An Exploration of Community Perceptions and Understandings of Rwandan Genocide Memorials

By

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Declaration

I, hereby confirm that, unless where otherwise specified in the text, this dissertation is the result of my own original work. It is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the Doctorate Degree of Social Sciences in the School of Sociology, at the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg Campus, South Africa. It has not previously been accepted for any degree and it is not being submitted for any other degree.

Signed: ....   Date:………………

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Dedication

To the memory of our beloved Daniel Kabera.

The father of our children Redempta and Rémy.

To Rose Kamunazi, our mother.

To Redempta Ingabire, our daughter.

To Rémy Dushimimana, our son.

To Epa Mwenedata and Emmanuel Niyibizi families.

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My thanks are extended to the respondents who took part in this study; their experiences are very important ones. Deep gratitude goes to the editor of my dissertation for unfailing patience, advice and editing. Very special thanks to the Episcopal Church of Rwanda, Kigali Diocese, and to all my friends, for the encouragement and advice they gave me during this study. Above all, my heartfelt gratitude goes to God, who provides me with abundance in life, love and successful studies.

May God bless you all.

Abstract

This study aims to explore community perceptions and understandings of Rwandan Genocide Memorials. It used selected samples of ten genocide memorials that are scattered throughout the country. Those memorial sites are Bisesero, Kamonyi, Kiziguro, Murambi, Nyamashake, Nyamata, Nyange, Nyanza, Rebero and Shyorongi. The genocide of 1994 has strongly affected Rwandans and its consequences continue to distress the social and cultural values.

Today Rwanda is tirelessly committed to rebuild and restore the remnants of material and non material aspects of the country. One of the non material aspects emphasized in this research is remembrance. In building genocide memorials, Rwanda is refusing to let go unrecognized the victims of genocide. Through pictures, graphics and photographs, genocide memorials talk to the community.

The population reads and interprets differently the messages genocide memorials communicate. The community's interpretation is often influenced by various personal experiences and by social, cultural, political and religious environments. The way the community reads and interprets the message of genocide memorials has the potential to influence social relationships.

The approach used to discover the perceptions and interpretations of the genocide memorials messages from the community views was the functionalist theory. Manifest and latent functions helped to determine respectively the pre-defined and non-recognized functions. This theory helped to discover the dysfunctional roles of those symbols among the community.

The present research is an empirical study which used a qualitative approach. It helped the researcher to describe and analyze different perceptions and understandings attributed to the genocide memorials from the ordinary people. The methodology that was used in order to

achieve relevant results was focus groups and personal interviews. Through group discussions and interviews, it was discovered that genocide memorials communicate a non violent message that assist Rwandans to improve their social relationships.

On the other side, genocide memorials communicate a violent message able to stand in the way of improving social relationships in the community and both poles were stressed. The third position stood between those two extreme poles. It accepted the positive and the negative effects of the messages of the genocide memorials. The themes that were identified by the respondents reflected and articulated these functional and dysfunctional consequences of genocide memorials messages in the community.

Although genocide memorials are important monuments, their messages are critical to the Rwandan situation where the community relationships are still not settled. The atrocities that continue to be expressed necessitate a particular consideration in order to reduce their negative consequence.

Table of Contents

Chapter Seven: GRASSROOTS INTERPRETATIONS OF GENOCIDE   MEMORIAL MESSAGES AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON PEOPLE'S RELATIONSHIPS 235

List of Figures

Abbreviation

BBC **:** British Broadcasting Corporation

BC : Before Christ

˚C : Degré Celecius

CHUK : Centre Hospitalier Universitaire de Kigali

CNLG : National Commission for the Fight Against Genocide

DRC : Democratic Republic of Congo

FAR : Rwandese Army Forces

HIV : Human Immunodeficiency Virus

INMR : Institute of Neuromuscular Research

IRDP : Institut de Recherche et de Dialogue pour la Paix

MINUAR : Mission des Nations Unies pour l'Assistance au Rwanda

RPF : Rwandan Patriotic Front

RTLM : Radio et Télévision Libre de Mille Colline

TIG : Travaux d'Intérêt Général

UNAMIR : United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda

Chapter One: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Short descriptive title

Genocide memorials are some of the new symbols carrying messages in a certain way. Pictures, graphics and photographs talk to the community. In exploring these physical localities and reading the messages they communicate, the population interprets them according to their personal experiences and in their own contexts. These symbols are subject to different interpretations; they symbolize internal conflict in the community, rooted in an unhealthy environment.

