' level of appreciation of 'the Media' by District



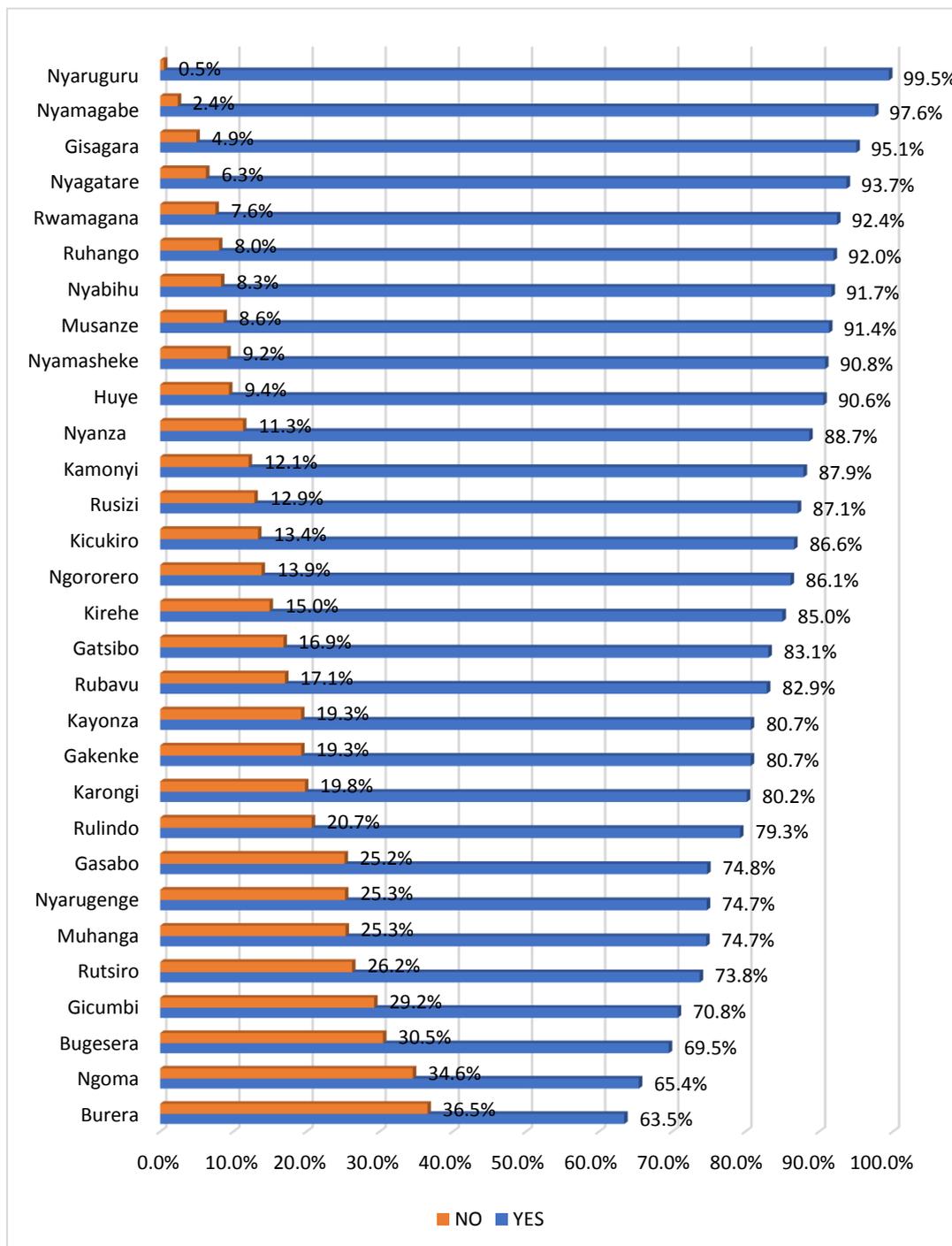
It can be seen that throughout the country, the public appreciates the contribution of the media that, except few Districts that scored between 80 and 90%, others scored more than 90%.

**Figure 45.** Citizens' level of appreciation of 'Security Organs' by District



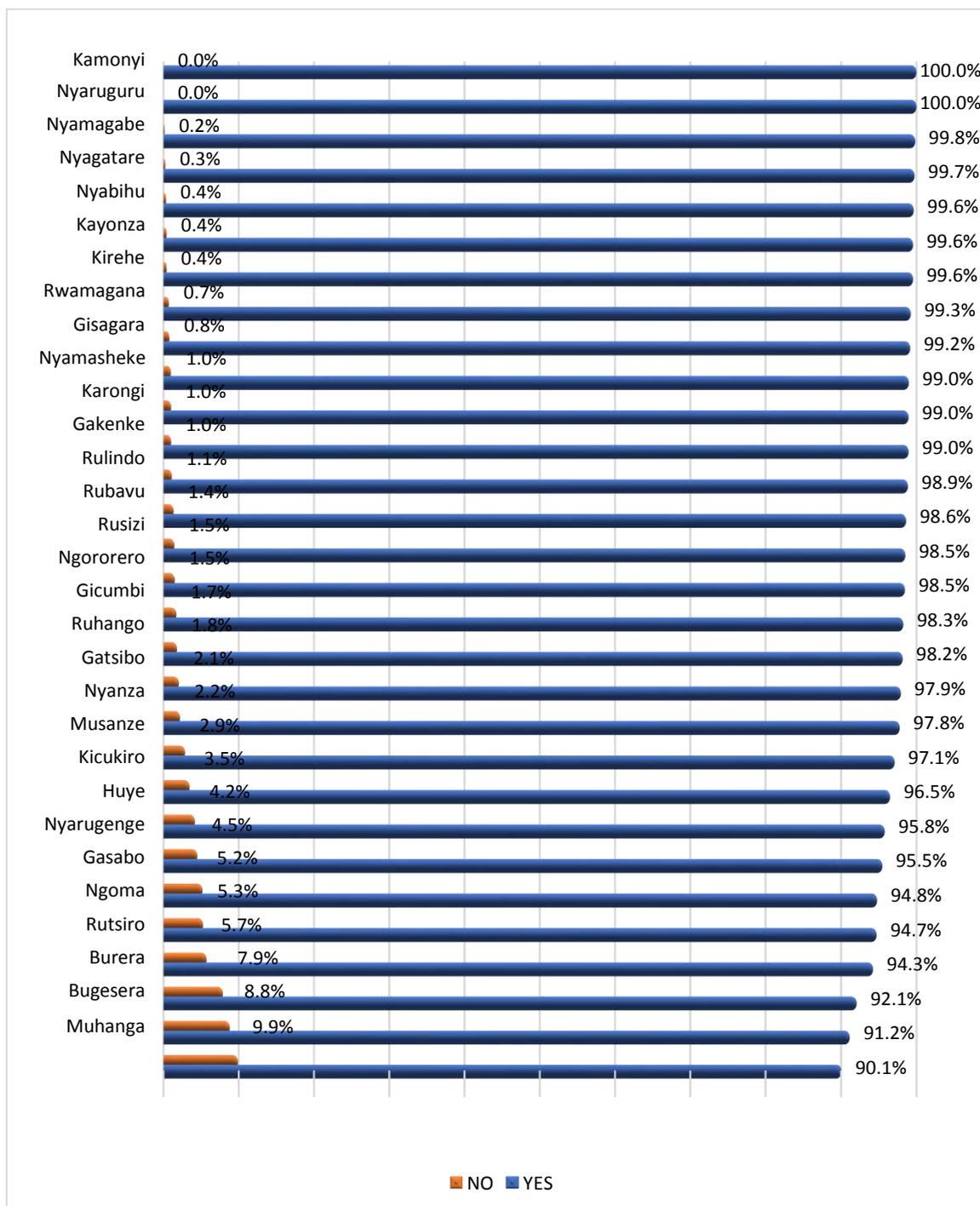
The role of security organs in promoting reconciliation in Rwanda has been consistently appreciated. It can be seen that in all the Districts the scores for the role of security organs are in the 90s. This has been the case even in other surveys. For example, in The RGB 2018 Citizen's Report Card, the public satisfaction with the security services was scored at 87.98% whereas in the RGB 2019 Governance ScoreCard, the safety and security sector scored an overall 94.97%.

**Figure 46.** Citizens' level of appreciation 'Civil societies' by District



The performance of the civil societies is mixed. Some places score them highly while in others they are scored relatively lower. In the 2019 RGB Governance ScoreCard, civil society participation in the pillar 'Participation and Inclusiveness' had an overall score of 72.45%. This is therefore a realistic reflection of the public understanding of the role of the civil society organisations in promoting reconciliation. As for the National Commission for the Fight against Genocide, scores in Districts are as follows:

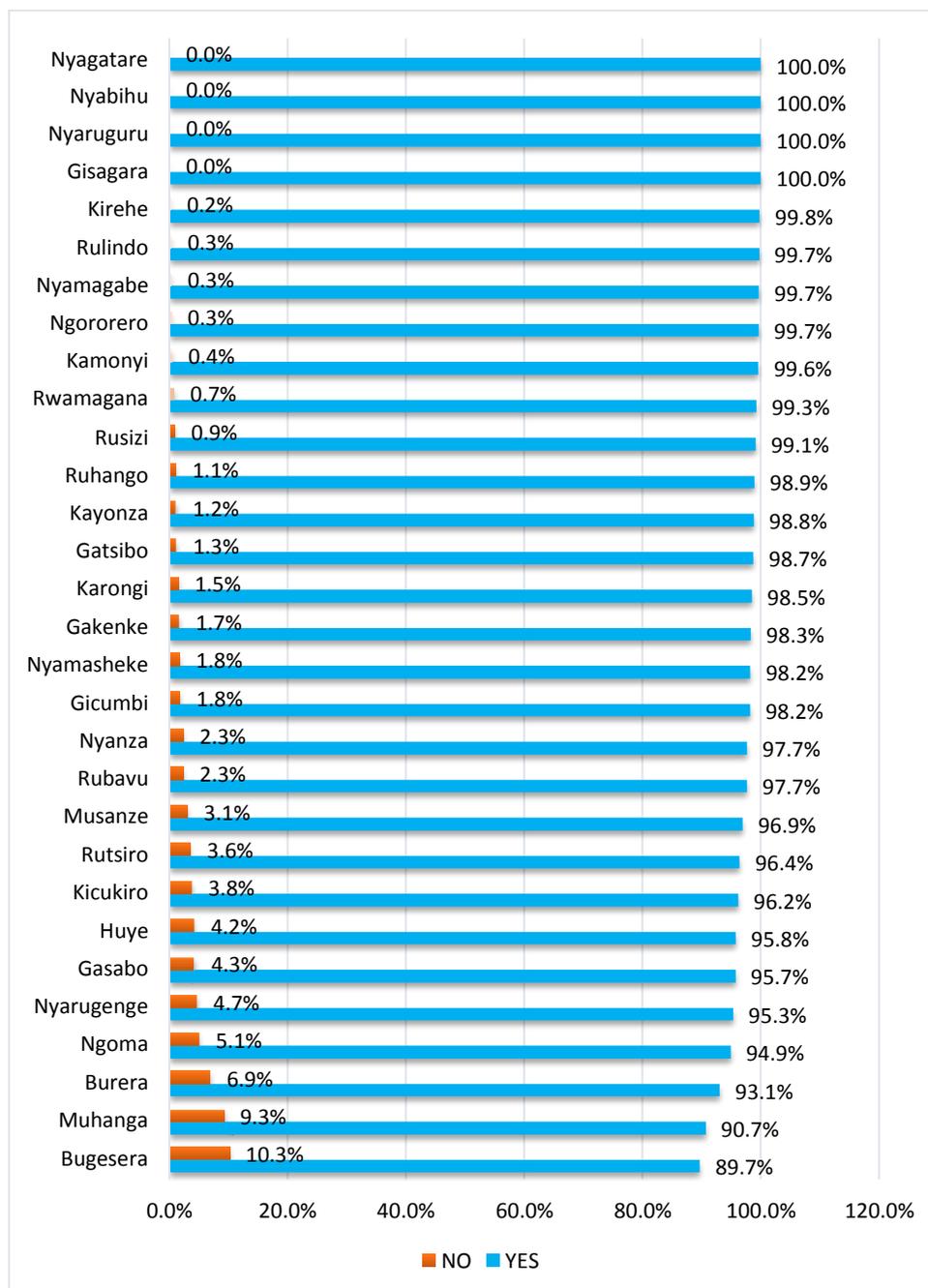
**Figure 47.** Citizens' level of appreciation of 'The National Commission for the Fight against Genocide' by District



The National Commission for the Fight against Genocide (CNLG), was established by Law N°09/2007 of 16/02/2007, which stipulates that the commission is a National, independent and permanent institution. It has a legal status and Administrative and financial autonomy. The Commission shall particularly collaborate with the Ministry having the memory in its attribution. Its mission is to prevent and fight against Genocide, its ideology and overcoming its consequences. The commission undertakes a number of activities including organization the annual national genocide against Tutsi commemoration events.

As such, public awareness of the institution and the trust is built around its mandate that brings together all Rwandans to fight genocide ideology and to keep memory of the genocide against the Tutsi alive. This presence in the communities explains the trust throughout the country. In regard to the NURC, the following figure provides more details.

**Figure 48.** Citizens' level of appreciation of the 'National Unity and Reconciliation Commission' by District

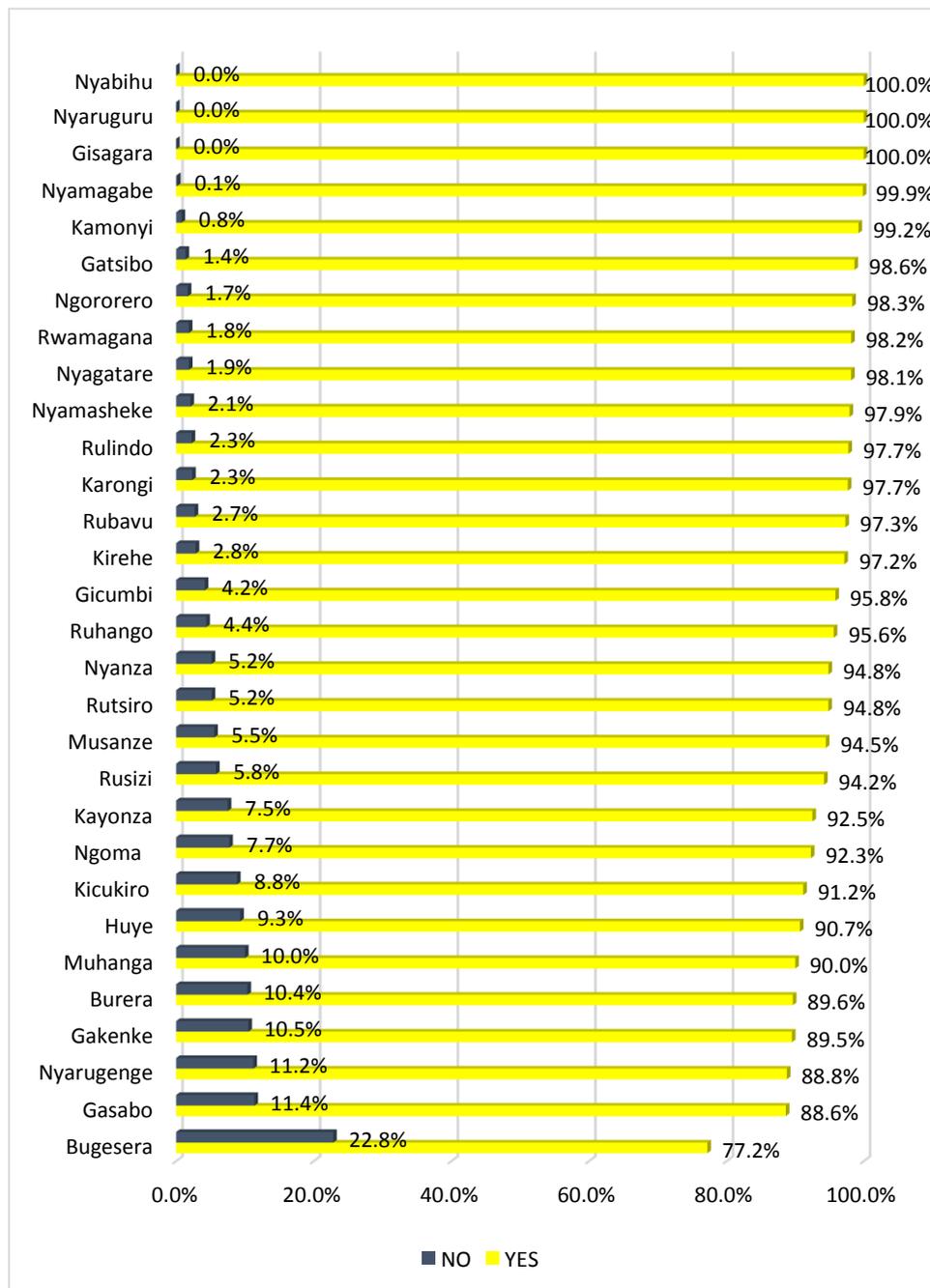


The National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC) was created in March 1999 by a parliamentary law to promote Unity and Reconciliation among Rwandans in the aftermath of the devastating 1994 genocide against Tutsi to mark a major milestone in changing, fundamentally, effects of bad governance based on discrimination and exclusion.

NURC has been a pivotal institution in the process of unity and reconciliation policy implementation, social trust and social cohesion towards the main goal achievement of building a united country. The public has interacted with the NURC for a long time now. The institution is known among the public through its numerous activities. It is therefore hardly surprising that the public is keenly aware of its programmes and is appreciative of its role in promoting reconciliation which is its primary goal towards building a united Rwanda.

The following figure gives District averages regarding the trust bestowed upon the National Electoral Commission.

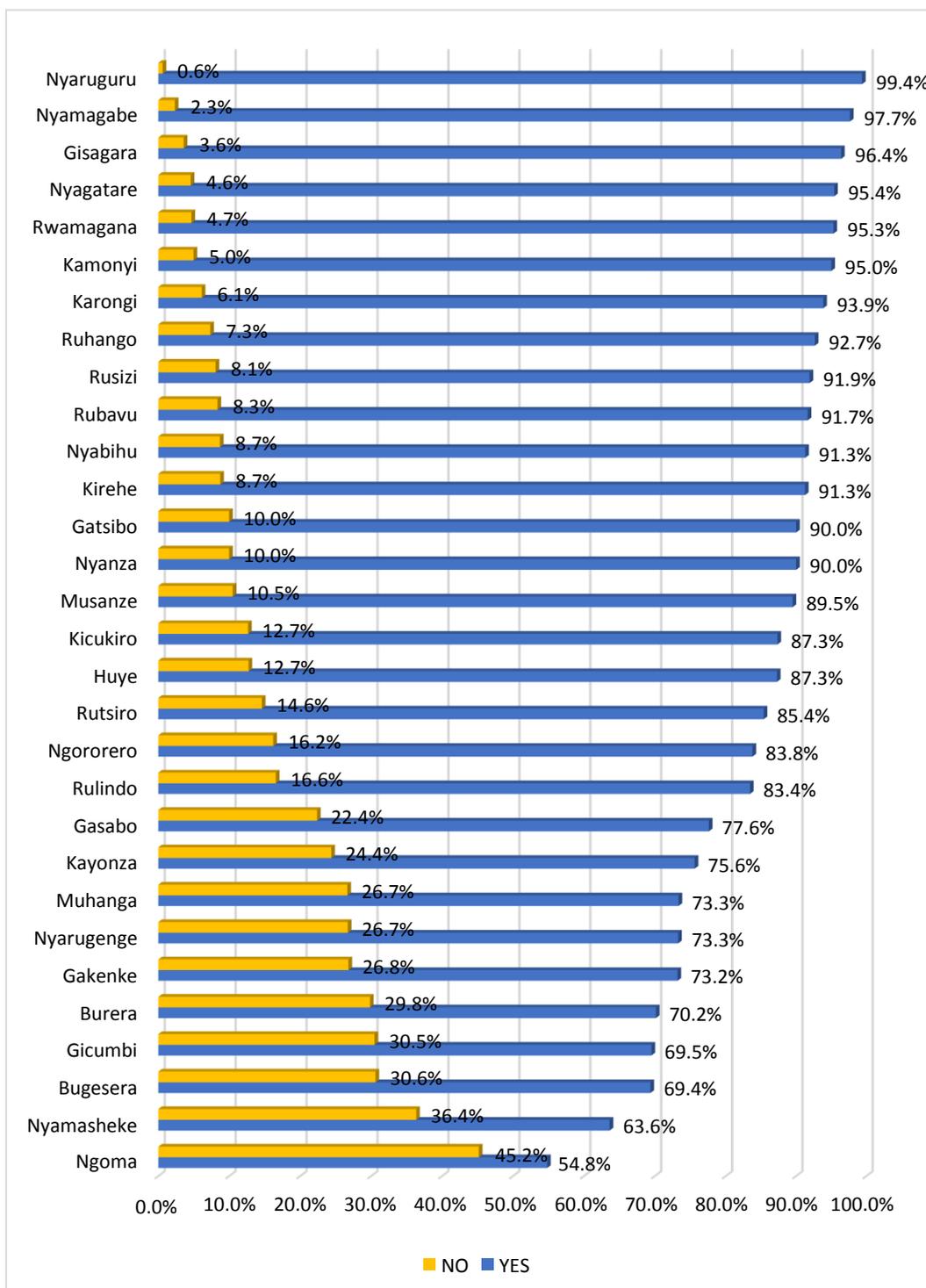
**Figure 49.** Citizens' level of appreciation of the 'National Electoral Commission' by District



The National Electoral Commission (NEC) is in charge of preparing and organising elections as well as publishing the results of those elections in the country. The Commission

is set by law and has its origins in the provisions of the Arusha Peace Accord signed between the government of Rwanda and the RPF in 1993. Given the numerous elections that the government has organised and its representations in the Districts, the NEC has deep roots in the community. This may explain the public awareness of its role and the high approval ratings by the public of its service delivery and roles throughout the country.

**Figure 50.** Citizens' level of appreciation of 'Political parties' by District

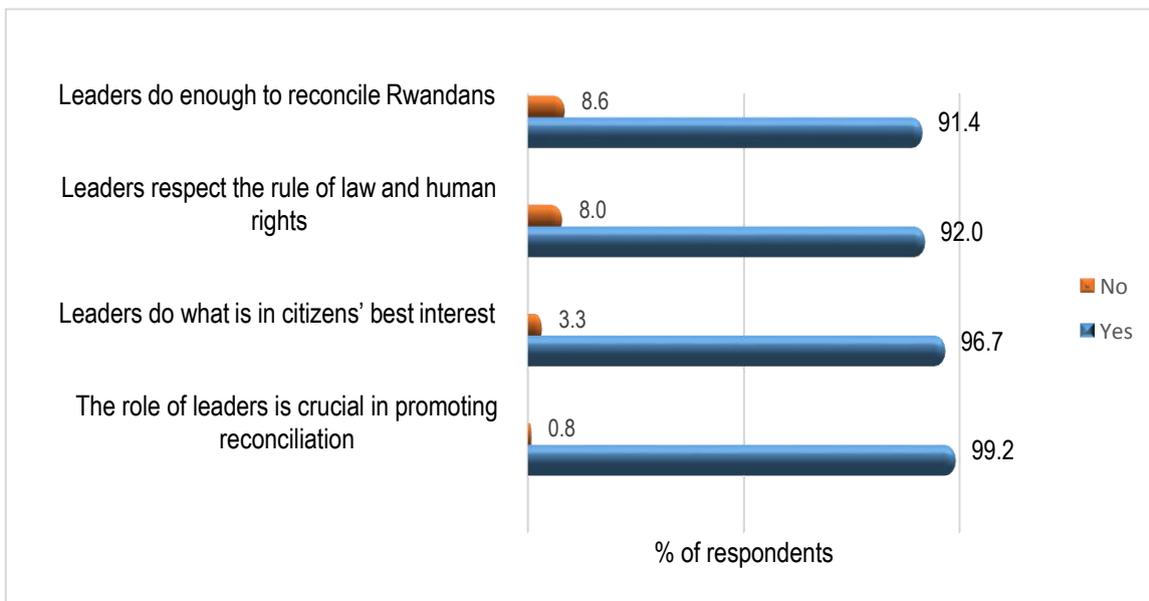


Political parties play an important role in bringing political ideas to the public domain. As can be seen above, the general approval ratings of political parties vary greatly across the country with very high ratings in some places and low ratings in others.

#### 4.4.2. Agreement regarding the performance of leaders

Leadership drives the agenda of a nation and where the performance of the leaders is wanting, public trust is low and engaging the community without trust makes the attainment of national goals very difficult. Leaders play an important role in reconciling people. Just as bad leadership led to the genocide so does good leadership bring people back together.

**Figure 51.** Agreement regarding the performance of leaders



The appreciation of citizens vis à vis the leaders' role in promoting reconciliation continues to grow, which is proven by the fact that 99.2% of the respondents recognized the commitment of their leaders to national reconciliation. Qualitative data are in agreement with such the significant place leaders play in the promotion of reconciliation. During an interview session, a member of one CSO that advocates for the welfare of genocide survivors said:

*The role of leaders in reconciliation is of a paramount importance. The unity of Rwandans was destroyed by leaders, and if today we continue to succeed in rebuilding our unity, it is mainly thanks to the good leadership and good leaders. So, what we call leadership is the key to reconciliation, and the leader ought to be that key that opens the door toward reconciliation (K11).*

The variable on whether leaders do what is in the best interest of citizens scored 96.7%, an increase from 95.2% in 2015. Nonetheless, when it comes to whether leaders respect the rule of law and human rights, the 2020 score (92.0%) presented a decrease from 95.7% in 2015. Qualitative data relate this to what they term as the poor performance of local leaders who fail to provide citizens with needed services as it should be. Reflecting on this issue, respondent K122 explained:

*You should ask yourself the question of why citizens always feel that their problems would only be addressed by the President or the Minister rather than the Executive Secretary of the Sector or Cell who are closer to them.*

*This makes one wonders if leaders at the local levels have confidence and ability to address citizens' issues (K122).*

The above account shows that citizens tend to lose faith in the ability of local leaders to address their problems, which is the reason why they then have to wait until the President of the Republic or a given Minister comes. Generally, when such high personalities, especially the President, visit local areas, citizens come from various villages to present to the President issues that local leaders have refused or failed to address. The above respondent questions why a leader who has been given authority in Rwanda's decentralized institutions would fail to address citizens' problems, which he views as weakness. In the same line of thinking, participants linked difficulties of leadership to issues of citizen empowerment and participation in governance. Here, arguments bring together the policy of decentralization, whose main aim is to bring services closer to the people, and citizen empowerment and participation in governance. Respondents argue that the more power and services are brought closer to the people, the more the latter are expected to have more chances to participate in decision-making for their development.

Whereas respondents highly appreciate the policy of decentralization as well as various strategies put in place to ensure respect of people's rights, and the inclusion of citizens in decision-making as provided by the law, they find that some local leaders continue to face difficulties relating the good politics and programs to the daily problems of the people. One of them explained this as follows:

*"The problem rises when you want to reconcile these programs with the daily-life problems of the people. On the one hand, you find some conflicting priorities between what comes from the national level and what citizens want. On the other hand, rather than using the available channels of citizens' inclusion in decision-making, you find that local leaders use such tools (umugoroba w'umuryango, umuganda, etc.), as channels through which they inform citizens about things that have been identified for implementation (K116)."*

While participant K116, who is an active member of a CSO with experience in issues of governance, reconciliation and post-genocide reconstruction, focuses on showing how some local leaders struggle to link good policies to people's needs or problems, a member of another CSO went on to explain that failures of leadership at the local level undermine efforts for reconciliation. Here is how he reported it:

*You know, what citizens want is only that the leader gives him/her the service she/he needs. The leader's failure or refusal to provide that service leads to many things. Leaders should know that citizens are not that ignorant. In front of poor services from the leader, a citizen can look at the latter and start interpreting the refusal or failure to provide good service as discrimination. As I told you, everything that limits the ability of a Rwandan to access opportunities that would help him/her address issues or satisfy his/her needs can easily bring back the divisive history of hatred and discrimination against certain groups of Rwandans. It is a big challenge for leaders. Today, a school director can refuse to admit a student, and the student comes to report that case to a District leader for example. The leader might delay or fail to assist the student at that particular moment for various reasons far from ethnic discrimination, but then the student goes away saying: "I knew it was not going to work! How*

*would me, the son/daughter of ... get assisted by that leader!!! This shows how leaders' good performance can help in promoting reconciliation, and how leaders' poor performance can hinder reconciliation. When you, as a leader, give good services to the people, they will not have any issues with you. They will go praising how good a leader you are, and how you provide services and equal opportunities with no discrimination of any kind. But when you provide services to some people and fail or refuse the same services to others, the latter will lose faith in you, and in some extreme cases, start linking that to ethnic discrimination (K113).*

The above account shows, among other things, that Rwandans, due to the divisive politics the country went through, can easily interpret poor services as discrimination of various sorts, which is a challenge to the journey for reconciliation. Yet, a participant from another CSO clarified, leaders are well positioned to mediate between parties with incompatible goals by providing good services in a non-discriminatory way.

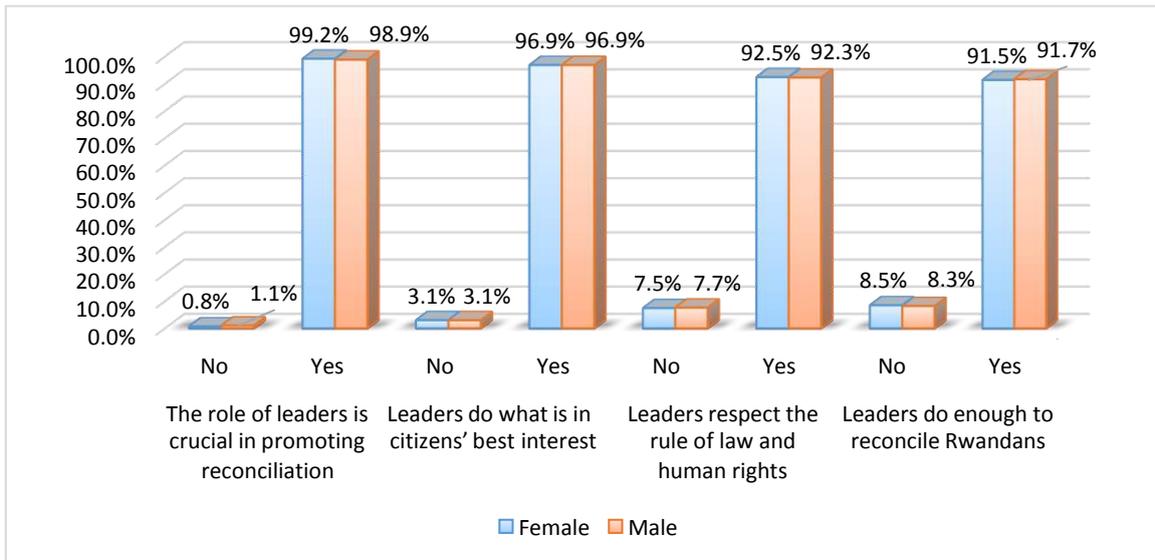
*Today, the Mayor of a District or the Executive Secretary of a Sector or cell who addresses issues that made citizens suffer increases chances for the population to have faith in the leadership. A citizen who is satisfied with the performance of leaders, who does not feel discriminated against, trust more the leadership, and this creates a good environment for reconciliation to happen (D01).*

Even if this study identified issues related to leadership as some of the main reasons why the score on how citizens appreciate the performance of leaders reduced in 2020 compared to 2015, it did not aim at explaining why some local leaders seem to fail responding to people's needs while the policy of decentralization is framed on the premises of facilitating service delivery at the local. Some respondents, however, associated this with too much pressures put on local leaders from all levels, top and bottom, the lack of capacity on the side of certain local leaders to reconcile national priorities with people's daily life problems, and many others. In an interview session, respondent K116 expressed displeasure vis à vis the limited consideration of citizens' priorities stating:

*Leaders are busy with what they call 'big programs', to mean infrastructure, economic development [...] giving little attention to what citizens say. For example, today leaders are busy building schools (in reference to the program of the government to increase the number of classrooms in preparation of reopening schools after closing due to COVID-19) and are all full into that. But if you ask them if they ever consulted the population regarding, for instance, where the schools should be constructed considering the distance to be covered by the children who will go to those schools, you'll find that such consultations never happened. This is because, as they (the leaders) claim, such programs come as top priorities requiring full engagement and speed ("ibyobikorwa biba biza bicanyemaremare") (K116).*

Systematic studies on the question of why local leaders seem to carry the biggest blame regarding poor service delivery and limited consultation with the people should be carried out to inform more about challenges of decentralization strategies at the local level.

**Figure 52.** Disaggregate by gender on 'Performance of leaders'

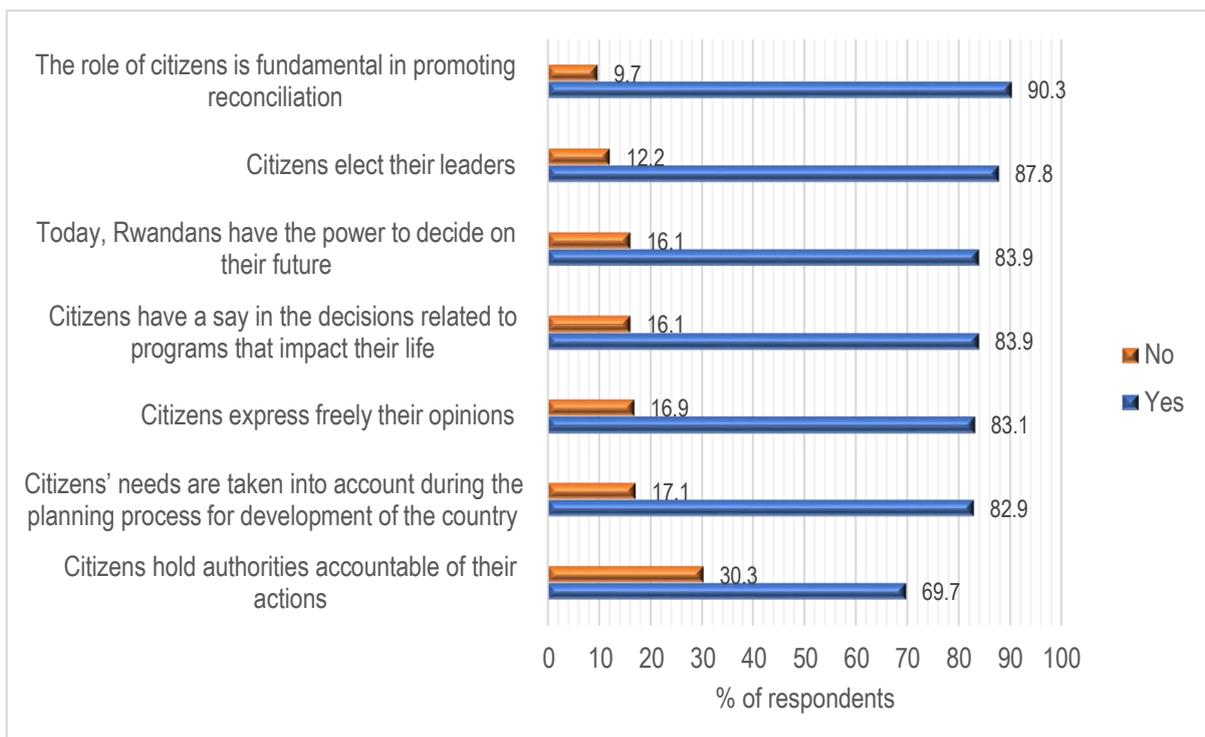


It can be observed that both male and female respondents rated the performance of leaders nearly the same way across the four dimensions used to assess public opinion.

#### 4.4.3. Agreement on citizens' empowerment and participation in the governance

Empowering citizens and encouraging or growing their participation in governance creates a sense of dignity and gives voice to those most in need of that voice. It also promotes citizen and leadership accountability and transparency.

**Figure 53.** Agreement on citizens' empowerment and participation in the governance



In the current study, citizen empowerment and participation has been gauged at 83.1%. This is higher than that reported in the RGS 2019 at 72.68%. As figure 53 displays, the fundamental role citizens play in reconciliation that was assessed in 2020 for the first time and scored 90.3%, some variables as mentioned here saw a decrease in comparison to 2015. The variable on whether citizens have a say in the decisions related to programs that impact their life regressed from 92.5% in 2015 to 83.9% in 2020. The same happened for views on whether citizens hold authorities accountable of their actions that regressed from 83.4% in 2015 to 69.7% in 2020, opinions on whether citizens express freely their opinions that went down from 93.9% in 2015 to 83.1% in 2020, and for views on whether Rwandans have the power to decide on their future that regressed from 92.1% in 2015 to 83.9% in 2020. Qualitative data link the decline in scores of the above-mentioned variables to certain corrupt leaders, especially at the local level, who refuse to provide services to the citizens unless they are given 'something' (money or other goods). Indeed, citizens are increasingly getting sensitive to poor service and displaying displeasure with leaders who fail or refuse to address daily life problems of the people, especially through various private media – respondents mentioned the example of Radio and TV1 as the most used ones. A participant in a focus group discussion said:

*First and foremost, let me tell you that to me we (citizens) have a say in decision taken for our development. If you look at how leadership is structured today, you'll see that citizens have many channels through which their ideas are heard, from the village to the top level. Therefore, I think today citizens have a say in the governance of their country. Nonetheless, you can find some leaders who do not follow the rule of law, but this is done by individual leaders, not the structure of leadership. We know, for example, that service is the right of every citizen and that every leader has the duty to provide citizens with good services, but sometimes we get shocked to see a certain leader oblige citizens to pay for the service that should be given as a right. This makes people lose faith in their leaders. But as I said it is done by a given individual not the whole leadership (D02).*

In the previous section respondents showed that issues related to leadership, particularly at the local level, were among the main reasons why the 2020 score on views of whether leaders respected the rule of law and human rights regressed in comparison to the 2015 results. But why do certain leaders continue to fail providing good services to the people? The As above quote (D02) presents corruption as the main explanations for why leaders are seen to fail providing good services to citizens. As the respondent demonstrates, while citizens are aware of their constitutional rights to get services from their leaders and the duty of leaders to provide good services, citizens are shocked to encounter certain leaders who refuse to give services to the people unless the latter gives something (corruption) to the leader. Although the respondent underlines that such instances of failures in leadership and corruption were isolated cases of individual leaders and not a systemic problem, they still see them as causes for diminishing the trust of citizens vis à vis their leaders.

Taking the question of poor service delivery to the level of citizens holding leaders accountable, qualitative data, on the one hand, praise the tangible achievements in empowering and putting in place various mechanisms through which citizens hold leaders accountable. As one of the respondents stated,

*Today there is no citizen who would just keep quiet when not satisfied with poor services from leaders. Everybody has the right to take his/her case further till she/he get justice. We've seen many cases where citizens have spoken out against some leaders' decisions, leading to the latter being forced to resign or change their decisions (D04)*

On the other hand, however, qualitative data show that citizens still lack an institution, at the local level, to which they could submit their discontentment vis à vis the poor services of their leaders. A church leader who contributed to this research said:

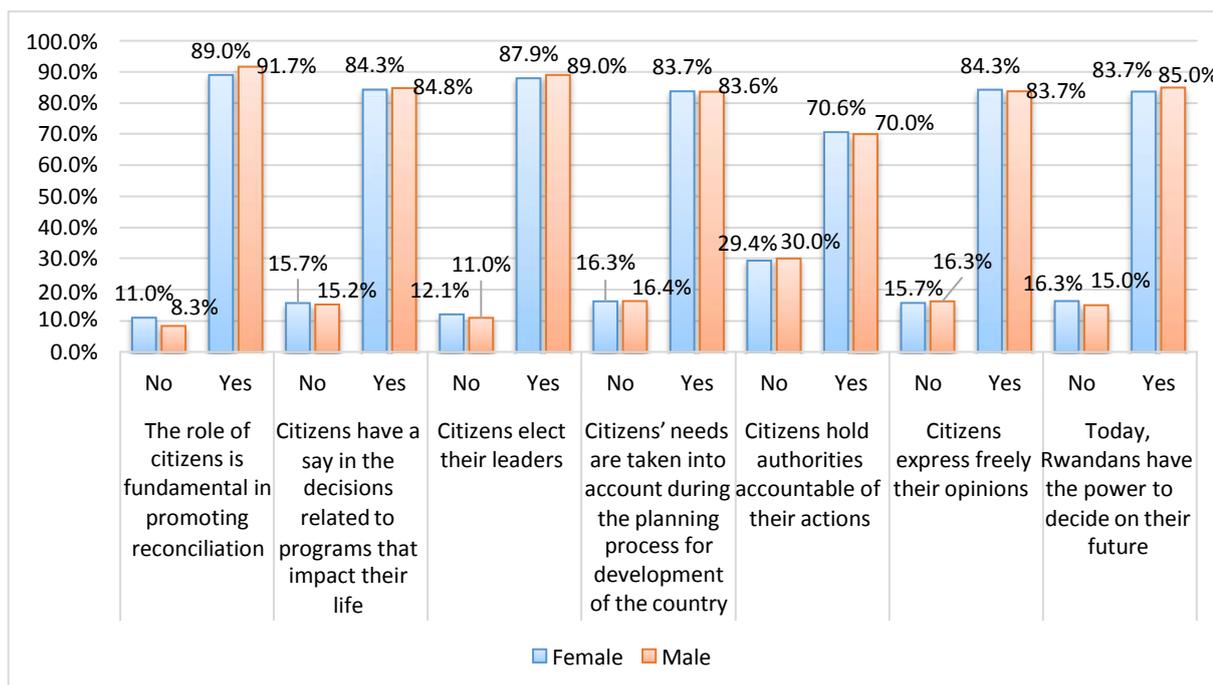
*Today various mechanisms have been put in place to allow citizens to show their disagreements with the performance of leaders, but there is no agency/institution at the grassroots where to which a citizen can submit when he/she is annoyed with the deeds of the leader. Existing mechanisms seem to be like the Kinyarwanda saying "usanga uwo urega ari we uregera" literally meaning that leaders are their own judges, or that citizens find themselves in a situation of submitting their accusations to the same leaders they are accusing (K118).*

What the above participant advances can be understood in the framework of issues of leadership, because, as it has been demonstrated in this study, the more leaders fail to address and take citizens queries, the more they lose credibility among the people. The decentralized system in Rwanda provides various institutions, such as Council Committees (Inama Njyanama) at the local level that are meant to represent citizens' interest and keep local leaders accountable, but when these institutions fail to properly represent and defend citizens' interests, the latter do not differentiate them with the leaders they disagree with. Thus, while having an institution at the local level, as claimed by respondent K118, would be helpful, people would have to reflect on how such a new institution would differ from existing ones, or whether what might be needed could be a proper understanding of challenges current mechanisms face in representing and defending citizens' interests, and provide appropriate strategies for improvement.

Another variable that saw its score decline is that related to citizens' opinions on whether they elect their leaders. Here, the score went down from 95.4% in 2015 to 87.8% in 2020. In spite of making this comparison that shows a slight decline of the score, the framing of this variable in 2020 is not the same as that of 2015, which could make the comparison of the scores in appropriate. In 2015 the focus was on if citizens had the right to elect their leaders, which basically assessed if citizens knew they had the right to elect their leaders. In 2020, emphasis was put on whether citizens elected their leaders, which practically required citizens to assess whether they exercise their constitutional rights to freely and fairly elect their leaders. Therefore, the 2020 results show that 87.8% of Rwandans believe that they elect their leaders, which is a different message comparing to the 2015 results that show that 95.4% of Rwandans believe they have the right to elect their leaders.

Once disaggregated by gender, opinions on citizens empowerment and participation in governance seem to portray almost similar perspectives for both males and females, as displayed in figure 55 below.

**Figure 54.** Disaggregate by gender on 'citizens' empowerment and participation in the governance'



Across all the seven dimensions of empowerment and participation used in the survey, both male and female respondents show the same inclinations. The ratings are nearly the same on each dimension taken for consideration.

#### 4.4.4. Summary of findings on political culture and governance

This section presents results on political culture and governance. Here, the hypothesis is that the more citizens believe that leaders and institutions value reconciliation in everyday life, coupled with citizens participation and empowerment in governance, the more reconciliation is likely to occur. It should be mentioned that results, as presented in this study, have highly confirmed this hypothesis. In this respect, the following table presents the average scores of the variable in 2010, 2015 and 2020.

**Table12** Average scores on Political culture and Governance

Pillar	Indicators	Findings (%) in 2010	Findings (%) in 2015	Findings (%) in 2020
Political culture and Governance	<b><i>The role of institutions in reconciliation</i></b>			
	1. Central Government/Cabinet	92.4	95.8	96.5
	2. Parliament (Senate and Chamber of Deputies)	91	91.1	94.9
	3. Local administration	84	87.4	96.6
	4. Justice system	90	89.3	91.3
	5. National Electoral Commission		87.5	94.7
	6. National Unity and Reconciliation Commission		94.3	97.6
	7. National Commission for the Fight against Genocide		93.9	97.4
	8. Office of the Ombudsman		85.7	92.3
	9. Security Organs		92.1	97.6
	10. The media	69.2	77.2	94.6
	11. National Commission for Human Rights		90.5	95.6
	12. Civil Societies	70.3	70.8	84.6
	13. Political parties	53.7	73.1	84.9
	14. Inama Njyanama (z'Uturere, Imirenge, Utugari)			95.1
	15. National Itorero Commission			96.0
	16. Rwanda Governance Board			93.0
	<b><i>Citizens' empowerment and participation in governance</i></b>			
	17. The role of citizens is fundamental in promoting reconciliation			90.3
	18. Citizens have a say in the decisions related to programs that impact their life	52.3	92.5	83.9
	19. Citizens elect their leaders	93.8	95.4	87.8
	20. Citizens' needs are taken into account during the planning process for development of the country			82.9
	21. Citizens hold authorities accountable of their actions		83.4	69.7
	22. Citizens express freely their opinions		93.9	83.1
	23. Today, Rwandans have the power to decide on their future	56.5	92.1	83.9
	<b><i>Leaders' performance</i></b>			
	24. The role of leaders is crucial in promoting reconciliation		95.3	99.2
25. Leaders do what is in citizens' best interest	80.7	95.2	96.7	
26. Leaders respect the rule of law and human rights		95.7	92.0	
27. Leaders do enough to reconcile Rwandans			91.4	
<b>AVERAGE</b>				<b>90.6</b>

In summary, there was a decline in the ratings over some indicators between 2015 and 2020. These ratings include, among others, the question of whether citizens had a say in the decisions related to programs that impact their life, where results decreased from 92.5% in 2015 to 83.9% in 2020, the ability of citizens to hold leaders accountable for their actions that went down from 93.4% in 2015 to 69.7% in 2020, and the extent to which

leaders respect the rule of law and human rights that moved from 95.7% in 2015 to 92.0% in 2020. Another variable that saw a decrease is whether citizens elect their leaders that went down from 95.4% in 2015 to 87.8% in 2020. The indicator that assessed the trust citizens have in the role institutions play in reconciliation showed improvement at all the variables. The overall index for the variable was 90.6% representing a slight improvement from 88.4% in 2015.

## 4.5. Security and wellbeing

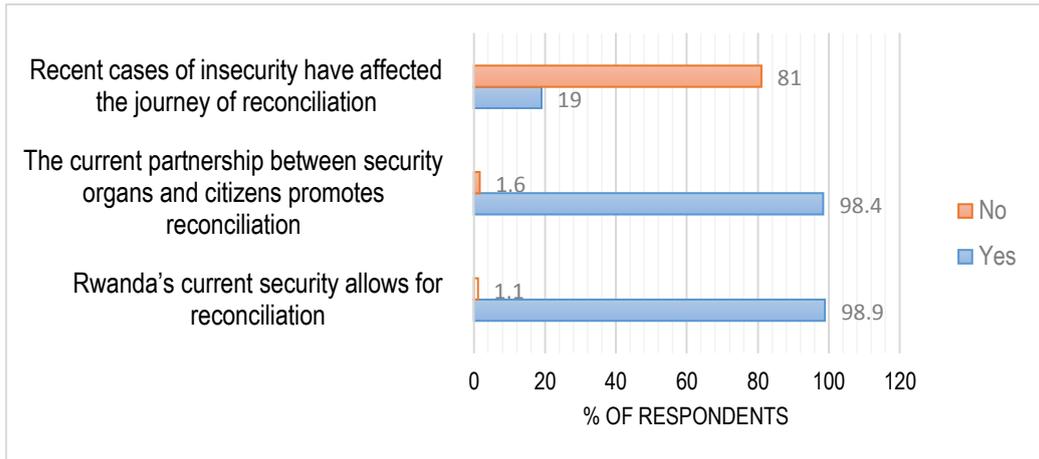
The literature about security has evolved since the 1940s to deepen and broaden the traditional focus on war, military, grand strategies and geopolitics. The new literature has got three elements that differentiate it from the traditional one. First, the new literature takes security rather than defense or war as its key concept, a conceptual shift that considers the importance of societal cohesion and the relationship between military and non-military threats and vulnerabilities. Second, this literature is distinct because it addresses the novel problems of both the Cold War and nuclear weapons. Third, the literature is much more a civilian enterprise than earlier military and strategic literatures (Buzan et al, 2009).