Remembrance in such situations is critical, as in Rwanda, where society is still not settled and the legacy of the past remains stressful to the population, and which experiences mixed feelings when looking at symbols that represent hurtful memories. Making the information available to the community is the key element in social transformation and change that will influence the population. The appropriateness of the information facilitates the audience explaining their feelings relating to the messages. The community responsibility for what happened, and the consequences it has had upon the community, influences the community interpretation of the messages they read into those symbols.

Discovering the grassroots perceptions and understandings of the messages the symbols communicate, unearths a message which may contribute to the comprehension of their social environment and which impacts on the foundations of their social relationships. The intensity of the prior message of shame and cruelty people read into the genocide memorials is shameful to them.

The genocide memorials' messages are ―written down in its own code which had to be broken first to make understanding possible" (Bauman, 1989: viii). The exploration of the community perceptions and understandings of Rwandan genocide memorials would reveal the impact of the message of genocide memorials on the community. It appeals to the nation of Rwanda, and all leadership in general, to revisit the hindrance of the socio-political environment in order to improve it.

1.2 Background and outline of research problem

Memory is the ability to store, retain and recall information. Evoking what happened underlines the bond between memories of an historical event, the present and the future. Memories are retrospective and prospective (Sivan 1999: 180). According to the atrocities within the happenings, the consequences it has upon the community, the number of people affected and, above all, the position of the state in the matter, these factors will motivate how remembrance is going to be considered (Robert & Denton 2004: 5).

Remembrance is critical in the Rwandan situation, where society is still not settled. The legacy of the past causes stress for the population (Pollak 1990: 316). Even though fora to debate what should be done to achieve social cohesion are organized, they are an idealistic projection. In the aftermath of the genocide‗ with all parties together in the same country and sharing the same culture, re-establishing social relationships is not easy because of differences in understanding and interpreting what happened (Chaumont 2002:11).

Political trends have their way of influencing memories, especially public memories. The unbalanced power of the political parties would bring feelings that some have the sentiment of being dominated and others empowered to exteriorize their feelings (Prunier 1999: 423-425).

Although memory is a human reality (Waintrater 2003: 91,Roth 2001:106), it keeps the event alive, causing traumatic aspects to re-traumatize the one who is remembering. For the rest of the community, memories cannot simply ―lead to redemption‖ (Simon 2005: 1, Yehuda 1997: 2); they are not ‗free cost' (Seidel 1986: xii).

Is the community able to bury those traumatic memories in order to avoid re-traumatization and to pave the way forward? A positive response would not be realistic. Wiesels (cited in Roth 2001:106) states that ―If we stop remembering, we stop being‖. The experience people went through, whether traumatic or not, becomes part of their lives and thus symbols of memory.

After the Armenian and Jewish genocides, the third genocide occurred in 1994 in Rwanda, the memorials being a product thereof. In the aftermath of the genocide, the government of Rwanda identified many sites where a commemorative monument of the genocide would be constructed and managed. These symbols of genocide hold social, cultural, political and religious implications for the community. Prunier (1995: xii) characterizes their meanings in the following way:

> Understanding why they died is the best and most fitting memorial we can raise for the victims. Letting their deaths go unrecognized or distorted by propaganda, or misunderstanding through simplified clichés, would in fact bring the last touch to the killers' work in completing the victims' dehumanization. Man (sic) is largely a social construct, and to deny a man (sic) the social meaning of his death is to kill him twice, first in the flesh, then in the spirit.

The present research looks at understanding and analyzing the definition of the physical presence of genocide memorials to prompt basic considerations of those symbols from the local community. It also intends to discover and explore the interpretations of genocide memorials' messages and their impact on social relationships from a grassroots point of view. Memorials of the genocide are symbols carrying messages through their various venues. They include a house

in which the history is briefly described and the remains of the deceased and other aspects of the genocide, including tombs for those killed during the genocide, are exhibited.

Spijker (1990), in his book, _Les Usages Funéraires et la Mission de l'Eglise: Une Etude Anthropologique et Théologique des Rites Funéraires au Rwanda', investigates rituals related to death and remembering the deceased. This research revealed that tombs are one of the important symbols of remembrance in Rwandan culture and the necessity for having a place which makes material the memories of the deceased is underlined. Memorials are designed in a certain fashion, which offers a challenge for people who enter them, and they stand as a reminder in order to suggest that the community should remain vigilant (The Senate 2006:17-18). Bauer cited in Osrin (2001:13) stressed that ‒events happen because they are possible. If they are possible once, they are possible again".

Is this expected function capturing the attention of all Rwandans who go into the genocide memorials and observe the physical items and the imagery? Or is the population reading something else into these genocide memorials? One focus of this research is to explore the messages of genocide memorials through their physical items and imagery. Understanding genocide memorials requires a deliberate community effort to appreciate the major meanings of those symbols, because ‒a symbol can mean anything or nothing" (King 1998:3). The genocide monuments are subject to different interpretations, since they symbolize internal conflict between _Hutu_ and _Tutsi_ social groups in Rwanda. Although social relations are delicate, Rwandans share the same culture, same language and neighbourhoods, and mixed marriages occur between the two groups.

Differentiations in physical appearances are not really the realities which could facilitate observations from either the outside or the inside to map _Hutu_ or _Tutsi_ characteristics. The demarcation between the two groups was recognized and socialized because of the stereotypes

internalized within Rwanda's community since ancient Rwanda; and broadened throughout the colonial and post-colonial periods (Smith 2004: 4).

Making the information available to the community is the key element in social transformation and change, because it influences the population which makes decisions accordingly. Charaudeau (1997:5) underscores the need to influence the community through the information transmitted, which will influence individual and community behaviour. The appropriateness of the tool allows the audience to receive the specific message. The message will be more comprehensive if the symbol is easily understandable by the viewers (Adelman and Suhrke 1999: 75-77).

Hartley, quoted by Robert and Denton (2004:12), underlines the importance of communication using symbols. Hartley states that ―no picture is pure image; all of them, still and moving, graphic and photographic, are talking pictures, either literally, or in association with contextual speech, writing or discourse". Using sophisticated materials such as genocide memorials could be a way of emphasizing the messages that memorials are expected to communicate.

The popular interpretation of what is expressed through the genocide memorials, and also how they relate to these symbols, could have an impact on social relations in that it cautions a sociological understanding as new symbols in Rwanda represent a complex historical event among the community. Community reaction to the message offered by the genocide memorials is multidimensional in that the recipient is neither passive nor innocent in interpreting the information presented (Vidal 1991:20-28). Stereotypes attributed to each social group, the struggles each member of the community went through and the will to admit and infer what happened and its consequences, are substantial factors in influencing understanding whenever a person comes across the messages which Rwandan genocide memorials are offering (Zorbas 2004:4).

The ways the community reads and understands information is partly dependent on their personal experiences (Haralambos, Holborn and Heald 2004: 843, Kaspersen 2000: 8-26) and partly influenced by the information available on the matter under discussion. From various perspectives of interpreting the messages of the genocide memorials, notwithstanding different perspectives, those interpretations are going to affect Rwandan social relationships either positively or negatively. Analyzing the genocide memorials' messages from these various insights will elucidate their role among Rwandan society. This will be the contribution of the present research.

1.3 Preliminary literature study and reasons for choosing the topic

In previous research relating to the Rwandan genocide (Coloroso 2007, Chrétien 1995, Kajeguhakwa 2001, Prunier 1995), the main focus was on the period of the genocide. It is important to note that some of the research findings had exploratory and historical approaches to that period, recording testimonies and questioning the historical context. The historian, Prunier (1995), in his book _The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide', investigates Rwanda's history and scrutinizes the historical environment in which the genocide, whose memorials are the product, was rooted.

Other research emphasized the analysis of different actors that participated actively in perpetrating genocide ideology and mass killings. Findings revealed the role of the State in organizing and orchestrating the genocide, using mass media, public meetings and teachings to stir up hatred. These tools played an important role in convincing ordinary citizens to participate in the mass killings (Hinton 2002; Chandler 1999, Nkunzumwami 1996, Rummel 2002, Allan 2007).

The second actor implicated in activities before, during and after the Rwandan genocide is the church. Most Rwandans belong to Christian churches and these institutions plotted with the State to organize the genocide, and thereafter tried to minimize what happened through protecting

suspected priests and other distinguishable members of their churches (Bizimana 2001, Hugh 1996, Gouteux 2007:175-204).

The church has been criticized for missing its mission of protecting Christians. Bizimana (2001), in his book, _L'Eglise et le Génocide au Rwanda', examines the contribution of different churches to the perpetration of mass killings and criticizes the attitudes of churches in the aftermath. Their approach is to teach the act of pardoning, but repentance, and where appropriate reparation, are not taught.