This is the context under which human security has emancipated to become a key concept of both researchers and practitioners (Buzan et al., 2009). Indeed, in the contemporary world, people are threatened by a multitude of issues: yes war, but also poverty, famine, political oppression, and environmental degradation to name but a few (Peoples et al., 2010). In this context, the security agenda is broadened to include issues like poverty and education, meaning that people feel secure not just through protection from military threats in accordance to the traditional state-centric view, but also through protection from the threat of poverty, ill-health, environmental degradation, and so on (op cit., 2010). To measure the status of security and well-being, this report refers to four indicators that are discussed in the following sections.

### 4.5.1. National security and reconciliation

The idea of national security entails the capacity of a given state to protect and defend its citizens. It is shaped by different factors that include location, political environment and participation of citizens in governance, among others. In this section, the status of national security is studied in relation to the journey for reconciliation, and the following figure presents opinions of Rwandans in this regard.

**Figure 55.** National security and reconciliation

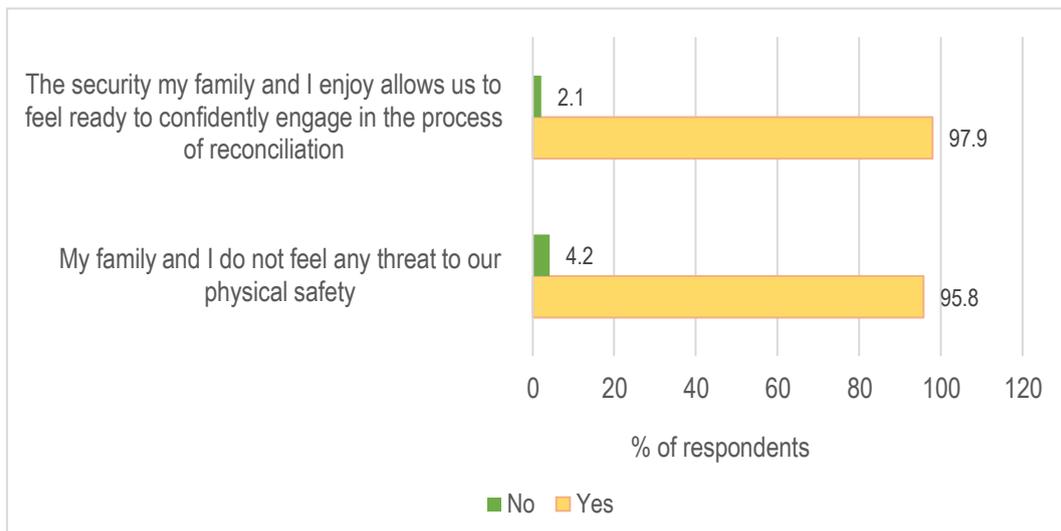


Between 2015 and 2020, Rwanda experienced cases of insecurities such as attacks by armed groups in Nyaruguru, Nyamasheke and Burera Districts. In an attempt to assess whether such events affected the process of reconciliation, results in figure 55 above show that 81% did not see any impact of such insecurities on the journey for reconciliation. Even if 19% of the respondents thought recent cases of insecurity might have affected reconciliation, more than 80% do not see it that way. Furthermore, 98.4% of the respondents believe that security organs have a positive partnership with the citizens, which promotes reconciliation. This positive image is reflected more by 98.9% of Rwandans who see that the current security status make reconciliation possible.

#### 4.5.2. Personal security and reconciliation

Apart from national security, the status of security and well-being was also evaluated in relation to personal security, a concept that denotes existence of adequate efforts to reduce chances for crimes to happen, and to constructively deal with crimes in case they happen. To evaluate this aspect of security, the report focused on the family level, studying opinions of family members regarding their personal security and reconciliation, as displayed in the following figure.

**Figure 56.** Personal security and reconciliation



As displayed above, more than 97% of Rwandans perceive that the status of security they enjoy at family level make them confident to engage in the process of reconciliation, as they do not see anything threatening their physical safety (95.8%). To go deeper into this dimension of personal security, the following figure displays the opinions in consideration of gender.

**Figure 57.** Disaggregate by gender on 'Personal security and reconciliation'

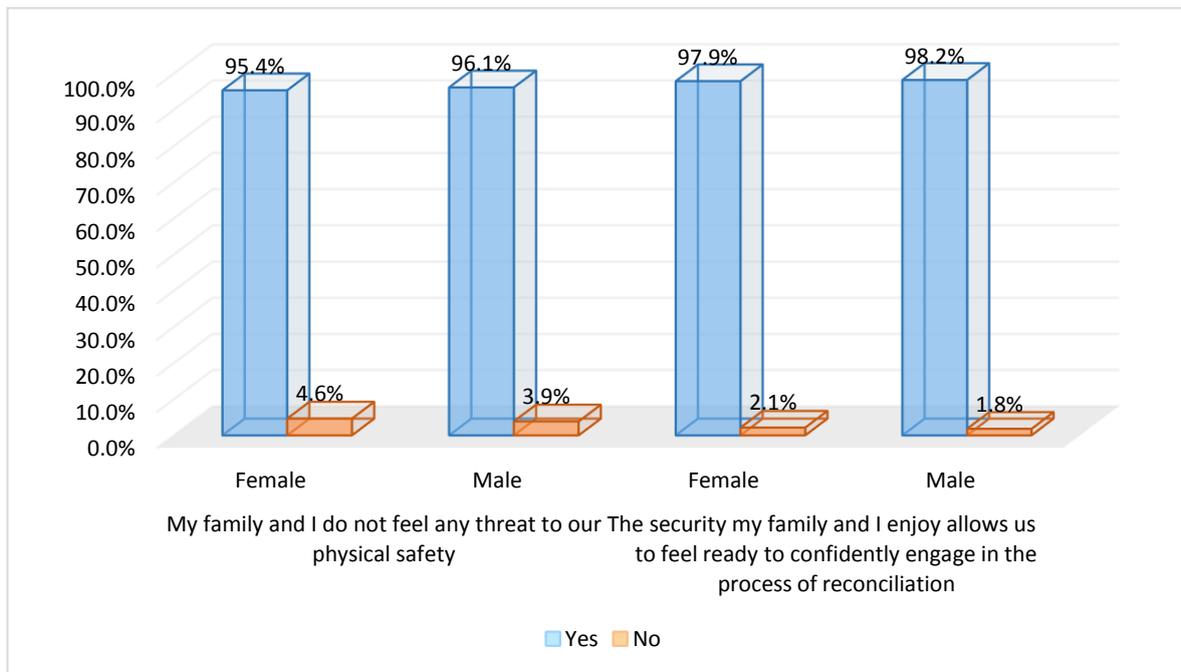


Figure 57 presents the view of Rwandans regarding the link between the status of personal security and reconciliation, as classified on basis of gender. As one can notice from the above figure, 95.4% of the female respondents expressed the feeling of physical safety, while 96.1% of males felt the same. Similarly, 97.9% females confirm that the security they enjoy at family and personal level is good enough to allow them engage in the process of reconciliation with confidence, while 98.2% of males confirm the same feeling. These percentages, in spite of the small differences between males and females, are evidences of the high score of national security, as presented in figure 57.

The same trends can be observed when one disaggregates opinions on personal security and reconciliation by age category. The following figure provides more details.

**Figure 58.** Disaggregate by age category on 'Personal security and reconciliation'

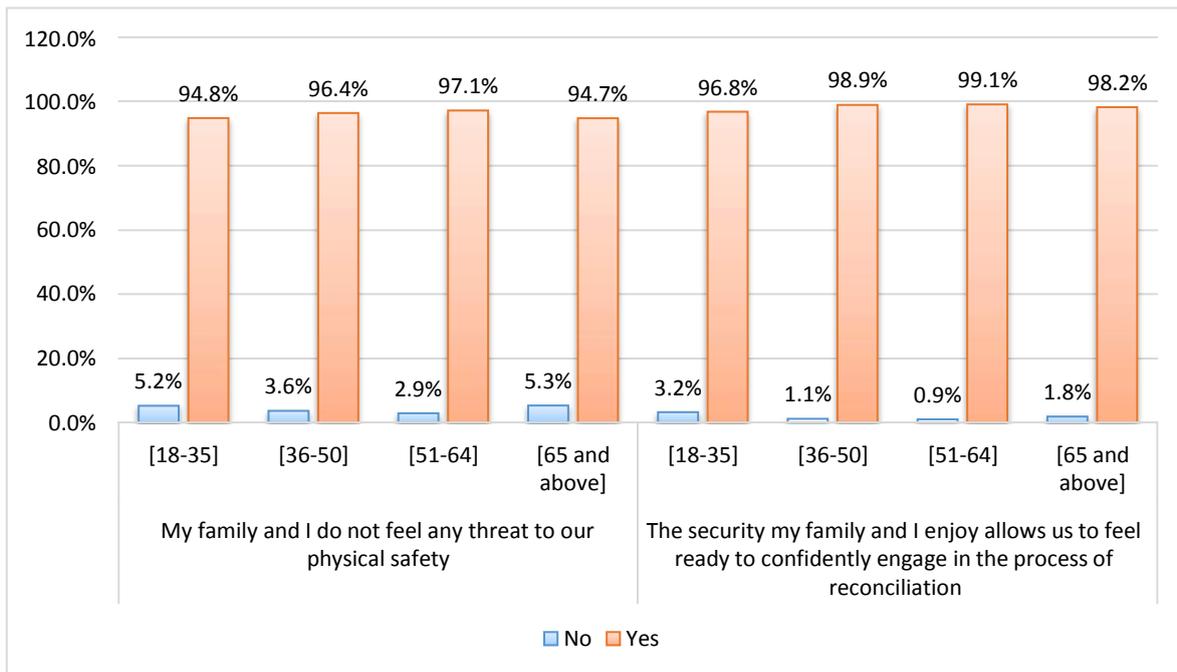


Figure 58 shows that Rwandans between the age of 51 and 64 seem to feel more safe physically, both at personal and family levels (97.1%). The same age category score the highest percentage again (99.1) in regard to whether the security that one enjoys at personal and family level allows to confidently engage in the reconciliation process. Tendencies for all age categories are high as far as their current status of security and confidence to engage in the process of reconciliation are concerned. However, one can not fail to note that the age category of 18 to 35 (the youth) and that of 65 and above (the elderly) scored higher on the the aspect of the feeling of physical safety at personal and family levels. Indeed, on the question whether they did not feel any threat to their physical safety, these two categories said 'no' at 5.2% and 5.3% respectively, while Rwandans between 36 and 50, and those between 51 and 64 said 'no' at 3.6% and 2.9% respectively.

The same tendency to feel insecure appears again to characterize a bigger number of the youth category comparing to the others, as 3.2% of those between 18 and 35 years old are the ones who say that the security they enjoy today at personal and family levels does not make them feel ready to confidently engage in the process of reconciliation. Qualitative data have associated this feeling of insecurity among the youth to unemployment. Respondent KI16 said:

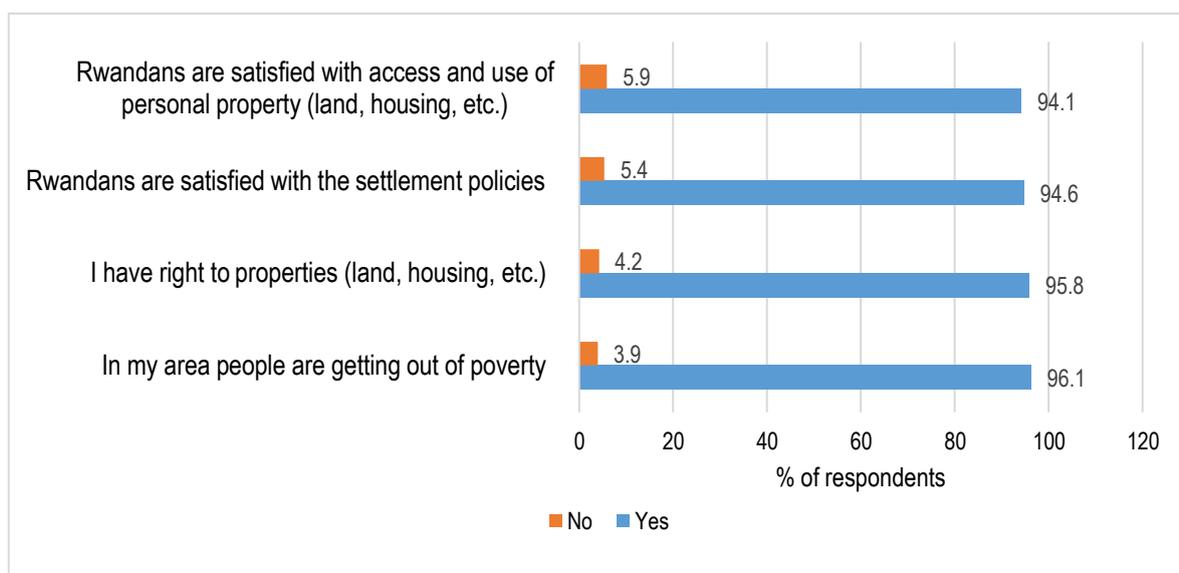
*There are many people, particularly the youth, who do not have employment to generate income. These people generally have bad ideas during daytime and bad dreams at night. Unemployment is a threat to peace, and hinders reconciliation to a high degree. There is something known as 'time bomb'. I can tell you that unemployment is an existing bomb that will detonate, because idle people are easy candidates of recruitment by groups of insurgents planning to attack the country. You know, many of those that are recruited by terrorist groups are generally promised to go for lucrative jobs, or are promised very good positions in the government once they win the war waged against the current government (KI16).*

The National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda reports that the unemployment rate in Rwanda has increased from 13.1% in February 2020 before the country registered the first case of COVID-19, but skyrocketed to 22.1% by May 2020 (NISR, 2020). As the report shows, the main groups affected by unemployment are females (25.0%) and the youth (27.2%). Participant KI16 in the above quote considers youth unemployment as a time bomb, because according to him, idle youth can easily be recruited by terrorist and insurgent groups that promise to offer the young people good jobs or positions in the government once they win wars. This observation is accurate because young people who joined terrorist groups and were captured later on generally testify that those who recruited them were promising jobs in mining in the DRC or top-level positions in the government once they win over the current government of Rwanda. This shows how crucial the question of unemployment is as far as peace, security and development are concerned.

### 4.5.3. Economic security and rights to properties

Economic security is another important aspect of security as it is broadly defined. The International Committee of the Red Cross defines this concept as the ability of individuals, households or communities to cover their essential needs sustainably and with dignity. Such ability depends on individual's physical needs, the environment and prevailing cultural standards. In any context, economic security considers the ability to cover for food, basic shelter, clothing and hygiene, as well as related expenditures like health care, education, and the ability to earn a living. Thus, the status of reconciliation was also assessed in the lenses of how Rwandans perceive economic security and rights to properties. Their opinions are displayed in the following figure.

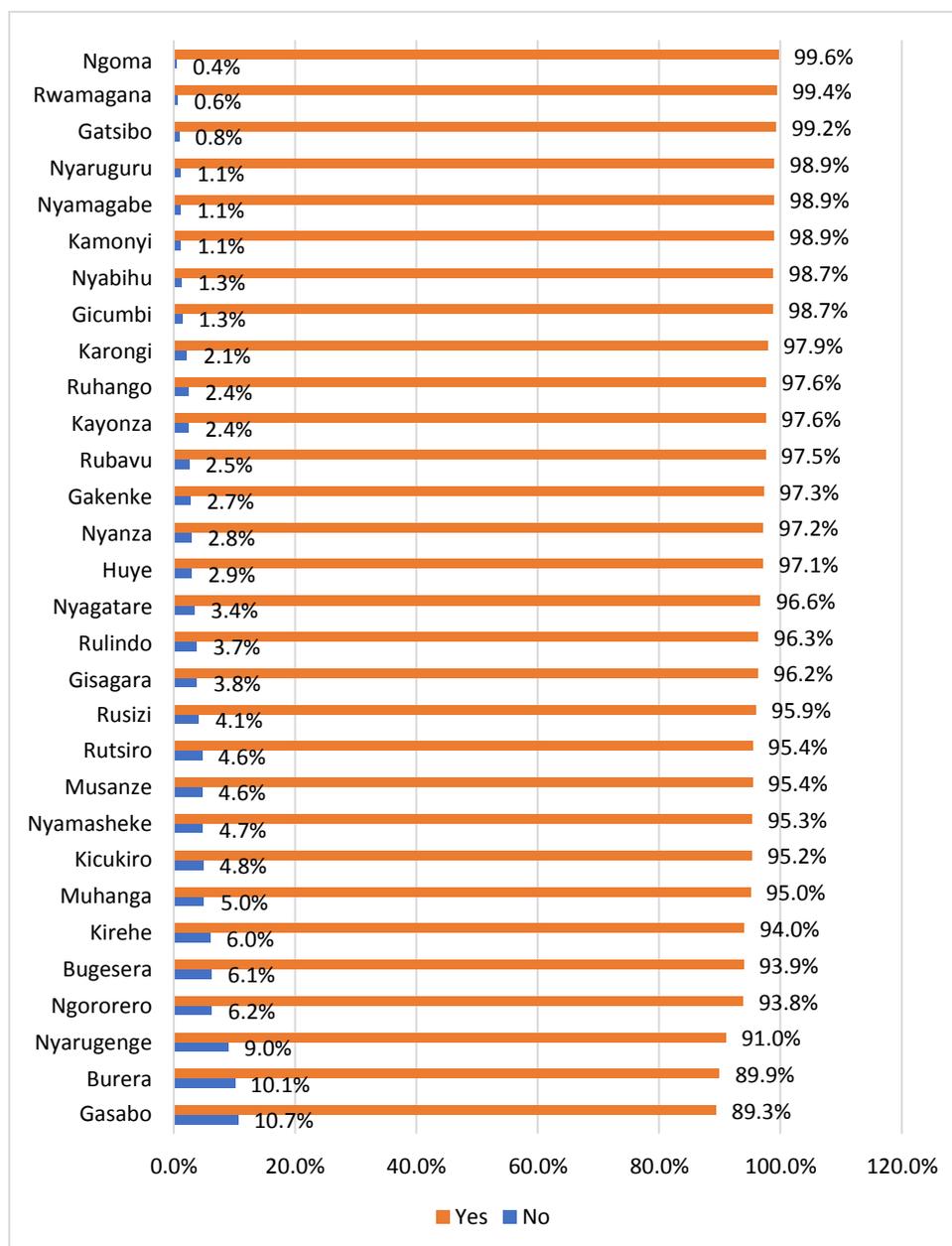
**Figure 59.** Economic security and rights to properties



According to the results, 96.1% of the respondents reported that Rwandans were getting out of poverty, which is proof that residents of Rwanda are highly satisfied with the status of economic security as related to poverty reduction. Rights to property is also given a high score, because results show that Rwandans have right to properties (95.8%), are satisfied with settlement policies (94.6%) initiated by the Government of Rwanda, and are

satisfied with access and use of personal properties (94.1%). To provide more information about the four aspects from which this study analyzed economic security, a comparison has been made at District level, as displayed by figures that follow.

**Figure 60.** Opinions on the way people are getting out of poverty in their areas by District



At the national level, 96.1% of the respondents confirmed that people in their areas were getting out of poverty, while 3.9% disagreed with this statement. As displayed in figure 60, poverty reduction in all the 30 Districts is a reality. For the purpose of analysis it should be noted that two Districts, Gasabo and Burera, had at least 10% of respondents who did not agree with the statement that people were getting out of poverty in areas where they live. Obviously, this is less significant comparing to more than 89% of those who agreed with the statement, but comprehensive studies, if deemed necessary, could provide more insights about this point.

**Figure 61.** Opinions on individuals' rights to have properties (land, housing ...) by District

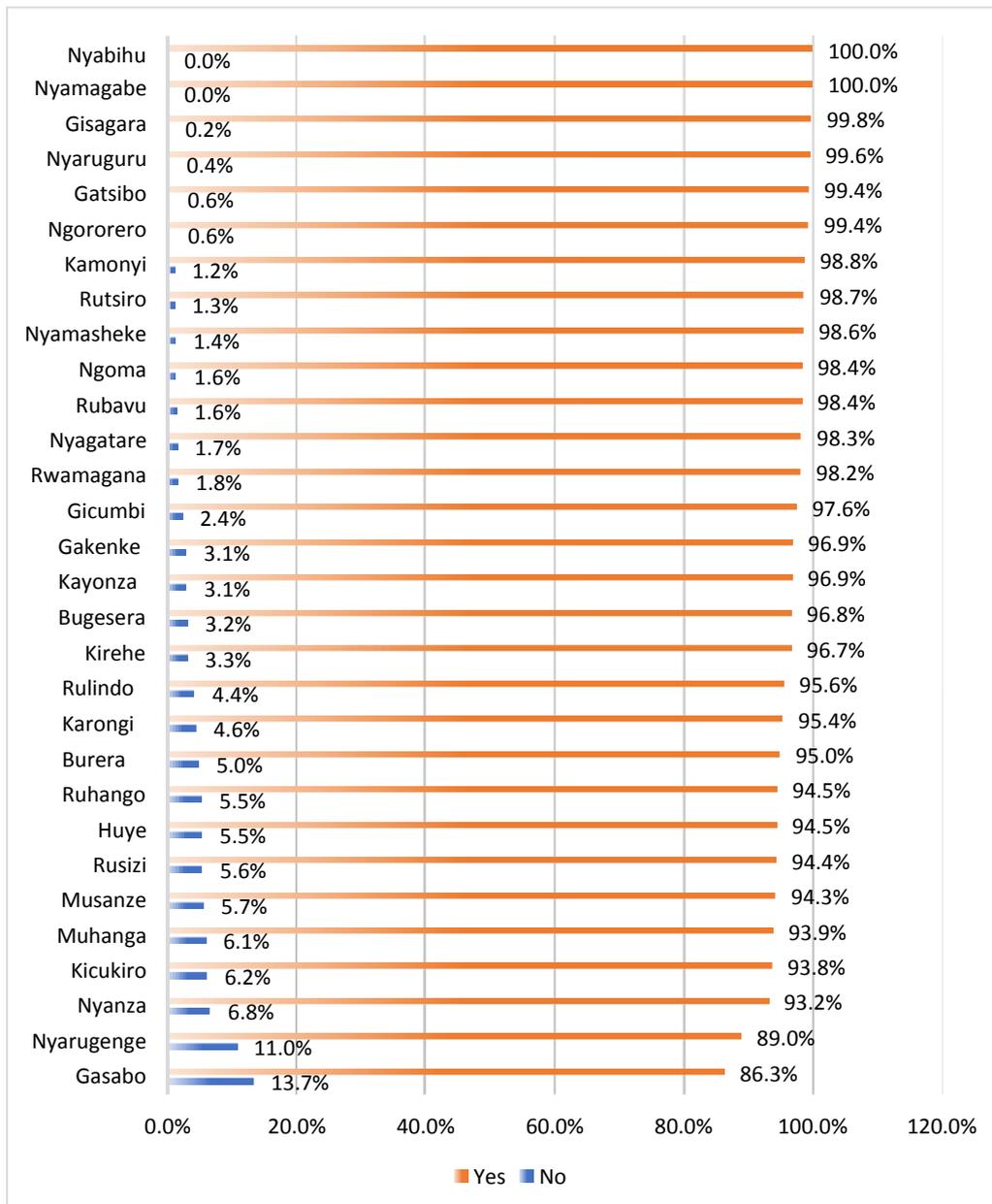
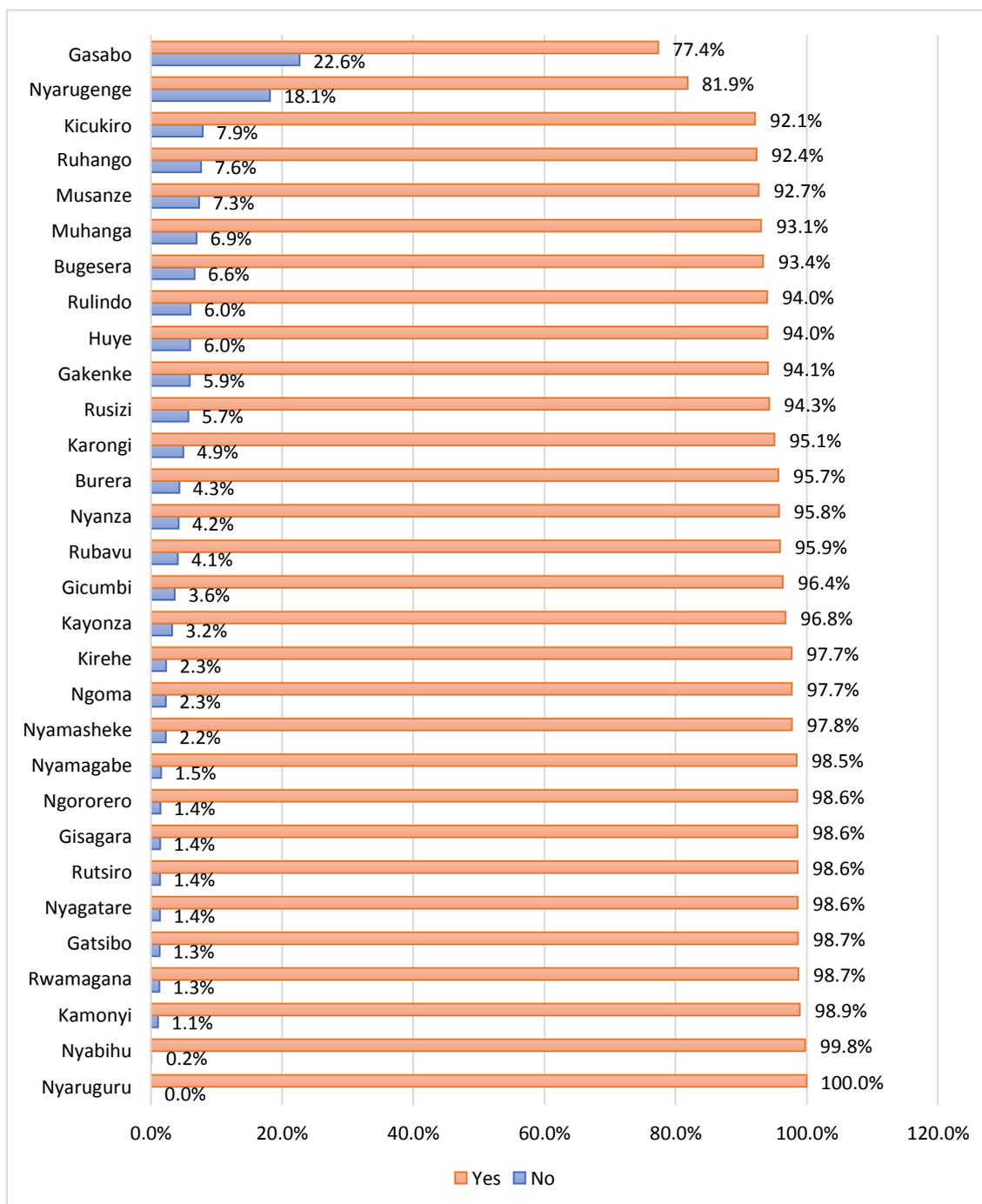


Figure 61 displays a positive image of the way people enjoy rights to have properties in all Districts of the country. Indeed, the good scores at District level reflect the 95.8% scored at the national level. A point that seems to create a noticeable pattern in this figure is the fact that Gasabo District, this time joined by Nyarugenge District, scores more than 10% of individual Rwandans who do not agree with the statement that they enjoy the right to own properties. This percentage is less significant comparing to more than 85% who confirm having rights to own properties, but systematic studies on this aspect could still provide more insights if conducted.

**Figure 62.** Opinion on Rwandans satisfaction with the settlement policies by District



In regard to whether Rwandans were satisfied with settlement policies, all Districts show an overwhelming satisfaction rate of 94.6% who confirm that they are satisfied with existing settlement policies. Nonetheless, Gasabo and Nyarugenge Districts tend to share the same pattern of bigger percentages of dissatisfaction comparing to other Districts. Indeed, 22.6% of the respondents in Gasabo District stated that they were not satisfied with settlement policies, while 18.1% of respondents in Nyarugenge showed also dissatisfaction with settlement policies. Although not significant comparing with 77.4% of satisfied respondents in Gasabo and 81.9% in Nyarugenge, comprehensive studies would shed more lights about the extent to which such patterns impact the process of reconciliation.

In regard to the access and use of personal property like land, citizens' opinions are disaggregated per District in the following figure.

**Figure 63.** Opinions on Rwandans' satisfaction with access and use of personal property (land, housing, etc.) by District

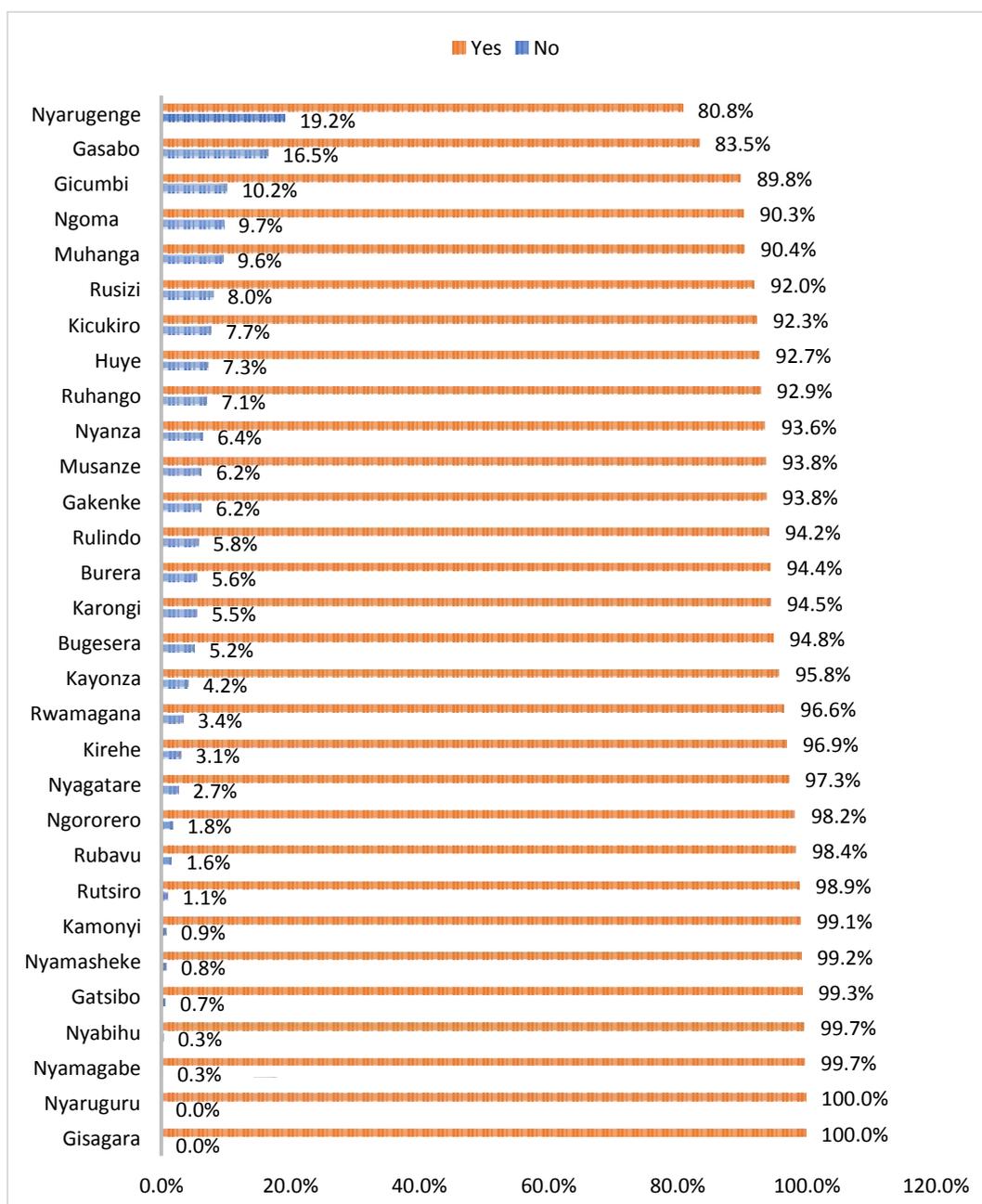
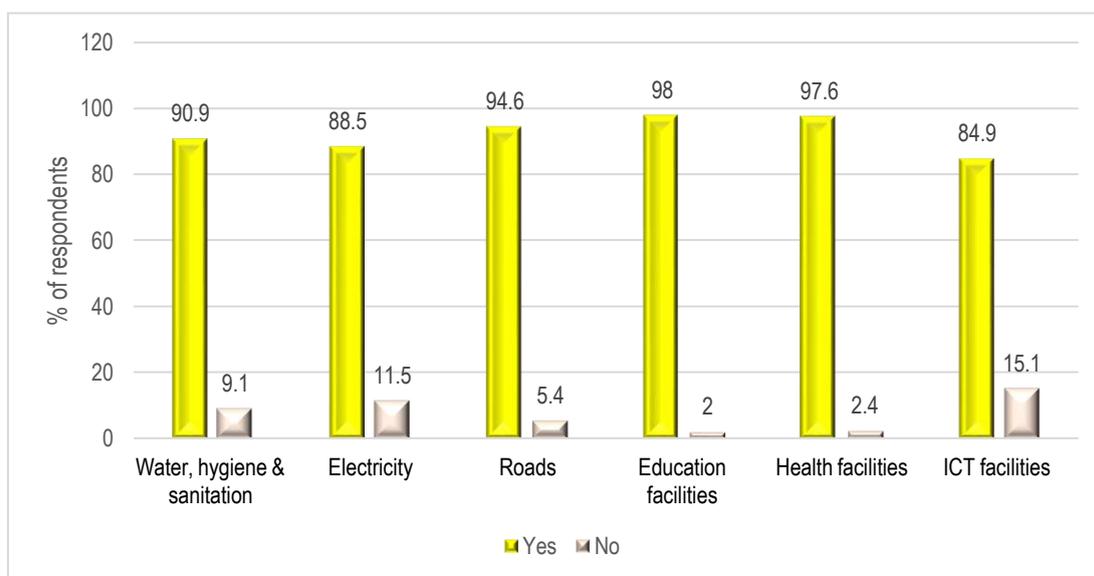


Figure 63 shows results of satisfaction with access and use of personal property at District level. Similar to other elements in the analysis of economic security, Rwandans show a high level of satisfaction with access and use of personal properties (94.1%). Here again, Gasabo and Nyarugenge District share the biggest percentages (16.5 and 19.2 respectively) of people who are not satisfied with access and use of personal properties. It should be noted, however, that these two Districts still have a high rate of satisfaction with access and use of land as their scores stand at 83.5% in Gasabo District and 80.9% in Nyarugenge District.

#### 4.5.4. Opinions regarding fair distribution of infrastructure

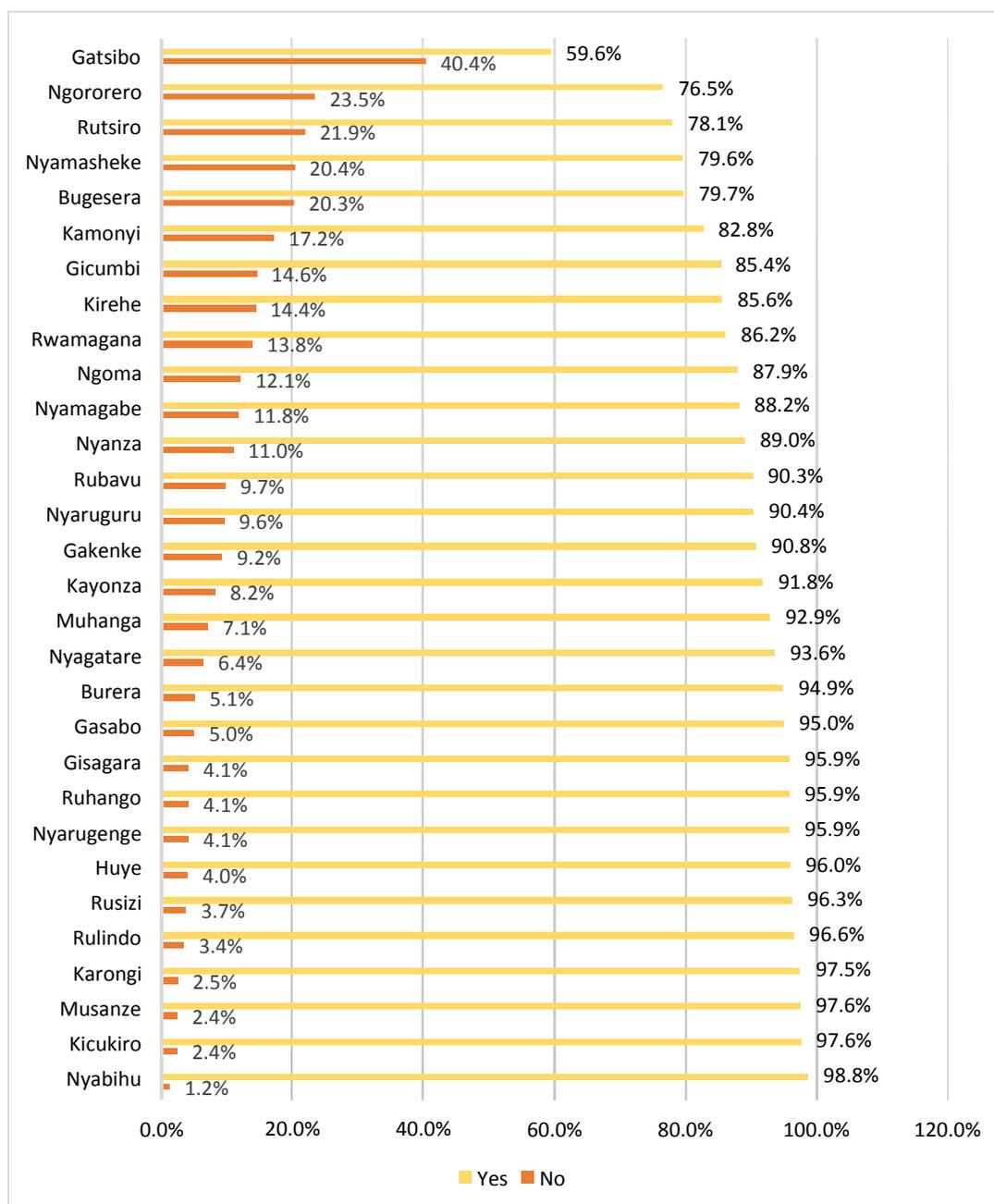
In regard to distribution of infrastructure, there are tangible evidences that the government has invested significantly in road construction, water and electricity distribution and construction of education, health and ICT facilities. To relate such investment to reconciliation, respondents were required to analyze distribution of infrastructure in terms of fairness. Their opinions are displayed in the following figure.

**Figure 64.** Opinions regarding fair distribution of infrastructure



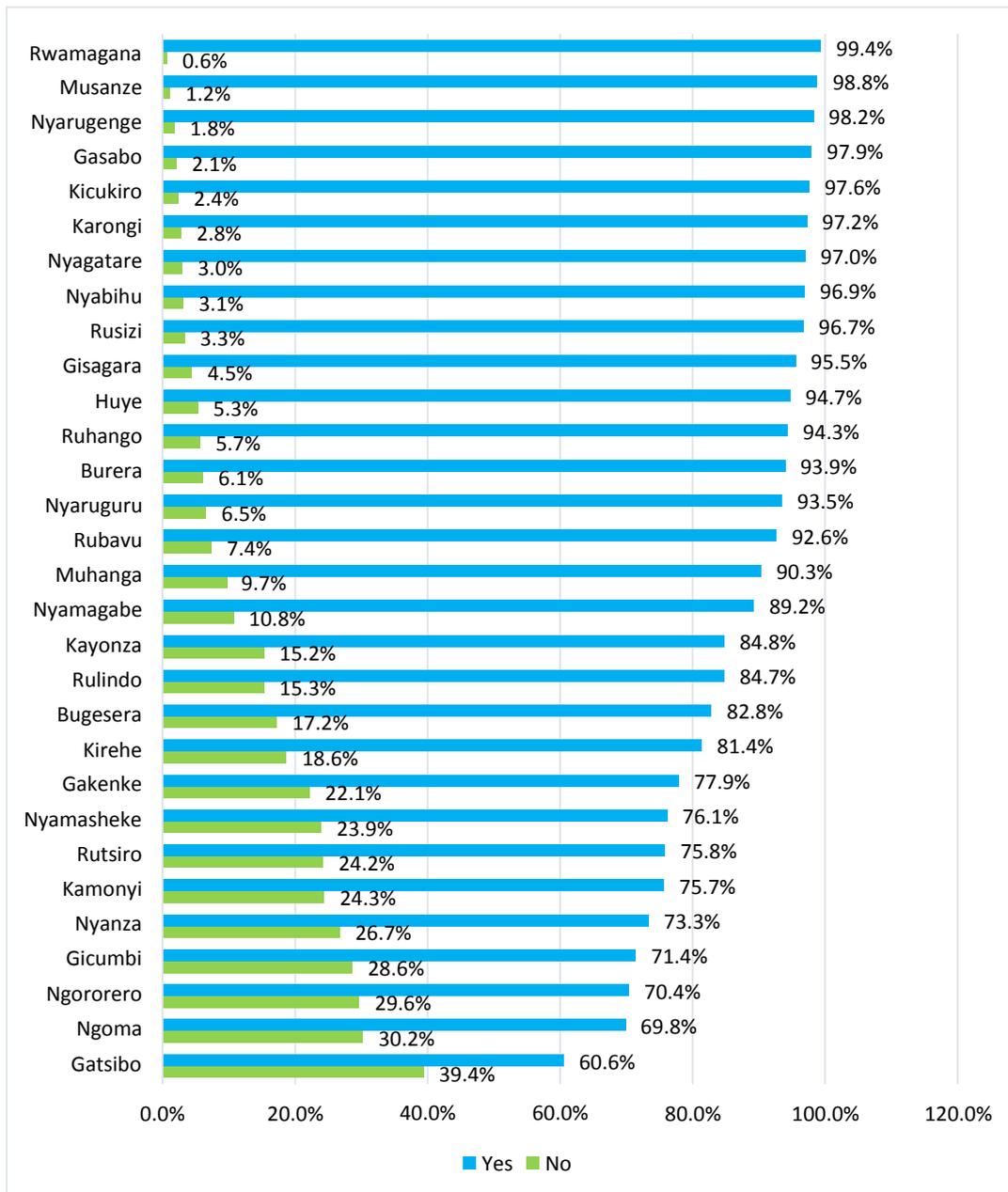
As displayed in Figure 64, Rwandans are highly satisfied with the fair distribution of infrastructures related to water, hygiene and sanitation (90.9%), electricity (88.5%), roads (94.6%), education (98%), health (97.6%), and ICT (84.9). The following figures display this level of satisfaction, but at District level.

**Figure 65.** Citizens' opinion on 'Fair distribution of water, hygiene and sanitation infrastructure' by District



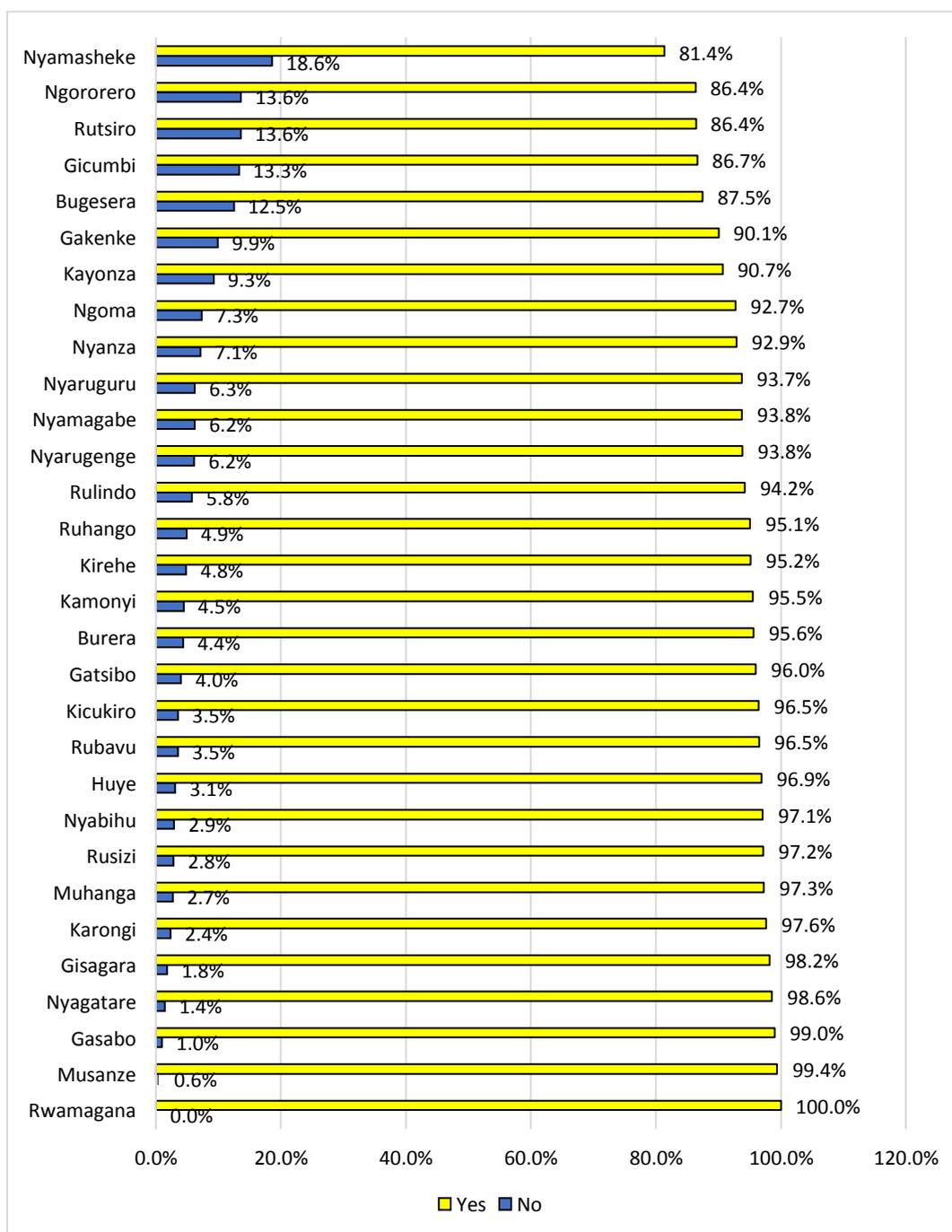
In regard to water, hygiene, and sanitation infrastructure, all Districts portray a positive image, although levels of dissatisfaction in various Districts cannot be neglected as they seem to be quite high as well. For instance, the difference between percentages of satisfaction and dissatisfaction is comparatively not that big in Gatsibo District (59.6% are satisfied against 40.4% dissatisfied). Also, Nyamasheke, Ngororero and Rutsiro Districts have dissatisfaction scores beyond 20%, which should also be considered as a gap comparing to other Districts.

**Figure 66.** Citizens' opinion on 'Fair distribution of electricity' by District



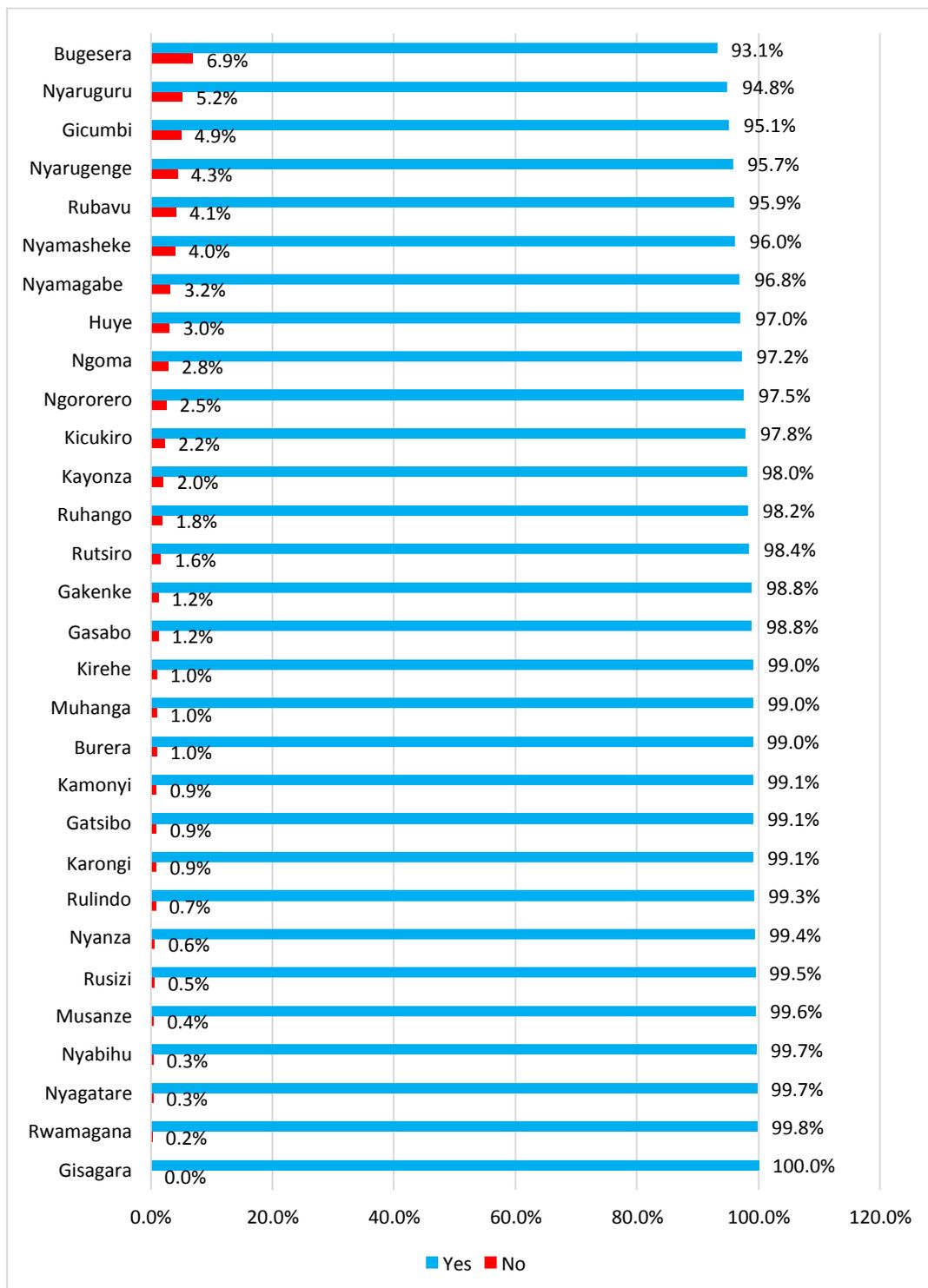
As for the distribution of electricity, the national level of satisfaction stands at 88.5%, which shows evidence for observable efforts put in the distribution of electricity nationwide. Some Districts, particularly rural ones still require more investments as they displayed high numbers of dissatisfaction with the way electricity has been distributed so far. Instances of these include Gatsibo with 39.4%, Ngoma with 30.2%, Gicumbi and Nyanza whose scores of dissatisfactions stand beyond 26% and Gakenke, Nyamasheke, Rutsiro and Kamonyi that have scores beyond 20%.

**Figure 67.** Citizens' opinion on 'Fair distribution of roads' by District



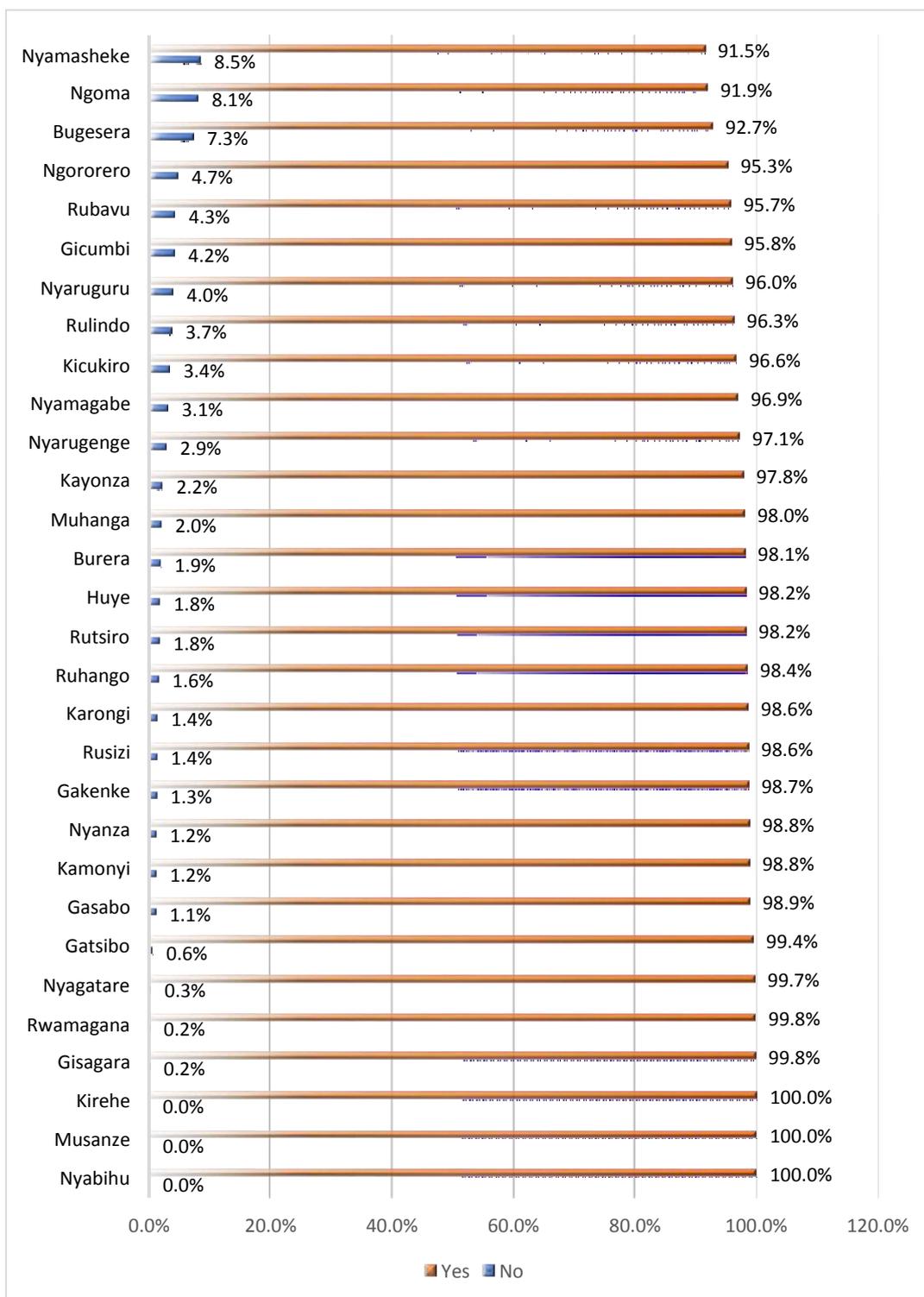
According to the results, Rwandans are highly satisfied with road distribution (94.6%). Districts of Bugesera, Gicumbi, Nyamasheke, Ngororero, and Rutsiro are the ones whose scores of dissatisfactions stand beyond 10%.

**Figure 68.** Citizens' opinion on 'Fair distribution of education facilities' by District



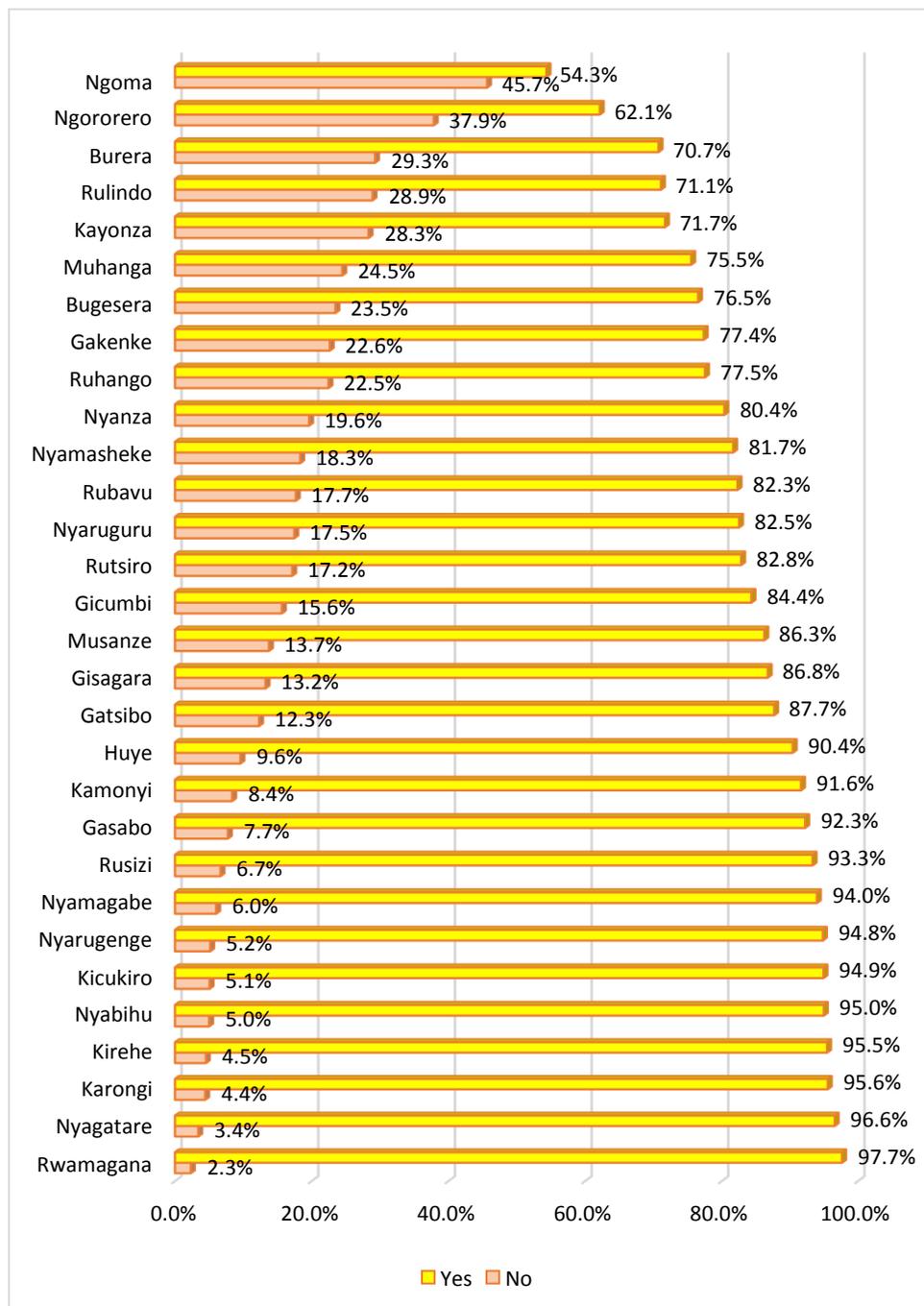
The satisfaction with distribution of education facilities is very high at the national level (98%), which is also reflected in all Districts because all of them have scores beyond 93%.

**Figure 69.** Citizens' opinion on 'Fair distribution of health facilities' by District, also no visible



Rwandans have also shown a high level of satisfaction regarding the distribution of health facilities at the national level (97.6%), but also in all Districts of the country as the lowest rate of satisfaction is 91.9%.

**Figure 70.** Citizens' opinion on 'Fair distribution of ICT facilities' by District



As for ICT infrastructure distribution, the national trends show the satisfaction rate of 84.9%. At District level, the picture is generally positive, but rates of dissatisfactions in certain Districts, especially in rural areas, need to be given more attention. These are Ngoma District (54.3% satisfaction against 45.7% dissatisfaction), Ngororero (37.9% dissatisfaction), Burera and Rulindo (29.3% and 28.9% respectively), and others such as Muhanga, Ruhango, Gakenke, and Bugesera whose scores of dissatisfactions with the distribution of ICT infrastructures stand beyond 20%.

#### 4.5.5. Summary of findings on security and wellbeing

This section looked at the variable of security and wellbeing in its relationship with reconciliation. Considered as the foundation for the process of reconciliation, the concept of security was assessed in its broader perspective, human security, which considers people as the referent object for security. In this context, dimensions that the study used to analyse the status of the variable are national security, personal security, economic security, and fair distribution of infrastructures (water, hygiene and sanitation, roads, education facilities, health facilities, and ICT facilities). The assumption here was that the more citizens feel generally, economically, and physically well and secure, the more they would be willing to commit themselves to reconciliation. Results of this assessment have confirmed this assumption at a high level. The following table displays findings of the 2020 assessment, but also those of 2015 in order to estimate the progress that this pillar has gone through along the years. It should be noted that, where elements constituting the indicator to be analyzed have changed through out the years, thus not similar or were not used before, the table presents only results that exist.

**Table 13:** Average scores on security and wellbeing

Pillar	Indicators	Findings (%) in 2010	Findings (%) in 2015	Findings (%) in 2020
Security and Wellbeing	<b>National security and reconciliation</b>			
	1. Rwanda's current security allows for reconciliation	94.3	96.6	98.9
	2. The current partnership between security organs and citizens promotes reconciliation		97.0	98.4
	3. Recent cases of insecurity have not affected the journey of reconciliation		87.5	81.0
	<b>Personal security and reconciliation</b>			
	4. My family and I do not feel any threat to our physical safety	86	95.9	95.8
	5. The security my family and I enjoy allows us to feel ready to confidently engage in the process of reconciliation			97.9
	<b>Economic security and rights to properties</b>			
	6. In my area people are getting out of poverty		90.3	96.1
	7. I have right to properties (land, housing, etc.)	60.3	87.4	95.8
	8. Rwandans are satisfied with the settlement policies			94.6
	9. Rwandans are satisfied with access and use of personal property (land, housing, etc.)			94.1
	<b>Opinions regarding fair distribution of infrastructure</b>			
	10. Water, hygiene & sanitation		65.8	90.9
	11. Electricity		64.4	88.5
12. Roads		76.3	94.6	
13. Education facilities		92.8	98.0	
14. Health facilities		91.1	97.6	
15. ICT facilities			84.9	
	<b>AVERAGE</b>			<b>94.3</b>

As it can be observed in Table 13 above, many aspects on which indicators have been analyzed continued to be improved as years went by, which is the reason why only very few elements had results to be compared. On the question of whether the current partnership between security organs and citizens promoted reconciliation, the 2020 results show a slight increase of 1.4% from those of 2015. In regard to personal security, especially on the question of whether respondents felt their families and themselves were safe from any physical threats, the results of 2015 and 2020 remain almost equal (95.9% versus 95.8% respectively), increasing from 86% in 2010. With respect to economic security and rights to properties, 96.1% of the respondents agreed that people were getting out of poverty in their areas, which is an increase from 90.3% in 2015. Similarly, there is a considerable increase regarding whether individual Rwandans have rights to properties such as land, housing, etc. Indeed, scores moved from 60.3% in 2010 and 87.4% in 2015 to reach 95.8% in 2020. Significant progress is also observed in terms of right to infrastructure as all aspects (water, education facilities, health facilities, electricity, and roads) saw their scores increase.

This is the result of multiple ongoing projects to construct basic infrastructure and increase population's access to electricity, water, hygiene and sanitation. All in all, Rwandans highly agree with the fact that the country enjoys a high level of security and wellbeing (94.3%), which is a big foundation for commitment and confidence in engaging with reconciliation.

#### **4.6. Justice, fairness and rights**

In a post-conflict society, one of the most challenging issue is the choice between a system of justice that fights impunity but also reconciles the people. Rwanda had that dilemma after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. On the one hand, the post-genocide Government of National Unity wanted to put on trial, in the most fair and just manner, the thousands of persons who had participated in the killings. On the other, it was necessary to start the process of reconciling the people of the country. It became clear that relying on the formal justice system could not achieve those twin objectives of justice with reconciliation. This was one of the reasons why the government decided to establish Gacaca courts in 2001 to try genocide convicts incarcerated in the numerous prisons in the country, while simultaneously beginning the process of national reconciliation. Gacaca courts were a traditional justice system that combines retributive and restorative justice. The courts closed in 2011 after 10 years of work.

Once the Gacaca courts started, it also became clear that different persons who participated in the genocidal killings did not have the same degree of culpability. At the top were those who planned and provided resources to mobilise ordinary Rwandans to kill their Tutsi neighbours. At the receiving end were the ordinary Rwandans who killed their neighbours on the orders of the elite and the leadership in general.

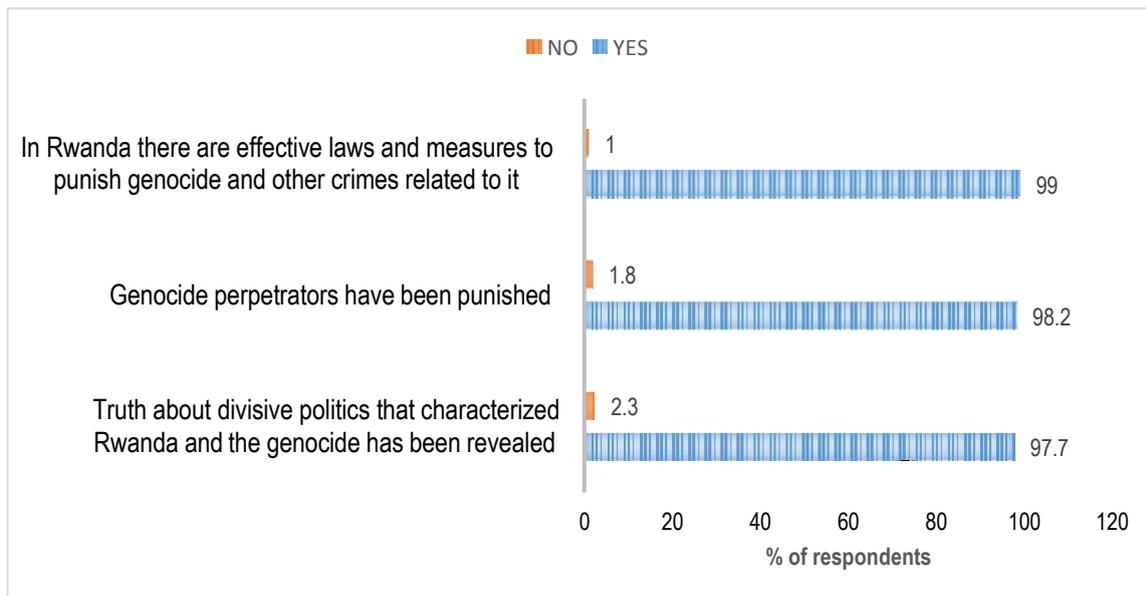
In order to blend justice, reconciliation and re-integration into society of those convicted and acquitted during the Gacaca courts, the government introduced the 'Travail d'Intérêt Général' (TIG), which was a program that allowed eligible prisoners to complete their sentences through participation in activities of national interest, such as clearing ground, road building, construction of houses for genocide survivors, clay mining, and brick and tile manufacturing. Below we examine what Rwandans think about all the efforts that have been undertaken to build a society founded and thriving under a culture of justice, fairness and the protection of people's basic human rights.

### 4.6.1. Truth about the past and punishing genocide and related crimes

Knowing exactly what happened, why it happened and how it happened collectively dubbed 'telling the truth about the past events' is an important step towards reconciliation in post-conflict societies. The Gacaca courts allowed victims and perpetrators to engage in a process of 'truth telling', making it possible for both victims and perpetrators to be heard in a public space. Other government programmes have encouraged Rwandans to engage in open discussions about the past and to collectively explore and reflect on the past. In post-conflict societies, truth plays a crucial role in bringing about reconciliation. These include Itorero workshops and seminars and Ndi Umunyarwanda dialogues among others.

In addition to truth and justice, it is also important that both victims and perpetrators view the justice system as just and fair as well as safeguarding the rights of the individual. As an evaluation of the entire system of justice instituted to address the catastrophic and peculiar circumstances of Rwanda's immediate post-conflict situation, the survey inquired of Rwandans what they think about some specific questions of justice, fairness and rights. The following figure deals with the views of ordinary Rwandans on three indicators as shown below.

**Figure 71.** Truth about the past and punishing genocide and related crimes



Findings presented in figure 70 show the views of ordinary Rwandans on the three indicators. Rwandans believe that the country has put in place enough legal safeguards to deal with genocide, the genocide ideology as well as put in place measures that can protect and safeguard people from ever trying to promote the genocide ideology. In 2015, 95.4% of Rwandans were of the view that there are effective legal policies and measures in place against divisions and genocide in Rwanda'. In 2020, this has risen to 99% clearly indicating that ordinary Rwandans have confidence that the laws of the country and other related measures are adequate to deal with genocide and its ideology.

In addition to that, ordinary Rwandans believe that former genocide convicts were adequately punished, and that in general Rwandans have developed an agreement regarding what caused the genocide. Another element on which Rwandans have come to reach a high degree of agreement is that the truth about the divisive politics of the past regimes have been unearthed, adequately discussed and internalized by the majority of Rwandans. In 2015, 95.8% believed that genocide perpetrators had been adequately punished. The proportion of respondents who believe this to be true is 98.2% in 2020. In 2010, it was 89.3%. Again, this is a consistent upward trend in the conviction that the genocide perpetrators were adequately punished and that the punishment was free and fair.

Ever since the first reconciliation barometer was produced in 2010, there has been a consistent view among Rwandans that the Gacaca courts provided a vehicle for truth telling as well as for reconciliation. This consistency in public opinion is an endorsement of the processes and programmes aimed at telling the truth about the past. In 2010, 93.7 % of respondents believed that the truth about the genocide in Rwanda, as it really happened, was revealed through Gacaca courts. In 2015, two separate variables were used—the truth about what happened during the genocide against the Tutsi and the truth about the divisions that characterised the past of Rwanda. In both cases 93.3% and 93.0% of respondents respectively believed that the truth about what happened during the genocide against the Tutsi was revealed during Gacaca and that the truth about the divisions that characterised Rwanda's past have been revealed respectively.

In 2020, a combined variable scored 97.9% clearly indicating a continuing upward trend of public approval and affirmation. This is confirmed by qualitative results. For example, one participant in an interview session with a prominent NGO working on genocide and reconciliation remarked: "Truth telling plays a big role in reconciling people. Before you reconcile with someone, they have to tell you the whole truth about what happened and how things went. Truth telling is a strong foundation for reconciliation (K11)." In the same line of thinking, another one added: "telling the truth was especially useful during the Gacaca period. Unfortunately, some people chose not to tell the truth about everything (K124).

What the above quotes portray is the importance of truth-telling in national and individual reconstruction. The fact that more than 97% feel satisfied with the way the truth about divisive politics that characterized Rwanda and the genocide has been revealed constitutes a big contribution to reconciliation. However, as reported by participant K124, some people have not revealed the whole truth until today. This is particularly mentioned when it comes to showing the whereabouts of bodies of genocide victims, a variable that scored 85.4%.

**Figure 72.** Disaggregate by gender on 'Truth about the past and punishing genocide and related crimes

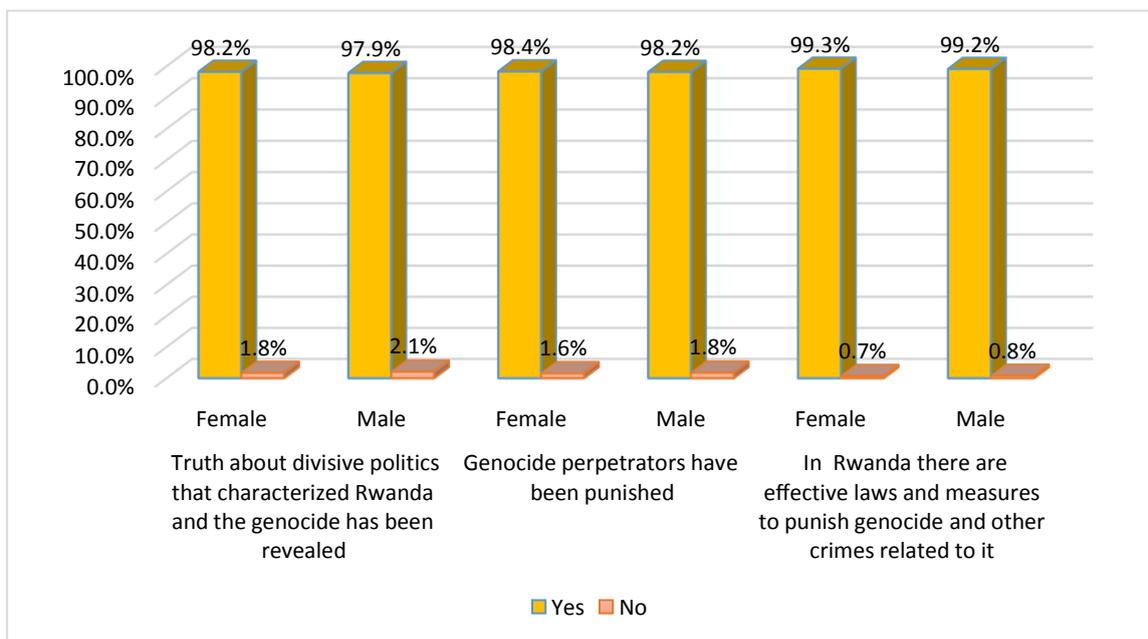
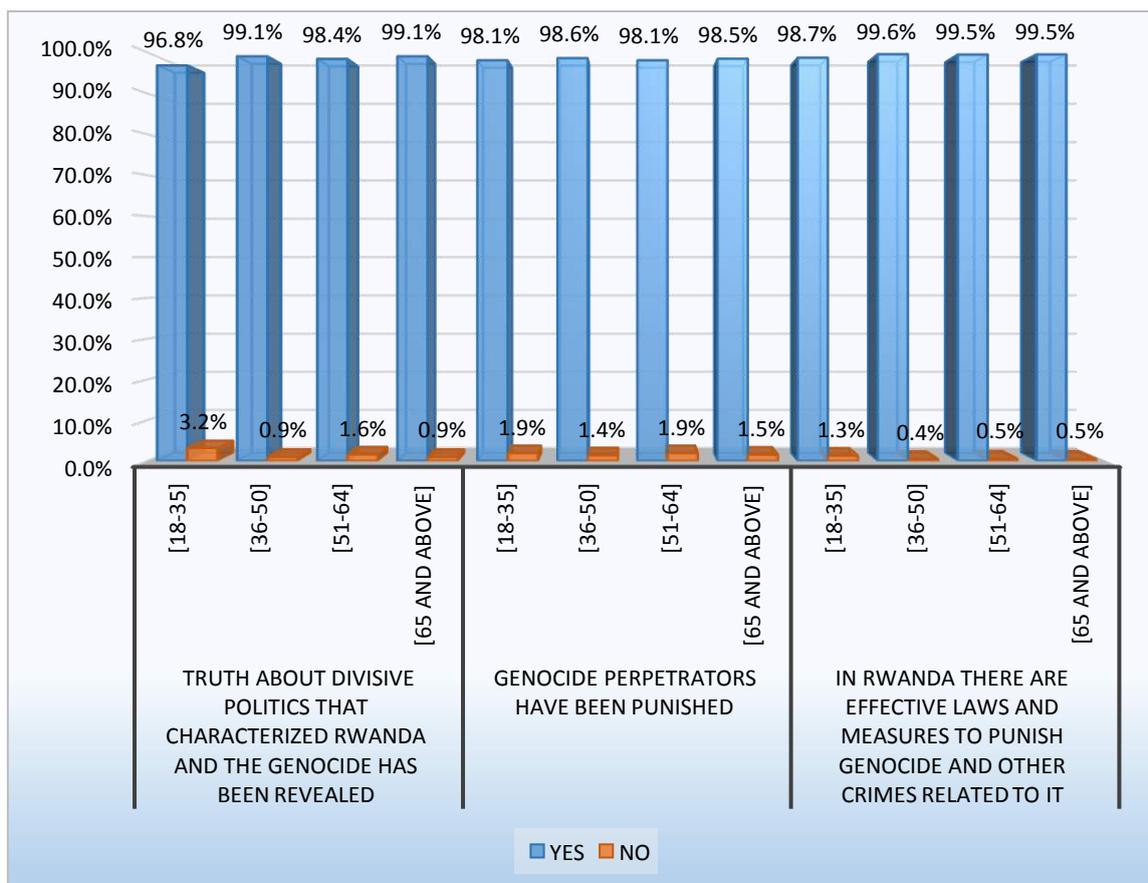


Figure 71 above shows the views of both female and male respondents on the three variables. With regard to whether the truth about the past and punishing genocide and related crimes, and on whether the truth about divisive politics that characterized Rwanda and how the genocide has been revealed, 98.2% of female and 97.9% of male respondents respectively believe that to be the case. Furthermore, on whether former genocide convicts were adequately punished, 98.4% of female and 98.2% of male respondents respectively are of the view that this is indeed the case while 99.3% of female and 99.2% of male respondents respectively indicated that Rwanda has effective laws and measures to punish genocide and other related crimes in place. It is clear that there is no significant difference in terms of the views of Rwandans-male or female on the three variables in figure 72. This means that generally speaking, ordinary Rwandans share the same perspectives on these issues irrespective of their gender.

**Figure 73.** Disaggregate by age category on 'Truth about the past and punishing genocide and relat'ed crimes



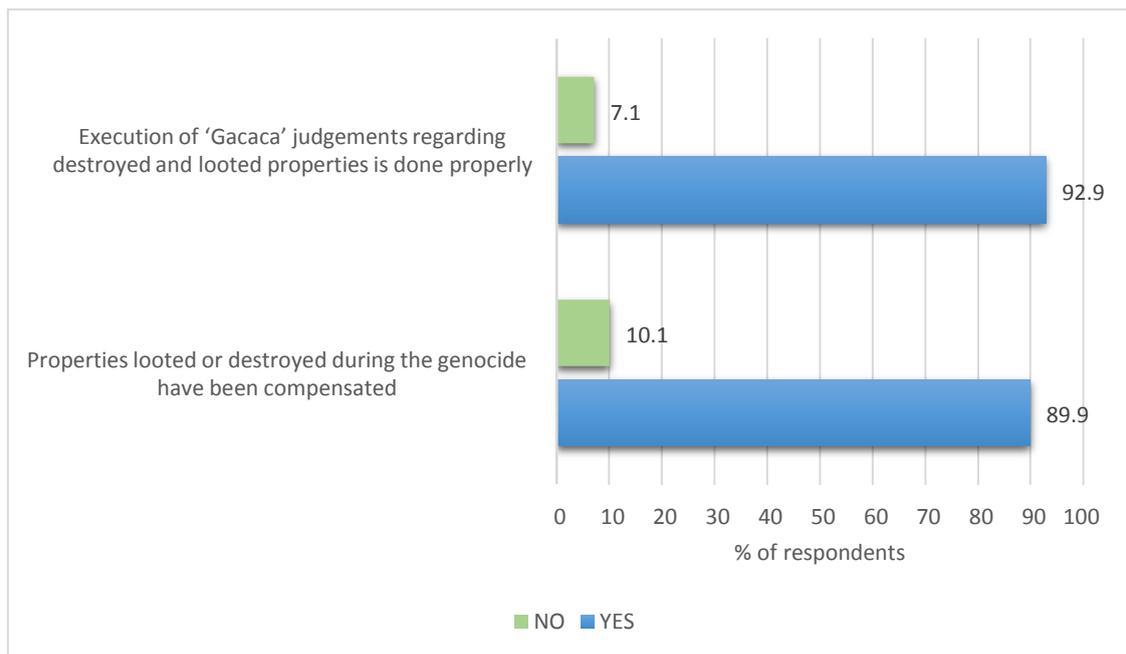
As can be visibly noticed from figure 73, for all age categories and for all the three indicators, all respondents' views have a score above 95%. Moreover, there are no significant differences in the views of respondents based on age. This means that even the younger people have appreciated the history of the country and are therefore able to judge the situation in the country.

It can also be discerned that generally speaking older people scored highly in all the three indicators. This may be attributed to the fact that older people know the history of the origin and implementation of the genocide better than young people. Concerning the punishment of genocide convicts, respondents' views from different age categories supported this statement with 98.1% for young people (18-35) and 98.7% for elder people of 65 years old and above. It is therefore clear that in terms of opinion of the three indicators, the age of the respondent is immaterial.

#### 4.6.2. Compensation of properties looted or destroyed during the genocide

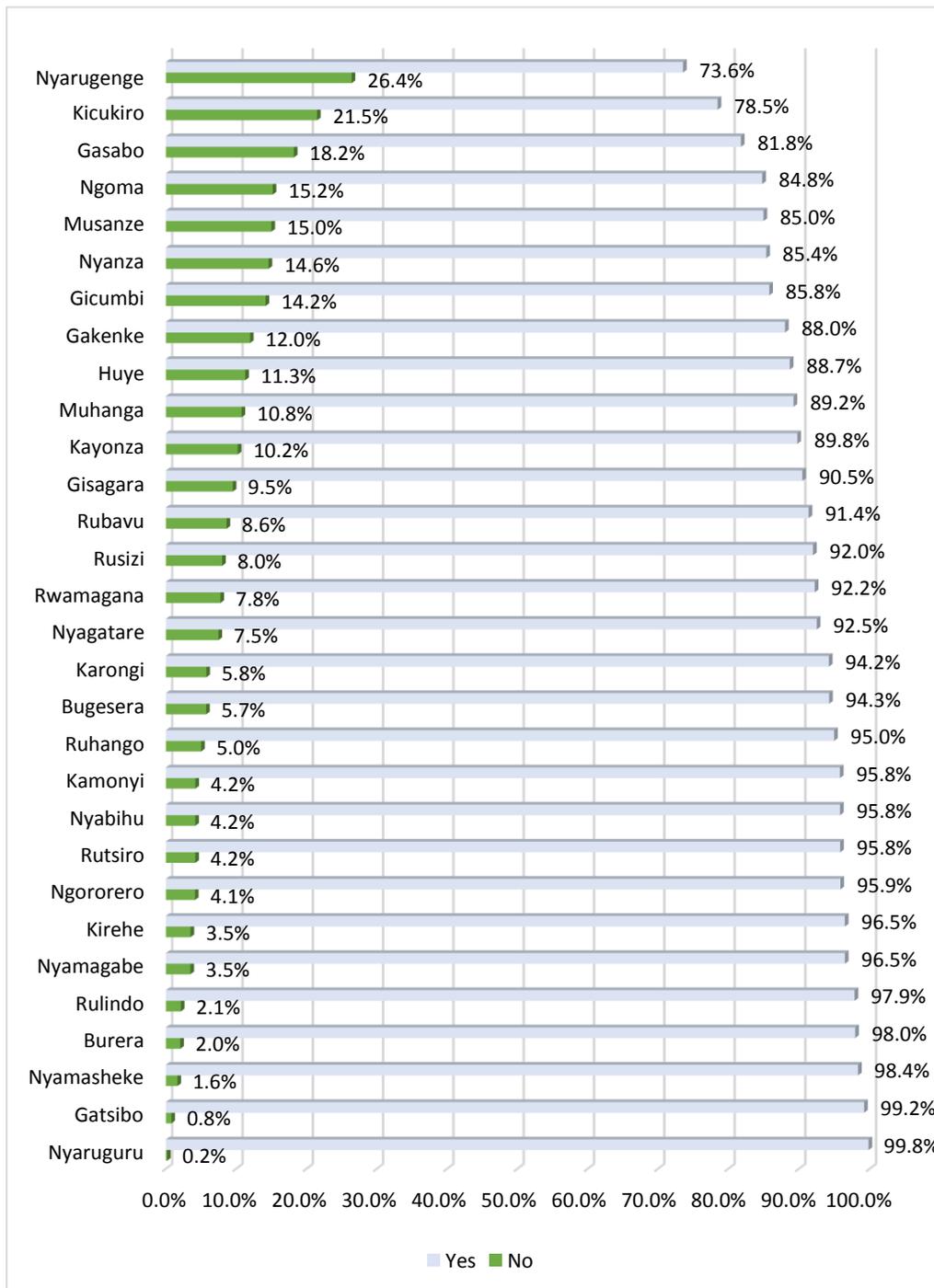
In connection with the above leading statement, it is generally argued that the promotion of reconciliation in Rwanda requires, among other things, that survivors whose properties have been destroyed/looted, during the Genocide against Tutsi be compensated. Empirical findings on respondent' perceptions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

**Figure 74.** Citizens' opinions on compensation of properties destroyed or looted during the genocide



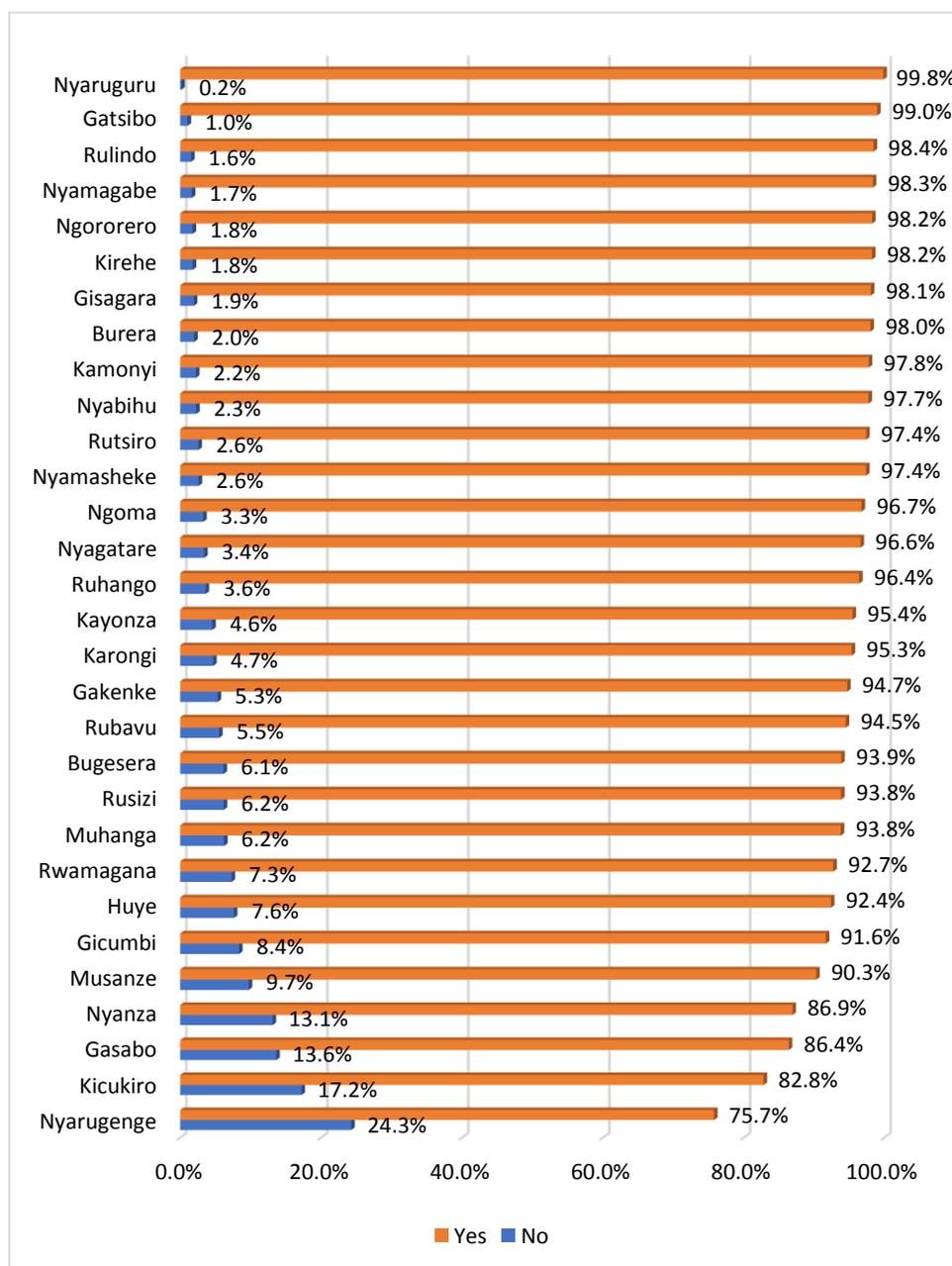
As figure 74 above indicates, 92.9% of respondents expressed satisfaction with the manner in which the execution of Gacaca judgement regarding properties looted or destroyed during the genocide has been done claiming that it was done properly while 89.9% of respondents asserted that properties looted or destroyed during the genocide have been compensated. Considering the challenges in ensuring that compensation is undertaken, it is remarkable to see that respondents consider this to have been done to a satisfactory level.

**Figure 75.** Citizens' opinion on the compensation of properties looted or destroyed during the genocide by District



In view of Figure 75 above, it appears that Nyaruguru District has registered the highest level of percentage (99.8%) on citizens's opinion on the compensation of properties looted or destroyed during the genocide of 1994 against tutsi while the District that registered the comparative least score on the same statement is Nyarugenge with 73.6%.

**Figure 76.** Citizens' opinion on whether Execution of 'Gacaca' judgements regarding destroyed and looted properties is done properly by District



As figure 76 portrays, for the statement regarding citizens' opinion on whether Execution of 'Gacaca' judgements regarding destroyed and looted properties is done properly, Nyaruguru District takes the lead with 99.8% while the District that registered the least score on the same statement is Nyarugenge with 75.7%. In fact, as per the above findings, the execution of Gacaca judgement is on good truck in different Districts. However, more efforts are needed in Nyarugenge District to enhance the level understanding of reconciliation as Gacaca judgement has always been considered to be the foundation of Unity and reconciliation in Rwanda.

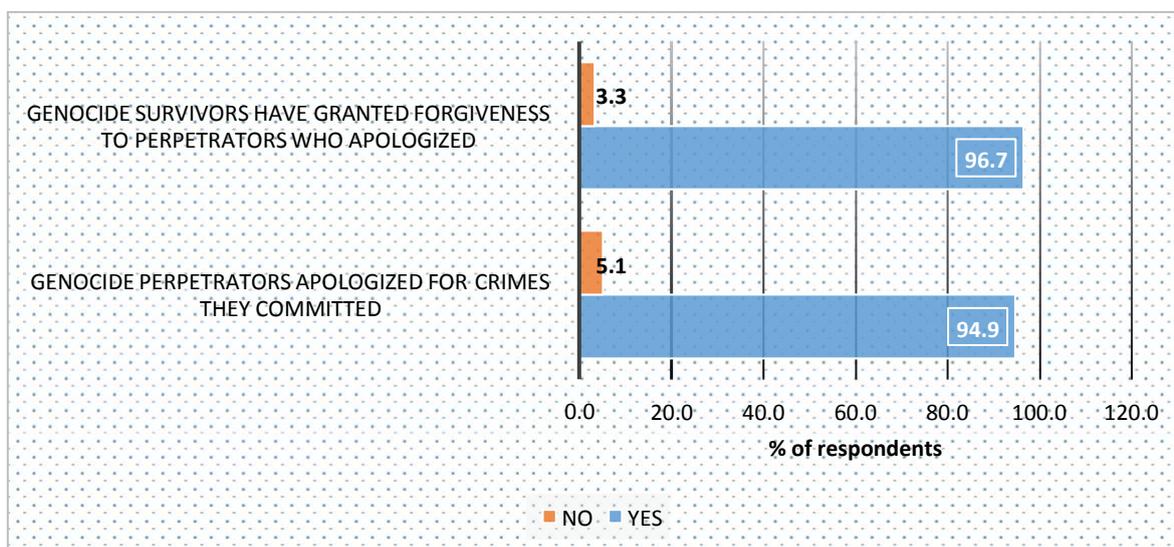
### 4.6.3. Apology and forgiveness

The successful reconciliation process after divisions and violence necessitates two sides: perpetrators and survivors. Both sides have to participate in this process by recognizing the wrongdoing and apologize on one hand, and voluntarily grant the forgiveness on another hand. This is the right way to reinforce renewed relationships as experienced in Rwanda. However, apart from genocide perpetrators and victims, the role of the government is equally fundamental. A participant from another organization that advocates for the welfare of genocide survivors clarified this as she observed:

*I can not forgive someone when I know that he/she will come and kill me tomorrow. There is a place where I am today that allows me to grant forgiveness. That place is the secure environment the government has created. Those who killed did so because the government allowed for it, meaning that for reconciliation to happen the government has to enable it too. Infact, if the country's government created the political environment that destroyed the unity of its citizens resulting into the genocide, it has to play a role in uniting the citizens again. Today's national policy on unity and reconciliation contributes a lot in individuals' reconciliation, because if the government did not take the first step towards uniting the people, no individual citizen would reconcile. Therefore, the government is playing an important role in this journey (of reconciliation). Even if an individual citizen would grant forgiveness and claim to reconcile, such moves would be futile if there wre no forgiveness and reconciliation at the national level. Where there is no place for someone to ask for forgiveness, there can not be a place for someone to grant forgiveness (K115)*

As the introductory section describes, there are various actors involved in the process of reconciliation – genocide survivors, former genocide convicts, the government, and many others. Considering that the Government of Rwanda is credited to have created the proper environment for apology and forgiveness to happen (see K115 above), findings in this research indicate significant improvements as reported in the figure below:

**Figure 77.** Apology and forgiveness

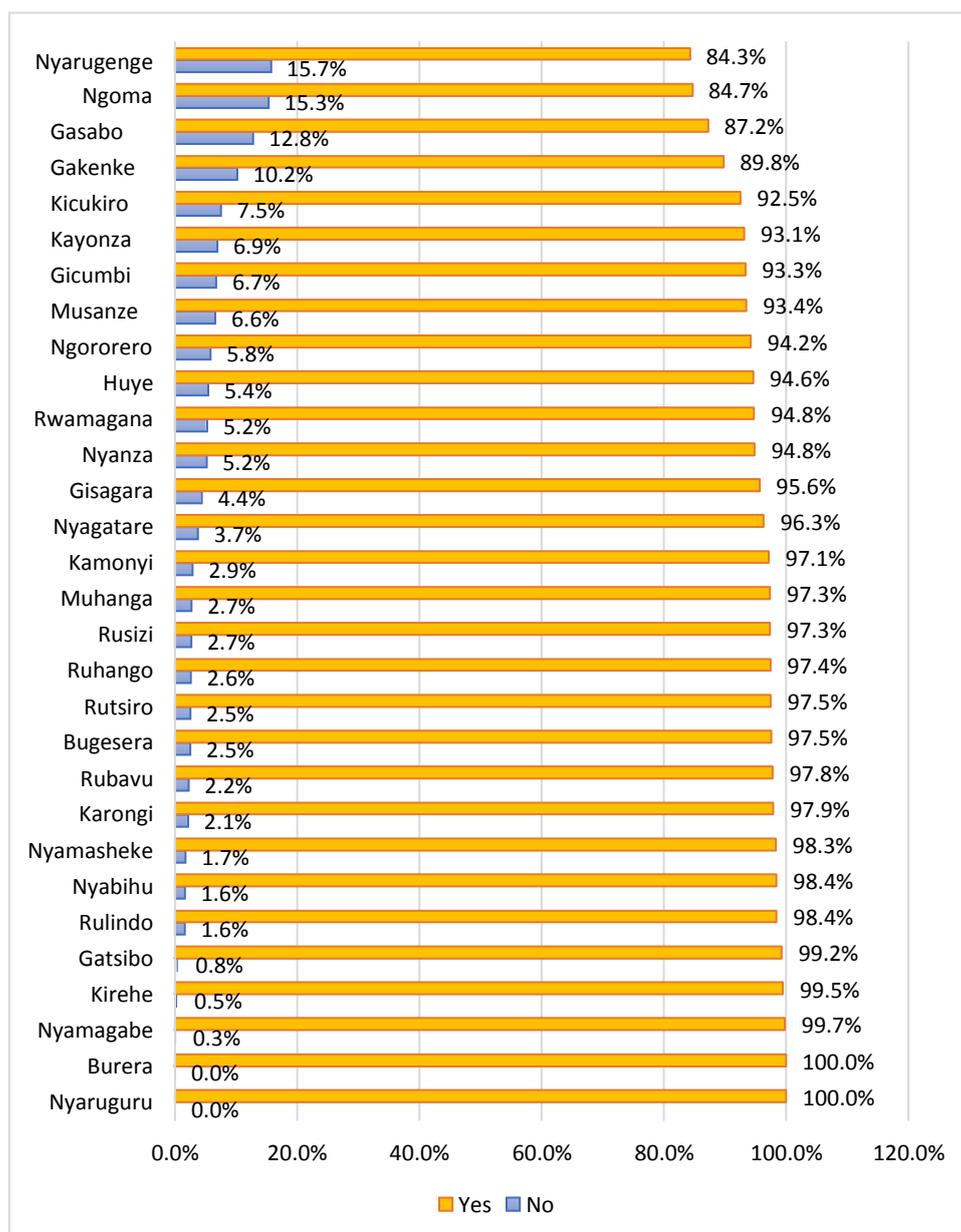


The above figure, 77, indicates that 96.7% of respondents affirm that genocide survivors have forgiven former genocide convicts who apologized. Likewise, 94.9% of respondents assert that former genocide convicts apologized for their genocidal acts. This marks a significant improvement in terms of relationship between both sides. The result of this situation is obviously a peaceful environment between survivors and former genocide convicts in different corners of the country. During the focus group discussions and interviews, participants emphasized the readiness of genocide survivors to grant forgiveness. For illustration, a member of a CSO that strives to reconcile genocide convicts and genocide survivors said:

*Let's take Gacaca for instance. Gacaca courts played a big role in reconciliation among Rwandans, because, if someone apologized and said the truth about the genocide, you could notice that genocide survivors started seeing the perpetrator as a human being again. What was done during that time up to this day was very valuable and should continue to be emphasized because it produced results (K114).*

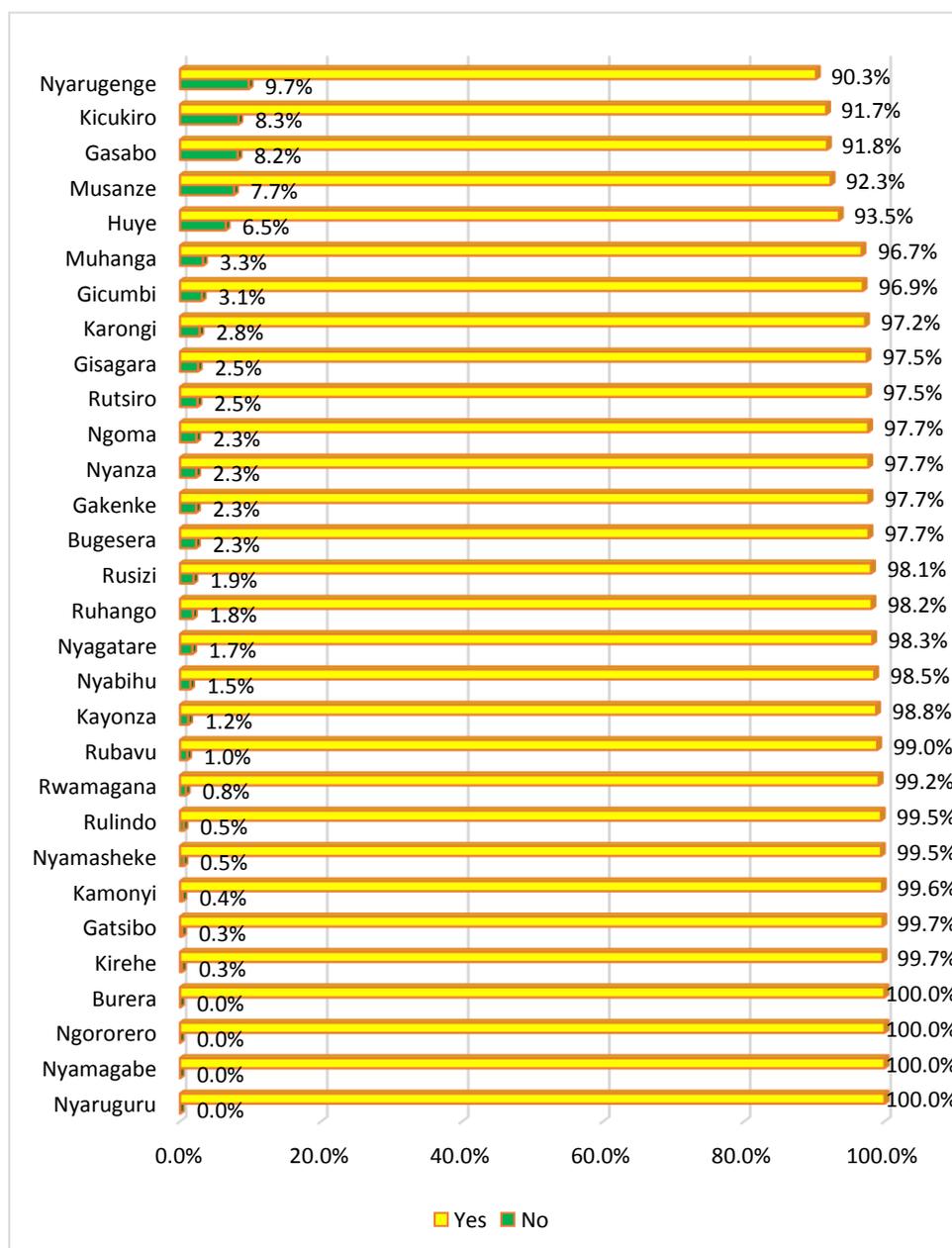
What participant K114 shares in the above quote is significant as it shows that apology brings back the humanness among genocide perpetrators in front of their victims. Many people in the world might not know and/or understand the power of 'forgive me' or 'I apologize', but genocide survivors and former genocide convicts do. Indeed, many participants from both sides in this research showed the importance of apology and forgiveness. On the one hand, genocide survivors expressed the need to hear somebody ask for forgiveness, because after forgiving they recover the feeling and pride of being recognized as human beings in the society. On the other hand, former genocide convicts expressed the feeling of being accepted again after getting pardoned by neighbors for whom they killed relatives during the genocide. Disaggregated per District, the variable on former genocide convicts apologized for their crimes scored as follows:

**Figure 78.** Citizens' opinion on whether or not former genocide convicts apologized for crimes they committed by District



In view of figure 78 above, it appears that Nyaruguru District has registered the top level of percentage (100%) on citizens's opinion on whether former genocide convicts apologized for crimes they committed while the District that registered the comparative least score on the same statement is Nyarugenge with 84.3%. Then, the following figure shows the extent to which victims granted forgiveness to those who apologized.