Bizimana (2001) characterizes the church as regarding what happened as *négationistes,* that is, they deny what happened. Even though criticized for general compliance with the State in organizing and putting genocide into action, some priests in Rwanda were outstanding in their intervention by saying _no' to genocide ideologies. Most of them died and few are still alive. Bizimana (2001:139-141) and Hugh (1996:133-136) highlight the outstanding clergy in their books.

The third actor that attracted the attention of Rwandan genocide analysts is the international community. Various researchers have pointed fingers at them. The presence of United Nations forces has been criticized during the period of genocide, in that it failed to protect Rwandans during mass killings (Castonguay 1998). French forces present in the former prefectures of Gikongoro, Kibuye and Cyangugu helped the perpetrators in completing their evil work (Pradell 2005).

Research conducted on the Kigali Memorial Centre of Genocide explored how this centre relates to the cultural practice of burial, mourning and memorializing in the context of the aftermath of the genocide (Bazubagira 2007). The focal point was how this memorial can help the community to re-establish the cultural values of burial, mourning and remembrance for those killed during the genocide. It deepened the issue related to the cultural process of death customs, which somehow presented a mixture of traditions due to the influence of the environment.

After the genocide tragedy, Rwanda's community expressed the intention of burying the bodies, and remains of bodies, scattered everywhere in the country. This was a priority in order to organize society. Through looking at ways the population could perform rites associated with death for those who perished during the genocide, different ideas emerged from the local communities. Some of them organized the burial rites as they used to do according to their cultural customs. Others looked for an alternative which could help them bury more than one corpse in the same tomb. The initiative started in the local community of Mwurire. This inspired other local communities to do the same. Thereafter, the government took over those initiatives and transformed them into a national project (Bazubagira 2008:37). While memorials provide an opportunity for the community to perform funeral rites for genocide victims, they also include other places where images, short movies and additional imagery are exhibited. Previous research conducted analyzed the Kigali Memorial Centre of Genocide, focusing on the aspect of being a burial place for those killed during the genocide.

Various considerations and interpretations attributed to the Kigali Memorial Centre through the process of analyzing its cultural aspect related to burial, mourning and remembrance, increased the researcher's curiosity to know more about community perceptions of memorials, to analyse the messages they communicate and to understand to what extent the memorial messages can influence the social relationships of the population. Different authors concur on the definition of _memory', but divergences arise when it comes to the symbol of memory and its functions. One tendency considers memorials as representing political propaganda and affirmation of political ideas, instead of emphasizing the event to be remembered (Merridale 1999: 62, King 1998: 6, Roth 2001:69). This consideration underlines the power of the State to manipulate these symbols.

The second trend was to commemorate a specific event, to help express and resolve emotional trauma among community members (Simon 2005:1; Winter and Sivan 1999: 33). A memorial is a conventional symbol to represent an event, but the power of the State is able to give a new image to the symbol according to what the state wishes to express. The ongoing discussion

concerning the functional aspects of memorials representing terrible events, emphasizes two different points of view.

The first point of view is that having a memorial representing a horrifying event, keeps victims locked into the nightmares of the past and unable to generate a hopeful future. Yehuda (1997, 2001) and Lipstadt (1993) state that confronting the memorials includes integrating the misery they stand for. According to Yehuda and Lipstadt, having a very simple symbol which does not have any trace of a horrific event will not adversely affect the victim and this can be the best way to move forward.

The second point of view, expressed by King (1998), Aegis Trust (2005), Roth (2001) and Bauman (1989) is that complex memorials are important and necessary to the well-being of the victim and the society, but these authors do express concern about their traumatic aspects. They underline the sadness and goodness of genocide memorials, which are realities for remembering a terrible event. They affirm that pain does not go away and the best way to diminish its morale-destroying consequences is to share that pain with friends, neighbours and the community. Complex memorials initiate this atmosphere. They emphasize that learning from the fatality of the consequences of the human action is another way of bringing about change; this can be made possible through complex symbols.

These various discussions show that there is a need for a sociological analysis of the messages memorials are communicating, as well as their influences. The ways the community interprets the messages of the Rwandan genocide memorials could increase or decrease the fragility of the social fabric, which encompasses cultural arrangements and central elements in organizing social life (Williams 1981: 10-11). In this regard, Giddens (2001: 22) explains that:

> Those elements of culture are shared by members of society and allow co-operation and communication to take place. They form the common context in which individuals in society live their lives. A society's culture comprises both intangible aspects—the beliefs,

ideas and values which form the content of culture—and tangible aspects—the objects, symbols or technology which represent the content.