**Figure 79.** Citizens' opinion on whether or not Genocide survivors have granted forgiveness to perpetrators who apologized by District

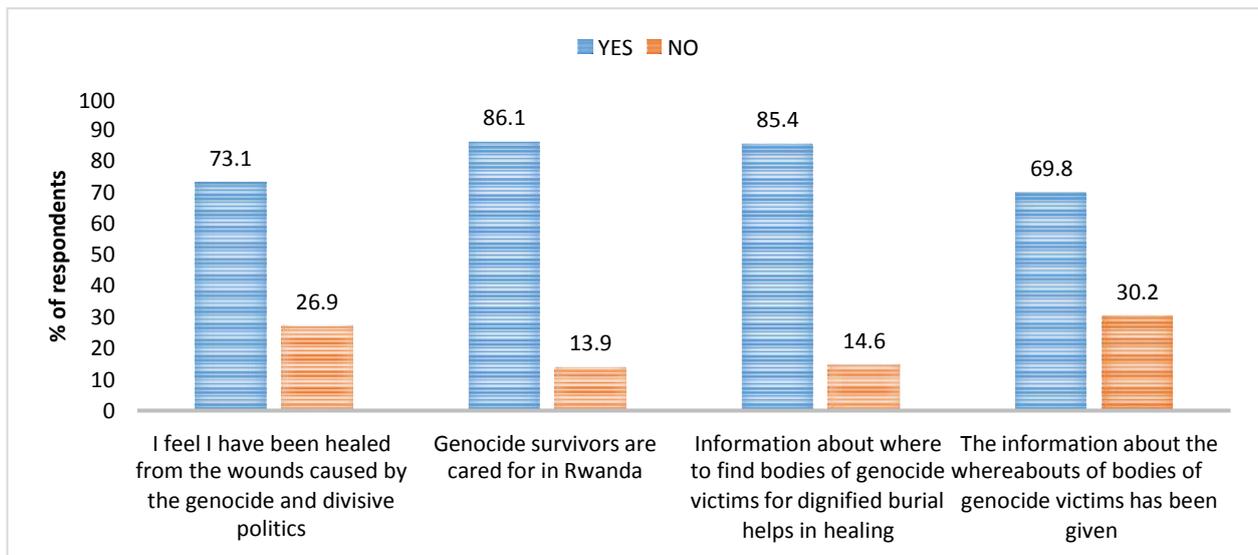


As figure 78 portrays, for the statement regarding citizens' opinion on whether Genocide survivors have granted forgiveness to former genocide convicts who apologized by District, four Districts namely Burera, Ngororero, Nyamagabe and Nyaruguru take lead with 100.0% while the District that registered the comparative least score is Nyarugenge with 90%. In fact, granting forgiveness on the side of survivors is a good indicator in the reconciliation process, it is an added advantage that leaders should take into account for more achievement of reconciliation in Rwanda.

#### 4.6.4. Individual healing

Nearly every Rwandan citizen has been affected and so traumatized, by the legacy of the divisive past and violence, and particularly the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi, whether from direct involvement in perpetrating such violence, from personal injury, or from the injury or death of loved ones. The extent to which there has been severe material loss, physical injuries, as well as emotional and psychological trauma in Rwanda exacerbate individual status in this matter. Healing from that situation by overcoming the trauma is one of the concerns to be explored in this study; views of respondents are highlighted in the figure below:

**Figure 80.** Individual healing



As shown in figure 80 above, 73.1% feel that they have been healed from the wounds caused by the genocide and divisive politics, 86.1% of respondents indicate that genocide survivors are cared for, 85.4% of respondents affirm that they have information where they can find bodies of the victims of genocide for dignified burial to them, 69.8% of respondents assert that they have information about where abouts bodies of genocide victims has been given. Based on respondents' views, individual healing is not at the bad trend but it is a continual process that need more attention on a daily basis due to its fragile aspect. Any small incident may quickly change the situation. Such a change can be observed in the fact that in 2015 this indicator scored 88.6%, while the score is 86.7% in 2020. Participants in this study have explained continuous difficulties with individual healing in various ways, including claiming that mental health issues have been given little attention in comparison to other sectors of national reconstruction. On this, participant K116 observed:

*There are many things that have indirectly been done to limit the impact of trauma, such as FARG, etc., but programs specifically aimed at individual healing are still very few and insufficient. When you compare with achievements the country has made in other sectors, you'll find that the speed we have put in other sectors is higher than the one put in issues of individual healing. The Ministry of Health that deals with issues of trauma and mental disorder should not only focus on health centers*

*alone, because medical prescriptions are not enough to deal with trauma (K116).*

What the above quote underlines is that individual healing programs need more attention that go beyond medical prescription. In the same context, another participant went on to show that, more to medical services, the healing of mental issues associated with the genocide is closely related to apology and forgiveness, which is an individual journey that involves but also goes beyond the legal mechanisms. Respondent K113 illustrated this argument saying:

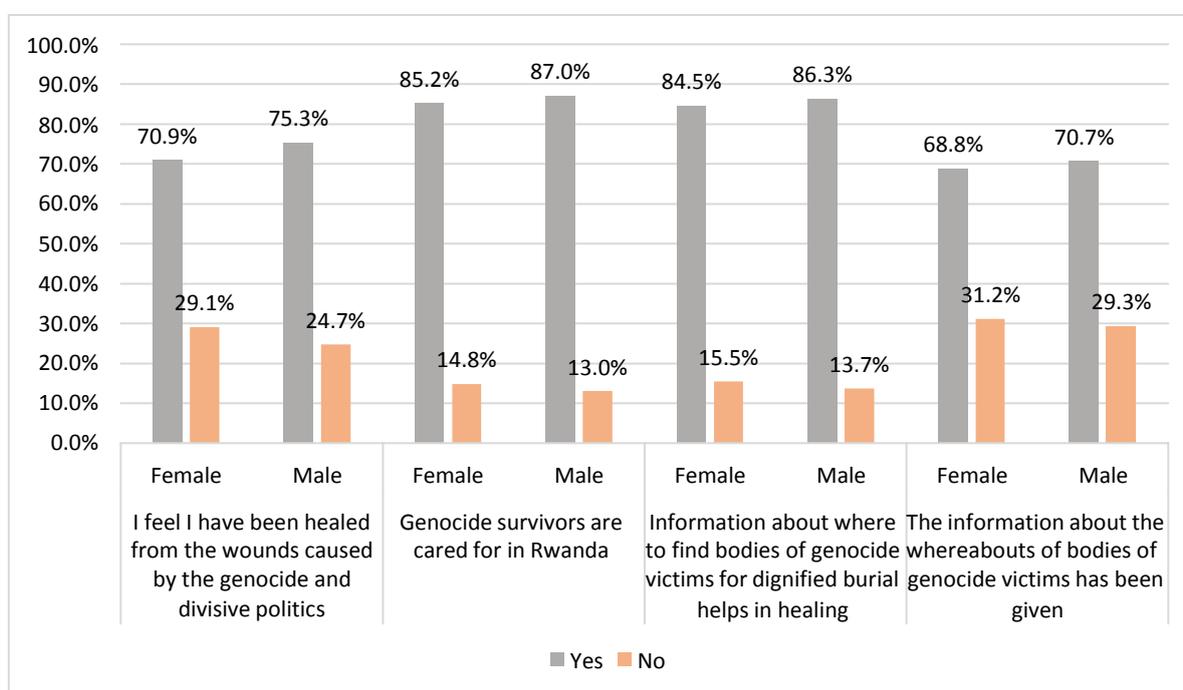
*The healing (of mental issues associated with the genocide) is made possible by those who hurt you. If people (former genocide convicts) think he/she will ask for forgiveness only through legal mechanisms (normal courts or Gacaca Courts), it implies that the one being asked to grant forgiveness will do so just for the sake of doing it (azatanga imbabazi za mbuzukongira). Given that asking and granting forgiveness will have happened because it is required/motivated by the law (seen here as not coming from a remorseful heart of the wrongdoer), the one being asked for forgiveness will grant forgiveness, but he/she will not heal. To fully get healed will depend on the way the wrongdoer goes to meet the victim (to ask for forgiveness) showing a sincere and remorseful heart. But if the wrongdoer goes saying – perceived as such by the victim: “grant me forgiveness, but even if you don’t, nothing is going to happen to me;” then, the victim can not heal (K113).*

What participant K113 explains in the above quote is that healing requires more than what the justice system can offer. Another participant shared this view as he said: “The justice dimension is not enough to heal the wounds caused by the genocide (K121).” According to participant K113, apology and forgiveness contributes to individual healing. Here, emphasis is put on the need to see the wrongdoer making a journey to go and meet the victim, then sincerely and remorsefully ask for forgiveness. As this participant says, in the absence of such a sincere and remorseful apology – the participant made reference to the apology that happens in Court rooms/sites – the victim will tend to grant forgiveness just for the sake of national reconciliation and healing, but will not be healed individually. In addition to insincere apology as discussed here, participants mentioned also the inter-generational trauma transmission, as illustrated below:

*“Honestly, people tell their children what they have experienced in life, and that is the main problem of wounds caused by historical injustices, divisive politics and the genocide against the Tutsi. Healing the wounds caused by the genocide is not an easy process. How can one heal from losing his/her relatives? These people (genocide victims: survivors, former genocide convicts, etc.) will live with the wounds forever, till they die. They will even transmit them to their offspring, which is known as inter-generational transmission. The child born from a parent who lives with wounds caused by the genocide will inherit these wounds from the parent even after the later is dead (K12).*

Participant KI2 works for one of the commissions put in place to deal with specific challenges of the Genocide against the Tutsi. He explained inter-generational trauma transmission in relation to history and how it is shared. As already identified while discussion findings about understanding the past, the present and envisioning the future, there are some Rwandans who continue to disseminate the genocide ideology, particularly through sharing the distorted history of divisive politics. The main place where this happens is the family, which synchronizes with what the above quote refers to as parents transmitting their good and bad life experiences, including the wounds suffered due to the genocide and divisive politics. It is therefore possible to understand the growing percentages of people claiming not to have healed from the wounds caused by the genocide and divisive politics in the context of sensitivity to insincere apology, and intergenerational transmission of traumatic experiences.

**Figure 81.** Disaggregate by gender on 'Individual healing'



As displayed in Figure 81, both males and females present their views on individual healing with a slightly different level of percentage. As findings indicate per score, the statement that takes lead respectively for both females and males includes " genocide survivors are cared for in Rwanda" with 85.2% of females and 87% of males, the next statement talks about information where to find bodies of genocide victims for dignified burial helps healing, this scored 84.5% of females and 86.3% of males, the next statement is " I feel I have been healed from wounds caused by the genocide and divisive politics" supported by 70.9% of females and 75.3% of males. The information about the where abouts of bodies of genocide victims has been given, is the last statement which scored less percentage whereby females supported this statement with 68.8% while males arrived at 70.7%.

**Figure 82.** Disaggregate by age category on 'Individual healing'

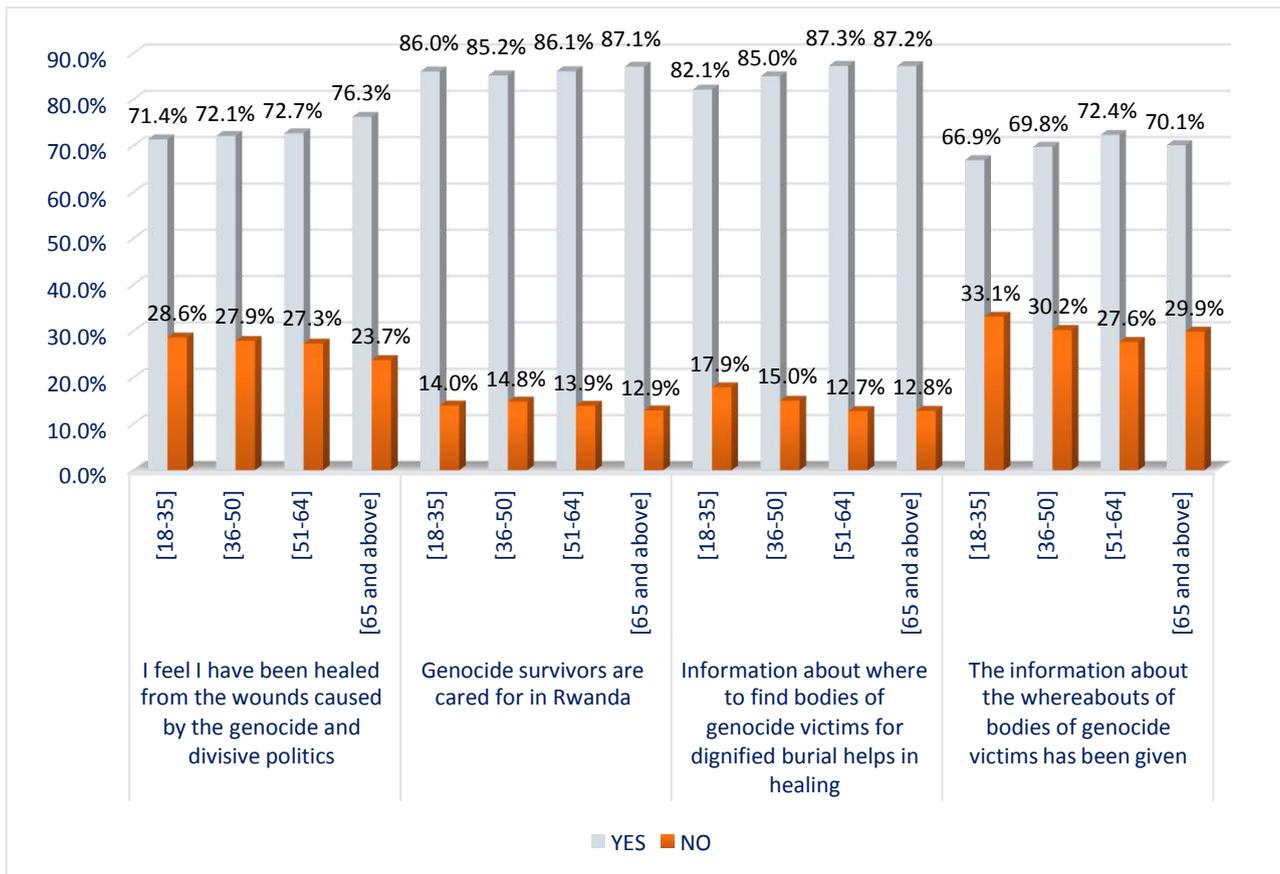


Figure 82 above portrays that respondents from different age categories are with the same opinion by supporting individual healing with different levels of percentage. However, for the statement: "I feel I have been healed from the wounds caused by the genocide and divisive politics" views from youth between 18-35 years old scored less percentage (71.4%) compared to views from elder people of 65 years and above rated at 76.3%. Concerning the fact that the genocide survivors are cared for in Rwanda, people's views from different age categories supported this statement with 86.0 % for young people (18-35) against 87.17% for elder people of 65 years old and above. For information about where to find bodies of genocide victims for dignified burial that helps in healing 82.1% of respondents were observed on the side of young people between 18-35 years old against 87.2% of elder people of 65 years old and above. However, a high percentage of 87.3% has been registered for people between 50-64 years old. It was found that the information about the whereabouts of bodies of genocide has been given, this statement scored less percentage compared to the previous ones. The comparison of views in relation with this statement shows 66.9% of young people between 18-35 years old rated as less while the highest one is 72.4% of people between 51-64 years old, on their side elder people of 65 years old and above rated this statement to 70.1%.

**Figure 83.** Disaggragate by District on “I feel I have been healed from the wounds cause by the genocide and divisive politics

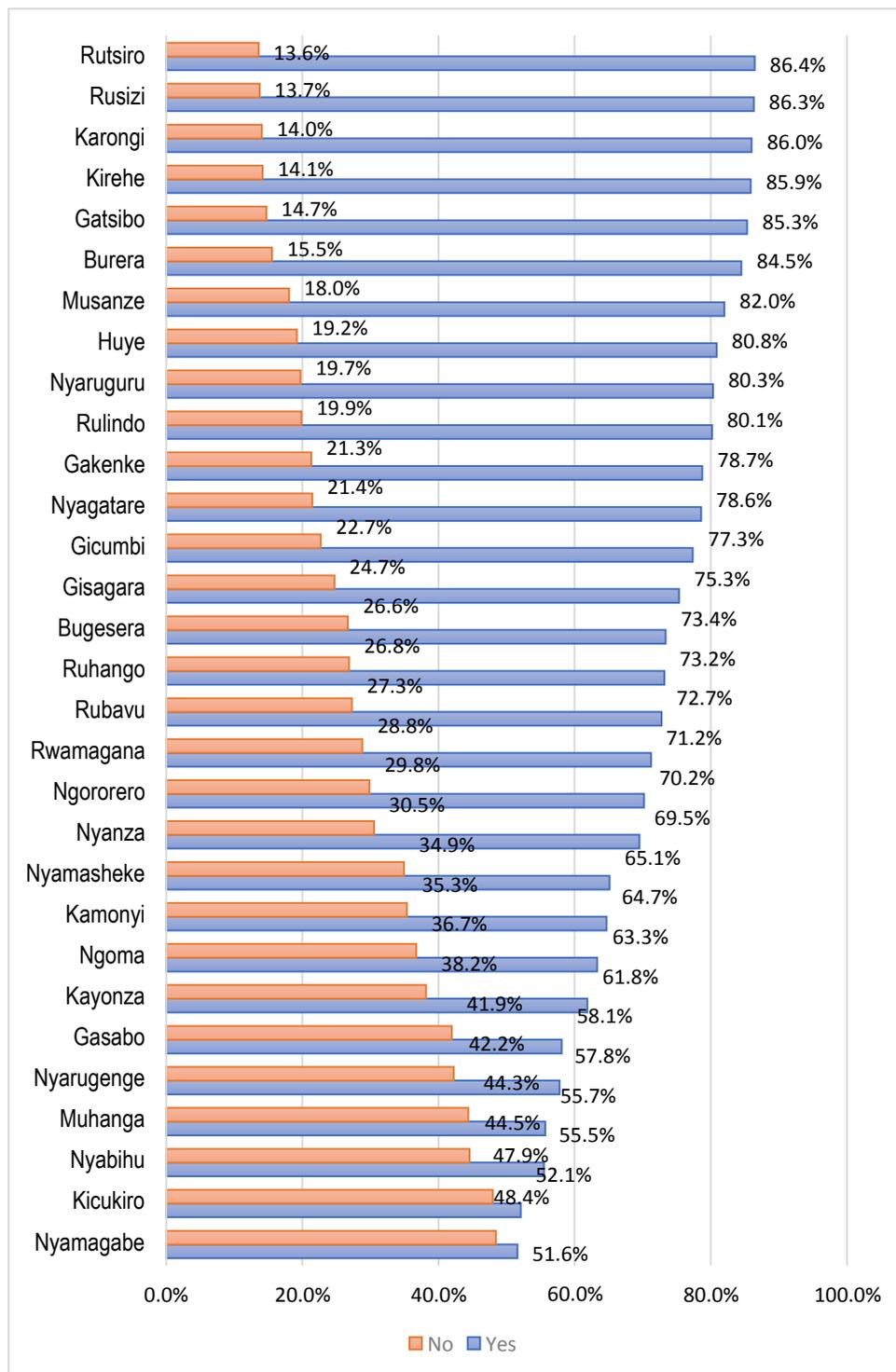


Figure 83 is helpful as it provides the status of individual healing at the District level. As it can be observed, data from Districts of Nyamagabe, Kicukiro, Muhanga, Nyabihu, Nyarugenge and Gasabo display percentages beyond 40 of people who feel they have not healed from the wounds caused by the Genocide against the Tutsi. Data from other Districts are also significant, which generally shows that more efforts are still need in order to address issues of wounds associated with traumatic events that befell the country.

### 4.6.5. Fairness and respect of basic human rights

Fairness and respect of basic human rights is another sub- variable that measured the current status of reconciliation in Rwanda. The theoretical argument, in this regard is that successful promotion of reconciliation after violence necessitates that respect of basic rights and fairness at all aspects of the life of Rwandans may be applied. The general hypothesis is that if citizens feel free and respectful, they would be more willing to commit themselves to national reconciliation processes. The assessment of the current status of reconciliation indeed provides empirical findings as the following figure portrays:

**Figure 84.** Fairness and respect of basic human rights

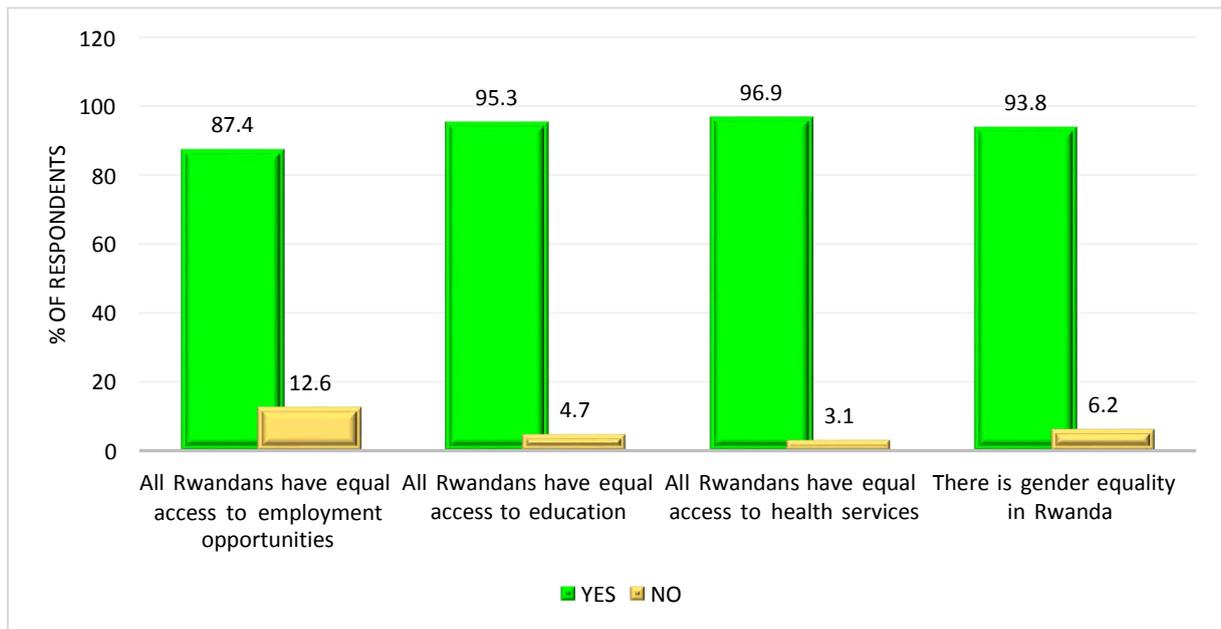


Figure 84 indicates that 87.4% of respondents assert that all Rwandans have equal access to employment opportunities. This is obvious through announcement process of different organizations using public media such as job in Rwanda accessible to all Rwandans. Likewise, 95.3% of respondents affirm that all Rwandans have equal access to education. This statement is justified by the education policy based on performance instead of regional or ethnic base. As far as access to health is concerned all Rwandans are enjoying this service equally as suggested by 96.9% of respondents due to access to health facilities to all Rwandans in an equal manner, while 93.8% of respondents assert that there is gender equality in Rwanda. Based on different views from respondents, there is a positive trend in this regard which is among other variables very crucial in the reconciliation process in Rwanda.

There is a general consensus that all Rwandans have equal access to opportunities. In the top political governance, however, there appears to have some form of balancing based on different considerations such as gender, and other subtle factors. Participant K122 explained this as follows:

*I think the manner in which jobs are accessed is fair. The youth don't care much about this idea that you are this and that. They are ahead. Many know that you have to work hard to access opportunities. Even if there*

could be some influence from parents, it is declining because there are laws and policies that are inclusive and ensure equitable access to opportunities (KI22).

In the same context, an official from another national commission added:

*In the past being Hutu was a license either for privilege in politics, or employment or access to education and other services. As a result, people emphasized their ethnicity as appropriate, excluding others of others. Today, because of equal opportunities to all, there is no benefit associated with being Hutu or Tutsi. This reduces reliance on these considerations and promotes unity among people because they know they are all equal' (KI6).*

In general, it is argued that all Rwandans have equal access to opportunities. The only challenge is that some Rwandans may have access to information about available opportunities than others. This unequal access to information may be structural such as lack of access to internet services.

**Figure 85.** Disaggregate by gender on 'Fairness and respect of basic human rights'

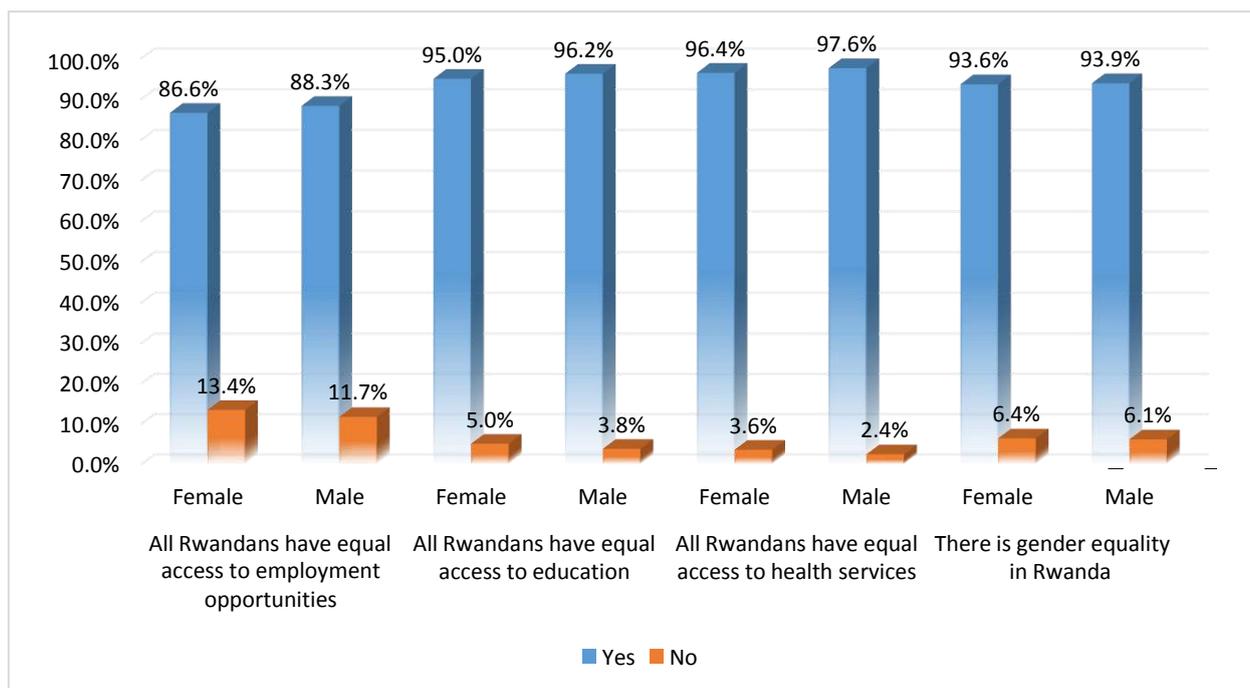


Figure 85 indicates that both males and females present their views on fairness and respect of basic rights with few differences in terms of percentage. As the findings indicate per score, the statements that take lead respectively for both females and males include “All Rwandans have equal opportunities to health access” with 96.4% and 97.6 %, the next statement talks about “Rwandans have equal access to education” with 95% of females against 96.2% of males, the next statement is “gender equality in Rwanda” supported by 93.6 % of females and 93.9% of males. All Rwandans have equal access to employment is the last statement which scored less percentage whereby females supported this statement with 86.6% while males arrived at 88.3%.

**Figure 86.** Disaggregate by age category on 'Fairness and respect of basic human rights'

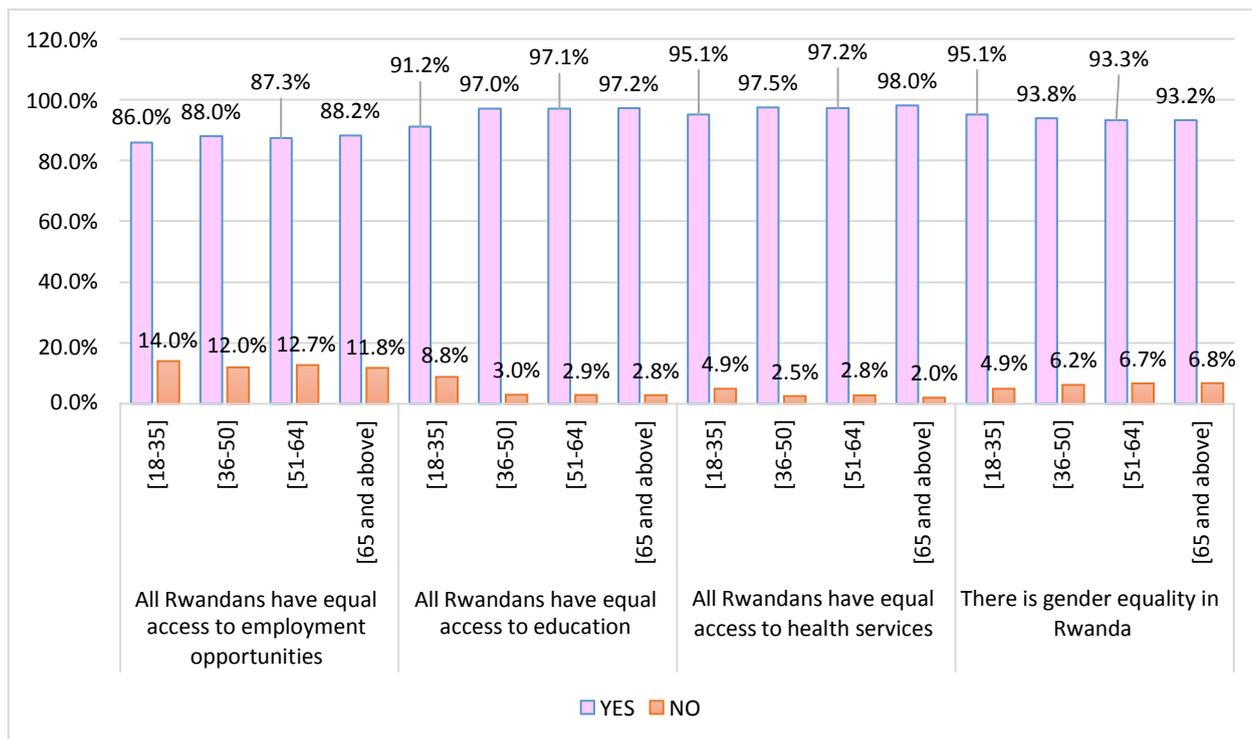
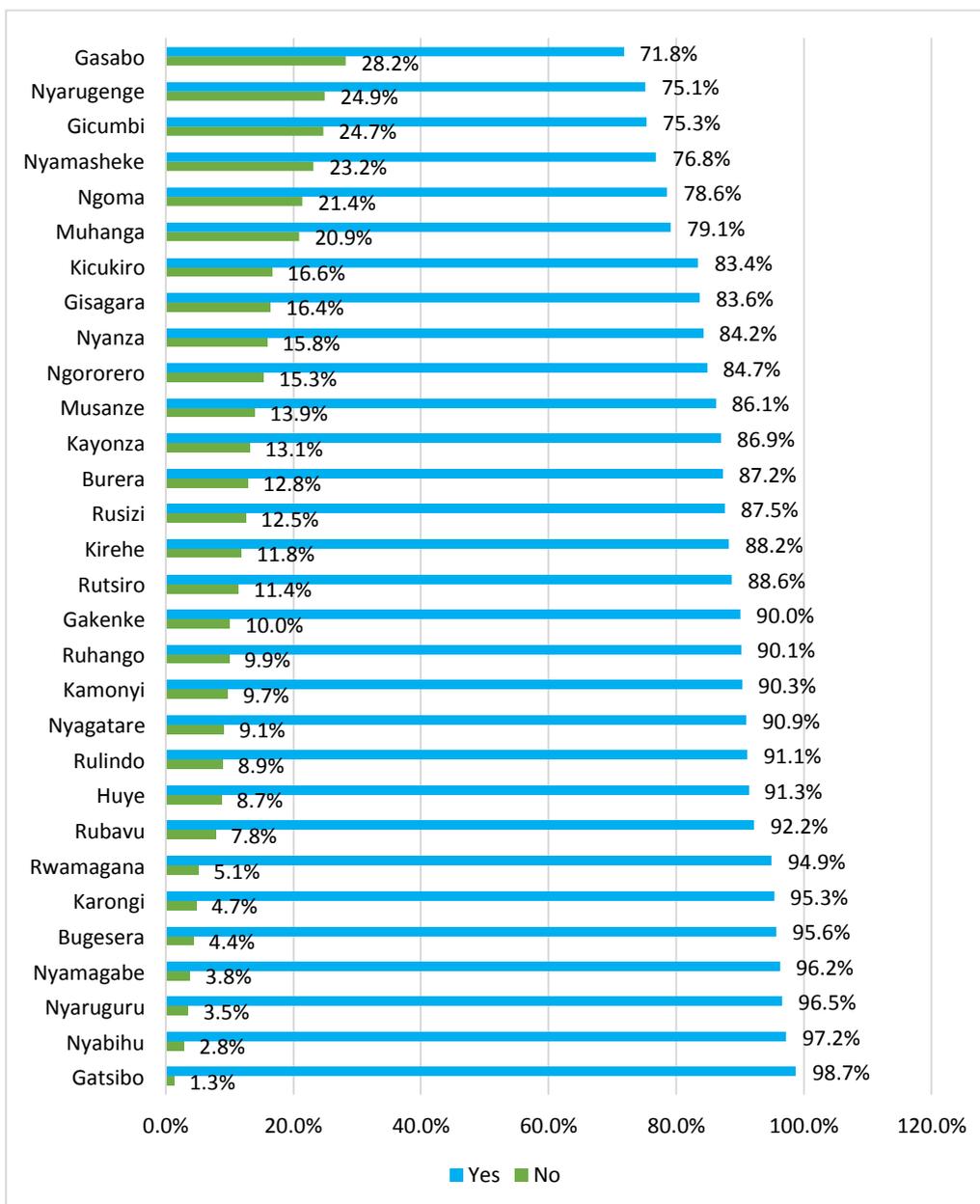


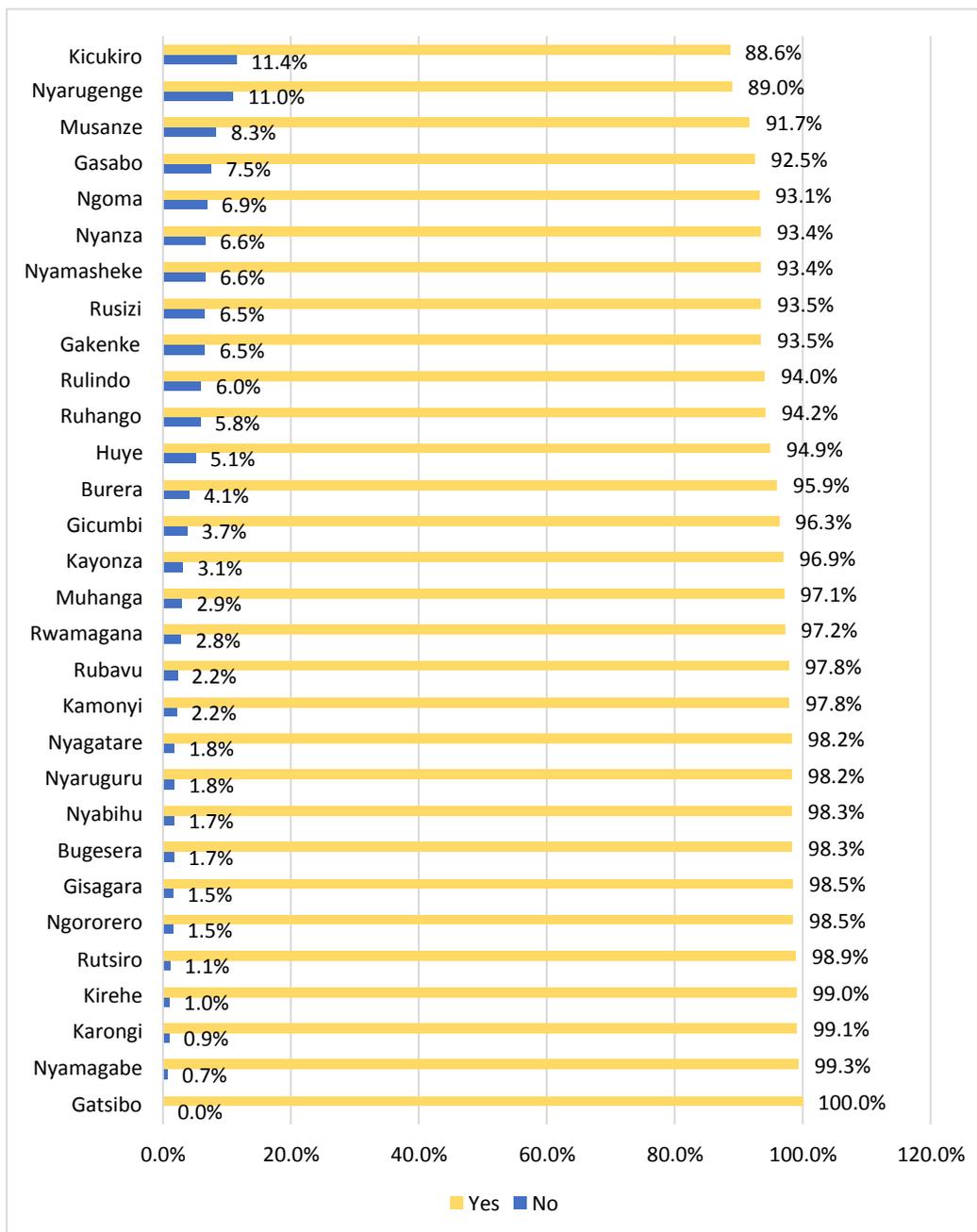
Figure 86 above indicates that respondents from different age categories are with the same opinion by supporting Fairness and respect of basic rights with different levels in terms of percentage. However, for the statement of all Rwandans have equal access to health services, it presented a high percentage, views from youth between 18-35 years old scored 95.1% compared to views from elder people of 65 years and above rated at 98%. Concerning the fact that all Rwandans have equal access to education, people's views from different age categories supported this statement with 91.2% for young people (18-35) against 97.2% for people of 65 years old and above. For the concern of gender equality in Rwanda, it was observed that young people between 18-35 years old scored a high percentage of 95.1% against 93.2% of elder people of 65 years old and above. It was found that the statement on all Rwandans have equal access to employment opportunities scored less percentage compared to others. The comparison of views in relation with this statement shows that 86% of young people between 18-35 years old do agree with the statement against 88.2% of elder people of 65 years old and above.

**Figure 87.** Disaggregate by District on 'All Rwandans have equal access to employment opportunities'



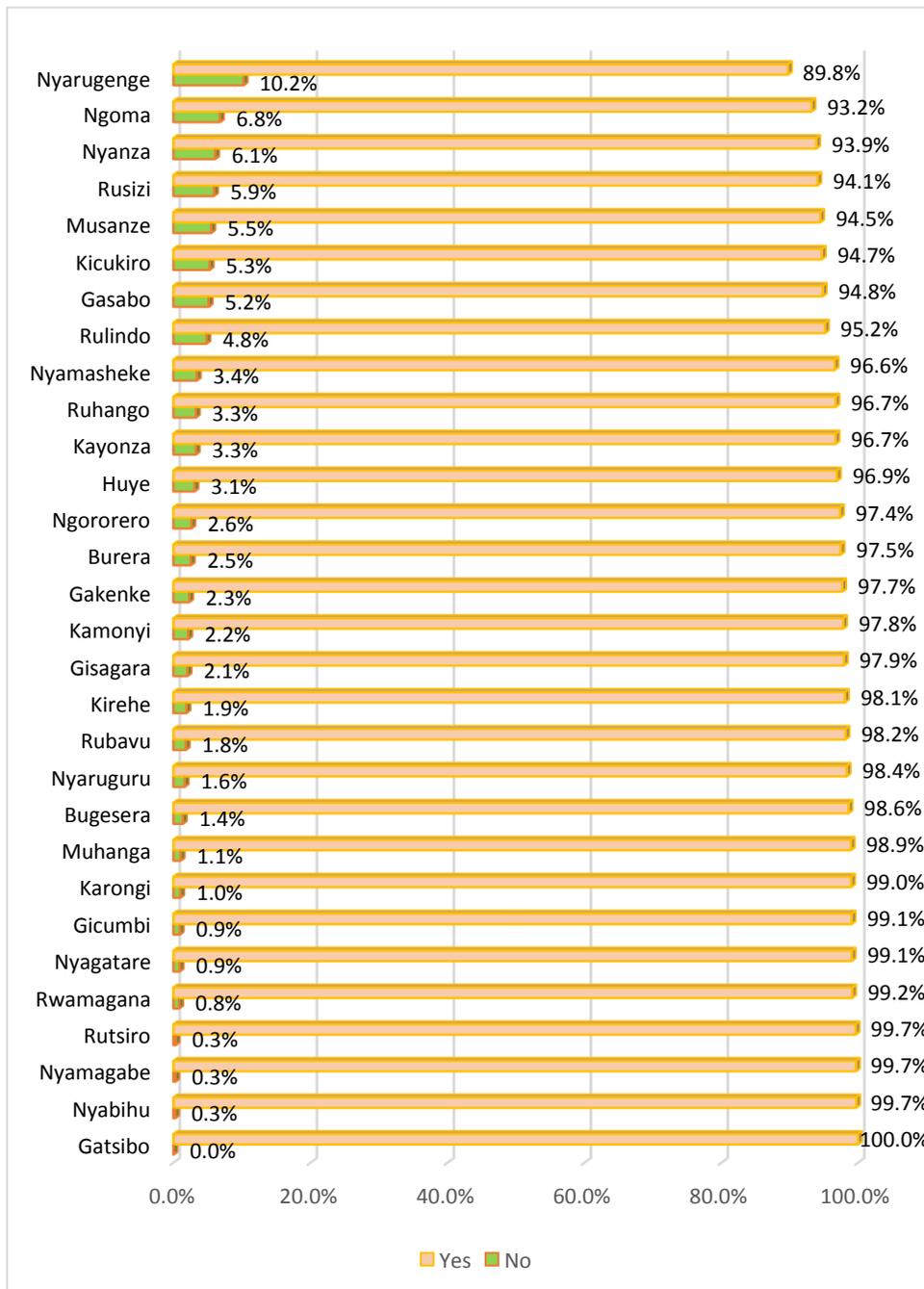
In view of figure 87, it appears that Gatsibo District has registered a highest level of percentage of 98.7% on the statement related to equal employment opportunities of all Rwandans while the District that registered the comparative least score on the same statement is Gasabo District with 71.8%.

**Figure 88.** Disaggregate by District on 'All Rwandans have equal access to education'



Considering Figure 88 above, as far as the access to education of all Rwandans is concerned, it was found that Gatsibo District has registered a highest level of percentage of 100 % on the statement while the District that registered the comparative least score on the same statement is Kicukiro District with 88.6%.

**Figure 89.** Disaggregate by District on 'All Rwandans have equal access to health services'



In view of Figure 89, it appears that Gatsibo District has registered the top level of percentage of 100% on the statement related to all Rwandans have equal access to health services while the District that registered the comparative least score on the same statement is Nyarugenge District with 89.8%.

**Figure 90.** Disaggregate by District on 'There is gender equality in Rwanda'

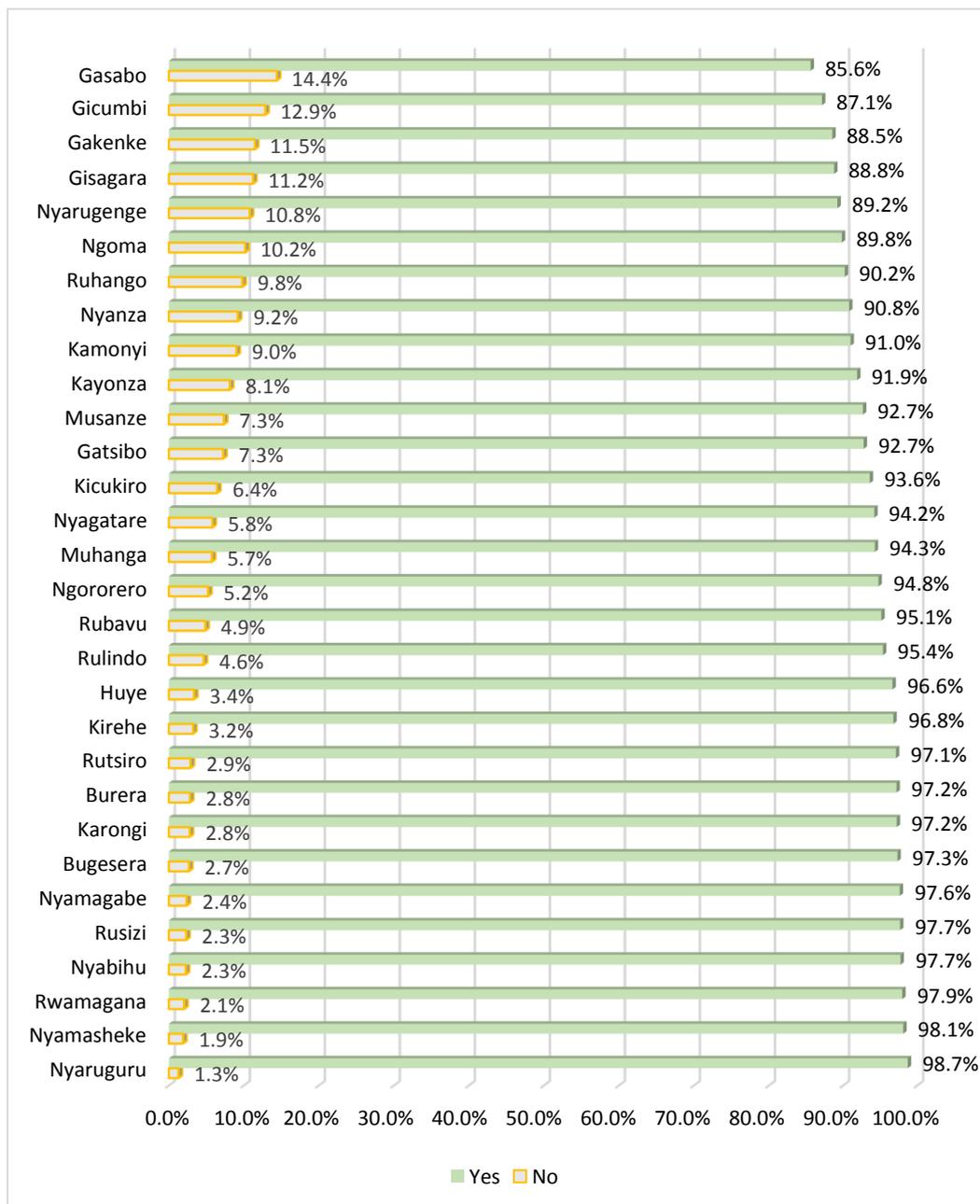


Figure 90 shows that Gatsibo District has registered a highest level of percentage of 98.7% on the statement related to whether there is gender equality in Rwanda while the District that registered the comparative least score on the same statement is Gasabo District with 85.6%.

#### 4.6.6. Summary of findings on justice, fairness and rights

This section looked at fairness, justice and human rights as major casualties of the aftermath of the Genocide. It is hypothesised that the more there is justice, fairness and respect for human rights, the more reconciliation among Rwandans increases. To summarize the section, the following table presents the 2020 results in comparison with the 2010 and 2015 results on the same variable.

**Table 14:** Average scores on Justice, fairness and rights

Pillar	Indicators	Findings (%) in 2010	Findings (%) in 2015	Findings (%) in 2020
Justice, fairness and rights	<b>Truth about the past and punishing genocide and related crimes</b>			
	1. Truth about divisive politics that characterized Rwanda and the genocide has been revealed		93.0	97.7
	2. Genocide perpetrators have been punished	89.3	95.8	98.2
	3. In Rwanda there are effective laws and measures to punish genocide and other crimes related to it		95.4	99.0
	<b>Compensation of properties looted or destroyed during the genocide</b>			
	4. Properties looted or destroyed during the genocide have been compensated	70.8	88.2	89.9
	5. Execution of 'Gacaca' judgements regarding destroyed and looted properties is done properly			92.9
	<b>Apology and forgiveness</b>			
	6. Genocide perpetrators apologized for crimes they committed	80.4	93.9	94.9
	7. Genocide survivors have granted forgiveness to perpetrators who apologized	89.9	93.5	96.7
	<b>Individual healing</b>			
	8. I feel I have been healed from the wounds caused by the genocide and divisive politics	78.5	88.6	73.1
	9. Genocide survivors are cared for in Rwanda	69.0	88.6	86.1
	10. Information about where to find bodies of genocide victims for dignified burial helps in healing			85.4
	11. The information about the whereabouts of bodies of genocide victims has been given			69.8
<b>Fairness and respect of basic human rights</b>				
12. All Rwandans have equal access to employment opportunities	61.7	74.4	87.4	
13. All Rwandans have equal access to education		91.2	95.3	
14. All Rwandans have equal access to health services		93.0	96.9	
15. There is gender equality in Rwanda		89.6	93.8	
<b>AVERAGE</b>				<b>93.1</b>

A detailed assessment of data shows a positive trend and significant progress in terms of eradicating impunity by putting measures to punish perpetrators and revealing truth about divisive politics of the past, this stands at 99% of respondents in 2020 while it was at 95.4% in 2015. Another important aspect analysed is compensation of properties looted or destroyed during the genocide, where respondents demonstrated that victims have been compensated at the rate of 89.9% in 2020 from 88.2% in 2015 and 70.8% in 2010. Respondents also believe that Gacaca judgements regarding destroyed and looted properties during the genocide have been executed at the rate of 92.9%.

Concerning forgiveness, there is a substantial improvement in terms of relationship between survivors and former genocide convicts in different corners of the country. Indeed, 2020 results reveal that 96.7% of Rwandans believe that genocide survivors have forgiven former genocide convicts. This is a clear increase from previous assessments as the same indicator scored 93.9% in 2015 and 89.9% in 2010. Likewise, 94.9% of the respondents asserted that former genocide convicts apologized for their genocidal acts. This dual aspects of communication from both sides is a good sign in the reconciliation process.

However, for individual healing, nearly every Rwandan citizen has been affected and traumatized by the legacy of the divisive past and violence. In this respect, the journey to healing is generally associated with personal experience, and Rwandans appear to associate individual healing with sincere apology and forgiveness. Here, Rwandans give 73.1% to whether they feel healed from the wounds caused by the genocide and divisive politics, which is a decrease from the 2015 results of 88.6% and 78.5% of 2010. The same decrease is observed on the indicator of whether genocide survivors are care for in the country, because, while it stood 88.6% in 2015, it stands at 86.1% in 2020, which is an observable increase comparing to 69.0% in 2010. This declining trend seems to reflect an average appreciation of the way information regarding the whereabouts of bodies of genocide victims is given. Indeed, 2020 results show that 69.8% of Rwandans are the ones who appreciate the way such information has been shared so far, despite the fact that 85.4% consider this information valuable for a dignified burial of those victims, which in turn is helpful for individual healing.

As far as fairness and respect of human basic rights is concerned, it is hypothesised that the more citizens feel their rights are respected and are treated fairly, the more they would be willing to commit themselves to national reconciliation processes. This justifies the place of fairness and respect of human basic rights in the reconciliation process, which according to the 2020 assessment shows a remarkable improvement on equal access to different services: education 95.3% from 91.2% in 2015, health services 96.9% from 93.0% in 2015, and 87.4% on equal access to employment opportunities compared to 74.4% in 2015 and 61.7% in 2010.

Based on different views of respondents, there is a positive trend to enhance reconciliation as fairness and respect of basic human rights is concerned.

However, a slight improvement needs to be applied on the employment opportunity as it scored less percentage compared to other indicators in the same area.

## 4.7. Social cohesion

Currently in Rwanda, there is a positive shift in inter-ethnic relations and interactions, a considerable degree of willingness to engage with people from different ethnic groups. Social cohesion is considered as a glue that binds a society together, thus it is the leading evidence of a successful reconciliation process. In this regard, trust, tolerance and positive interactions and friendship among members of the society become evident. The views of Rwandans on the extent to which these attributes of social cohesion have been infused in the day-to-day lives of Rwandans are indicated in the section that follows:

### 4.7.1. Trust among Rwandans

It is widely recognized that without a minimum level of inter-personal trust, a society would not function. The assumption is that if trust increases between Rwandan citizens, reconciliation among Rwandans is more likely to occur. The assessment of the current status of trust among Rwandans in this regard is presented in the figure that follows.

**Figure 91.** Trust among Rwandans

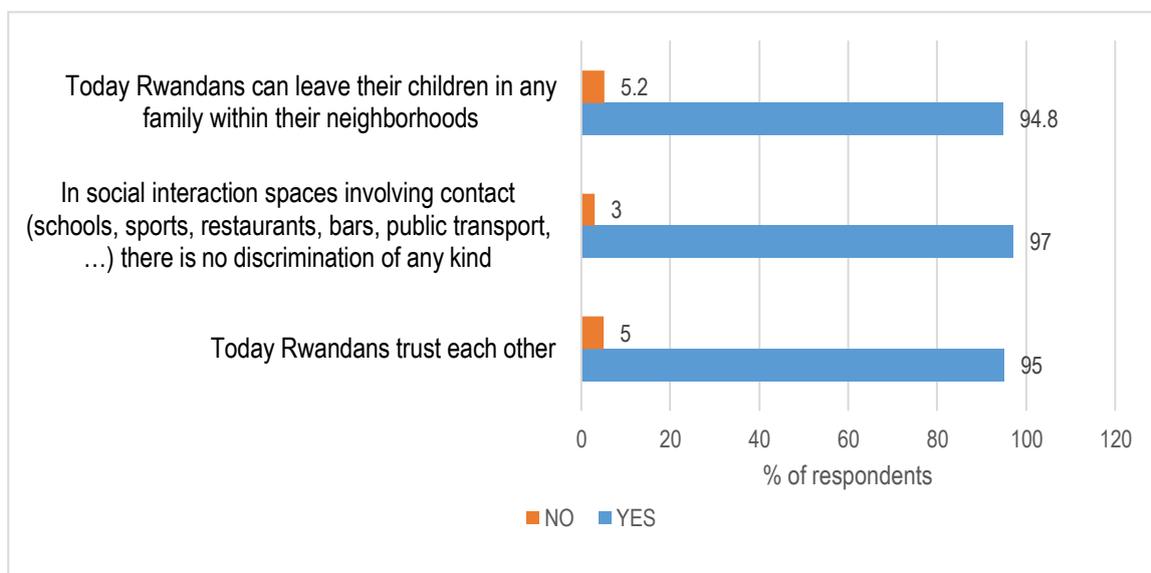


Figure 91 above shows that 94.8% of Rwandans indicate that they can free and without fear leave their children with another family in the neighbourhood. This level of trust was not there in the past. Rwandans lived in mistrust and often their fears would be justified. In the past, there were accusations of witchcraft and poisoning on children from the neighbourhoods. Children from one family would not easily go to another family to play.

Further, 97% of respondents believe that in social interaction spaces involving contact (schools, sports, restaurants, bars, public transport,) there is no discrimination of any kind. Likewise, findings point out to substantial levels of trust whereby 95% of respondents indicate that today Rwandans trust each other. From the point of view of the above statements, it is clear that relations between groups and people living in close temporal and spatial continuity have improved considerably despite occasional cases of violence that are of a general criminal nature. On whether the way Rwandans relate today strengthens reconciliation, participant KI19 observed:

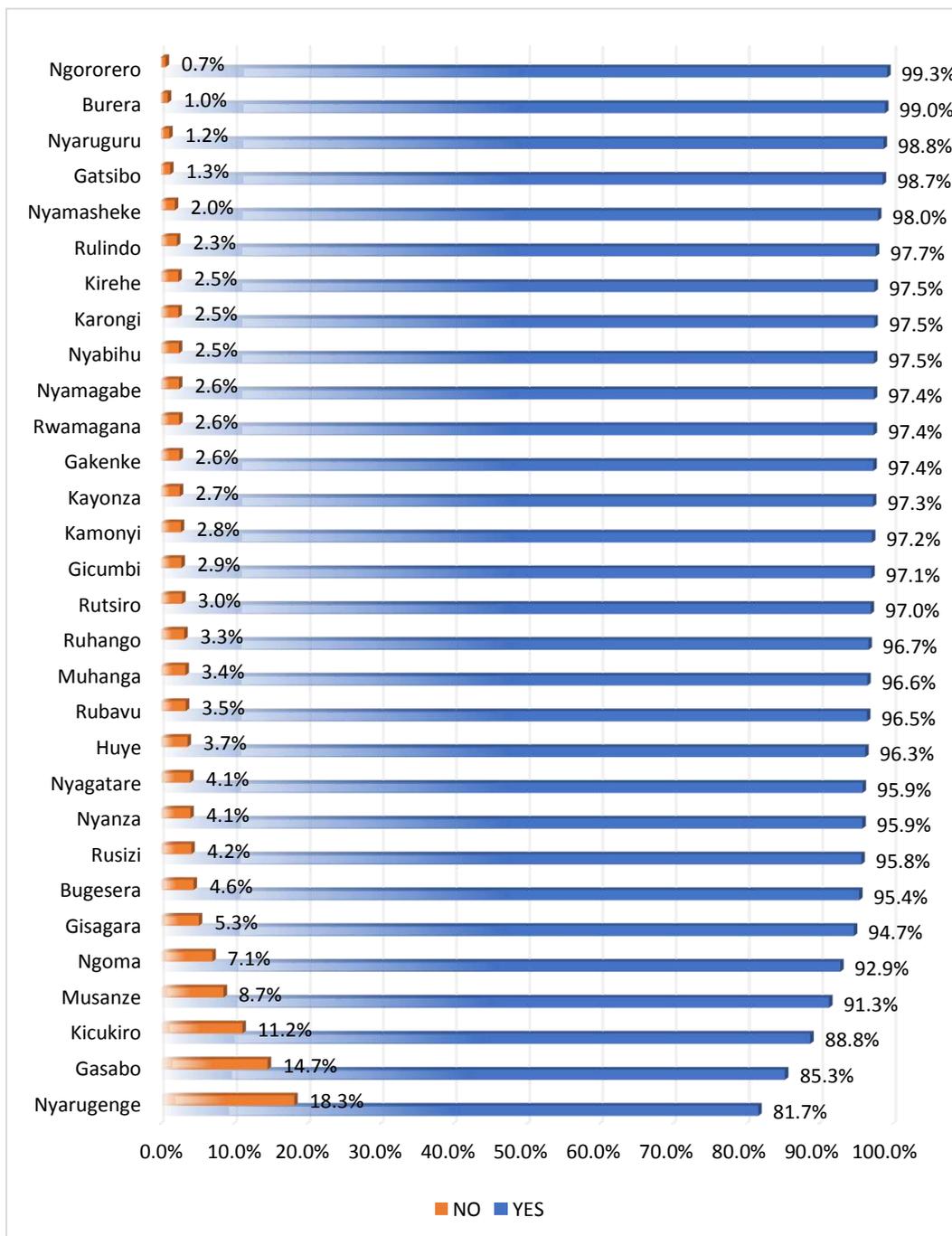
*'Reconciliation is not a process that is achieved overnight. At a basic level, one can say that Rwandans are co-existing peacefully but there is still gaps in developing strong interpersonal relationships because these require a deeper level of trust. The good thing is that since the basic level of co-existence exists as a foundation, the rest will follow gradually' (K119).*

What respondent K119 observes reiterates the distinction between national reconciliation and individual reconciliation. As the participant demonstrates, reconciliation is a process that takes time. Interpersonal relationships might take long as they require deeper level of trust, but when there is foundation for reconciliation at the national level, the rest follows gradually. Therefore, it is obvious, that the interaction between Rwandans and how they relate to one other is on the right track. Today people invite each other for social events such as weddings irrespective of their background. Even inter-marriages are slowly being accepted, although this is an area where barriers still exist on account of the eccentricities, mainly from parents who still remember the consequences of divisive politics vividly. The youth are pushing these barriers away and parents often find that they have to acquiesce even when they would have felt otherwise. However, there are also parents that have gone beyond such attachment to small ideantities, as demonstrated in the following testimony by respondent K11:

*Today people can easily marry or get their children to their neighbors with different ethnic group. I actually have a child who got married in the other 'ethnic group.' I cannot linger into such discriminatory things because, first and foremost, I believe that in Rwanda these are socially constructed things, that ethnicity in our country is not synonymous with a certain culture or behaviour. You can marry in the ethnic group you claim to associate with and fail in your marriage life, and another person marries in the other ethnic group and lead a successful marriage. Love has no barriers. You cannot force your child to marry somebody He/she does not love just for the sake of ethnicity (K11).*

For more details regarding the status of trust among Rwandans, the following figure desaggregates scores per District.

**Figure 92.** Disaggregate by District on 'Trust among Rwandans'



In terms of locational factors, it can be seen that Ngororero District shows the highest level of trust with 99.3% of respondents in that District standing on that claim. while the District with the lowest score is Nyarugenge District with 81.7%. It is curious to explore further why there are spatial and locational differences and whether these differences are indeed statistically significant.

**Figure 93.** Disaggregate by gender on 'Trust among Rwandans'

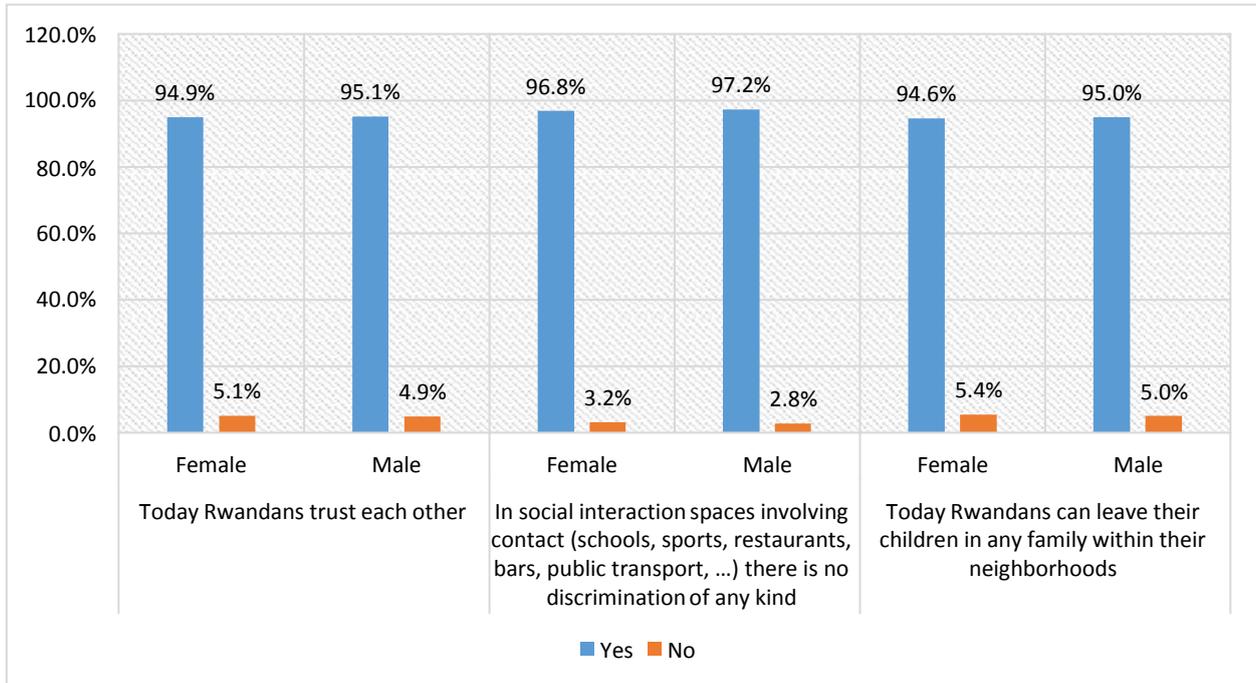


Figure 93 above shows the views of both male and female Rwandans on trust among Rwandans indicating a small percentage difference between men and women. As the findings indicate 96.8% of female and 95.1 % of male respondents indicated that there is no discrimination of any kind “In social interaction spaces involving contact (schools, sports, restaurants, bars, public transport,...) while 94.9% of female and 95.1% of male respondents believe that”, today Rwandans trust each other”. In addition, 94.6 % of female and 95.0% of male. Respondents believe that today Rwandans can leave their children in any family within their neighborhoods.

Considering that after the genocide against the Tutsi of 1994, people could hardly talk and neighbours had total absence of trust for each other, this testimony of Rwandans declaring that trust has been restored in inspiring and encouraging.

**Figure 94.** Disaggregate by age category on 'Trust among Rwandans'

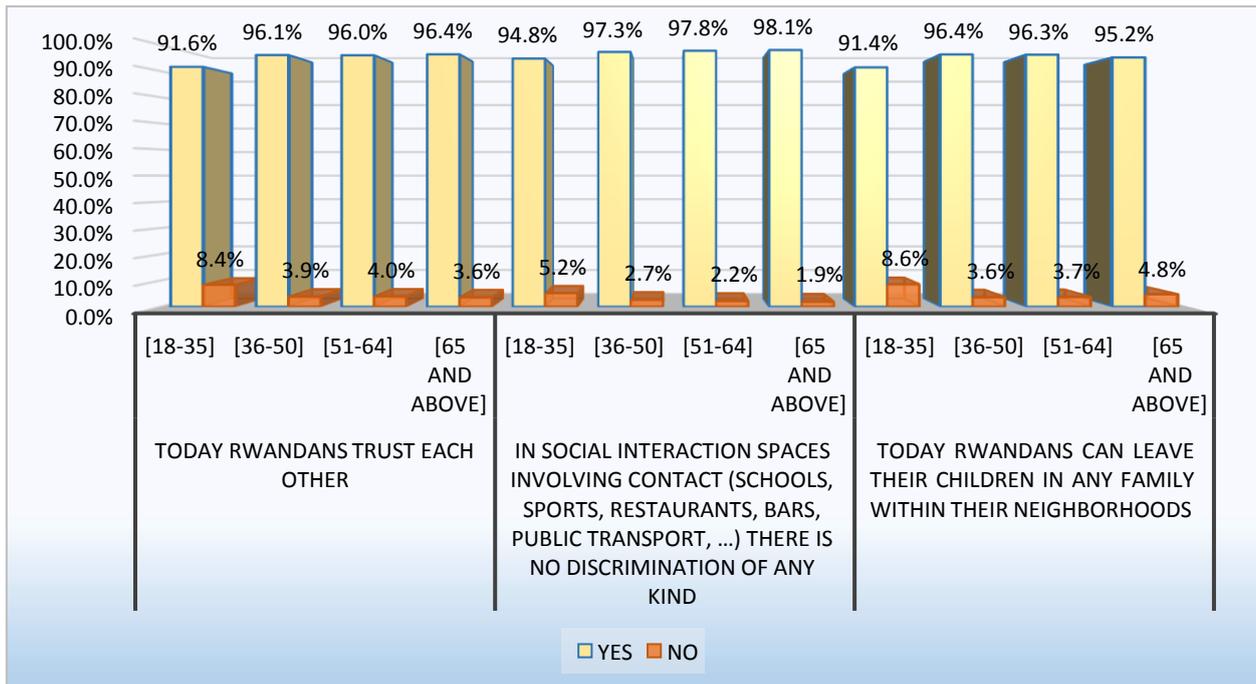


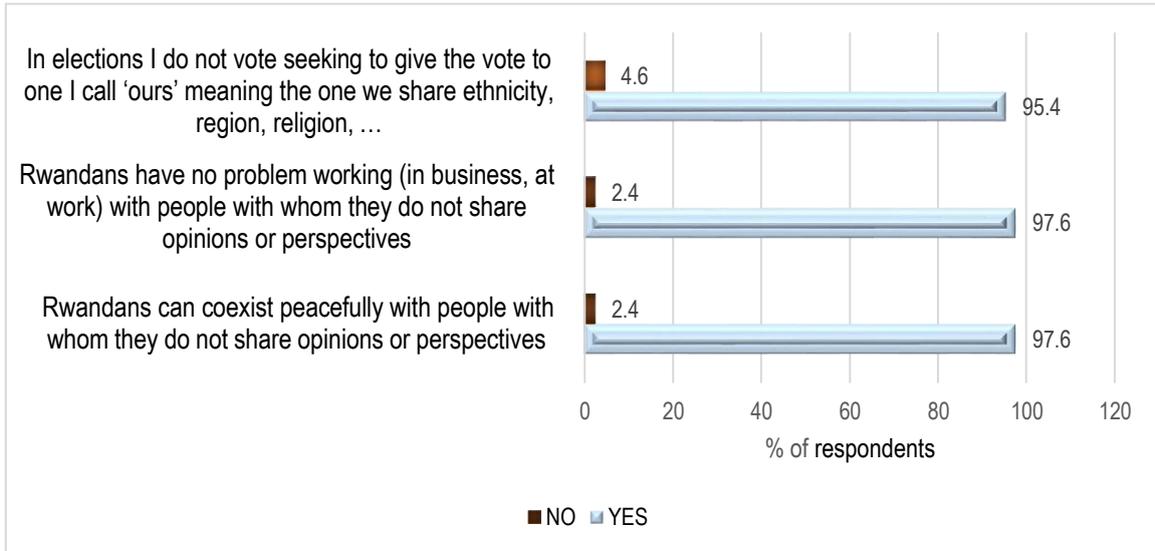
Figure 94 above shows that respondents from different age groups share almost the same opinions on the level of trust among Rwandans. In terms of social interaction in open spaces such as schools, sports, restaurants, bars, public and public transport 94.8% of respondents between 18-35 years old and 98.1% of respondents 65 years and above indicated that there is no discrimination of any kind.

Moreover 96.6% of respondents 18-35 years old and 96.4% of respondents aged 65 years and above shared the view that today Rwandans trust each other while 91.4% of respondents aged (18-35) and 95.2% of 65 years old and above confirmed that they can freely and without fear leave their children with other families or neighbours.

#### 4.7.2. Tolerance and interactions

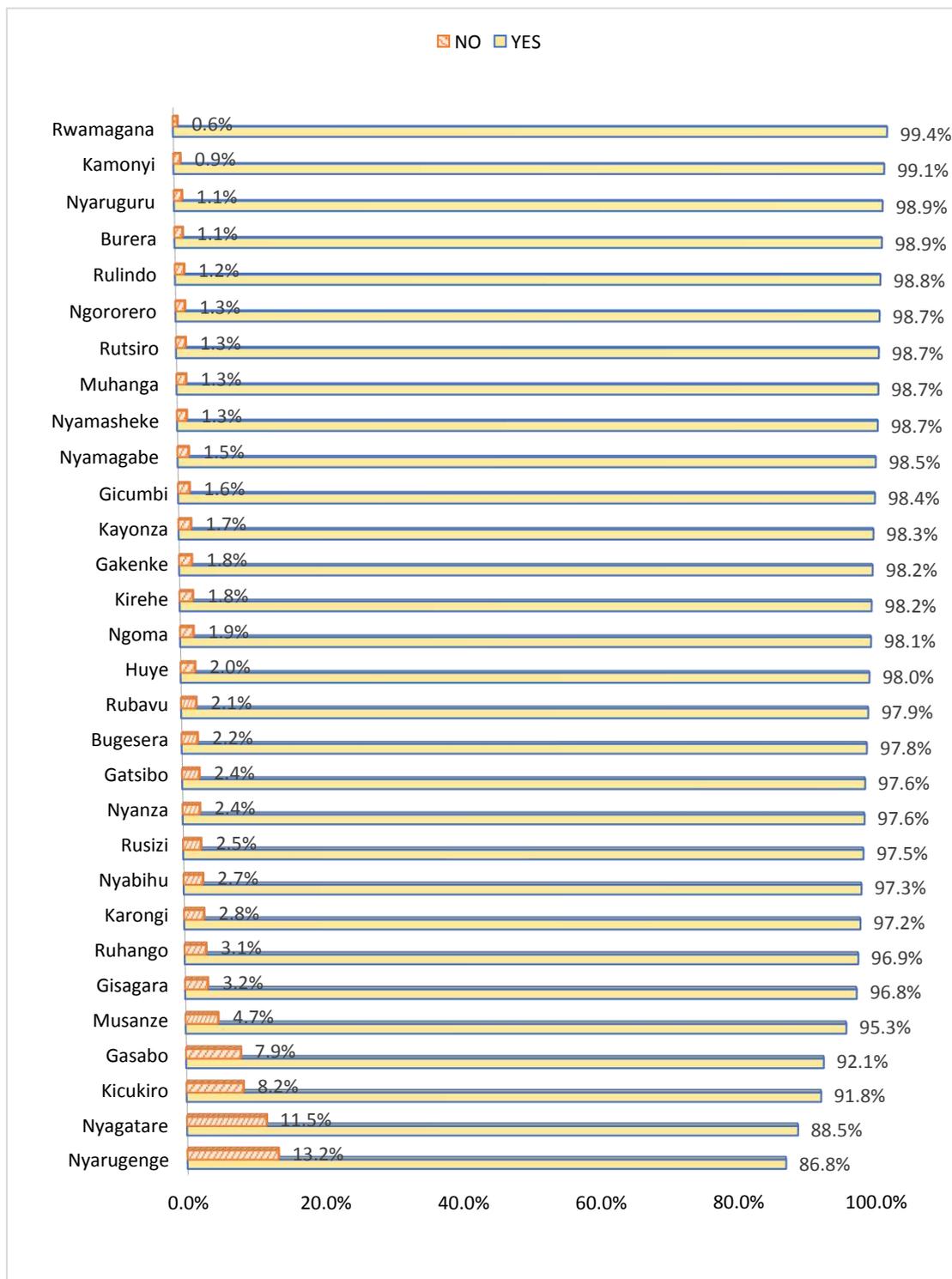
Tolerance and positive interactions among Rwandans constituted another important aspect that was assessed. In this regard empirical findings show significant improvements as the following figure shows.

**Figure 95.**Tolerance and interactions



As figure 95 above shows, 95.4% of respondents hold that during elections, they do not vote based necessarily on shared ethnicity, region, or religion in similar manner, 97.6% of respondents stress that they do not have any problem working (in business, at work) with people with whom they do not share opinions or perspectives. Further more, 97.6% of respondents assert that there is a peaceful coexistence between people who do not share the same opinions or perspectives. The above views of respondents show that there is a significant improvement concerning the level of coexistence, tolerance and the good working environment between Rwandans which is a very good indicator in the reconciliation process. Disaggregated per District, the variable on tolerance and interactions among Rwandans looks as follows.

**Figure 96.** Disaggregate by District on 'Tolerance and interactions',



On whether Rwandans are now tolerant of one another, from figure 96, it can be seen respondents from Rwamagana District has the highest score of 99.4% while Nyarugenge District has the lowest with 86.8%.

**Figure 97.** Disaggregate by gender on 'Tolerance and interactions'

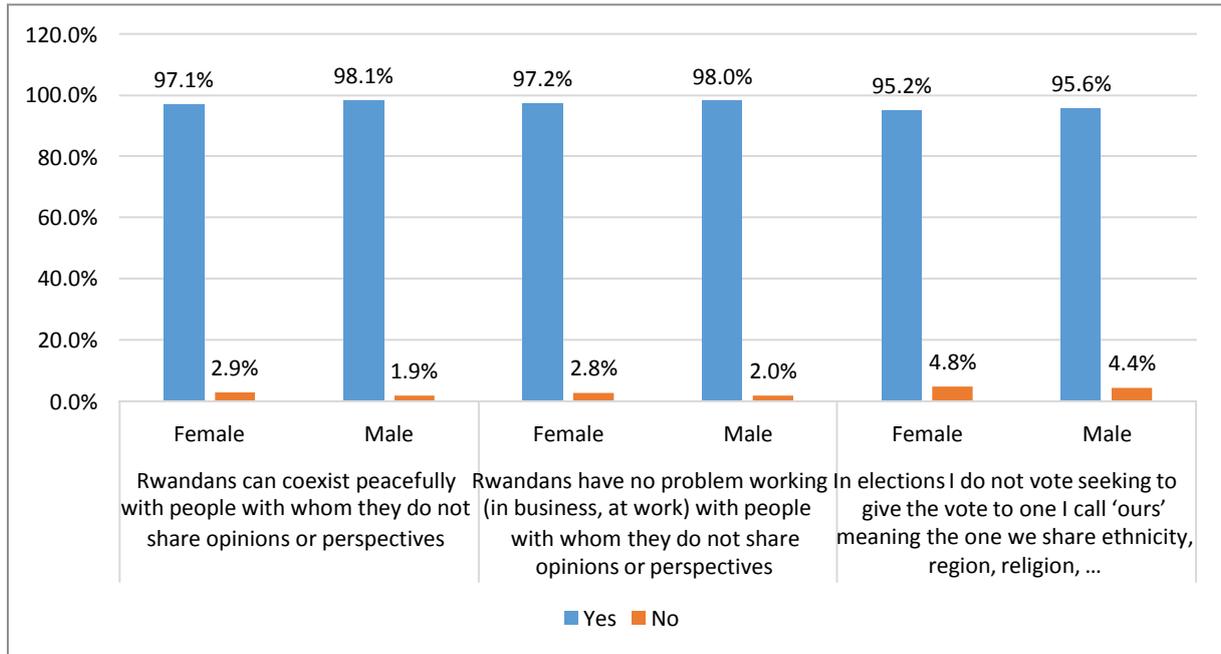


Figure 97 indicates that both male and female respondents believe that Rwandans are capable of living peacefully with people with whom they do not share opinions or perspectives other with 96.4% of female and 97.6 % of male of respondents affirming that this is possible while 97.1% of female and 98.1% of males respondents believe that Rwandans have equal access to education.

In terms of sharing intimate spaces such as workplace or business, 97.2 % of female and 98.0 % of male respondents indicate that Rwandans have no problem working (in business at work) with people with whom they do not share opinions or perspectives while 95.2% of female and 95.6% of male respondents indicated that in elections voting is not based on family, ethnic , religious or any other factor than merit.

**Figure 98.** Disaggregate by age category on 'Tolerance and interactions'

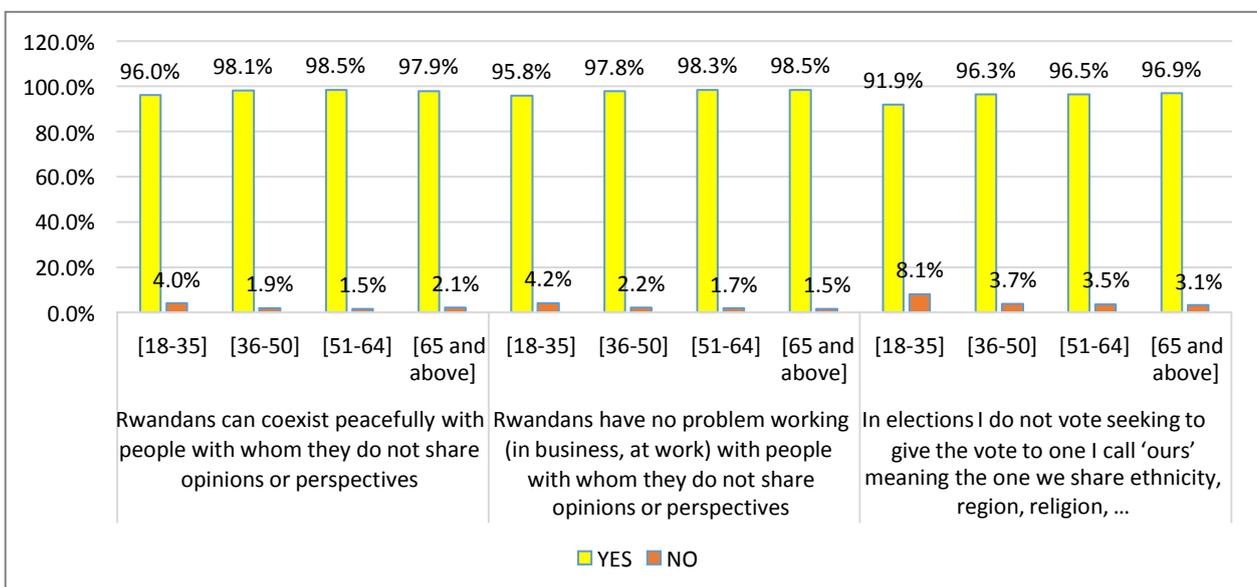
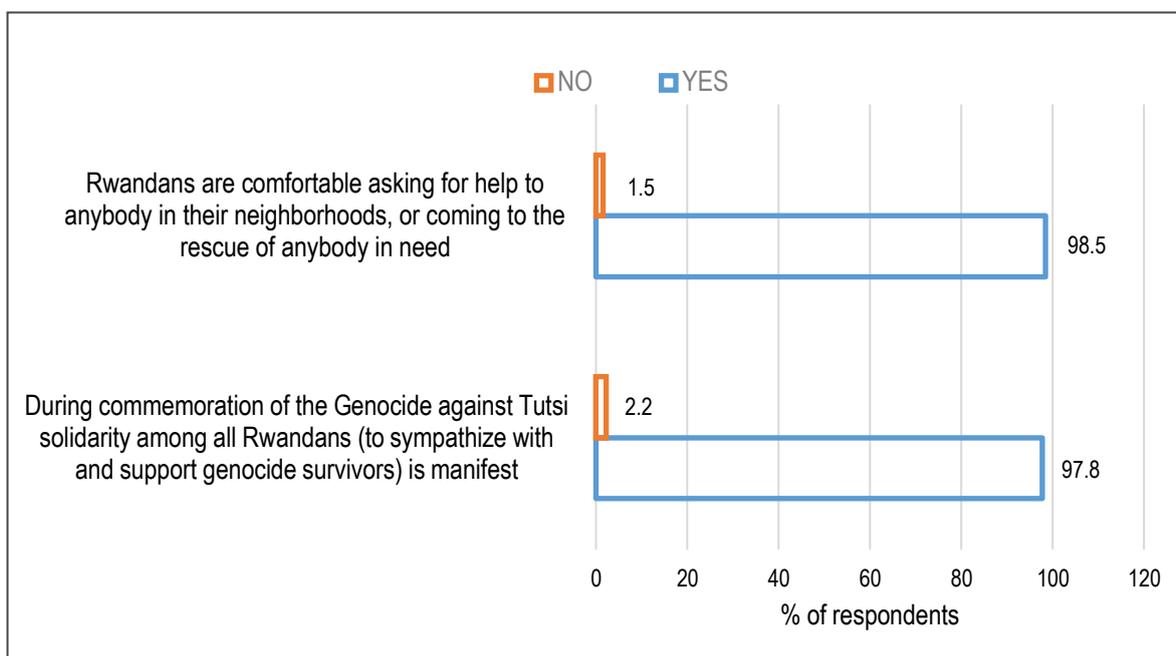


Figure 98 above indicates the views of different respondents from different age groups on tolerance and interaction among Rwandans. 95.8% of respondents in the 18-35 years bracket and 98.5 % of people 65 years and above indicate that Rwandans have no problem working (in business, at work) with people with whom they do not share opinions or perspectives while 96.0% of persons 18-35 years and 97.9% of persons aged 65 years and above believe that Rwandans can coexist peacefully with people with whom they don't share opinions or perspectives. Furthermore, 91.9% of persons aged between 18 and 35 and 96.9% of persons aged 65 years and above indicate that in elections they do not seek to give the vote to one they call 'one of their own' meaning the one with whom they share ethnicity, region or religion.

### 4.7.3. Solidarity among Rwandans

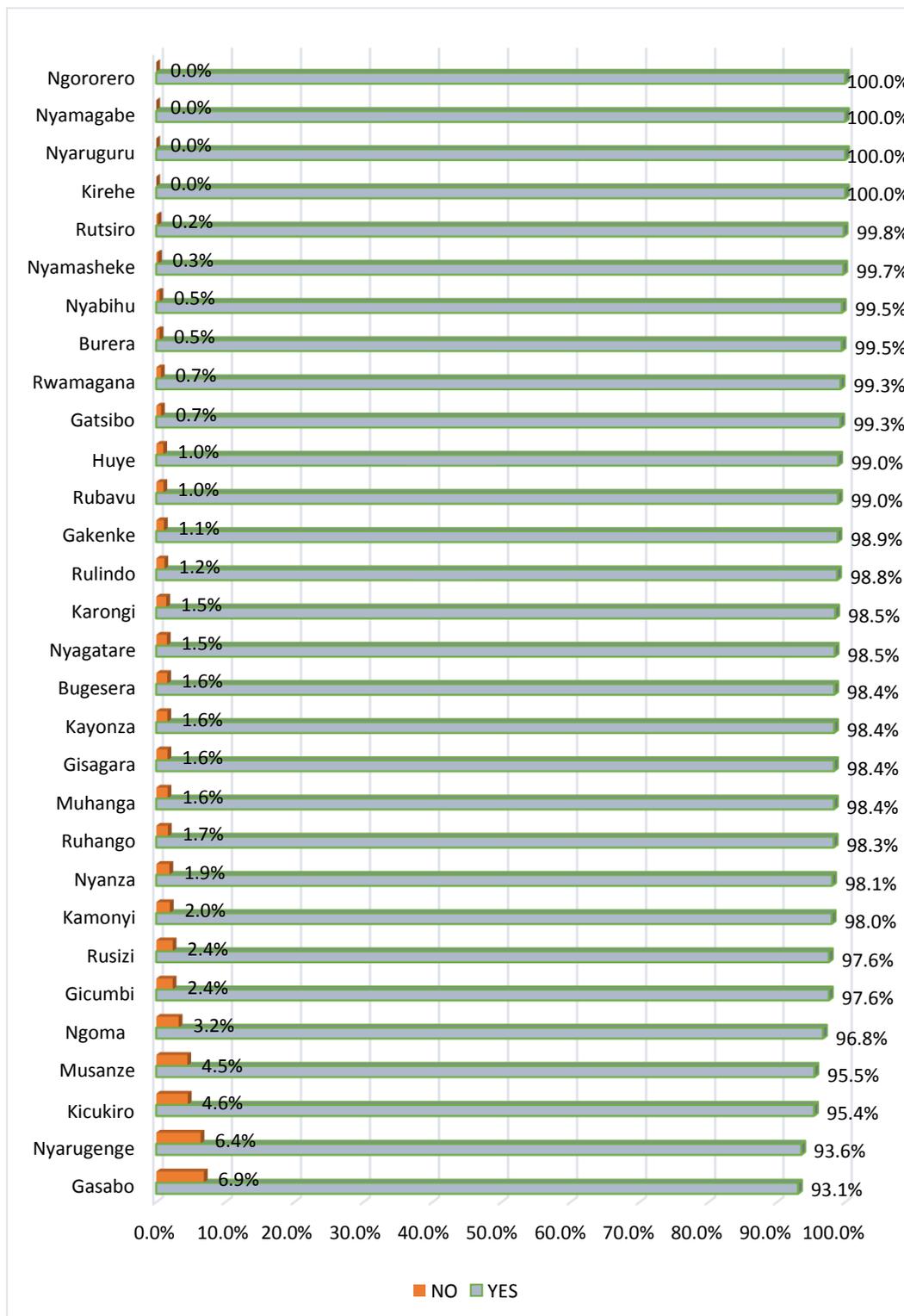
It is commonly agreed that mutual trust, tolerance and social interaction are important aspects that promote solidarity among Rwandans. Solidarity is itself manifested through participation in social events at various levels and rendering support to those in need. In Rwanda, participation in genocide commemoration and providing different forms of material, financial and moral support to genocide survivors, sharing with those in need irrespective of their status (e.g., ethnic, regional, and religious), are some of the characteristics that show solidarity among people. The section below explores the views of the respondents regarding these parameters.

**Figure 99.** Solidarity among Rwandans



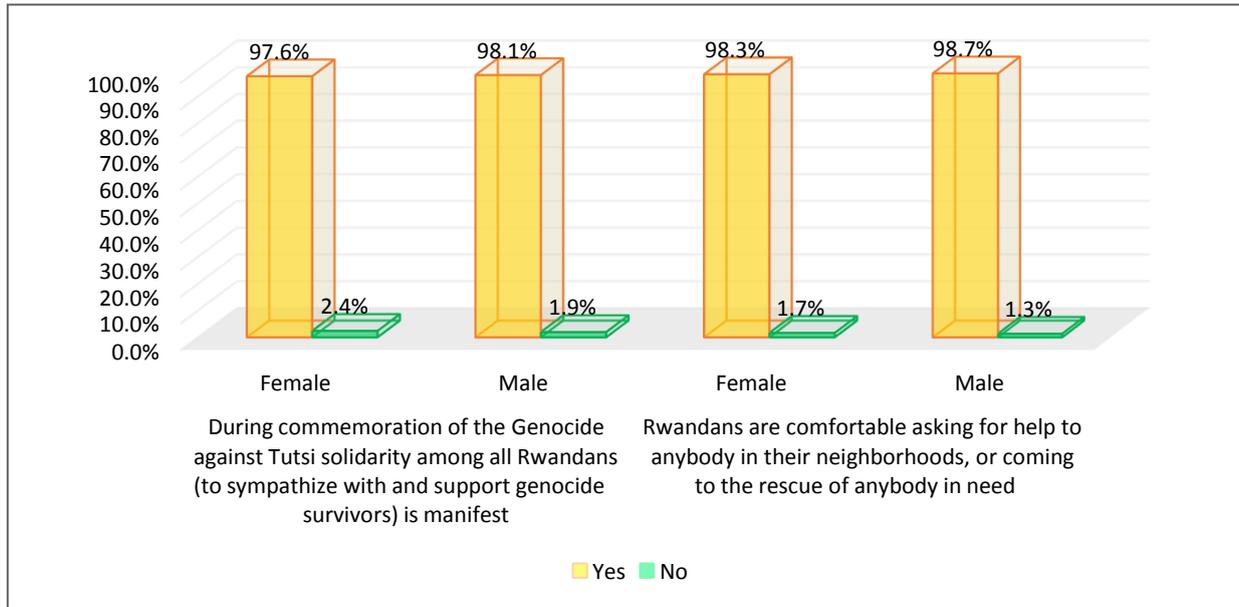
In Figure 99 above, it can be seen that a huge majority of Rwandans (98.5%) support the assertion that Rwandans have no problem seeking help from their neighbours or even providing help to anyone in need irrespective of their social or ethnic status. A further 97.8% of Rwandans indicated that they sympathize with and support genocide survivors during the commemoration of the genocide against Tutsi. This marks a great improvement in the process of reconciliation thanks to regular sensitization and workshops through different programs of the government in that area.

**Figure 100.** Disaggregate by District on 'Solidarity among Rwandans'



From Figure 100 above, it is clear that respondents from four Districts namely Kirehe, Ngororero, Nyamagabe and Nyaruguru indicated that there is total solidarity among Rwandans with 100%. In the meantime, 93.1% of respondents from Gasabo District believe that to be the case.

**Figure 101.** Disaggregate by gender on 'Solidarity among Rwandans'



In figure 101 above, it can be seen that both male and female respondents generally believe that Rwandans are comfortable asking for help to anybody in their neighborhoods or coming to the rescue of anybody in need 98.4% and 97.6 % of male and female respondents indicated that most Rwandans show solidarity during commemoration of the genocide against Tutsi.

**Figure 102.** Disaggregate by age category on 'Solidarity among Rwandans'

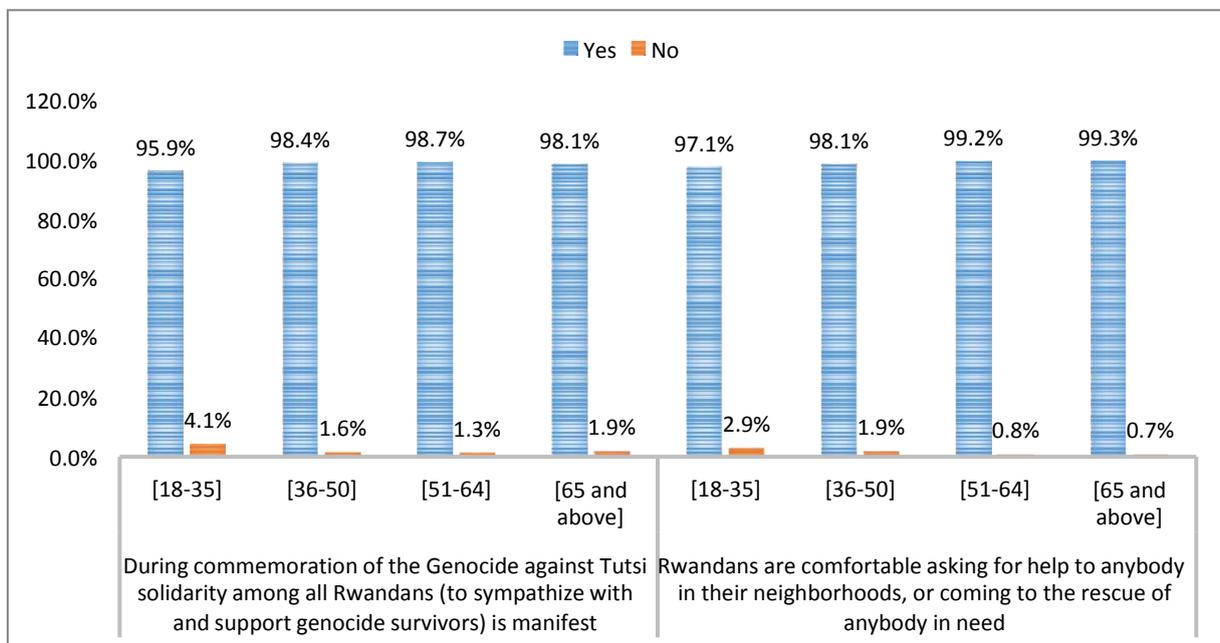
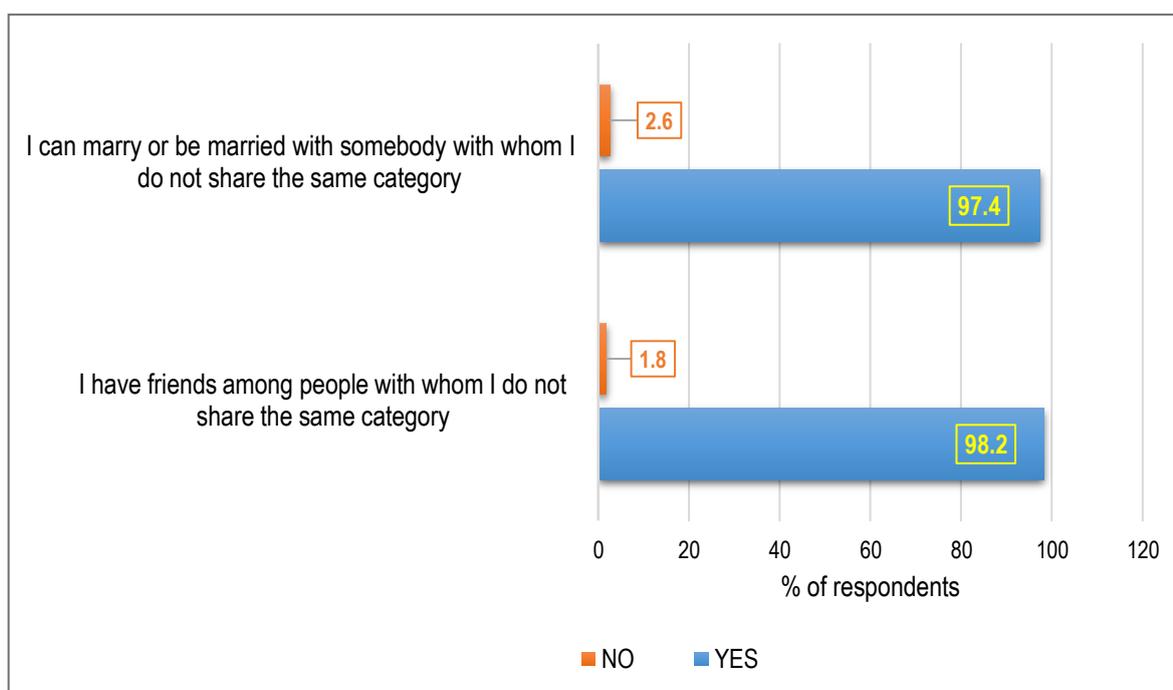


Figure 102 indicates the responses based on the age categories used in the survey. It is seen that all categories of respondents report that during commemoration of the genocide against the Tutsi, all Rwandans express solidarity and support to the survivors of the genocide and that Rwandans generally have no problem seeking help from neighbours or even providing help when necessary irrespective of age.

#### 4.7.4. Conviviality and friendship among Rwandans

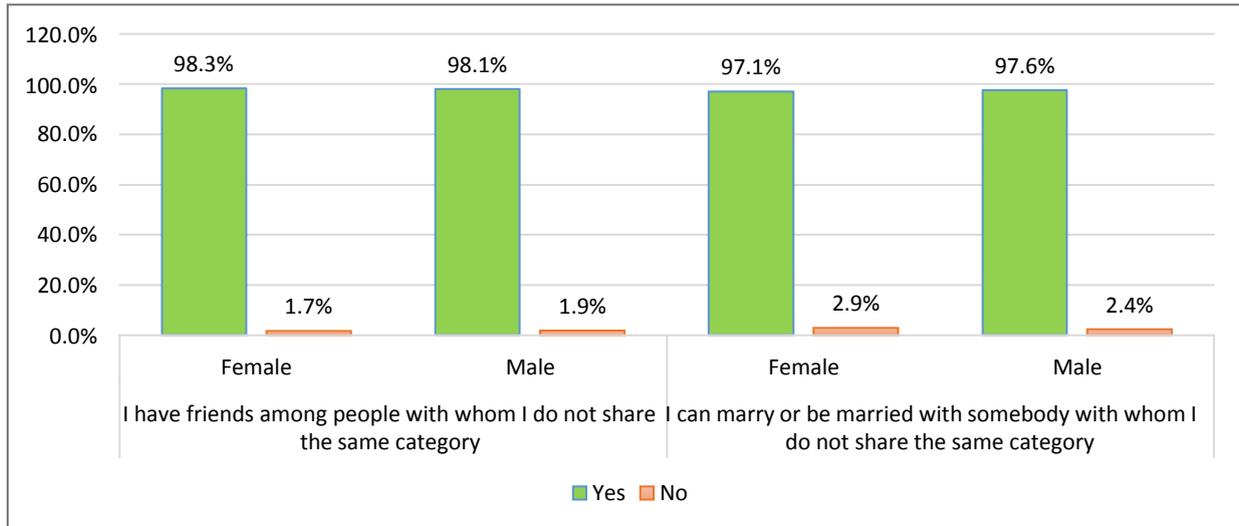
In the traditional Rwandan society, the king and the chiefs often organized events that brought together all Rwandans to celebrate certain ceremonies. In addition, Rwandan exchanged gifts such as cows and other items as a sign of friendship. The ultimate bond between families came through marriage. These means by which people became close helped cement the bonds between Rwandans Over the years especially during the colonial period and after, this traditional way of guaranteeing social cohesion was eroded by the politics of 'divide and rule'. The social cohesion was destroyed by divisions perpetuated by the colonialists and the post-independence leaders who failed to restore this aspect of the Rwandan way of life and instead continued along the path of divisionism ultimately resulting into the genocide of 1994 against the Tutsi. It was assumed that the reconciliation process would restore this important aspect of social life in Rwanda and promote peaceful and harmonious living characterized by trust and friendship. Below we discuss the views of Rwandans regarding this restoration.

**Figure 103.** Opinions on 'Conviviality and friendship among Rwandans'



As Figure 103 above indicates, 97.4% of respondents reveal that today intermarriages between Rwandans from different social categories (ethnic group, regional or religion) is possible. Likewise, 98.2% of respondents affirm that it is possible to make friends among other Rwandans with whom they do not share the same social category. Given the past where neighbours looked at each other with suspicion, this marks a significant improvement in social relations among Rwandans as far as reconciliation in Rwanda is concerned. In figure 100, we examine if there is a difference in views on the aspects of conviviality and friendship as viewed by men and women.

**Figure 104.** Disaggregate by gender on 'Conviviality and friendship among Rwandans'



In Figure 104 above, one notices that male and female respondents share nearly the same level of belief in the ability of Rwandans to intermarry or make friends across social or other categories. There is no marked difference in views between men and women clearly indicating that it is a society wide observation that is gender-neutral. As per results, 98.3% female and 98.1 % male respondents agree with the statement 'I have friends among people with whom I do not share the same category' while 97.1% females and 97.6% males affirm that they can marry across social lines.

During the genocide, there were cases of people who killed their spouses and children simply because they had been borne by Tutsi mothers or fathers. Even before that it was considered a taboo to marry across social lines. Indeed, in one of the ten commandments of the Hutu published by Hassan Ngeze, it was prohibited for a hutu to marry a Tutsi. This is how far divisionism had penetrated Rwandan society. Those who married across social lines were considered traitors by either of the social category they were from. It is therefore reassuring to observe ordinary Rwandans express the view that this is changing.

**Figure 105.** Disaggregate by age category on 'Conviviality and friendship among Rwandans'

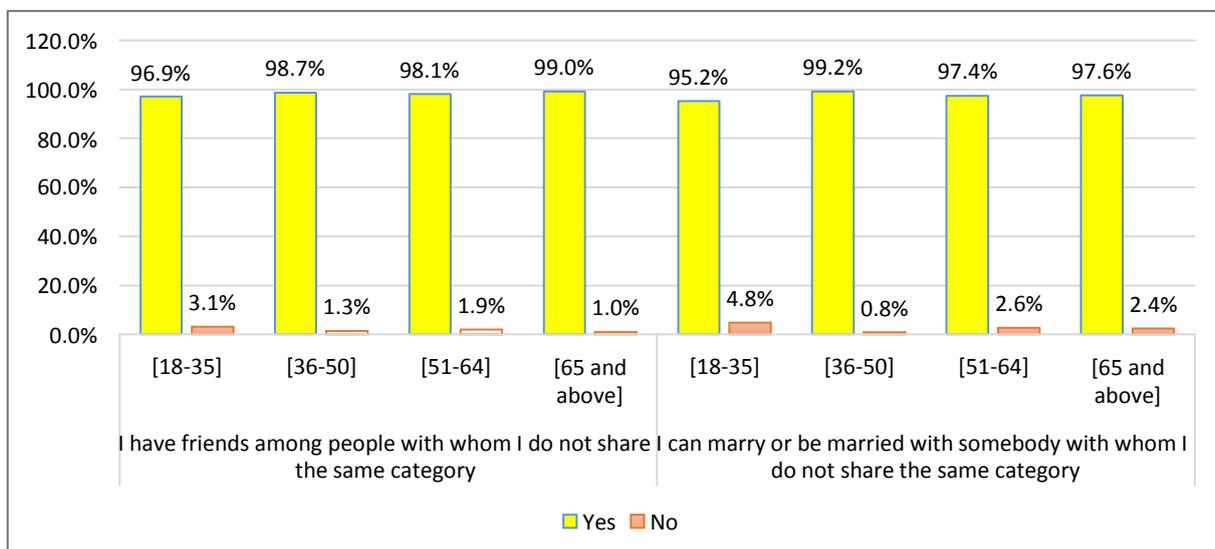


Figure 105 above shows that, in general, across all the age categories considered, Rwandans share a common view that social relations have improved tremendously over the years. For all the age categories, there is firm belief that people can form relationships or intermarry across social or other categories and this is an age-neutral observation.

#### 4.7.5. Summary on social cohesion findings

The section above examined social cohesion as a glue that binds a society together and an important indicator of a successful reconciliation process. It is assumed that the more Rwandans trust, respect, tolerate, and engage or create positive social interactions and relationships, the more likely reconciliation would take place. It has been demonstrated that currently in Rwanda, there is a positive shift in inter-ethnic relations and interactions as well as a considerable degree of willingness to engage in connections with people from different social groups. Following is a comparative analysis of the shifts in these variables over the years as displayed in table 16.

**Table 15:** Average scores on social cohesion

Pillar	Indicators	Findings (%) in 2010	Findings (%) in 2015	Findings (%) in 2020
Social Cohesion	<b>Trust among Rwandans</b>			
	1. Today Rwandans trust each other	72.8	93.0	95.0
	2. In social interaction spaces involving contact (schools, ...) there is no discrimination of any kind		93.0	97.0
	3. Today Rwandans can leave their children in any family within their neighborhoods		95.6	94.8
	<b>Tolerance and interactions</b>			
	4. Rwandans can coexist peacefully with people with whom they do not share opinions or perspectives	92.4	97.0	97.6
	5. Rwandans have no problem working (in business, at work) with people with whom they do not share opinions or perspectives	91.9	97.1	97.6
	6. In elections I do not vote seeking to give the vote to one I call 'ours' meaning the one we share ethnicity, region, religion, ...		96.8	95.4
	<b>Solidarity among Rwandans</b>			
	7. During commemoration of the Genocide against Tutsi solidarity among all Rwandans (to sympathize with and support genocide survivors) is manifest		96.2	97.8
8. Rwandans are comfortable asking for help to anybody in their neighborhoods, or coming to the rescue of anybody in need	94.0	96.8	98.5	
<b>Conviviality and friendship among Rwandans</b>				
9. I have friends among people with whom I do not share the same category	92.4	97.0	98.2	
10. I can marry or be married with somebody with whom I do not share the same category	94	94.9	97.4	
<b>AVERAGE</b>				<b>97.1</b>

With regard to trust among people from different social groups, 95% of respondents confirm that Rwandans trust each other compared to 93% in 2015, and 72.8% in 2010. The level of tolerance and interactions has also increased in 2020 as it stands at 97.6% compared with 93% in 2015, while the respondents put solidarity among Rwandans at 97.8%, an increase from 96.2% in 2015. This is crucial because mutual trust, tolerance and interactions are important aspects to consider for paving the way for solidarity among Rwandans. The aspect of conviviality and friendship has also reflected community and family reconciliation, as the level of a possibility to intermarry between different groups stands at 97.4% in 2020 increasing from 94.9% in 2015. Traditionally, Rwandans organized convivial events illustrating friendship, celebrations and socialization considered as the backbone of the social cohesion, which got destroyed by divisive politics. However, observable improvements demonstrated by the scores in this report is evidence to the restoration and strengthening of conviviality and friendship among Rwandans, which inspire hope for successful reconciliation for the present and the future.

Evidently, the 2020 survey shows that in all the social cohesion variables indicators scores are all above 95% and are in all cases, except one, above those in the two previous reconciliation surveys indicating an improvement in social relations during this period. Based on these findings, one can argue that the current state of social cohesion in Rwanda is very good and portends for a peaceful and harmonious society of the future. This however should not be seen as an end but the means to achieving higher aspirations such as Vision 2050, 'the Rwanda We Want'.

#### **4.8. The current status of reconciliation**

In view of findings discussed in previous sections and sub-sections this report can thus determine the overall status of reconciliation in Rwanda in the year 2020. The following table gives the summary of all scores.

**Table 16:** The current status of reconciliation in Rwanda

Pillars	Indicators	Findings (%) in 2020	Average (%) in 2020
1. Understanding the past, the present and envisioning the future of Rwanda	Understanding of facts	95.8	94.6
	History and how it is shared	92.8	
	Ownership of reconciliation	95.1	
	Envisioning the future	94.8	
2. Citizenship, identity and responsibility	National identity	99.4	98.6
	Individual proudness of a shared identity	98.2	
	Shared vision and vision	99	
	Commitment to national identity	99.2	
	Critical thinking	97	
3. Political culture and Governance	The role of institutions	93.8	90.6
	Leaders' performance	94.8	
	Citizens' empowerment and participation in governance	83.1	
4. Security and wellbeing	National security and reconciliation	92.8	94.3
	Personal security and reconciliation	96.9	
	Economic security and rights to properties	95.2	
	Fair distribution of infrastructure	92.4	
5. Justice, fairness and rights	Truth about the past and punishing genocide and related crimes	98.3	93.1
	Compensation of properties looted or destroyed during the genocide	91.4	
	Apology and forgiveness	95.8	
	Individual healing	86.7	
	Fairness and respect of basic human rights	93.4	
6. Social cohesion	Trust among Rwandans	95.6	97.1
	Tolerance and interactions among Rwandans	96.9	
	Solidarity among Rwandans	98.2	
	Conviviality and friendship among Rwandans	97.8	
<b>AVERAGE</b>		<b>94.7</b>	

As displayed in table 16, the status of reconciliation in Rwanda stands at 94.7% in the year 2020. Based on the scores of all the six pillars and corresponding indicators, it can be concluded that Rwandans have made significant steps ahead as far as reconciliation is concerned. To illustrate that, the following figure uses statistical numbers to represent the journey of reconciliation in Rwanda since 2010 when the first assessment was conducted to the current 2020 assessment that comes after the one conducted in 2015.

**Figure 106.** Comparison between RRB 2010, RRB 2015, and RRB 2020

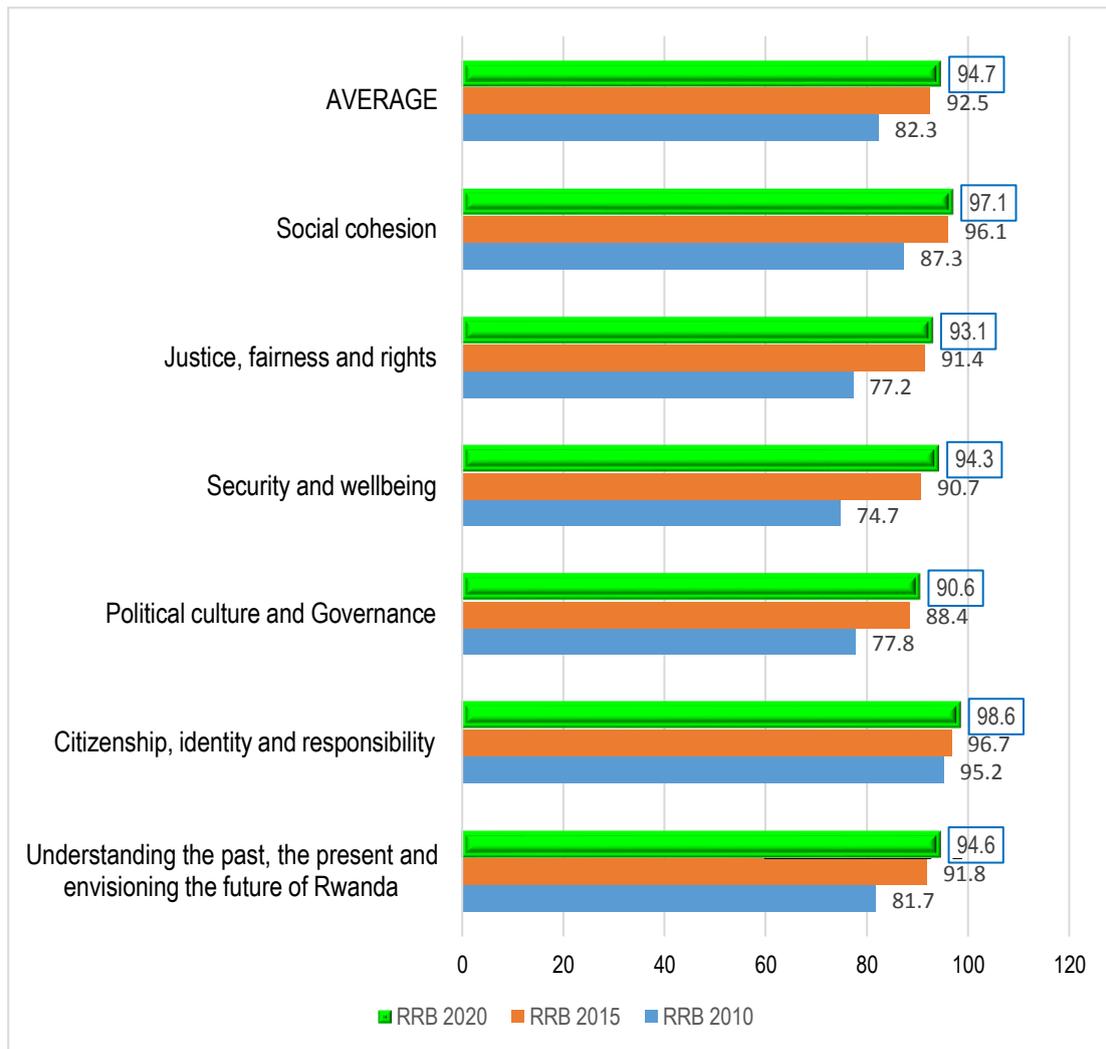
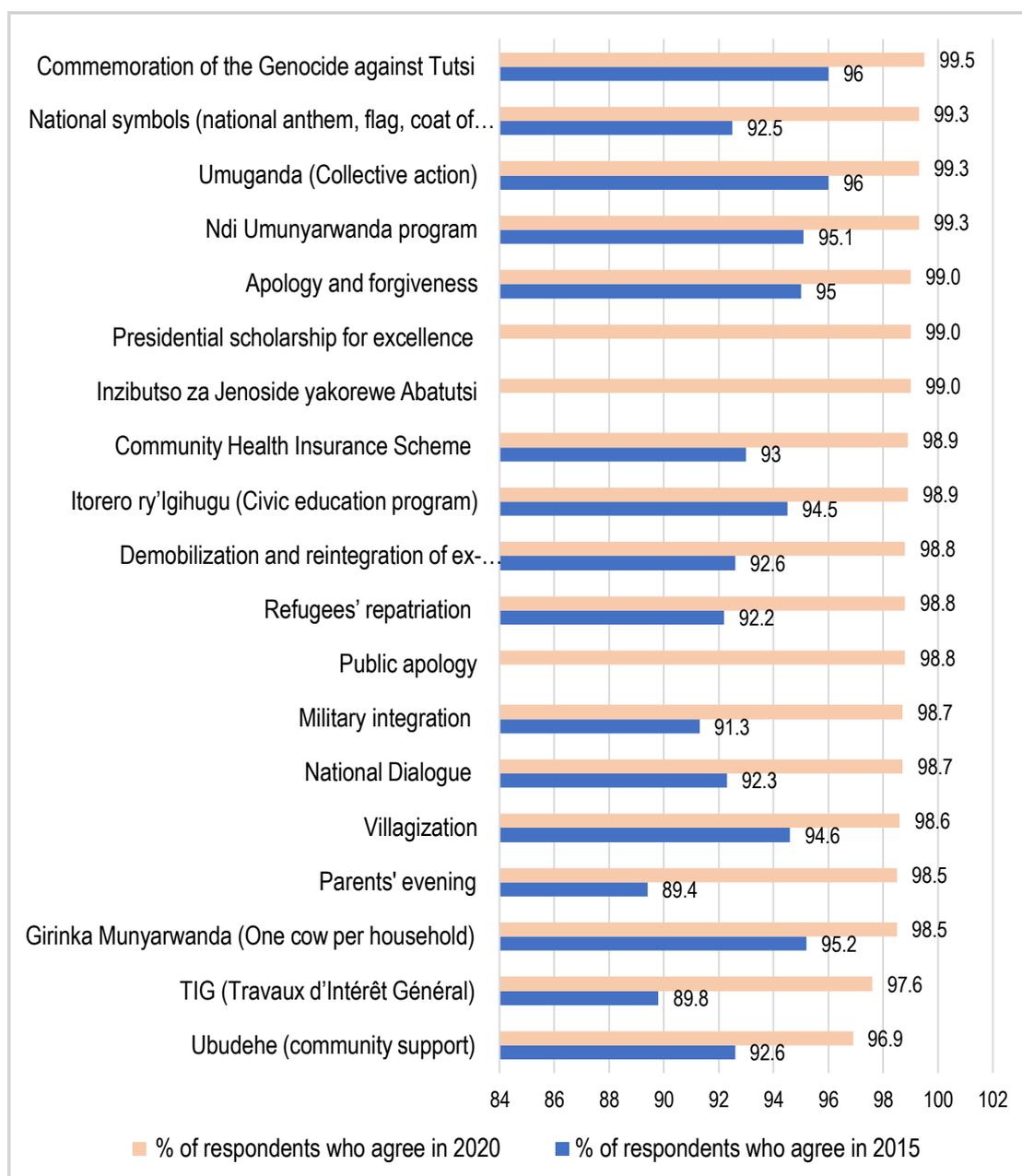


Figure 104 above shows clearly how the status of reconciliation moved from 82.3% in 2010, to 92.5% in 2015, and to 94.7% in 2020. This is a remarkable improvement, which shows the dedication of Rwandans to successfully build a united and reconciled country after the genocide against the Tutsi.

#### 4.9. Mechanisms promoting reconciliation in Rwanda

Respondents were asked to give their opinions regarding mechanisms that have been put in place to improve living conditions of the people and promote reconciliation in Rwanda. Views of Rwandans regarding how these mechanisms contribute to reconciliation are quantified in the following figure.

**Figure 107.** Factors/Mechanisms promoting reconciliation in Rwanda



As displayed in Figure 105, all mechanisms are highly appreciated and believed to contribute to reconciliation in Rwanda. It can be seen that in all the cases, each mechanism identified above registered a higher score in 2020 than in 2015 indicating that ordinary Rwandans appreciate more the important role that these mechanisms play in promoting reconciliation among Rwandans. It should be highlighted that these mechanisms are implemented by almost all institutions in the country. This is in relation to the principle that all Rwandans and all institutions are responsible of ensuring that the country is united and reconciled. Indeed, government programs and institutions might have a specific mission that does not directly concern promoting reconciliation, but their work is also evaluated in the way it promotes or hinders the process of reconciliation. It would be interesting, for further assessments, to put focus on the way certain institutions practically integrate reconciliation in their programs and how those programs actually contribute to reconciliation.

## 4.10. Factors inhibiting reconciliation

Apart from providing views about mechanisms believed to promote reconciliation, respondents were also asked to give factors they saw as inhibiting the process of reconciliation. The following table displays the factors.

**Table 17:** Factors hindering reconciliation

<b>Factors</b>	<b>Findings (%) 2010</b>	<b>Findings (%) 2015</b>	<b>Findings (%) 2020</b>
Rwandans who still sow genocide ideology and divisive politics	31.5	<b>25.8</b>	<b>8.6</b>
Ethnic-based stereotypes	30.5	<b>27.9</b>	<b>1.8</b> <sup>24</sup>
Unhealed wounds caused by the genocide and divisive politics	11.6	<b>4.6</b>	<b>26.9</b>

As it can be observed in table 17, tangible progress is seen in regard with the question of whether there are Rwandans who still sow genocide ideology and divisive politics. The score for this variable went from 31.5 (2010) to 25.8% (2015) and down to only 8.6% in 2020. This is an important achievement as far as fighting the crime of genocide ideology and other related crimes is concerned. Findings associate this result to efforts put in place to fight the culture of impunity, and the enactment of laws to punish genocide ideology and other related crimes.

Another factor the 2010 and 2015 reconciliation barometers presented as hindering reconciliation was the fact that some Rwandans were still viewing themselves and others in ethnic lenses. In 2020, the assessment did not examine this variable specifically, but a quite similar question is asked under the pillar of citizenship, identity and responsibility. Here, respondents reflect on whether Rwandans view themselves as Rwandans first, meaning that they have gone beyond tendencies to be attached and attach others to what Shapiro (2016) calls small identities (ethnicity, religion, race, origin, etc.). Findings on this question show that the percentage of Rwandans who view themselves as Rwandans first before anything else has increased from 95.6% in 2015 to 98.2% in 2020, meaning that those who did not agree with that statement were 1.8% of the respondents.

By seeking to assess views Rwandans have in regard to citizenship, identity and responsibility, the hypothesis was that a shared sense of national identity, inclusive, responsible and critical citizenship promotes reconciliation. What this implies is that indicators under this pillar serve to examine the level to which Rwandans feel attached to their national identity, which would make reconciliation highly possible, as it would mean that they have overcome tendencies to associate themselves and others to small identities. As findings show, almost all Rwandans (98.2%) assert that they feel Rwandans first before everything else, except the 1.8% who fall into the negative side of this variable.

<sup>24</sup>This figure comes from the variable ‘Rwandans view themselves as Rwandans first before anything else’ that scored 98.2% of positive answers. The difference, or the negative answers, is the one that stands at 1.8%.

To understand more this difference, in other words the 1.8 percent whose response was NO to the statement of whether they felt Rwandans first before anything else, the following table displays the disaggregation of the variable per District, portraying District averages of YES and NO responses.

**Table 18.**Disaggragate per District of “Rwandans believe they are Rwandans first before everything else”

District	Yes	No
Nyarugenge	96.4%	3.6%
Gasabo	94.4%	5.6%
Kicukiro	96.3%	3.7%
Nyanza	99.1%	0.9%
Gisagara	99.3%	0.7%
Nyaruguru	99.1%	0.9%
Huye	94.7%	5.3%
Nyamagabe	99.4%	0.6%
Ruhango	96.1%	3.9%
Muhanga	97.7%	2.3%
Kamonyi	99.8%	0.2%
Karongi	99.5%	0.5%
Rutsiro	100.0%	0.0%
Rubavu	99.5%	0.5%
Nyabihu	99.6%	0.4%
Ngororero	99.4%	0.6%
Rusizi	97.2%	2.8%
Nyamasheke	99.4%	0.6%
Rulindo	100.0%	0.0%
Gakenke	97.4%	2.6%
Musanze	97.2%	2.8%
Burera	97.2%	2.8%
Gicumbi	99.3%	0.7%
Rwamagana	99.1%	0.9%
Nyagatare	99.3%	0.7%
Gatsibo	97.7%	2.3%
Kayonza	99.3%	0.7%
Kirehe	100.0%	0.0%
Ngoma	99.6%	0.4%
Bugesera	94.1%	5.9%
<b>Average</b>	<b>98.2%</b>	<b>1.8%</b>

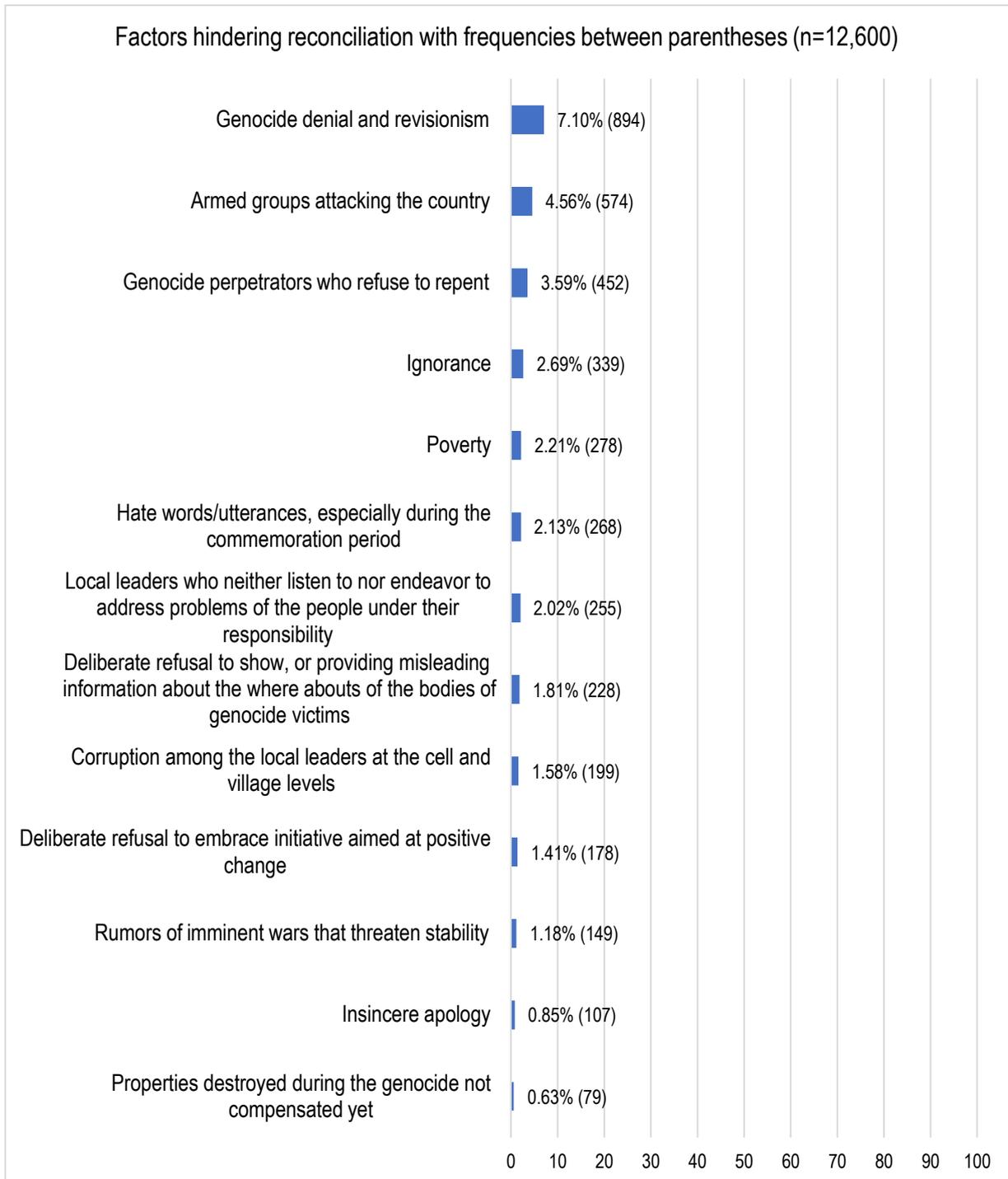
Findings displayed in table 18 seem to show concentration of negative responses to the statement “Rwandans feel Rwandans first before everything else” in Districts of the City of Kigali, as well as in Huye District (classified among the secondary cities), Ruhango and

Bugesera Districts (that can be classified as rural Districts). This study did not dig into understanding why Districts that tend to be urban have the bigger share of the no responses to the above-mentioned variable, but this would be an important point to focus on for future assessments.

Individual healing from wounds caused by the genocide and divisive politics was identified as a sector that still hinders reconciliation efforts, and the RRB2020 show that it remains a challenge. Here, the number of those who DO NOT feel healed yet, significantly climbed up from 4.6% (2015) to 26.9% in 2020; it was 17.1% in 2010. The findings of 2020 regarding individual healing are reflective of the findings of the 2018 Rwanda Mental Health Survey. Conducted by the Rwanda Biomedical Center, this survey shows an increased prevalence of different mental disorders within the population of Rwanda generally, and within genocide survivors in particular. Indeed, the findings show two major trends. First, major depressive episodes (MDD) stand at 12% within the general population, but at 35% among genocide survivors. Second, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) stands at 3.6% in the general population, while among genocide survivors, this type of mental disorder stands at 27%. What these findings imply is that actors, both in government institutions and private organizations need to put more efforts in addressing mental disorders, especially among genocide survivors, which is important for the process of reconciliation.

Apart from the three factors displayed in table 17, the RRB2020 identified other factors Rwandans believe hinder efforts of reconciliation in the country. For easy presentation and discussion, the factors have been grouped in table from the ones with higher frequencies and percentages to those with lower frequencies and percentage, as displayed in the following figure.

**Figure 108.** Other factors hindering reconciliation



Factors displayed in Figure 108 are also believed to hinder reconciliation. Among these factors, the one called genocide denial and revisionism appears to be the main concern for many Rwandans. Indeed, this factor was mentioned 894 times, which carries the share of 7.10% as the figure displays. This factor is in the same line with others like hate words or utterances, especially during the commemoration period, as well as the deliberate refusal to show, or providing misleading information about the whereabouts of the bodies of genocide victims. All these elements are part of the definition of what constitutes the crime of genocide and other related crimes, as stipulated by law No 59/2018 of 22/8/2018 on the crime of genocide ideology and related crimes. Indeed, this law highlights that

genocide denial, minimization of genocide, justification of genocide, disposition of or degrading evidence or information relating to genocide, stealing or destroying bodies of the victims of genocide, demolishing, damaging or desecrating a memorial site or a place where bodies of the victims of genocide are laid to rest, violence against a survivor of genocide, constitute crimes related to genocide ideology. Therefore, even if the percentage of Rwandans who disseminate genocide ideology and divisive politics has declined, findings show that Rwandans still view various elements that constitute the crime of genocide ideology and other related crimes as the main factors inhibiting reconciliation in Rwanda.

Another factor that seems to raise concern among Rwandans is the tendency to resort to the use violent means to address different types of disagreements. This is seen in armed groups attacking the country, in individuals who deliberately refuse to embrace societal initiatives aimed at bringing positive change after the Genocide against the Tutsi, as well as in disseminating rumours of imminent wars that threaten stability. This type of finding implies, among other things, that Rwandans are showing sensitivity to various types of violence that affect their everyday peace. In other forms of societies, violent experiences would solely be limited to threats to peace, but in a post-genocide society like Rwanda, it is not surprising that every threat to peace is also a threat to reconciliation. In other words, reconciliation is peace, and peace is reconciliation.

Figure 108 presents other factors, such as local leaders who fail to address problems of the people, insincere apology, genocide perpetrators who have refused to repent, etc. Similar to the ones already discussed, all factors presented in tables 17, 18 and figure 108 are seen as deterring the process of reconciliation, therefore deserving special attention.

## 5. Conclusion and Recommendations

This study assessed the status of reconciliation in Rwanda, between the year 2016 and 2020. It is the third assessment following the ones conducted in 2010 and 2015 respectively. It specifically aimed at supporting NURC's mandate to promote unity and reconciliation through a better understanding of citizens' views on unity and reconciliation, reviewing and coming up with pillars, indicators and variables appropriate for tracking the current status of reconciliation, and identifying reconciliation favorable factors and challenges. The study used the mixed-method approaches in which quantitative data were complemented by qualitative findings. The analysis of empirical findings was inspired by six pillars, namely, understanding the past, the present, and envisioning the future; citizenship, identity and responsibility, political culture and governance, security and wellbeing, justice, fairness and rights, and social cohesion. The analysis culminated into the elaboration of various recommendations. This chapter is made of three sections – the conclusion, recommendations, and points to consider for future assessments.

### 5.1. Conclusion

The journey for reconciliation in Rwanda continues to achieve tangible progress. Findings show that the current state of reconciliation in Rwanda stands at 94.7%, an increase from 92.5% in the 2015 assessment.

Regarding the pillar on *understanding the past, the present and envisioning the future*, findings indicate that its score increased from 91.8% in 2015 to 94.6% in 2020. This increase is attributed to continuous efforts to build a united nation that is aware of its bitter past and keeps learning from its history to create a bright future. All indicators under this pillar have seen their scores increase compared to 2015, except the one on history and how it is shared that saw a slight decline associated with the fact that some people continue to disseminate genocide ideology, particularly in families.

As for the pillar on *citizenship, identity and responsibility*, the score grew from 96.7% in 2015 to 98.6% in 2020. Scores for all indicators under this pillar increased, and the new indicator – critical thinking – scored 97%. This is evidence that Rwandans have overcome the tendency to be attached and attach other to small identities, that Rwandans continue to feel proud of their national and shared identity, showing also more ability to make informed and responsible choices. Discussing informed and responsible choices leads to the third pillar, *political culture and governance*. In average, the score of this pillar increased from 88.4% in 2015 to 90.6% in 2020, which shows how Rwandans highly appreciate the role of institutions (93.8%) and leaders (94.8%) in the governance of their country. Nonetheless, the comparison of findings shows that scores of certain indicators have regressed in 2020, precisely the ones about citizens empowerment and participation in governance, and the one on the performance of local leaders. Findings associate these declines to weakness, especially at the local level, which is evidence that citizens are continuously becoming critical and sensitive to failures of certain local leaders to provide good services as required by the law. This, combined with the high score of critical thinking, shows that citizens would continue to demand good services from their

leaders, making more steps to hold them accountable due to the fact that these citizens keep understanding their rights and responsibility in the governance of their country.

The pillar on *security and wellbeing* continued to enjoy high levels of appreciation from the citizens, as it increased from 90.7% in 2015 to 94.3% in 2020. Even if recent instances of insecurities in certain parts of the country destabilized peace to some extent, which justifies the decrease on the indicator of national security and reconciliation, all other indicators' scores increased. Citizens continued to view and portray the security of the country as the best achievement and the back bone of all other socio-economic initiatives.

With regard to *justice, fairness and rights*, findings indicated that the score increased from 91.4% in 2015 to 93.1% in 2020. Reference here was made to increased scores on almost all indicators, such as truth, apology and forgiveness, and compensation of destroyed or looted properties during the genocide. The individual healing indicator is the one that saw a significant decline, which is associated to factors such as insincere apology, intergenerational trauma transmission, and the claim that this sector has not attracted many efforts comparing to other sectors in the country.

Finally, the pillar of *social cohesion* showed that Rwandans have increased their levels of trust, tolerance, solidarity and conviviality among one another. In this respect, the pillar's score increased from 96.1% in 2015 to 97.1% in 2020.

Regarding the factors favorable to reconciliation, findings showed that citizens highly appreciate the contribution of various mechanisms like Ndi Umunyarwanda in promoting reconciliation in Rwanda. However, a number of factors were also identified as hindering reconciliation. These include genocide denial and revisionism, the penchant to resort to violent means, former genocide convicts who refuse to repent, unhealed wounds caused by the genocide, local leaders who fail to respond to people's needs, and many others. On basis of these and other challenges, the following recommendations were formulated.

## 5.2. Recommendations

Prior to beginning this section, the present research came across a question regarding the way one would interpret statistical measures of reconciliation in comparison with arguments that the process is still facing many challenges that problematize the reconciliation score of more than 90%. Findings of this research addressed this question by differentiating 'national reconciliation' from 'individual reconciliation'. The argument here was that reconciliation was a journey on which all individual citizens can not be at the same level or pace, but that the nation provided the proper environment for individual reconciliation to grow and happen. Thus, while certain individual Rwandans might be at a lower pace on this journey, the nation has made remarkable achievements evidenced by, not only tangible facts that ethnicity is no longer used as a ticket to get access to opportunities at the expense of others of a different identity, but also by the fact that mechanisms and institutions are in place to help those who still harbor genocide ideology to transform, instead of rewarding such and ideology as it used to be in the past.

The following recommendations, therefore, were formulated taking into account the identified challenges, but also the need to maximize chances for every Rwandan to confidently engage with the process of reconciliation.

1. The major elements for which citizens expressed worries is genocide denial and revisionism, which was repeated 894 times, representing the score of 7.10%. As genocide scholars have pointed out, denial is the last phase of the crime of genocide. Findings of this research found out that, while the rate of Rwandans who still sow genocide ideology and divisive politics is reducing, various aspects that constitute the crime of genocide ideology and other related crimes are still hindering the process of reconciliation in Rwanda. The main recommendations to address this challenge are:
  - a) Under the guidance of the Ministry whose functions include teaching at primary, secondary and tertiary levels, various stakeholders should incorporate the content related to the Genocide against the Tutsi and its consequences in their taught programs;
  - b) Under the guidance of the Ministry whose functions include teaching at primary, secondary and tertiary levels, various stakeholders should teach history to all young people so that they can know the misdeeds of the past without traumatizing them.
  - c) Under the guidance of the Ministry whose functions include teaching at primary, secondary and tertiary levels, various stakeholders should bring the teaching of history to the youth that are not in formal schools. This can be done in the form of ITORERO, or any other non-formal education.
  - d) Teachers at all levels and types of education should bring current issues such as the question of ethnicity in Rwanda, the policy of unity and reconciliation, etc., in history lessons in order to give young students an opportunity to discuss, among other things, certain institutions and organizations established to address consequences of the genocide, such as FARG, AERG, AVEGA AGAHOZO, CNLG, etc.;
  - e) The Ministry whose functions include teaching at primary, secondary and tertiary levels should avail more history text books whose content has been well analysed by experts, and train teachers taking into consideration that, similar to other Rwandans, they were also affected by everything that affected this country.
2. Another challenge to which citizens showed sensitivity is the tendency to resort to violent means as a preferred way of addressing conflicts that are actually normal and inevitable in everyday interactions. It is generally believed that conflicts are inevitable among human beings, and that the most important thing about addressing conflicts is making sure they are peacefully addressed before they become violent. Nonetheless, due to the dominant culture of violence, individuals and groups have relied on violent means, such as armed attacks and deliberate refusal to embrace programs aimed at positive change and reconciliation. In any other society, resorting to violent means would only be viewed as a threat to peace, but in Rwanda, which is a post-genocide society, any threat to peace is a threat to reconciliation, because peace cannot be dissociated from reconciliation, yet, and vice versa. It is, therefore, not a surprise that Rwandans see resorting to violent means as a factor that hinders reconciliation. To address this challenge, the following recommendations were given:
  - a) The Ministry whose functions include teaching at primary, secondary and tertiary levels should reinforce the integration of peace education in formal, informal and non-formal education, focusing more on helping learners to be aware of practices and discourses that promote the culture of violence;

- b) Actors, both public institutions, like NURC, and CSOs, like Aegis Trust, that have been working in the area of peace education should overcome the trend to dissociate peace from violence, preferring to emphasize the former in its distant relationship with the latter. It might be preferable to underscore the choice of peace as this is the value being reinforced, but transforming peace into a strategy for everyday life or a culture, requires seeing the benefit of making informed and deliberate choices to reject violence and adopt peace. The argument here is that violence is widely seen as good business (e.g., arms trade, excluding others for one's benefits, etc.) rather than peace.
  - c) Facilitators and/or teachers of peace education should strive to make peace education a strategy for life because peace education aims at individual and social transformation in terms of attitudes and values. The challenge here is for teachers and facilitators of peace education to live the word they teach.
3. Findings displayed challenges related to people convicted for crimes of genocide who refuse to repent, unhealed wounds, insincere apology, and intergenerational trauma transmission. Findings showed that individual healing benefits from national healing through judicial mechanisms, but also that it requires sincere and remorseful apology at the side of the wrongdoer and forgiveness from the heart by the victim. These are individual-based processes that are not necessarily achieved through legal mechanisms. To address issues mentioned here, a number of recommendations were provided:
- a. Stakeholders involved in releasing former genocide convicts should take more steps to prepare genocide survivors and the people being released to live in proximity again;
  - b. The Ministry of Health and other stakeholders (religious organizations, civil society organizations, etc.) working in the sector of individual healing should seek for collaborative approaches that go beyond medical prescriptions that are not always useful for trauma or any other types of mental disorder;
  - c. Actors involved in peacebuilding, both public institutions as well as CSOs, should create safe spaces (secure places) for dialogue and listening sessions in small groups. These spaces should be well structured to ensure that people feel confident to share their suffering.
  - d. The National Unity and Reconciliation Commission should ensure Ndi Umunyarwanda program is as a space through which people can share their suffering in view of mutually comforting one another and reconcile.
  - e. Local actors should use Ndi Umunyarwanda and other possible safe spaces in encouraging persons who have information on where bodies of the people killed during the genocide were thrown. This will offer a good environment for individual-based interactions, sincere apology, and forgiveness, which are necessary for individual healing.
4. This research identified that local leaders who fail to respond to the needs of people under their responsibility are also seen as hindering the process of reconciliation. The argument is that poor performance by leaders is seen as inhibiting chances for citizens to embrace reconciliation, and that good performance by leaders is viewed as increasing chances for citizens to embrace reconciliation. As shown in figure 108, some practices such as corruption and failure or refusal of local leaders to address problems or issues that are pressing for the citizens make some of these citizens easily fall into the tendency to interpret such practices as giving privilege to some while discriminating others on basis of whom they are. To address this, the following can be done:

- a. Stakeholders who intervene in the training of leaders, particularly RMI, should organize training in leadership and trauma healing for the benefit of local leaders;
- b. Stakeholders who intervene in the training of leaders, particularly RMI, should prepare leaders, especially at the local level, to accept being questioned and held accountable. The more citizens are aware of their rights and capable to hold leaders accountable, the more leaders need to be prepared to accept being confronted and criticized. The literature on democratization considers this as an unavoidable phase of democratic consolidation, which leaders ought to use for their own benefit and for the benefit of the citizens;
- c. The Ministry whose functions include decentralized units should empower existing institutions or create new ones that reinforce the accountability of local leaders. The main objective for this initiative would be making sure that citizens' problems are addressed without waiting for the intervention of top-level leaders, for instance the President of the Republic;
- d. Preparing leaders, especially at the local level, to accept being questioned: population education for their rights should go with training leaders to understand that they hold public positions to serve the people, because when they fail to do that, the level of citizens' trust towards their leaders diminishes, and reconciliation is hindered.

### 5.3. Points to Consider for future assessments

There are points that findings in this report have highlighted that future assessments would consider.

- a. Findings show that more than 98% of Rwandans view themselves as Rwandans first before any other identities. This reminds that, before colonization all citizens of Rwanda believed they shared the same identity of Rwandans. But this unity was destroyed by divisive politics that reinforced small identities, weakening and destroying the national identity that characterized Rwandans. Thanks to multiple efforts put in place after the Genocide against the Tutsi, today Rwandans have rediscovered pride in their shared identity of Rwandans, implying that they have significantly overcome tendencies to view themselves and others in ethnic - Hutu, Tutsi, Twa – lenses. To assess whether negative aspects of constructed ethnic identities are still significant to certain citizens, future studies should focus on examining if there are Rwandans who still enjoy any benefits due to ethnic groups or regions they are associated with.
- b. Findings have shown that local leaders, whether few or not, are the ones carrying the biggest blame for poor service delivery, which is seen as one of the factors that hinders reconciliation. For more understanding of this issue, future studies should seek to explore about challenges of decentralization at the local level.
- c. Urban Districts – those of the City of Kigali and Huye District, which is considered as a secondary city – seem to have bigger share of the no responses to the statement “Rwandans view themselves as Rwandans before everything else”. What this means is a concentration of those who continue to view themselves and/or others in lenses of small identities. Future studies should endeavor to deeply understand what makes urban Districts to score higher in comparison to the rural ones in regard to attachment to small identities. Ruhango and Bugesera Districts could be focused on as they also scored higher in this regard.

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# Appendices

# Appendix 1.

## Questionnaire on reconciliation

### INTRODUCTION

My name is \_\_\_\_\_ and I am a member of a research team working on behalf of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission to conduct a survey on the status of reconciliation in Rwanda, and the impact of Ndi Umunyarwanda program on the reconciliation process. This questionnaire intends to collect information in this regard, and you are among the selected citizens who will participate in the survey.

The information that you will provide will assist the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission to know the current status of reconciliation in Rwanda, and the impact of Ndi Umunyarwanda program in the promotion of reconciliation in Rwanda. I assure you that the information you provide will be treated in strict confidentiality and that your names will not appear anywhere while reporting the findings.

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

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

*Nitwa..... nkaba ndi umushakashatsi watumwe na Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge. Ndi mu itsinda ririho rikora ubushakashatsi bugamije kumenya aho igipimo cy'ubwiyunge kigeze mu Banyarwanda, ndetse n'uruhare rwa gahunda ya Ndi Umunyarwanda muri urwo rugendo rw'ubwiyunge.*

*Uri umwe mu Banyarwanda batoranijwe kugira ngo uduhe amakuru y'uko ubwiyunge buhagaze aha iwanyu, ndetse n'icyo utekereza ku ruhare rwa gahunda ya Ndi Umunyarwanda mu guteza imbere ubwiyunge mu Banyarwanda. Amakuru uduha azahuzwa n'ay'abandi kandi amazina yawe ntabwo azagira aho agaragara muri raporo.*

*Uramutse wumva hari ikibazo udashaka gusubiza wacyihorera; ndetse uramutse ushatse guhagarika ikiganiro turiho tugirana nabyo wabikora igihe cyose ubishatse, kandi ntangaruka ayo mahitamo yakugiraho.*

*Mbaye ngushimiye cyane kuba wemeye kugira uruhare muri ubu bushashatsi.*

## A. IDENTIFICATION/Umwirondoro

### i. Residence//Ahoubarizwa

1. Province/Intara	.....
2. District/Akarere	.....
3. Sector/Umurenge	.....
4. Cell//Akagali	.....
5. Village/Umudugudu	.....

### ii. Socio-demographic characteristics/Irangamimerere

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

6. Sex// Igitsina	Male/gabo	
	Female/gore	
7. Age /Imyaka	18-25	
	26-30	
	31-40	
	41+	
8. Marital status /Irangamimerere	Single /Ingaragu	
	Married /Ndubatse	
	Divorced /Natandukanye n'uwo twashakanye	
	Widow(er) /Ndi umupfakazi	
	Other (specify) /Ikindi (kivuge) .....	
9. Education/ Amashuri	No formal education/ntabwo nageze mu ishuri	
	Primary/Amashuri abanza	
	Secondary/Amashuri yisumbuye	
	Vocational training/Amashuri y'ubumenyingingiro/ imyuga	
	University/Kaminuza	
	Other (specify)/ Andi (yavuge) .....	
10. Religion/ Umuryango ushingiyeye ku myemerere	Roman Catholic/Umugaturika	
	Protestant/Umuporotestanti	
	Pentecost/Umupantekoti	
	7 <sup>th</sup> Day Adventist/Umudivantisti w'Umunsi wa 7	

	Jehovah's Witness/Umuhamya wa Yehova	
	Muslim/Umusilamu	
	Other (specify)/ Uwundi (wuvuge): .....	
	No religion/Nta dini mbamo	

**B. QUESTIONS RELATED TO VARIABLES AND INDICATORS OF RECONCILIATION /IBIBAZO BIJYANYE N'INGINGO NGENDERWAHO Z'UBWIYUNGE**

**I. Understanding the past, the present, and envisioning the future of Rwanda /Imyumvire ku mateka, iby'ubu, no ku cyerekezo cy'ejo hazaza h'u Rwanda**

12. What do you think caused divisions and genocide in Rwanda? /N'iki ukeka cyaba cyarateye amacakubiri na jenocide mu Rwanda

.....

.....

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.....

13. Show the extent to which you agree with the following views on the past, the present, and the future of Rwanda /Wemera ku ruhe rugero ibitekerezo bikurikira bijyanye n'amateka n'ahazaza h'u Rwanda	Strongly agree/ Ndabyemera cyane	Agree/ Ndabyemera	Disagree/ Simbyemera	Strongly disagree/ Simbyemera namba	Do not know/ Simbizi
	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Opinions on the past of Rwanda /Imyumvire ku byaranze amateka y'u Rwanda</b>					
1. The causes/factors of the Genocide against Tutsi have been frankly discussed and commonly understood in Rwanda /ibyateye Jenocide yakorewe	1	2	3	4	5

Abatutsi byamaze kuganirwaho byimbitse kandi abantu babifiteho imyumvire imwe muri rusange					
<b>History and how it is shared /Amateka n'uburyo ahererekanywa</b>					
2. There are some Rwandans who continue inculcating division and genocide ideology to others /Hari Abanyarwanda bakomeje gucengezamo abanda ivangura n'ingengabiteker ezo ya jenocide	1	2	3	4	5
3. I have come across teachings of hatred and division against those of different ethnicity, region, religion, etc.../Nahuye n'inyigisho zimpamagarira kwanga abo tudahuje ubwoko, akarere, imyemerere, etc...					
4. The main place where history of hatred and division is taught today is the family /Ahantu higishirizwa					

cyane amateka y'urwango n'amacakubiri uyu muni ni mu muryango					
<b>Ownership of reconciliation /Gukomera ku guharanira kwiwunga</b>					
5. There are Rwandans who would sacrifice their own life instead of committing genocide /Hari Abanyarwanda bakwemera gutanga ubuzima bwabo aho kwishora muri jenoside	1	2	3	4	5
6. I am certain I can do anything possible to avoid participating in genocide /Ndemera ntashidikanya ko nakora igishoboka cyose ngo sinijandike mu bikorwa bya jenoside					
<b>Envisioning the future /Inzizi ku cyerekezo cy'ahazaza</b>					
7. Hari impamvu zigaragaza ko jenoside yakongera kuba mu Rwanda /there are still issues that show genocide can happen again in Rwanda					
8. What are those issues? /Izo mpamvu ni izihe?	.....				

<p>9. Rwandans have capacity to ensure genocide never happens again in Rwanda /Abanyarwanda bafite ubushobozi bwatuma jenoside itongera kuba ukundi mu Rwanda</p>					
<p>10. What shows that capacity? /N'iki cyerekana ubwo bushobozi?</p>	<p>.....</p>				
<p>11. There are sufficient activities of promoting reconciliation among Rwandans in your village/Mu mudugudu utuyemo hari ibikorwa bihagije biteza imbere ubwiyunge mu Banyarwanda</p>					
<p>12. There are Rwandans who are likely to commit genocide if they get opportunity/Hari Abanyarwanda bashobora kuba bakora jenoise baramutse babonye urwaho</p>					

## II. Citizenship, identity, and responsibility /Ubwenegihugu, ibiranga umuntu, n'inshingano

14. Choose the best level that represents your understanding /Hitamo urugero rugaragaza imyumvire yawe	Very high /hejuru cyane (1)	High /hejuru (2)	Low /hasi (3)	Very low /Hasi cyane (4)	Don't know /Simbizi
	1	2	2	4	5
1. Proud of being Rwandan /Guterwa ishema no kuba Umunyarwanda					
2. Rwandans view themselves as Rwandans first before anything else /Abanyarwanda biyumva nk'Abanyarwanda mbere y'ikindi icyo ari cyo cyose					
3. At present Rwanda is guided by values that help Rwandans to reconcile/Ubu u Rwanda rugendera ku ndangagaciro zifasha Abanyarwanda kwiyunga					
4. Doing everything possible to protect the sovereignty of the country and Rwandans /Gukora ibishoboka byose mu kurinda ubusugire bw'igihugu n'Abanyarwanda					
5. Rwandans are now critical enough to take informed and responsible decisions /Abanyarwanda bamaze kugira ubushishozi buhagije ku buryo bakwifatira ibyemezo biboneye					

### III. Political culture and Governance /Umuco wa Politiki n'Imiyoborere

15. Show the extent to which you agree with the following views regarding the performance of leaders /Wemera ku ruhe rugero ibitekerezo bikurikira ku mikorere y'abayobozi	Strongly agree /Ndabyemera cyane	Agree to some extent / Ndabyemera gahoro	Disagree /Simbyemera	Strongly disagree /Simbyemera na gato	Do not know /Simbizi
	1	2	3	4	5
1. The role of leaders is crucial in promoting reconciliation /Uruhare rw'ubuyobozi ni ingenzi mu guteza imbere ubwiyunge					
2. Leaders do what is in citizens' best interest /Abayobozi b'igihugu bakora ibiri mu nyungu z'abaturage					
3. Leaders respect the rule of law and human rights /Abayobozi b'igihugu bubaha ihame ryo kugendera ku mategeko n'uburenganzira bwa muntu					
4. Leaders do enough to reconcile Rwandans /Abayobozi bakora ibihagije kugira ngo bunge Abanyarwanda					

16. Show the extent to which you agree with the following views regarding citizens' empowerment and participation in the governance	Strongly agree /Ndabyemera cyane	Agree to some extent / Ndabyemera gahoro	Disagree /Simbyemera	Strongly disagree /Simbyemera na gato	Do not know /Simbizi
/Wemera ku ruhe rugero ibitekerezo bikurikira ku bushobozi n'uruhare rw'abaturage mu miyoborere	1	2	3	4	5
5. The role of citizens is fundamental in promoting reconciliation /Uruhare rw'abaturage ni ntagereranywa mu guteza imbere ubwiyunge					
6. Citizens have a say in the decisions related to programs that impact their life /Abaturage bahabwa ijambo mu ifatwa ry'ibyemezo bijyanye na gahunda zigira ingaruka ku mibereho yabo					
7. Citizens elect their leaders /Abaturage bitorera abayobozi babo					
8. Citizens' needs are taken into account during the planning					

<p>process for development of the country/lbyifuzo by'abaturage bihabwa agaciro mu igenamigambi rigamije iterambere ry'igihugu</p>					
<p>9. Citizens hold authorities accountable of their actions /Abaturage bagenzura niba abayobozi buzuzaneza inshingano zabo</p>					
<p>10. Citizens express freely their opinions /Abaturage batanga ibitekerezo byabo mu mudendezo</p>					
<p>11. Today, Rwandans have the power to decide on their future /Ubu Abanyarwanda bafite ubushobozi bwo kugena uko ejo hazaza habo hagomba kumera</p>					

#### IV. Security and Wellbeing /Umutekano n'Imibereho myiza

17. Give your opinions regarding the link between Rwanda's security, yours, and reconciliation? /Tanga ibitekerezo byawe ku isano iri hagati y'umutekano w'u Rwanda, uwawe bwite, n'ubwiyunge	Strongly agree / Ndabyeme ra cyane	Agree to some extent /Ndabyemer a buhoro	Disagree / Simbyemera	Strongly disagree /Simbyemer a na gato	Do not know /Simbizi
	1	2	3	4	5
<b>National security and reconciliation /Umutekano w'igihugu n'ubwiyunge</b>					
1. Rwanda's current security allows for reconciliation /Umutekano w'u Rwanda uyu muni utuma ubwiyunge bushoboka					
2. The current partnership between security organs and citizens promotes reconciliation /Ubufatanye buriho hagati y'Inzego z'umutekano n'abaturage buteza imbere ubwiyunge					
3. Recent cases of insecurity have affected the journey of reconciliation /ibyabaye vuba aha bibangamira umutekano byagize ingaruka ku rugendo rw'ubwiyunge					
<b>Personal security and reconciliation /Umutekano w'umuntu n'ubwiyunge</b>					
4. My family and I do not feel any threat to our physical safety /Umuryango wanjye nanjye ubwanjye nta mpungenge dufitiye umutekano wacu					

<p>5. The security my family and I enjoy allows us to feel ready to confidently engage in the process of reconciliation /Umutekano umuryango wanjye nanjye ubwanjye dufite utubashisha kwinjira muri gahunda y'ubwiyunge twemye</p>					
<p><b>Economic security /Umutekano mu by'ubukungu</b></p>					
<p>6. In my area people are getting out of poverty /Mu gace ntuyemo abaturage baragenda bava mu bukene</p>					
<p>7. I have right to properties (land, housing, etc.) /Mfite uburenganzira ku mutungo (ubutaka, inzu, etc.)</p>					
<p>8. Rwandans are satisfied with the settlement policies /Abanyarwanda banyuzwe na gahunda y'imiturire</p>					
<p>9. Rwandans are satisfied with access and use of personal property (land, housing, etc.)? /Abanyarwanda banyuzwe n'uburenganzira bafite ku mutungo (ubutaka, inzu, etc.) wabo n'imikoreshereze yawo?</p>					

18. Give the extent to which you agree with the following statements regarding fair distribution of infrastructure? /Wemera ku ruhe rugero interuro zikurikira zirebana n'amahirwe angana mu kugezwaho ibikorwaremezo?	Very satisfied /Ndanyuzwe cyane	Fairly satisfied /Biranyuze	Dissatisfied /Sinyuzwe	Very dissatisfied /Sinyuzwe na gato	Do not know /Simbizi
	1	2	3	4	5
10. Water, hygiene & sanitation /Amazi, isuku n'isukura					
11. Electricity /Amashanyarazi					
12. Roads /Imihanda					
13. Education facilities /Amashuri					
14. Health facilities /Amavuriro					
ICT facilities /Ikoranabuhanga					

## V. Justice, fairness, and rights /Ubutabera, amahirwe angana, n'uburenganzira

19. Give the extent to which you agree with the views below about justice in Rwanda? /Wemera ku ruhe rugero ibitekerezo bikurikira bijyanye n'ubutabera mu Rwanda?	Strongly agree /Ndabyemera cyane	Agree /Ndabyemera	Disagree /Simbye-mera	Strongly disagree /Simbye-mera na gato	Do not know /Simbizi
	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Truth about the past and punishing genocide and related crimes /Ukuri ku byabaye no guhana icyaha cya jenocide n'ibifitanye isano nayo</b>					
1. Truth about divisive politics that characterized Rwanda and the genocide has been revealed /Ukuri ku macakubiri yaranze u Rwanda ndetse na Jenocide kwashyizwe ahagaragara					

2. Genocide perpetrators have been punished /Abakoze jenoside barabihaniwe					
3. In Rwanda there are effective laws and measures to punish genocide and other crimes related to it /Mu Rwanda hari amategeko n'ingamba bihamye byo guhana jenoside n'ibindi byaha bifitanye isano nayo					
<b>Compensation of properties looted or destroyed during the genocide /Kwishyura imitungo yangijwe cyangwa yasahuwe muri jenoside</b>					
4. Properties looted or destroyed during the genocide have been compensated /Imitungo yasahuwe cyangwa yangijwe mu gihe cya jenoside yarishyuwe					
5. Execution of 'Gacaca' judgements regarding destroyed and looted properties is done properly /Imanza za Gacaca zirebana n'imitungo yangijwe cg yasahuwe zirangizwa mu buryo bunoze					
<b>Apology and forgiveness /Gusaba imbabazi no kubabarira</b>					
6. Genocide perpetrators apologized for crimes they committed /Abakoze ibyaha bya jenoside babisabiye imbabazi					
7. Genocide survivors have granted forgiveness to perpetrators who apologized /Abarokotse jenoside bababariye abakoze					

jenocide basabye imbabazi					
<b>Individual healing /Gukira ibikomere</b>					
8. I feel I have been healed from the wounds caused by the genocide and divisive politics /Numva narakize ibikomere byo ku mutima nasigiwe na jenocide na politiki y'amacakubiri					
9. Genocide survivors are cared for in Rwanda /Abacitse ku icumu rya jenocide bitaweho mu Rwanda					
10. Information about where to find bodies of genocide victims for dignified burial helps in healing /Kwerekana aho imibiri y'abazize jenocide iri ngo bashyingurwe mu cyubahiro birafasha mu gukira ibikomere					
11. The information about the whereabouts of bodies of genocide victims has been given /Amakuru ku hantu imibiri y'abazize jenocide iri yaratanzwe					
<b>Fairness and respect of basic human rights /Amahirwe angana kuri bose</b>					
12. All Rwandans have equal access to employment opportunities /Abanyarwanda bose bafite amahirwe angana mu itangwa ry'akazi					
13. All Rwandans have equal access to education /Abanyarwanda bose bafite amahirwe angana yo kwiga					
14. All Rwandans have equal access to health					

services /Abanyarwanda bafite amahirwe angana yo kwivuza					
15. There is gender equality in Rwanda /Mu Rwanda uburinganire hagati y'abagabo n'abagore burahari					

## VI. Social cohesion /Imibanire myiza

20. Give the extent to which you agree with the views below related with the current status of social cohesion in Rwanda? / Ni ku ruhe rugero wemera ibitekerezo bikurikira bijyanye n'imibanire y'Abanyarwanda muri kino gihe?	Strongly agree /Ndabyemera cyane	Agree/ Ndabyemera	Disagree /Simbemera	Strongly disagree /Simbyemera na gato	Do not know /Simbizi
	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Trust among Rwandans /Ubwizerane hagati mu Banyarwanda</b>					
1. Today Rwandans trust one another/Ubu Abanyarwanda barizeranye hagati yabo					
2. In social interaction spaces involving contact (schools, sports, restaurants, bars, public transport, ...) there is no discrimination of any kind /Aho abantu bahurira (mu mashuri, mu mikino n'imyidagaduro, restora n'utubari, mu modoka z'abagenzi, ...) nta bwishishanye bukiharangwa					
3. Today Rwandans can leave their children in any family within their neighborhoods /Uyu					

<p>munsi Abanyarwanda bashobora gusiga abana babo mu muryango uwo ari wo wose baturanye nawo</p>					
<p><b>Tolerance and interactions /Kwakirana mu budasa n'imibanire</b></p>					
<p>4. Rwandans can coexist peacefully with people with whom they do not share opinions or perspectives /Abanyarwanda bashobora guturana mu mahoro n'abantu badahuje imyumvire cyangwa imyemerere</p>					
<p>5. Rwandans have no problem working (in business, at work) with people with whom they do not share opinions or perspectives /Abanyarwanda nta kibazo baterwa no gukorana (mu kazi, mu bucuruzi, ...) n'abo tudahuje imyumvire cyangwa imyemerere</p>					
<p>6. In elections I do not vote seeking to give the vote to one I call 'ours' meaning the one we share ethnicity, region, religion, ... /Mu matora sintora ngamije guha ijw uwo nita 'uwacu' duhuje ubwoko, idini, akarere, ...</p>					
<p><b>Solidarity among Rwandans /Ubufatanye n'ubucuti mu Banyarwanda</b></p>					
<p>7. During commemoration of the Genocide against Tutsi solidarity among all Rwandans (to sympathize with and support genocide survivors) is manifest /Mu gihe cyo kwibuka Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi</p>					

Abanyarwanda b'ingeri zose bagaragaza kwifatanya no kuremera abacitse ku icumu rya jenocide					
8. Rwandans are comfortable asking for help to anybody in their neighborhoods, or coming to the rescue of anybody in need /Abanyarwanda bashobora kwiambaza uwo ari we wese mubo baturanye, kandi batabara uwo ari we wese ubiyambaje					

## VII. Factors promoting reconciliation in Rwanda /Ibifasha mu guteza imbere ubwiyunge mu Rwanda

21. Give your view on the role of mechanisms and institutions below in promoting reconciliation in Rwanda? /Garagaza uko ubona uruhare rwa gahunda n'inzego zikurikira mu guteza imbere ubwiyunge mu Banyarwanda?	Excellent /Birahebuje	Very good /Ni byiza cyane	Good /Byiza	Poor /Si byiza	Very poor /si byiza na gato
	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Mechanisms /Gahunda</b>					
1. Itorero ry'Igihugu (Civic education program)					
2. Ndi Umunyarwanda program /Gahunda ya Ndi Umunyarwanda					
3. National Dialogue /Inama y'Umushyikirano					
4. Girinka Munyarwanda (One cow per household)					
5. Ubudehe (community support)					
6. Umuganda (Collective action)					

7. Commemoration of the Genocide against Tutsi (Kwibuka Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi)					
8. Inzibutso za Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi					
9. Public apology/Gusaba imbabazi mu ruhame					
10. TIG (Travaux d'Intérêt Général)					
11. Umugoroba w'Ababyeyi					
12. Refugees' repatriation /Gucyura impunzi					
13. Military integration /Guhuza ingabo zahoze zihanganye					
14. Demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants /Gusezerera no gusubiza mu buzima busanzwe abavuye ku rugerero					
15. National symbols (national anthem, flag, coat of arms) /Ibirango by'igihugu (indirimo yubahiriza igihugu, ibendera, ...)					
16. Villagization /Gutura mu midugudu					
17. Presidential scholarship for excellence /Buruse zitangwa na Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika ku bana batsinze neza cyane					
18. Apology and forgiveness /Gusaba imbabazi no kuzitanga					
19. Community Health Insurance Scheme / Mituweli (Ubwisungane mu kwivuza)					

**VIII. Factors hindering reconciliation in Rwanda /Ibidindiza cyangwa ibibangamira ubwiyunge mu Rwanda**

22. What factors do you think hinder reconciliation in Rwanda? / **Ni ibiki mukeka byaba bibangamira ubwiyunge mu Rwanda?**

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## Appendix 2.

### Questionnaire on Ndi Umunyarwanda Program /IBIBAZO KURI GAHUNDA YA 'NDI UMUNYARWANDA'

#### A. Ibibazo ku makuru rusange areba 'Ndi Umunyarwanda'

1. To what extent do you agree with the following views on Ndi umunyarwanda? /Wemera ku ruherugero ibitekerezo bikurikira kuri Ndi Umunyarwanda?	Strongly agree /Ndabyemera cyane	Agree /Ndabyemera	Disagree /Simberera	Strongly disagree /Simbyemera na gato	Do not know /Simbizi
	1	2	3	4	5
i. It helps to build national identity /Ifasha mu Kubaka Ubunyarwanda					
ii. It helps to reconcile and reunite Rwandans through a common identity/ Ifasha kungano kongera guhuza Abanyarwanda mu Bunyarwanda					
iii. It strengthens the culture of solidarity among Rwandans/ Ifasha gushimangira umuco w'ubufatanye mu Banyarwanda					
iv. It helps to uphold moral values of Rwandans /Ifasha gushyigikira indangagaciro na kirazira by'Abanyarwanda					
v. Others (please specify) /Ibindi (bivuge) .....					

2. Have you ever participated in a discussion forum of Ndi Umunyarwanda? /Waba warigeze witabira ibiganiro kuri Ndi Umunyarwanda?

Yes/Yego  No/Oya

<b>3.</b> What is the rate of participation in the forum of discussions on issues related to Ndi Umunyarwanda Program in your village? /Ni ku ruhe rugero ubona abatwage bo mu mudugudu wawe bagira uruhare ibiganiro bya gahunda ya Ndi Umunyarwanda?	Once per month /Rimwe mu kwezi	Once per quarter /Rimwe mu gihembwe	Three times per year /Inshuro eshatu mu mwaka	Once a year /Rimwe mu mwaka	Never participate /Sinjya mbijyamo

**B. Opinion on the impact of Ndi Umunyarwanda programme /Ibitekerezo ku ruhare rwa gahunda ya Ndi Umunyarwanda**

Considering the statements in the table below, say whether it is Very much (1), much (2), to a certain extent (3), not much (4), Not at all (5) by ticking appropriate box.

Hashingiwe ku bitekerezo biri mu mbonerahamwe ikurikira, vuga niba bihagije cyane(1), bihagije(2), bigerageza(3), bidahagije(4), Nta kigenda(5) ushyira akamenyetso mu kazu kabugenewe.

**4. To what extent do you think Ndi Umunyarwanda has contributed to:/ Utekereza ko Ndi Umunyarwanda yaba yaragize uruhare rungana iki mu:**

N°	Item/ibitekerezo	Very much/ Bihagije cyane	Much/ Bihagije	To a certain Extent/ Bigerageza	Not much/ Bidahagije	Not at all/ Nta kigenda
		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Reconciliation/ubwiyunge					
2.	Solidarity among all Rwandans/ Gushyira hamwe kw'Abanyarwanda bose					
3.	The feeling of dignity as Rwandans/ Kwiyumvamo ishema n'agaciro nk'Abanyarwanda					

4.	Promotion of the culture of self-reliance/ Guteza imbere umuco wo kwigira					
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5. Considering the statements in the table below, say whether you strongly agree (1), agree (2), disagree (3), Strongly disagree (4), Do not know (5) by ticking appropriate box.

Hashingiwe ku bitekerezo biri mu mbonerahamwe ikurikira, vuga niba ubyemera cyane (1), ubyemera (2), utabyemera (3), utabyemera na gato (4), utabizi (5) ushyira akamenyetso mu kazu kabugenewe.

N°	Ndi Umunyarwanda, as a homegrown solution, has / Ndi Umunyarwanda, nk'ingamba yakomotse mu mucu Nyarwanda, yashoboye	Strongly agree/ Ndabyemera cyane	Agree/ Ndabyemera	Disagree / Simbyemera	Strongly Disagree Simbyemera na gato	Do not know Simbizi
		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Promoted the spirit of a shared citizenship/ Guteza imbere ubwenegihugu dusangiye					
2.	Restored the bond and cohesion among Rwandans/ yagaruye isano n'imibanire y'Abanyarwanda					
3.	Contributed to the socio-economic inclusion of the marginalized /Yagize uruhare mu guca ihezwa ry'abasigajwe inyuma n'amateka					
4.	De-emphasize the reliance on ethnic identity / Yagabanyije kwishingikiriza ubwoko					
5.	Upheld moral values of Rwandans/Yashyigikiye indagagaciro na kirazira by'Abanyarwanda					
6.	Built hope for a peaceful and prosperous future/Yubatse icyizere cy'ahazaza heza					

7.	Created space for open discussions on our history/ <b>yatumye tunganira ku matekayacu mu buryo bweruye</b>					
8.	Provided people with the opportunity to ask for and/or grant forgiveness / <b>yahaye abatwaga umwanya wo gusaba no gutanga imbabazi</b>					
9.	Encouraged reconciliation/ <b>yateje imbere ubwiyunge</b>					
10.	Offered opportunity to learn about the history of Rwanda/ <b>yatanze amahirwe yo kumenya amateka y'u Rwanda</b>					

**Thank you very much /Urakoze cyane**

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

- Names and signature of research supervisor /Amazina n'umukono by'uwagenzuye imigendekere y'ubushakashatsi .....
- Names, signature and telephone of the government official of the area where the study was conducted /Amazina, umukono na telephone by'umuyobozi w'aho ubushakashatsi bwakorewe .....
- Date of fieldwork exercise /italiki ubushakashatsi bwakorewe n'aho bwakorewe .....

## Appendix 3:

### Interview guide on reconciliation /INYOBORABIGANIRO KU BWIYUNGE

#### A. Understanding the past, the present, & envisioning the future

1. What is your view on the way the history of Rwanda is disseminated and understood today? /Wavuga iki ku buryo amateka y'u Rwanda ahererekanywa n'uko yumvikana muri iki gihe?
2. How does that relate to the future of Rwanda? /Ubona uko amateka yigishwa muri iki gihe bigira uruhe ruhare mu kubaka ejo hazaza h'u Rwanda?
3. How does that relate to reconciliation in Rwanda? /Ubona uko amateka yigishwa muri iki gihe bigira uruhe ruhare mu kwiyeza kw'Abanyarwanda?
4. Do you think Rwandans have embraced and owned reconciliation? How? /Ese urakeka ko Abanyarwanda bakomeye ku bwiyeza kandi bagize icyo gahunda icyabo?
5. Is genocide still possible in Rwanda? If yes, why, or if no, why? /Ubona jenoside yakongera kuba mu Rwanda? Niba ari yego, n'iki cyakongera gutuma iba, niba ari oya, n'iki gituma itakongera kuba

#### B. Citizenship, identity, and responsibility /Ubwenegihugu, ibiranga umuntu, n'inshingano

4. What does having common national identity (Ubunyarwanda) mean to reconciliation? /Ese kugira ubwenegihugu bumwe busangiwe (Ubunyarwanda) bimaze iki ku bwiyeza?
5. What does having a shared vision mean to reconciliation? /Ese kugira icyerekezo kimwe cy'igihugu bimaze iki ku bwiyeza?
6. What does having a shared culture mean to reconciliation? /Ese kugira igihugu gisangiye umuco bimaze iki ku bwiyeza?
7. Do you think Rwandans are critical enough to take informed and responsible decisions? Explain /Ubona Abanyarwanda bafite imyumvire ihagije yabafasha kwikorera amahitamo meza kandi bahazeho? Sobanura

#### C. Political culture /Ikizere n'uruhare rw'abaturage mu miyoborere y'igihugu

5. What is your opinion about the capacity and performance of leaders in promoting reconciliation? /Ubona ute ubushobozi n'uruhare rw'ubuyobozi mu guteza imbere ubwiyeza?
6. What do you think about Rwandans' capacity and participation in decision-making? /Wavuga iki ku bushobozi n'uruhare rw'abaturage mu byemezo bifatwa?
7. What is your view on the way the rule of law is applied and how does that relate to reconciliation in Rwanda? /Utekereza iki ku buryo imiyoborere ishingiye ku itegeko ishyingirwa mu bikorwa n'uruhare rw'icyo miyoborere mu bwiyeza bw'Abanyarwanda?

## D. Security and wellbeing

8. Does the status of security today allow for reconciliation? How? **/Ubona uko umutekano wifashe uyu muni utuma ubwiyunge bushoboka? Gute?**
9. How do you see your family's and your secure in your village? **/Ubona ute umutekano wawe n'uw'umuryango wawe uyu muni aho mutuye?**
10. What challenges do you face on your personal security? **/Ni izihe nzitizi ukunda guhura nazo zirebana n'umutekano wawe bwite?**
11. What have you done to address security challenges you have faced at personal level? **/Ese ni iki wakoze cyangwa ukora mu guhangana n'inzitizi zirebana n'umutekano wawe bwite?**
12. How do your daily living conditions help you in the journey for reconciliation? Is there any other way you think your living conditions should be to make easier your journey for reconciliation? **/Uko imibereho yawe ya buri muni ihagaze igufasha ite mu rugendo rw'ubwiyunge? Hari ukundi wumva imibereho yawe yagombye kumera ngo wiyumve mu bwiyunge kurushaho?**
13. How do investments on roads, hospitals, schools and other sectors contribute to reconciliation? **/Ese ubona ishoramari rishyirwa mu kubaka imihanda, amavuriro, amashuri n'ibindi bikorwaremezo riteza imbere rite ubwiyunge?**
14. Do you think recent cases of insecurity impacted on reconciliation in Rwanda? Explain **/Ubona ibyabaye vuba aha bibangamira umutekano byaragize ingaruka ku bwiyunge mu Rwanda? Sobanura**

## E. Justice, fairness, and rights /Ubutabera, amahirwe angana, n'uburenganzira

15. What judicial actions do you think contribute to reconciliation? How? **/Ni ibihe bikorwa bijyanye n'ubutabera bigira uruhare mu guteza imbere ubwiyunge? Ibyo bikorwa biteza imbere ubwiyunge mu buhe buryo?**
16. What issues related to justice are still hindering reconciliation? **N'izihe nzitizi zijyanye n'urwego rw'ubutabera zikibangamira ubwiyunge?**
17. What do you think about equality in front of the law in Rwanda? **Utekera iki ku kureshya imbere y'amategeko mu Rwanda?**
18. Do you think Rwandans have equal chances to the country's opportunities? Explain. **/Ubona Abanyarwanda bafite amahirwe angana ku byiza igihugu gitanga? Sobanura.**

## F. Social cohesion /Imibanire myiza

19. How do you perceive trust among Rwandans today? Is the status of trust among Rwandans affecting reconciliation positively or negatively? Explain. **/Ubona ute ubwizerane hagati mu Banyarwanda? Ubona uko ubwo bwizerane buhagaze uyu muni buteza imbere ubwiyunge cyangwa buradindiza urugendo rwo kwiyunga? Sobanura.**
20. How do you perceive tolerance among Rwandans today? Is the status of tolerance among Rwandans affecting reconciliation positively or negatively? Explain. **/Ubona ute ubworoherane hagati mu Banyarwanda? Ubona uko ubwo bworoherane buhagaze uyu muni buteza imbere ubwiyunge cyangwa buradindiza urugendo rwo kwiyunga? Sobanura.**

21. How do you perceive solidarity among Rwandans today? Is the status of solidarity among Rwandans affecting reconciliation positively or negatively? Explain. **/Ubona ute ubufatanye hagati mu Banyarwanda? Ubona uko ubwo bufatanye buhagaze uyu muni buteza imbere ubwiyunge cyangwa buradindiza urugendo rwo kwiyunga? Sobanura.**
22. How do you perceive conviviality among Rwandans today? Is the status of conviviality among Rwandans affecting reconciliation positively or negatively? Explain. **/Ubona ute ubusabane n'ubushuti hagati mu Banyarwanda? Ubona uko ubwo busabane n'ubushuti bihagaze uyu muni biteza imbere ubwiyunge cyangwa buradindiza urugendo rwo kwiyunga? Sobanura.**
- G. What factors do you think promote and make reconciliation possible in Rwanda? **N'ibihe bikorwa cyangwa gahunda ubona ziteza imbere zikanatuma ubwiyunge bushoboka mu Rwanda. Explain.**
- H. What factors hinder reconciliation in Rwanda? **N'ibihe bikorwa cyangwa imyitwarire ubona idindiza/ibangamira ubwiyunge bw'Abanyarwanda? Sobanura.**
- I. What do you think should be done to address the challenges? **Ni iki cyakorwa ngo izo nzitizi zikemurwe?**

## Appendix 4:

### Interview guide on Ndi Umunyarwanda programme /INYOBORABIGANIRO KURI GAHUNDA YA NDI UMUNYARWANDA

1. What do you understand by Ndi Umunyarwanda? Ni iki waba uzi kuri Ndi Umunyarwanda?
2. How do you perceive Ndi Umunyarwanda? **/Mubona mute Ndi Umunyarwanda? Has it achieved its objectives? /Ubona Ndi umunyarwanda yaba yarageze ku ntego zayo? Can you give examples of how successful it has been? Tanga ingero z'uko iyi gahunda yaba yarageze ku ntego zayo**
3. Do you think various actors (CSOs, Community structures, faith-based organizations) have owned Ndi Umunyarwanda? Ubona abafatanyabikorwa **(imiryango itari iya leta, imiryango ishingiyeye ku myemerere, etc.) baragize gahunda ya Ndi Umunyarwanda iyabo?**
4. How have various stakeholders (Local authorities, CSOs, Private sector agencies, Rwandans themselves) implemented Ndi Umunyarwanda **/Ubona abafatanyabikorwa (abikorera, imiryango itandukanye, abanyamadini, etc.) barashyize mu bikorwa bate gahunda ya Ndi umunyarwanda?**
5. How do you link Ndi Umunyarwanda with reconciliation? Justify your position/ **Ese haba hari isano hagati ya Ndi umunyarwanda n'Ubwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda? Sobanura.**
6. How well has the program helped Rwandans to transcend divisive politics? **Ni gute iyi gahunda ya Ndi umunyarwanda yafashije kurenga politiki y'amacakubiri?**
7. What is the impact of Ndi Umunyarwanda on social cohesion and collaboration in your area? Explain / **Ni uruhe ruhare Ndi Umunyarwanda yagize mu mibanire myiza n'ubwuzuzanye aho mutuye? Sobanura.**
8. What challenges has Ndi Umunyarwanda faced in its implementation? Indicate them/ **Haba hari imbogamizi zituma gahunda ya Ndi umunyarwanda idashyirwa mu mubikorwa neza? Zivuge**
9. What do you think should be done for a better and more successful implementation of Ndi Umunyarwanda? / **Ubona ari iki cyakorwa kugira ngo ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya gahunda ya Ndi umunyarwanda rirusheho kuba ryiza no kugera ku ntego zayo?**
10. What do you understand by Ndi Umunyarwanda? Ni iki waba uzi kuri Ndi Umunyarwanda?
11. How do you perceive Ndi Umunyarwanda? **/Mubona mute Ndi Umunyarwanda? Has it achieved its objectives? /Ubona Ndi umunyarwanda yaba yarageze ku ntego**

**zayo? Can you give examples of how successful it has been? Tanga ingero z'uko iyi gahunda yaba yarageze ku ntego zayo**

12. Do you think various actors (CSOs, Community structures, faith-based organizations) have owned Ndi Umunyarwanda? Ubona abafatanyabikorwa (**imiryango itari iya leta, imiryango ishingiyeye ku myemerere, etc.**) baragize gahunda ya Ndi Umunyarwanda iyabo?
13. How have various stakeholders (Local authorities, CSOs, Private sector agencies, Rwandans themselves) implemented Ndi Umunyarwanda /**Ubona abafatanyabikorwa (abikorera, imiryango itandukanye, abanyamadini, etc.) barashyize mu bikorwa bate gahunda ya Ndi umunyarwanda?**
14. How do you link Ndi Umunyarwanda with reconciliation? Justify your position/ **Ese haba hari isano hagati ya Ndi umunyarwanda n'Ubwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda? Sobanura.**
15. How well has the program helped Rwandans to transcend divisive politics? **Ni gute iyi gahunda ya Ndi umunyarwanda yafashije kurenga politiki y'amacakubiri?**
16. What is the impact of Ndi Umunyarwanda on social cohesion and collaboration in your area? Explain / **Ni uruhe ruhare Ndi Umunyarwanda yagize mu mibanire myiza n'ubwuzanyane aho mutuye? Sobanura.**
17. What challenges has Ndi Umunyarwanda faced in its implementation? Indicate them/ **Haba hari imbogamizi zituma gahunda ya Ndi umunyarwanda idashyirwa mu mubikorwa neza? Zivuge**
18. What do you think should be done for a better and more successful implementation of Ndi Umunyarwanda / **Ubona ari iki cyakorwa kugira ngo ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya gahunda ya Ndi umunyarwanda rirusheho kuba ryiza no kugera ku ntego zayo?**

**Thank you very much /Urakoze cyane**

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

- Names and signature of research supervisor /Amazina n'umukono by'uwagenzuye imigendekere y'ubushakashatsi .....
- Names, signature and telephone of the government official of the area where the study was conducted /Amazina, umukono na telephone by'umuyobozi w'aho ubushakashatsi bwakorewe .....
- Date of fieldwork exercise /italiki ubushakashatsi bwakorewe n'aho bwakorewe .....

## Appendix 5:

### Selected villages in each District for private household survey

Province	District	Sector	Cellule	Village	Urban/Rural
Umujyi wa Kigali	Nyarugenge	Gitega	Akabahizi	Izuba	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Nyarugenge	Gitega	Gacyamo	Impuhwe	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Nyarugenge	Gitega	Kinyange	Urugano	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Nyarugenge	Kanyinya	Nyamweru	Nyamweru	Rural
Umujyi wa Kigali	Nyarugenge	Kanyinya	Nzove	Rutagara li	Rural
Umujyi wa Kigali	Nyarugenge	Kigali	Kigali	Kibisogi	Rural
Umujyi wa Kigali	Nyarugenge	Kigali	Nyabugogo	Gatare	Rural
Umujyi wa Kigali	Nyarugenge	Kigali	Nyabugogo	Nyabugogo	Rural
Umujyi wa Kigali	Nyarugenge	Kimisagara	Kamuhaza	Isimbi	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Nyarugenge	Kimisagara	Kamuhaza	Tetero	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Nyarugenge	Kimisagara	Katabaro	Umubano	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Nyarugenge	Kimisagara	Kimisagara	Byimana	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Nyarugenge	Kimisagara	Kimisagara	Sangwa	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Nyarugenge	Mageregere	Mataba	Kwisanga	Rural
Umujyi wa Kigali	Nyarugenge	Mageregere	Nyarurenzi	Gikuyu	Rural
Umujyi wa Kigali	Nyarugenge	Muhima	Amahoro	Uruhimb	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Nyarugenge	Muhima	Nyabugogo	Icyerekezo	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Nyarugenge	Muhima	Tetero	Iwacu	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Nyarugenge	Nyakabanda	Munanira li	Kanyange	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Nyarugenge	Nyakabanda	Nyakabanda I	Munini	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Nyarugenge	Nyamirambo	Cyivugiza	Karisimbi	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Nyarugenge	Nyamirambo	Mumena	Akanyirazaninka	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Nyarugenge	Nyamirambo	Rugarama	Gatare	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Nyarugenge	Nyamirambo	Rugarama	Rusisiro	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Nyarugenge	Nyarugenge	Biryogo	Nyiranuma	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Nyarugenge	Nyarugenge	Rwampara	Rwampara	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Nyarugenge	Rwezamenyo	Rwezamenyo I	Abatarushwa	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Gasabo	Bumbogo	Ngara	Gisasa	Rural
Umujyi wa Kigali	Gasabo	Bumbogo	Nyagasozi	Urutarishonga	Rural
Umujyi wa Kigali	Gasabo	Gatsata	Nyamabuye	Musango	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Gasabo	Gikomero	Gasagara	Bwimiyange	Rural
Umujyi wa Kigali	Gasabo	Gisozi	Musezero	Amarembo	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Gasabo	Gisozi	Ruhango	Kanyinya	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Gasabo	Gisozi	Ruhango	Rukeri	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Gasabo	Jabana	Kabuye	Kabeza	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Gasabo	Jali	Agateko	Urunyinya	Rural
Umujyi wa Kigali	Gasabo	Kacyiru	Kamatamu	Amajyambere	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Gasabo	Kacyiru	Kamutwa	Umuco	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Gasabo	Kimihurura	Kamukina	Izuba	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Gasabo	Kimironko	Bibare	Imena	Urban

Umujyi wa Kigali	Gasabo	Kimironko	Kibagabaga	Karisimbi	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Gasabo	Kimironko	Nyagatovu	Isangano	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Gasabo	Kinyinya	Gacuriro	Umucyo	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Gasabo	Kinyinya	Kagugu	Kabuhunde I	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Gasabo	Kinyinya	Kagugu	Rukingu	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Gasabo	Ndera	Cyaruzinge	Gashure	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Gasabo	Ndera	Masoro	Matwari	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Gasabo	Nduba	Butare	Nyamurambi	Rural
Umujyi wa Kigali	Gasabo	Nduba	Shango	Akazi	Rural
Umujyi wa Kigali	Gasabo	Remera	Nyabisindu	Rugarama	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Gasabo	Remera	Rukiri I	Izuba	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Gasabo	Rusororo	Kabuga I	Kabeza	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Gasabo	Rusororo	Nyagahinga	Nyarucundura	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Gasabo	Rutunga	Kigabiro	Karwiru	Rural
Umujyi wa Kigali	Kicukiro	Gahanga	Kagasa	Kiyanja	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Kicukiro	Gahanga	Karembure	Kimena	Rural
Umujyi wa Kigali	Kicukiro	Gahanga	Rwabutenge	Rugando I	Rural
Umujyi wa Kigali	Kicukiro	Gatenga	Karambo	Jyambere	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Kicukiro	Gatenga	Karambo	Ruhuka	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Kicukiro	Gatenga	Nyanza	Murambi	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Kicukiro	Gatenga	Nyarurama	Bisambu	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Kicukiro	Gikondo	Kanserege	Kanserege li	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Kicukiro	Kagarama	Kanserege	Kinunga	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Kicukiro	Kanombe	Busanza	Antene	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Kicukiro	Kanombe	Kabeza	Giporoso li	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Kicukiro	Kanombe	Karama	Byimana	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Kicukiro	Kanombe	Rubirizi	Kavumu	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Kicukiro	Kicukiro	Kagina	Urugero	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Kicukiro	Kigarama	Bwerankori	Gakokobe	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Kicukiro	Kigarama	Karugira	Rutoki	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Kicukiro	Kigarama	Kigarama	Mataba	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Kicukiro	Kigarama	Rwampara	Amajyambere	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Kicukiro	Masaka	Cyimo	Biryogo	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Kicukiro	Masaka	Gako	Butare	Rural
Umujyi wa Kigali	Kicukiro	Masaka	Gitaraga	Kabeza	Rural
Umujyi wa Kigali	Kicukiro	Masaka	Rusheshe	Kanyetabi	Rural
Umujyi wa Kigali	Kicukiro	Niboye	Niboye	Munini	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Kicukiro	Niboye	Nyakabanda	Indatwa	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Kicukiro	Nyarugunga	Kamashashi	Kibaya	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Kicukiro	Nyarugunga	Nonko	Mahoro	Urban
Umujyi wa Kigali	Kicukiro	Nyarugunga	Rwimbogo	Ruragendwa	Urban
Amajyepfo	Nyanza	Busasamana	Kavumu	Akirabo	Urban
Amajyepfo	Nyanza	Busasamana	Kibinja	Mukindo	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyanza	Busasamana	Nyanza	Kigarama	Urban
Amajyepfo	Nyanza	Busasamana	Rwesero	Rugarama	Urban

Amajyepfo	Nyanza	Busoro	Kimirama	Ndamira	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyanza	Busoro	Munyinya	Karambi	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyanza	Busoro	Shyira	Rusharu	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyanza	Cyabakamyi	Nyabinyenga	Kabuga	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyanza	Cyabakamyi	Rubona	Rugendabari	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyanza	Kibilizi	Mbuye	Karambi	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyanza	Kibilizi	Rwotso	Bigarama	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyanza	Kigoma	Butansinda	Karambo	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyanza	Kigoma	Gahombo	Gicunshu	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyanza	Kigoma	Gasoro	Sholi	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyanza	Mukingo	Cyerezo	Kamabuye	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyanza	Mukingo	Kiruli	Kigarama	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyanza	Mukingo	Mpanga	Nyamazi	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyanza	Mukingo	Nkomero	Kabarima	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyanza	Muyira	Gati	Rwabihanga	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyanza	Muyira	Nyamiyaga	Kabuye	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyanza	Muyira	Nyundo	Jari	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyanza	Ntyazo	Cyotamakara	Bayi	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyanza	Ntyazo	Kagunga	Rusasa	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyanza	Nyagisozi	Gahunga	Nyamugari	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyanza	Nyagisozi	Kirambi	Gasiza	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyanza	Rwabicuma	Gacu	Nyamiyaga	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyanza	Rwabicuma	Nyarusange	Kamuvunyi A	Rural
Amajyepfo	Gisagara	Gikonko	Cyiri	Katiro	Rural
Amajyepfo	Gisagara	Gikonko	Gikonko	Manyinya	Rural
Amajyepfo	Gisagara	Gishubi	Gabiro	Kurutare	Rural
Amajyepfo	Gisagara	Gishubi	Nyakibungo	Rusasa	Rural
Amajyepfo	Gisagara	Kansi	Akaboti	Akabuga	Rural
Amajyepfo	Gisagara	Kansi	Sabusaro	Ruhangaye	Rural
Amajyepfo	Gisagara	Kibirizi	Duwani	Rwuya	Rural
Amajyepfo	Gisagara	Kibirizi	Ruturo	Agatongati	Rural
Amajyepfo	Gisagara	Kigembe	Gatovu	Akamana	Rural
Amajyepfo	Gisagara	Kigembe	Rubona	Nyakabuye	Rural
Amajyepfo	Gisagara	Mamba	Kabumbwe	Gahararo	Rural
Amajyepfo	Gisagara	Mamba	Muyaga	Butezi	Rural
Amajyepfo	Gisagara	Mamba	Ramba	Runazi	Rural
Amajyepfo	Gisagara	Muganza	Remera	Agaseke	Rural
Amajyepfo	Gisagara	Muganza	Saga	Bucaya	Rural
Amajyepfo	Gisagara	Mugombwa	Kibayi	Akarutsibuka	Rural
Amajyepfo	Gisagara	Mugombwa	Mugombwa	Migina	Rural
Amajyepfo	Gisagara	Mukindo	Mukiza	Bukamba	Rural
Amajyepfo	Gisagara	Mukindo	Nyabisagara	Rususa	Rural
Amajyepfo	Gisagara	Musha	Bukinyana	Karishyira	Rural
Amajyepfo	Gisagara	Musha	Kigarama	Kagunga	Rural
Amajyepfo	Gisagara	Ndora	Bweya	Sabudari	Rural

Amajyepfo	Gisagara	Ndora	Gisagara	Nyabitare	Rural
Amajyepfo	Gisagara	Nyanza	Higiro	Amashya	Rural
Amajyepfo	Gisagara	Nyanza	Umubanga	Akamabuye	Rural
Amajyepfo	Gisagara	Save	Munazi	Kigwa	Rural
Amajyepfo	Gisagara	Save	Shyanda	Kagende	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyaruguru	Busanze	Kirarangombe	Gitwe	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyaruguru	Busanze	Nteko	Nteko	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyaruguru	Busanze	Shororo	Rutabo	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyaruguru	Cyahinda	Gasasa	Mugari	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyaruguru	Cyahinda	Rutobwe	Rugarama	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyaruguru	Kibeho	Mpanda	Banga	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyaruguru	Kibeho	Nyange	Kigona	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyaruguru	Kivu	Kimina	Kimina	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyaruguru	Mata	Murambi	Mata	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyaruguru	Mata	Rwamiko	Taba	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyaruguru	Muganza	Samiyonga	Cyurukore	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyaruguru	Munini	Giheta	Mashya	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyaruguru	Munini	Nyarure	Muhororo	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyaruguru	Ngera	Murama	Nyarugano	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyaruguru	Ngera	Yaramba	Buhunga	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyaruguru	Ngoma	Kibangu	Kiriro	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyaruguru	Ngoma	Nyamirama	Bihembe	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyaruguru	Nyabimata	Kabere	Nyarunazi	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyaruguru	Nyabimata	Ruhinga	Cyumuzi	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyaruguru	Nyagisozi	Mwoya	Nyagashubi	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyaruguru	Ruheru	Gitita	Gahotora	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyaruguru	Ruheru	Kabere	Mukaka	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyaruguru	Ruheru	Ruyenzi	Ruyenzi	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyaruguru	Ruramba	Gabiro	Bukoro	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyaruguru	Ruramba	Rugogwe	Titi	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyaruguru	Rusenge	Cyuna	Remera	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyaruguru	Rusenge	Raranzige	Gasave	Rural
Amajyepfo	Huye	Gishamvu	Shori	Kinyovi	Rural
Amajyepfo	Huye	Huye	Rukira	Agahenerezo	Rural
Amajyepfo	Huye	Karama	Buhoro	Kibingo	Rural
Amajyepfo	Huye	Karama	Kibingo	Nkoto	Rural
Amajyepfo	Huye	Kigoma	Kabuga	Rwabuye	Rural
Amajyepfo	Huye	Kigoma	Rugarama	Kanyurapfundo	Rural
Amajyepfo	Huye	Kinazi	Gahana	Sogwe	Rural
Amajyepfo	Huye	Kinazi	Kabona	Rwambariro	Rural
Amajyepfo	Huye	Maraba	Gasumba	Taba	Rural
Amajyepfo	Huye	Maraba	Shanga	Shyinga	Rural
Amajyepfo	Huye	Mbazi	Gatobotobo	Rwabuye	Rural
Amajyepfo	Huye	Mbazi	Mwulire	Kaburuba	Rural
Amajyepfo	Huye	Mbazi	Tare	Kagarama	Rural

Amajyepfo	Huye	Mukura	Buvumu	Remera	Rural
Amajyepfo	Huye	Ngoma	Butare	Bukinanyana	Urban
Amajyepfo	Huye	Ngoma	Matyazo	Rurenda	Urban
Amajyepfo	Huye	Ruhashya	Gatovu	Kiyanza	Rural
Amajyepfo	Huye	Ruhashya	Muhororo	Taba	Rural
Amajyepfo	Huye	Rusatira	Gafumba	Kigarama	Rural
Amajyepfo	Huye	Rusatira	Kiruhura	Impinga	Rural
Amajyepfo	Huye	Rwaniro	Kamwambi	Karambo	Rural
Amajyepfo	Huye	Rwaniro	Nyaruhombo	Murambi	Rural
Amajyepfo	Huye	Simbi	Gisakura	Nyabisindu	Rural
Amajyepfo	Huye	Simbi	Nyangazi	Kabakobwa	Rural
Amajyepfo	Huye	Tumba	Cyimana	Abizerwa	Urban
Amajyepfo	Huye	Tumba	Mpare	Agasharu	Rural
Amajyepfo	Huye	Tumba	Rango B	Urugwiro	Urban
Amajyepfo	Nyamagabe	Buruhukiro	Byimana	Gakangaga	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyamagabe	Buruhukiro	Munini	Gitovu	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyamagabe	Cyanika	Karama	Karaba	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyamagabe	Cyanika	Nyanza	Kibingo	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyamagabe	Gasaka	Ngiryi	Karambi	Urban
Amajyepfo	Nyamagabe	Gasaka	Nyamugari	Kigarama	Urban
Amajyepfo	Nyamagabe	Gatare	Bakopfu	Twiya	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyamagabe	Gatare	Shyeru	Ruhanga	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyamagabe	Kaduha	Musenyi	Nganzo	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyamagabe	Kamegeri	Bwama	Kigarama	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyamagabe	Kibirizi	Bugarama	Kabarera	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyamagabe	Kibirizi	Karambo	Nyirakiraro	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyamagabe	Kibumbwe	Gakanka	Cyeru	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyamagabe	Kitabi	Kagano	Kintobo	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyamagabe	Kitabi	Mukungu	Uwurunazi	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyamagabe	Mbazi	Manwari	Muhororo	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyamagabe	Mugano	Gitondorero	Gituntu	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyamagabe	Mugano	Suti	Matyazo	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyamagabe	Musange	Masagara	Cyabasana	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyamagabe	Musange	Nyagisozi	Ruhuga	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyamagabe	Musebeya	Runege	Ruganza	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyamagabe	Mushubi	Cyobe	Gaseke	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyamagabe	Nkomane	Musaraba	Musaraba	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyamagabe	Tare	Buhoro	Gisanze	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyamagabe	Tare	Kaganza	Buremera	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyamagabe	Uwinkingi	Bigumira	Magumira	Rural
Amajyepfo	Nyamagabe	Uwinkingi	Mudasomwa	Rushubi	Rural
Amajyepfo	Ruhango	Bweramana	Buhanda	Gakongoro	Rural
Amajyepfo	Ruhango	Bweramana	Murama	Karima	Rural
Amajyepfo	Ruhango	Bweramana	Rwinyana	Nyagitongwe	Rural
Amajyepfo	Ruhango	Byimana	Kirengeru	Nyabizenga	Rural

Amajyepfo	Ruhango	Byimana	Muhororo	Kigarama	Rural
Amajyepfo	Ruhango	Byimana	Nyakabuye	Muhororo	Rural
Amajyepfo	Ruhango	Kabagali	Munanira	Muremera	Rural
Amajyepfo	Ruhango	Kabagali	Rwoga	Kiyanja	Rural
Amajyepfo	Ruhango	Kinazi	Gisali	Kakireenzi	Rural
Amajyepfo	Ruhango	Kinazi	Kinazi	Karuhuga	Rural
Amajyepfo	Ruhango	Kinazi	Rubona	Rubona	Rural
Amajyepfo	Ruhango	Kinihira	Bweramvura	Gahororo	Rural
Amajyepfo	Ruhango	Kinihira	Kirwa	Wimana	Rural
Amajyepfo	Ruhango	Mbuye	Cyanza	Kabungo	Rural
Amajyepfo	Ruhango	Mbuye	Kabuga	Nyakabanda	Rural
Amajyepfo	Ruhango	Mbuye	Mbuye	Kanyinya	Rural
Amajyepfo	Ruhango	Mbuye	Nyakarekare	Bereshi	Rural
Amajyepfo	Ruhango	Mwendo	Kamujisho	Bugaramantare	Rural
Amajyepfo	Ruhango	Mwendo	Nyabibugu	Ntongwe	Rural
Amajyepfo	Ruhango	Ntongwe	Gako	Nyamahwa	Rural
Amajyepfo	Ruhango	Ntongwe	Kebero	Ruko	Rural
Amajyepfo	Ruhango	Ntongwe	Nyarurama	Nyamirambo	Rural
Amajyepfo	Ruhango	Ruhango	Bunyogombe	Kabega	Rural
Amajyepfo	Ruhango	Ruhango	Gikoma	Ryabonyinka	Rural
Amajyepfo	Ruhango	Ruhango	Musamo	Musamo	Rural
Amajyepfo	Ruhango	Ruhango	Nyamagana	Mujyejuru li	Urban
Amajyepfo	Ruhango	Ruhango	Rwoga	Kangoga	Rural
Amajyepfo	Muhanga	Cyeza	Biringaga	Munini	Rural
Amajyepfo	Muhanga	Cyeza	Kivumu	Musengo	Rural
Amajyepfo	Muhanga	Cyeza	Shori	Sholi	Rural
Amajyepfo	Muhanga	Kabacuzi	Butare	Nyirabwayi	Rural
Amajyepfo	Muhanga	Kabacuzi	Ngoma	Cyambari	Rural
Amajyepfo	Muhanga	Kibangu	Gitega	Muhororo	Rural
Amajyepfo	Muhanga	Kibangu	Rubyiniro	Mugari	Rural
Amajyepfo	Muhanga	Kiyumba	Remera	Kagitaba	Rural
Amajyepfo	Muhanga	Kiyumba	Rukeri	Munini	Rural
Amajyepfo	Muhanga	Muhanga	Nganzo	Masumo	Rural
Amajyepfo	Muhanga	Muhanga	Tyazo	Gitima	Rural
Amajyepfo	Muhanga	Mushishiro	Nyagasozi	Bandora	Rural
Amajyepfo	Muhanga	Mushishiro	Rwigerero	Rwuki	Rural
Amajyepfo	Muhanga	Nyabinoni	Muvumba	Nyamure	Rural
Amajyepfo	Muhanga	Nyamabuye	Gahogo	Kamugina	Urban
Amajyepfo	Muhanga	Nyamabuye	Gahogo	Rutenga	Urban
Amajyepfo	Muhanga	Nyamabuye	Gifumba	Samuduha	Rural
Amajyepfo	Muhanga	Nyamabuye	Remera	Gasharu	Urban
Amajyepfo	Muhanga	Nyarusange	Mbiriri	Nyarushora	Rural
Amajyepfo	Muhanga	Nyarusange	Ngaru	Remera	Rural
Amajyepfo	Muhanga	Rongi	Gasagara	Musenyezi	Rural
Amajyepfo	Muhanga	Rongi	Nyamirambo	Kabakungu	Rural

Amajyepfo	Muhanga	Rongi	Ruhango	Rukoma	Rural
Amajyepfo	Muhanga	Rugendabari	Mpinga	Buganda	Rural
Amajyepfo	Muhanga	Shyogwe	Kinini	Nyakaguhu	Rural
Amajyepfo	Muhanga	Shyogwe	Mubuga	Gasharu	Rural
Amajyepfo	Muhanga	Shyogwe	Ruli	Kavumu	Rural
Amajyepfo	Kamonyi	Gacurabwenge	Gihinga	Ryabitana	Rural
Amajyepfo	Kamonyi	Gacurabwenge	Kigembe	Nyakabungo	Rural
Amajyepfo	Kamonyi	Karama	Bitare	Kokobe	Rural
Amajyepfo	Kamonyi	Karama	Nyamirembe	Kigabiro	Rural
Amajyepfo	Kamonyi	Kayenzi	Kayonza	Nyabubare	Rural
Amajyepfo	Kamonyi	Kayumbu	Busoro	Manyana	Rural
Amajyepfo	Kamonyi	Kayumbu	Muyange	Kangenzi	Rural
Amajyepfo	Kamonyi	Mugina	Kabugondo	Cyeru	Rural
Amajyepfo	Kamonyi	Mugina	Mbati	Mbati	Urban
Amajyepfo	Kamonyi	Mugina	Nteko	Kona	Urban
Amajyepfo	Kamonyi	Musambira	Cyambwe	Rugarama	Rural
Amajyepfo	Kamonyi	Musambira	Kivumu	Nyagisozi	Rural
Amajyepfo	Kamonyi	Ngamba	Kabuga	Fukwe	Rural
Amajyepfo	Kamonyi	Ngamba	Marembo	Rugarama	Rural
Amajyepfo	Kamonyi	Nyamiyaga	Kabashumba	Kigabiro	Rural
Amajyepfo	Kamonyi	Nyamiyaga	Mukinga	Kayenzi	Rural
Amajyepfo	Kamonyi	Nyamiyaga	Ngoma	Munyinya	Rural
Amajyepfo	Kamonyi	Nyarubaka	Kambyeyi	Ruhuha	Rural
Amajyepfo	Kamonyi	Nyarubaka	Ruyanza	Gitega	Rural
Amajyepfo	Kamonyi	Rugarika	Kigese	Mibirizi	Rural
Amajyepfo	Kamonyi	Rugarika	Nyarubuye	Nzagwa	Rural
Amajyepfo	Kamonyi	Rugarika	Sheli	Ntebe	Rural
Amajyepfo	Kamonyi	Rukoma	Gishyeshye	Murambi	Rural
Amajyepfo	Kamonyi	Rukoma	Remera	Kabande	Urban
Amajyepfo	Kamonyi	Runda	Gihara	Nyagatare	Rural
Amajyepfo	Kamonyi	Runda	Kagina	Rugarama	Rural
Amajyepfo	Kamonyi	Runda	Ruyenzi	Nyagacaca	Urban
Iburengerazuba	Karongi	Bwishyura	Burunga	Nyamarebe	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Karongi	Bwishyura	Kayenzi	Buhoro	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Karongi	Bwishyura	Kiniha	Nyegabo	Urban
Iburengerazuba	Karongi	Gashari	Birambo	Nyabikenke	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Karongi	Gashari	Rugobagoba	Musongati	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Karongi	Gishyita	Kigarama	Gitwa	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Karongi	Gishyita	Ngoma	Murambi	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Karongi	Gitesi	Kirambo	Kirambo	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Karongi	Gitesi	Ruhinga	Ruhondo	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Karongi	Mubuga	Murangara	Rwakamuri	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Karongi	Murambi	Mubuga	Migina	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Karongi	Murambi	Nyarunyinya	Karambo	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Karongi	Murundi	Kabaya	Burwi	Rural

Iburengerazuba	Karongi	Murundi	Kareba	Ruhungamiyaga	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Karongi	Mutuntu	Byogo	Gititi	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Karongi	Mutuntu	Kanyege	Nyarubuye	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Karongi	Rubengera	Bubazi	Kigarama	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Karongi	Rubengera	Gitwa	Kibande	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Karongi	Rubengera	Mataba	Ruvumbu	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Karongi	Rugabano	Gitega	Cyarubariro	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Karongi	Rugabano	Mubuga	Gatwaro	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Karongi	Rugabano	Rwungo	Kabuye	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Karongi	Ruganda	Kivumu	Kagorora	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Karongi	Rwankuba	Bigugu	Nyantwa	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Karongi	Rwankuba	Nyakamira	Nyarushekera	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Karongi	Twumba	Bihumbe	Uwintobo	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Karongi	Twumba	Gitabura	Nyaruyaga	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rutsiro	Boneza	Nkira	Gisoro	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rutsiro	Gihango	Bugina	Karambi	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rutsiro	Gihango	Ruhingo	Gasharu	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rutsiro	Kigeyo	Buhindure	Gaharawe	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rutsiro	Kigeyo	Nyagahinika	Nteko	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rutsiro	Kivumu	Bunyoni	Kanyempanga	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rutsiro	Kivumu	Kabujenje	Bitare	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rutsiro	Kivumu	Nganzo	Bugarishya	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rutsiro	Manihira	Muyira	Kamishunguro	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rutsiro	Mukura	Kabuga	Sanzare	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rutsiro	Mukura	Kageyo	Rukeri	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rutsiro	Mukura	Mwendo	Gako	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rutsiro	Murunda	Kirwa	Karuruma	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rutsiro	Murunda	Twabugezi	Gatara	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rutsiro	Musasa	Gisiza	Karambi	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rutsiro	Musasa	Nyarubuye	Kabuga	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rutsiro	Mushonyi	Kaguriro	Rugerero	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rutsiro	Mushonyi	Rurara	Mukati	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rutsiro	Mushubati	Gitwa	Gakoma	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rutsiro	Mushubati	Sure	Kaduha	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rutsiro	Nyabirasi	Cyivugiza	Gishahaga	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rutsiro	Nyabirasi	Ngoma	Kazo	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rutsiro	Ruhango	Gatara	Mwurire	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rutsiro	Ruhango	Kavumu	Nyundo	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rutsiro	Ruhango	Rundayi	Matyazo	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rutsiro	Rusebeya	Mberi	Kagano	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rutsiro	Rusebeya	Ruronde	Nyamibombwe	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rubavu	Bugeshi	Butaka	Akimitoni	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rubavu	Bugeshi	Mutovu	Vuna	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rubavu	Busasamana	Gasiza	Kibavu	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rubavu	Busasamana	Makoro	Kamuzamuzi	Rural

Iburengerazuba	Rubavu	Cyanzarwe	Busigari	Kanembwe	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rubavu	Cyanzarwe	Rwangara	Hanika	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rubavu	Gisenyi	Bugoyi	Bugoyi	Urban
Iburengerazuba	Rubavu	Gisenyi	Kivumu	Ubumwe	Urban
Iburengerazuba	Rubavu	Gisenyi	Mbugangari	Rebero	Urban
Iburengerazuba	Rubavu	Gisenyi	Umuganda	Ihuriro	Urban
Iburengerazuba	Rubavu	Kanama	Mahoko	Kara	Urban
Iburengerazuba	Rubavu	Kanama	Rusongati	Muvebwa	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rubavu	Kanzenze	Nyamikongi	Nyamikongi	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rubavu	Mudende	Kanyundo	Nyamirama	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rubavu	Mudende	Rungu	Rungu	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rubavu	Nyakiriba	Gikombe	Rugerero	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rubavu	Nyakiriba	Nyarushyamba	Ruvuzananga	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rubavu	Nyamyumba	Kinigi	Nyamiko	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rubavu	Nyamyumba	Rubona	Bunyago	Urban
Iburengerazuba	Rubavu	Nyundo	Kavomo	Burambo	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rubavu	Nyundo	Nyundo	Kiyove	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rubavu	Rubavu	Burinda	Nyabantu	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rubavu	Rubavu	Gikombe	Bambiro	Urban
Iburengerazuba	Rubavu	Rubavu	Murara	Kabere	Urban
Iburengerazuba	Rubavu	Rugerero	Gisa	Gisa	Urban
Iburengerazuba	Rubavu	Rugerero	Muhira	Kasonga	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rubavu	Rugerero	Rwaza	Cyanika	Urban
Iburengerazuba	Nyabihu	Bigogwe	Kijote	Bikingi	Urban
Iburengerazuba	Nyabihu	Bigogwe	Kora	Rukore	Urban
Iburengerazuba	Nyabihu	Jenda	Bukinanyana	Bugarama	Urban
Iburengerazuba	Nyabihu	Jenda	Gasizi	Munanira	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyabihu	Jenda	Kareba	Rubare	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyabihu	Jomba	Gasiza	Cyumba	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyabihu	Jomba	Guriro	Kabari	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyabihu	Kabatwa	Batikoti	Kamuhe	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyabihu	Kabatwa	Myuga	Rugendabari	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyabihu	Karago	Busoro	Ruhigiro	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyabihu	Karago	Ghirwa	Kanombe	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyabihu	Kintobo	Gatovu	Gatovu Centre	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyabihu	Kintobo	Rukondo	Kimpundu	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyabihu	Mukamira	Jaba	Rwanyirangeni	Urban
Iburengerazuba	Nyabihu	Mukamira	Rugeshi	Kamenyo	Urban
Iburengerazuba	Nyabihu	Muringa	Gisizi	Kinihira	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyabihu	Muringa	Mwiyanike	Ryanyirandaba	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyabihu	Muringa	Rwantobo	Rwandarugari	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyabihu	Rambura	Kibisabo	Gatare	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyabihu	Rambura	Nyundo	Ntagihendo	Urban
Iburengerazuba	Nyabihu	Rugera	Marangara	Gasayo	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyabihu	Rugera	Nyarutembe	Kibumba	Rural

Iburengerazuba	Nyabihu	Rurembo	Gahondo	Gitega	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyabihu	Rurembo	Murambi	Gisoro	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyabihu	Rurembo	Rwaza	Muturagara	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyabihu	Shyira	Kintarure	Kabuguzo	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyabihu	Shyira	Shaki	Kirwa	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Ngororero	BWIRA	Gashubi	Rukeri	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Ngororero	GATUMBA	Cyome	Ruvumu	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Ngororero	GATUMBA	Karambo	Nteko	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Ngororero	HINDIRO	Gatega	Gasharu	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Ngororero	HINDIRO	Rugendabari	Kabuga	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Ngororero	KABAYA	Gaseke	Mbandari	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Ngororero	KABAYA	Mwendo	Bukonde	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Ngororero	KABAYA	Nyenyeri	Kimiramba	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Ngororero	KAGEYO	Mukore	Kabuhake	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Ngororero	KAGEYO	Rwamamara	Mubuga	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Ngororero	KAVUMU	Nyamugeyo	Gatovu	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Ngororero	KAVUMU	Tetero	Kasumo	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Ngororero	MATYAZO	Gitega	Kabara	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Ngororero	MATYAZO	Rwamiko	Butare	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Ngororero	MUHANDA	Gasiza	Rukobora	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Ngororero	MUHANDA	Ngoma	Rucano	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Ngororero	MUHORORO	Mubuga	Mitsimbi	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Ngororero	MUHORORO	Rusororo	Ryabadanga	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Ngororero	NDARO	Bitabage	Kinga	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Ngororero	NDARO	Kinyovi	Gahunga	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Ngororero	NGORORERO	Kazabe	Ngororero	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Ngororero	NGORORERO	Nyange	Nyange	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Ngororero	NGORORERO	Torero	Nyamabuye	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Ngororero	NYANGE	Nsibo	Cyambogo	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Ngororero	SOVU	Birembo	Kabayengo	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Ngororero	SOVU	Kanyana	Ruganda	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Ngororero	SOVU	Rutovu	Ngugu	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rusizi	Bugarama	Nyange	Muko	Urban
Iburengerazuba	Rusizi	Bugarama	Ryankana	Gihigano	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rusizi	Butare	Gatereri	Kabuga	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rusizi	Bweyeye	Gikungu	Rwamagare	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rusizi	Gashonga	Buhokoro	Busekera	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rusizi	Gashonga	Karemereye	Rugarama	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rusizi	Giheke	Giheke	Rugombo	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rusizi	Gihundwe	Burunga	Cyapa	Urban
Iburengerazuba	Rusizi	Gihundwe	Kagara	Nyandarama	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rusizi	Gikundamvura	Kizura	Mutonga	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rusizi	Gitambi	Cyingwa	Kabucuku	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rusizi	Gitambi	Hangabashi	Runanira	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rusizi	Kamembe	Gihundwe	Kabeza	Urban

Iburengerazuba	Rusizi	Kamembe	Ruganda	Kadashya	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rusizi	Muganza	Gakoni	Muhuta	Urban
Iburengerazuba	Rusizi	Muganza	Shara	Ramiro	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rusizi	Mururu	Kagarama	Kamatene	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rusizi	Nkanka	Kamanyenga	Gatebe	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rusizi	Nkombo	Bigoga	Gisunyu	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rusizi	Nkombo	Rwenje	Rutarakiro	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rusizi	Nkungu	Mataba	Rubona	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rusizi	Nyakabuye	Gaseke	Rubona	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rusizi	Nyakabuye	Mashyuza	Nyamaronko	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rusizi	Nyakarenzo	Kanoga	Kanoga	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rusizi	Nzahaha	Murya	Buganza	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rusizi	Nzahaha	Rwinzuki	Kabugabo	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Rusizi	Rwimbogo	Mushaka	Kamabuye	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyamasheke	Bushekeri	Buvungira	Buvungira	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyamasheke	Bushekeri	Ngoma	Kanyovu	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyamasheke	Bushenge	Gasheke	Karambo	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyamasheke	Bushenge	Karusimbi	Karusimbi	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyamasheke	Cyato	Murambi	Murenge	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyamasheke	Gihombo	Butare	Nyakabungo	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyamasheke	Gihombo	Kibingo	Kigarama	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyamasheke	Kagano	Gako	Musagara	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyamasheke	Kagano	Ninzi	Murwa	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyamasheke	Kagano	Shara	Murambi	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyamasheke	Kanjongo	Kigarama	Gitwa	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyamasheke	Kanjongo	Raro	Rambura	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyamasheke	Karambi	Gitwe	Karongi	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyamasheke	Karambi	Kagarama	Wibungo	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyamasheke	Karengera	Gashashi	Karangiro	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyamasheke	Karengera	Miko	Rutare	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyamasheke	Kirimbi	Karengera	Karambi	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyamasheke	Macuba	Gatara	Buhoro	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyamasheke	Macuba	Nyakabingo	Rumamfu	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyamasheke	Macuba	Vugangoma	Wisovu	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyamasheke	Mahembe	Nyakavumu	Bisharara	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyamasheke	Nyabitekeri	Mariba	Buhinga	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyamasheke	Nyabitekeri	Ntango	Kayenzi	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyamasheke	Rangiro	Jurwe	Rugomero	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyamasheke	Ruharambuga	Ntendezi	Muko	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyamasheke	Ruharambuga	Wimana	Ryangange	Rural
Iburengerazuba	Nyamasheke	Shangi	Nyamugari	Amahoro	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Rulindo	BASE	Gitare	Gihora	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Rulindo	BUREGA	Butangampundu	Gashinge	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Rulindo	BUREGA	Taba	Ngange	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Rulindo	BUSHOKI	Giko	Rugote	Rural

Amajyaruguru	Rulindo	BUSHOKI	Nyirangarama	Terambere	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Rulindo	BUYOGA	Gitumba	Munini	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Rulindo	BUYOGA	Ndarage	Karambi	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Rulindo	CYINZUZI	Rudogo	Gasekabuye	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Rulindo	CYUNGO	Marembo	Nganzo	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Rulindo	KINIHIRA	Karegamazi	Bwishya	Urban
Amajyaruguru	Rulindo	KISARO	Gitatsa	Kabere	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Rulindo	KISARO	Mubuga	Murambi	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Rulindo	MASORO	Kabuga	Nyakibande	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Rulindo	MASORO	Kivugiza	Rebero	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Rulindo	MBOGO	Bukoro	Kalindi	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Rulindo	MBOGO	Rurenge	Gitaba	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Rulindo	MURAMBI	Gatwa	Amataba	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Rulindo	MURAMBI	Mvuzo	Rurama	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Rulindo	NGOMA	Munyarwanda	Nyaruvumu	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Rulindo	NTARABANA	Kiyanza	Kiyanza I	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Rulindo	RUKOZO	Buraro	Kivomo	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Rulindo	RUKOZO	Mbuye	Mujebe	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Rulindo	RUSIGA	Taba	Bitare	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Rulindo	SHYORONGI	Kijabagwe	Kabakene	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Rulindo	SHYORONGI	Rubona	Rwahi	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Rulindo	TUMBA	Gahabwa	Mafene	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Rulindo	TUMBA	Taba	Kamuragi	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gakenke	Busengo	Birambo	Nyarubande	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gakenke	Busengo	Kirabo	Rusebeya	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gakenke	Coko	Mbirima	Murambi	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gakenke	Cyabingo	Muhaza	Ntaraga	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gakenke	Cyabingo	Rukore	Nyabisika	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gakenke	Gakenke	Nganzo	Bwimba	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gakenke	Gashenyi	Nyacyina	Bwiyando	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gakenke	Gashenyi	Rutenderi	Gatwa	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gakenke	Janja	Gashyamba	Gitovu	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gakenke	Kamubuga	Kamubuga	Kanshenge	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gakenke	Kamubuga	Mbatabata	Mwasha	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gakenke	Karambo	Karambo	Gishingo	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gakenke	Kivuruga	Rugimbu	Rurambo	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gakenke	Mataba	Buyange	Mubuga	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gakenke	Minazi	Gasiho	Gahombo	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gakenke	Minazi	Raba	Sarabuye	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gakenke	Mugunga	Rutabo	Gacemeru	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gakenke	Muhondo	Gasiza	Gahabwa	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gakenke	Muhondo	Ruganda	Mubuga	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gakenke	Muyongwe	Karyango	Mahaha	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gakenke	Muzo	Kiryamo	Munyinya	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gakenke	Muzo	Rwa	Gihororo	Rural

Amajyaruguru	Gakenke	Nemba	Mucaca	Cyahafi	Urban
Amajyaruguru	Gakenke	Ruli	Gikingo	Rumasa	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gakenke	Ruli	Rwesero	Nyarunyinya	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gakenke	Rusasa	Rumbi	Bukiza	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gakenke	Rushashi	Kageyo	Karambi	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Musanze	Busogo	Nyagisozi	Kabwenge	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Musanze	Cyuve	Bukinyana	Mwirongi	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Musanze	Cyuve	Kabeza	Gashangiro	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Musanze	Cyuve	Rwebeya	Marantima	Urban
Amajyaruguru	Musanze	Gacaca	Gasakuza	Gataba	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Musanze	Gacaca	Karwasa	Karambi	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Musanze	Gashaki	Muharuro	Karuganda	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Musanze	Gataraga	Rubindi	Gataraga	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Musanze	Kimonyi	Birira	Mbugayera	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Musanze	Kinigi	Bisoke	Karambi	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Musanze	Kinigi	Kampanga	Rutindo	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Musanze	Muhoza	Cyabararika	Bwuzuri	Urban
Amajyaruguru	Musanze	Muhoza	Kigombe	Kavumu	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Musanze	Muhoza	Mpenge	Giramahoro	Urban
Amajyaruguru	Musanze	Muhoza	Ruhengeri	Burera	Urban
Amajyaruguru	Musanze	Muko	Cyivugiza	Nyagahondo	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Musanze	Muko	Songa	Karambo	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Musanze	Musanze	Cyabagarura	Rugeyo	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Musanze	Musanze	Nyarubuye	Nturo	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Musanze	Nkotsi	Gashinga	Buhanga	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Musanze	Nyange	Cyivugiza	Terimbere	Urban
Amajyaruguru	Musanze	Nyange	Muhabura	Ntarama	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Musanze	Remera	Kamisave	Mukinga	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Musanze	Rwaza	Bumara	Gisorora	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Musanze	Rwaza	Nturo	Rubabi	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Musanze	Shingiro	Gakingo	Ryambungira	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Musanze	Shingiro	Mugari	Rebero	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Burera	Bungwe	Mudugari	Sangabuzi	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Burera	Butaro	Gatsibo	Rweru	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Burera	Butaro	Nyamicucu	Kiringa	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Burera	Butaro	Rusumo	Runaba	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Burera	Cyanika	Kabyiniro	Mugarama	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Burera	Cyanika	Kamanyana	Kabira	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Burera	Cyeru	Butare	Butare	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Burera	Gahunga	Buramba	Buramba	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Burera	Gahunga	Kidakama	Kidakama	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Burera	Gahunga	Rwasa	Nyangezi	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Burera	Gatebe	Rwambogo	Murambo	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Burera	Gitovu	Runoga	Kiraro	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Burera	Kagogo	Kiringa	Kigote	Rural

Amajyaruguru	Burera	Kinoni	Gafuka	Kabeza	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Burera	Kinoni	Ntaruka	Nyabagenzi	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Burera	Kinyababa	Musasa	Gitoma	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Burera	Kivuye	Gashanje	Bitukura	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Burera	Nemba	Kivumu	Gashushura	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Burera	Nemba	Rubona	Kadehero	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Burera	Rugarama	Cyahi	Tatiro	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Burera	Rugarama	Karangara	Rukiko	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Burera	Rugengabari	Mucaca	Nkoto	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Burera	Ruhunde	Gaseke	Gatare	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Burera	Ruhunde	Gitovu	Tetero	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Burera	Rusarabuye	Ndago	Gitovu	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Burera	Rwerere	Gacundura	Moma	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Burera	Rwerere	Rugari	Gatovu	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gicumbi	Bukure	Karenge	Karenge	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gicumbi	Bwisige	Bwisige	Kabuye	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gicumbi	Bwisige	Nyabushingitwa	Warufu	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gicumbi	Byumba	Gisuna	Rwiri	Urban
Amajyaruguru	Gicumbi	Byumba	Nyamabuye	Gatete	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gicumbi	Cyumba	Nyakabungo	Burambira	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gicumbi	Giti	Gatobotobo	Matyazo	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gicumbi	Kageyo	Gihembe	Muyange	Urban
Amajyaruguru	Gicumbi	Kageyo	Nyamiyaga	Rukomo	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gicumbi	Kaniga	Rukurura	Karambo	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gicumbi	Manyagiro	Remera	Shyigura	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gicumbi	Miyove	Miyove	Murehe	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gicumbi	Mukarange	Gatenga	Nyacyoroma	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gicumbi	Muko	Cyamuhinda	Rwamitembe	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gicumbi	Muko	Rebero	Nyampundu	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gicumbi	Mutete	Musenyi	Rukondo	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gicumbi	Nyamiyaga	Jamba	Kumuremure	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gicumbi	Nyamiyaga	Mataba	Ruyaga	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gicumbi	Nyankenke	Rutete	Ryanterura	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gicumbi	Rubaya	Muguramo	Gasheke	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gicumbi	Rukomo	Kinyami	Gahondo	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gicumbi	Rushaki	Gitega	Gitega	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gicumbi	Rutare	Bikumba	Marembo	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gicumbi	Rutare	Munanira	Mataba	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gicumbi	Ruvune	Gashirira	Nyarurama	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gicumbi	Rwamiko	Cyeru	Mukuyu	Rural
Amajyaruguru	Gicumbi	Shangasha	Kitazigurwa	Mubuga	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Rwamagana	Fumbwe	Nyakagunga	Akabeza	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Rwamagana	Fumbwe	Sasabirago	Karambo	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Rwamagana	Gahengeri	Mutamwa	Agasharu	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Rwamagana	Gahengeri	Rweri	Mataba	Rural

Iburasirazuba	Rwamagana	Gishali	Gati	Nyamabuye	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Rwamagana	Gishali	Ruhunda	Nyagahinga	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Rwamagana	Karenge	Kangamba	Kagese	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Rwamagana	Karenge	Nyamatete	Nyakabuye	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Rwamagana	Kigabiro	Cyanya	Kabuye	Urban
Iburasirazuba	Rwamagana	Kigabiro	Nyagasenyi	Rusave	Urban
Iburasirazuba	Rwamagana	Kigabiro	Sovu	Rugobagoba	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Rwamagana	Muhazi	Karitutu	Kingondo	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Rwamagana	Muhazi	Nyarusange	Kidogo	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Rwamagana	Munyaga	Nkungu	Rudashya	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Rwamagana	Munyiginya	Bwana	Rweza	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Rwamagana	Munyiginya	Nyarubuye	Kiyovu	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Rwamagana	Musha	Kagarama	Nyamigano	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Rwamagana	Muyumbu	Akinyambo	Akubugingo	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Rwamagana	Muyumbu	Murehe	Miyove	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Rwamagana	Muyumbu	Nyarukombe	Mugogo	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Rwamagana	Mwulire	Bushenyi	Rubiha	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Rwamagana	Mwulire	Ntunga	Rugarama	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Rwamagana	Nyakaliro	Gishore	Rugende	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Rwamagana	Nzige	Akanzu	Gikoni	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Rwamagana	Nzige	Rugarama	Kayibanda	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Rwamagana	Rubona	Kabatasi	Rusenyi	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Rwamagana	Rubona	Mabare	Urugwiro	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Nyagatare	GATUNDA	Nyamikamba	Gitovu	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Nyagatare	GATUNDA	Rwensheke	Kabuye	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Nyagatare	KARAMA	Kabuga	Kizunguruko	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Nyagatare	KARANGAZI	Karama	Makomo	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Nyagatare	KARANGAZI	Ndama	Akayange	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Nyagatare	KARANGAZI	Nyamirama	Nyamirama I	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Nyagatare	KATABAGEMU	Bayigaburire	Gikandura	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Nyagatare	KATABAGEMU	Nyakigando	Kamutara	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Nyagatare	KIYOMBE	Gitenga	Gitenga	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Nyagatare	MATIMBA	Byimana	Byimana I	Urban
Iburasirazuba	Nyagatare	MATIMBA	Rwentanga	Kagezi I	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Nyagatare	MIMURI	Mahoro	Nyabugogo	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Nyagatare	MUKAMA	Bufunda	Bufunda	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Nyagatare	MUKAMA	Rugarama	Bukire	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Nyagatare	MUSHERI	Ntoma	Ntoma	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Nyagatare	NYAGATARE	Barija	Barija A	Urban
Iburasirazuba	Nyagatare	NYAGATARE	Cyabayaga	Bihinga	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Nyagatare	NYAGATARE	Nsheke	Nsheke	Urban
Iburasirazuba	Nyagatare	NYAGATARE	Ryabega	Marongero	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Nyagatare	RUKOMO	Gashenyi	Rurembo	Urban
Iburasirazuba	Nyagatare	RUKOMO	Rurenge	Nyabwunyu	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Nyagatare	RWEMPASHA	Rutare	Nshuli	Urban

Iburasirazuba	Nyagatare	RWIMIYAGA	Kabeza	Rukiri li	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Nyagatare	RWIMIYAGA	Nyarupfubire	Rwimiyaga I	Urban
Iburasirazuba	Nyagatare	RWIMIYAGA	Rwimiyaga	Byimana	Urban
Iburasirazuba	Nyagatare	TABAGWE	Nkoma	Agafaru	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Nyagatare	TABAGWE	Nyagatoma	Runyeri	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Gatsibo	Gasange	Kigabiro	Rugarama	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Gatsibo	Gatsibo	Gatsibo	Rwimbogo	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Gatsibo	Gatsibo	Nyabicwamba	Rutovu	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Gatsibo	Gitoki	Cyabusheshe	Kivuba	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Gatsibo	Gitoki	Nyamirama	Kwishaba	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Gatsibo	Kabarore	Kabeza	Gatoki	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Gatsibo	Kabarore	Marimba	Rebero	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Gatsibo	Kabarore	Nyabikiri	Nyabikiri	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Gatsibo	Kageyo	Busetsa	Nyarusange	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Gatsibo	Kageyo	Nyagisozi	Nyagisozi	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Gatsibo	Kiramuruzi	Gakenke	Kayita	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Gatsibo	Kiramuruzi	Nyabisindu	Nyagashenyi	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Gatsibo	Kiziguro	Ndatemwa	Akamamesa	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Gatsibo	Kiziguro	Rubona	Ryanyiranyana	Urban
Iburasirazuba	Gatsibo	Muhura	Rumuli	Juga	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Gatsibo	Murambi	Murambi	Agasharu	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Gatsibo	Murambi	Rwankuba	Ikinyaga	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Gatsibo	Ngarama	Bugamba	Kinyinya	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Gatsibo	Ngarama	Kigasha	Nyantojo	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Gatsibo	Nyagihanga	Gitinda	Rushenyi	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Gatsibo	Nyagihanga	Nyagitabire	Kuwingeri	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Gatsibo	Remera	Kigabiro	Amataba	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Gatsibo	Remera	Rwarenga	Nyarubuye	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Gatsibo	Rugarama	Kanyangese	Nyabubare	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Gatsibo	Rugarama	Matunguru	Nyenyeri	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Gatsibo	Rwimbogo	Munini	Rweza	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Gatsibo	Rwimbogo	Rwikiniro	Byimana	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kayonza	Gahini	Juru	Juru	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kayonza	Gahini	Kahi	Tsima	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kayonza	Gahini	Urugarama	Myatano	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kayonza	Kabare	Cyarubare	Umuremampango	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kayonza	Kabare	Kirehe	Rushenyi	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kayonza	Kabarondo	Cyabajwa	Busindu	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kayonza	Kabarondo	Cyinzovu	Munini	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kayonza	Kabarondo	Kabura	Murambi	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kayonza	Mukarange	Kayonza	Buhonde	Urban
Iburasirazuba	Kayonza	Mukarange	Kayonza	Kayonza Centre	Urban
Iburasirazuba	Kayonza	Mukarange	Nyagatovu	Akanyinya	Urban
Iburasirazuba	Kayonza	Mukarange	Rugendabari	Rugendabari	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kayonza	Murama	Nyakanazi	Nyagahinga	Rural

Iburasirazuba	Kayonza	Murundi	Buhabwa	Mucucu	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kayonza	Murundi	Karambi	Rushenyi	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kayonza	Murundi	Ryamanyoni	Rwinyambo	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kayonza	Mwiri	Migera	Mwiri	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kayonza	Mwiri	Nyawera	Nyakabungo	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kayonza	Ndego	Karambi	Murambi	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kayonza	Nyamirama	Gikaya	Kinkoronko	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kayonza	Nyamirama	Rurambi	Kabuya I	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kayonza	Rukara	Kawangire	Butimba li	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kayonza	Rukara	Rukara	Kinunga li	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kayonza	Rukara	Rwimishinya	Mirambi I	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kayonza	Ruramira	Ruyonza	Gitoki	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kayonza	Rwinkwavu	Gihinga	Rubirizi	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kayonza	Rwinkwavu	Mukoyoyo	Nyarwashama I	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kirehe	Gahara	Butezi	Rwamabenga	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kirehe	Gahara	Murehe	Nyamirondogoro	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kirehe	Gahara	Nyakagezi	Mukundanya	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kirehe	Gatore	Curazo	Rugari	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kirehe	Gatore	Nyamiryango	Karambi	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kirehe	Kigarama	Cyanya	Gakoni	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kirehe	Kigarama	Kiremera	Irama	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kirehe	Kigarama	Nyankurazo	Kivu	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kirehe	Kigina	Rugarama	Kundengo	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kirehe	Kigina	Ruhanga	Rwagasare li	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kirehe	Kirehe	Kirehe	Byimana	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kirehe	Kirehe	Nyabikokora	Rugero	Urban
Iburasirazuba	Kirehe	Mahama	Kamombo	Terimbere	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kirehe	Mahama	Munini	Karambi	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kirehe	Mpanga	Mpanga	Kabuye I	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kirehe	Mpanga	Nasho	Pilote	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kirehe	Musaza	Gasarabwayi	Kanyosha	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kirehe	Musaza	Mubuga	Runyinya	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kirehe	Mushikiri	Bisagara	Isangano	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kirehe	Mushikiri	Rugarama	Rutare	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kirehe	Mushikiri	Rwayikona	Rwayikona	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kirehe	Nasho	Ntaruka	Nyagasozi	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kirehe	Nasho	Rugoma	Kabigembe	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kirehe	Nyamugari	Kagasa	Nyabayama	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kirehe	Nyamugari	Kianzi	Kabuye	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kirehe	Nyamugari	Nyamugari	Rebero	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Kirehe	Nyarubuye	Nyabitare	Nyamugari	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Ngoma	Gashanda	Munege	Gakuto	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Ngoma	Jarama	Ihanika	Umuka	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Ngoma	Jarama	Kibimba	Ibabiri	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Ngoma	Karembo	Karaba	Kigobe	Rural

Iburasirazuba	Ngoma	Kazo	Birenga	Karisizo	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Ngoma	Kazo	Karama	Mpandu	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Ngoma	Kibungo	Cyasekamba	Amarembo	Urban
Iburasirazuba	Ngoma	Kibungo	Gatonde	Nyagatovu	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Ngoma	Kibungo	Mahango	Karambi	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Ngoma	Mugesera	Mugatare	Rwamenyo	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Ngoma	Mugesera	Nyange	Nunga	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Ngoma	Murama	Mvumba	Mvumba	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Ngoma	Mutenderi	Karwema	Cyanamo	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Ngoma	Mutenderi	Muzingira	Gatonde	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Ngoma	Remera	Bugera	Kumukiza	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Ngoma	Remera	Ndekwe	Ruhuha	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Ngoma	Rukira	Buliba	Kabeza	Urban
Iburasirazuba	Ngoma	Rukira	Nyaruvumu	Gafunzo	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Ngoma	Rukumberi	Gituza	Mfune	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Ngoma	Rukumberi	Rubago	Nyagakizi	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Ngoma	Rukumberi	Rwintashya	Rwimpongo li	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Ngoma	Rurenge	Musya	Runazi	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Ngoma	Rurenge	Rwikubo	Akabakanda	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Ngoma	Sake	Gafunzo	Rwumba	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Ngoma	Sake	Rukoma	Isangano	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Ngoma	Zaza	Nyagatugunda	Kabonero	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Ngoma	Zaza	Ruhinga	Kagarama	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Bugesera	Gashora	Mwendo	Ruhanura	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Bugesera	Juru	Kabukuba	Gikana	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Bugesera	Juru	Musovu	Nyaruhuru	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Bugesera	Kamabuye	Burenge	Senga	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Bugesera	Mareba	Bushenyi	Gitenga	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Bugesera	Mareba	Rango	Matinza	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Bugesera	Mayange	Kagenge	Biryogo	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Bugesera	Mayange	Kibirizi	Gahinga	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Bugesera	Musenyezi	Gicaca	Kidudu	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Bugesera	Musenyezi	Nyagihunika	Kiruhura	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Bugesera	Mwogo	Bitaba	Gisasa	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Bugesera	Mwogo	Rurenge	Gitaraga	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Bugesera	Ngeruka	Murama	Kagege	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Bugesera	Ngeruka	Nyakayenzi	Murambi	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Bugesera	Ntarama	Kanzenze	Cyeru	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Bugesera	Ntarama	Kibungo	Rusekera	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Bugesera	Nyamata	Kayumba	Nyiramatumu	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Bugesera	Nyamata	Nyamata y'umuji	Gatare I	Urban
Iburasirazuba	Bugesera	Nyarugenge	Gihinga	Nyarubande	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Bugesera	Nyarugenge	Ngenda	Muyange	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Bugesera	Rilima	Karera	Rwimirama	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Bugesera	Rilima	Nyabagendwa	Mukoma	Rural

Iburasirazuba	Bugesera	Ruhuha	Gikundamvura	Rukurazo	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Bugesera	Rweru	Batima	Batima	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Bugesera	Rweru	Nemba	Kigina	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Bugesera	Shyara	Kabagugu	Kabagugu	Rural
Iburasirazuba	Bugesera	Shyara	Rutare	Shyara	Rural

## Appendix 6.

### The Research Team

Names	Responsibility
Dr. Jean-Bosco Habyarimana	Team Leader and Main Author
Dr. Edouard Musabanganji	Head Statistician
Dr. Marcel Zogeye Rwabutogo	Team member and author
Dr. Gisanabagabo Sebhuzuzi	Team member
Dr. Abel Ngabo Sebahashiye	Team member
Mr. Gerard Nyirimanzi	Team member & Head Translator
Mr. Brekmans Bahizi	Team member and author
Mr. Vedaste Kaberuka	Team member
Mr. Didier Gaga Rukorera	Representative NISR
Mr. Samuel Abdon Sibomana	Team member

## Appendix 7

### RRB2020 Research Reference Group Members

NO	NAMES	INSTITUTIONS
1	Dr Agée SHYAKA MUGABE	CCM
2	Reverien INTERAYAMAHANGA	NAR
3	Dr Chantal INGABIRE	CBS
4	Dr Philbert GAKWENZIRE	UNIK
5	NTEZIREMBO Victor	IRDPA
6	Dr USENGUMUKIZA Félicien	RGB
7	Dr Jean Damascene GASANABO	CNLG
8	Dr BIKESHA Denis	UR (College of Arts and Social Sciences)
9	Dididier RUKORERA GAGA	NISR
10	Sandra SHENGE	Aegis Trust



P.O. Box: 174 Kigali, Rwanda  
Website: [www.nurc.gov.rw](http://www.nurc.gov.rw)  
Email: [unity@nurc.gov.rw](mailto:unity@nurc.gov.rw)