From the above quotation, the term ‗tangible' can be defined as physical aspects of memorials: the places and displays that are used in their building. The tangible aspect of memorials will be scrutinized, using functionalist theory to understand and interpret how Rwandans, in their different perspectives and outlooks, interpret the memorials. The term ‗intangible' means beliefs, ideas and values people have about a particular issue. This is a fundamental aspect of memorials; they represent a multi-faceted place where the community can confront their own interpretations.

Analyzing the messages of memorials is likely to find a way of understanding the ‗historical traumatic events' Rwandan civil society endured. Here ―the civil society" means organizations and ordinary people (Eppert 2005: 51). Memorials are not only historical tools; they are strategic symbols to disclose the population's ―blindness" about discriminating ideology and its consequences over their destiny (Office of the Rwandan President 1995: 11-16).

In the view of Koyama cited in Bosch (1995:13), the crisis in the society has a dynamic essence. The manager of post crisis action would have to predict in which way to orient the aftermath of the crisis in order to restore positive attitude. There is hope that the Rwandan genocide, of which the memorials are a product, can be interpreted as having an essence of improving a milieu of tolerance. This has been underscored by Giddens (2001: 207), who points out that one of the meaningful roles of conflict is to be the catalyst of social change. The presence of conflict provides an opportunity for introducing new ideas into a society; it plays adaptive and innovative roles. Although memorials are open symbols, their physical presence and the interpretations of their presence can enable decision-makers to adopt new perspectives for accommodating the aftermath of genocide.

One hundred and eighteen sites of genocide have been identified all over Rwanda (Mapping agency 1997). From that large number of sites, 30 official memorials were identified; with one memorial in each district. Some of them have been constructed and managed; others are not yet complete. They consist of the following: burial places for those killed during the genocide, gardens, houses with rooms in which there are various exhibitions and a library (Office of the Prime Minister, Official Gazette: 4 June 2003).

The present research aims to study 10 Rwandan genocide memorials, being Bisesero, Kamonyi, Kiziguro, Murambi, Nyamashake, Nyamata, Nyange, Nyanza, Rebero and Shyorongi. Located in different areas, they represent various historical contexts. By studying each one, the researcher discovered and analyzed the various points of view. The sociological analysis, which is intended for this study, examined issues including manifest and latent functional and dysfunctional messages of genocide memorials.

There are five main reasons why the topic has been chosen. Firstly, being a Rwandan, the author wishes to share with the community the challenge of improving Rwandan social relationships in the aftermath of the genocide through analyzing the messages of the genocide memorials, their interpretations by the community and how their messages could help to develop a tolerant environment.

Secondly, being a student in sociology has unlocked the author's understanding of sociological phenomena through exposure to different perspectives. This has been another motivation to do this study.

Thirdly, genocide memorials are symbolic representations which might look different depending on the perspective from which one views them. Understanding the various views has been one of the aims of this research.

Fourthly, memorials are spreading multi-dimensional messages into the community and a particular, detailed analysis of their impact is needed.

Fifthly, the study conducted on the Kigali Memorial Centre of Genocide has increased curiosity to extend the research field and study the issues under discussion.

1.4 Research problems and objectives

In order to conduct a successful study, a definition of the research problem is essential. It is the energy that drives the scientific procedure. It is the foundation of the research that clearly defines key questions and pre-determined objectives.

1.4.1 The key questions asked

- What are the justifications behind the creation of the memorials of genocide?
- How does the population understand the memorial symbols and respond to them?
- What are the perceived messages from genocide memorials?
- How does the community interpret the memorials' messages?
- To what extent do the messages of the memorials affect social relationships in the community?
- How can community understandings and interpretations of genocide memorials' messages assist Rwandan society to improve their social relationships in the aftermath of the genocide?"

1.4.2 The objectives of the research

- To establish an understanding, and explore the significance, of the genocide memorials as physical symbols.

- To explore the motive behind the creation of the genocide memorials as a ‗symbol‗ expressing multidimensional messages.
- To discover the relevant implications of memorials‗ messages on social relationships.
- To explore different interpretations of the memorials‗ messages among the community.

1.5 Research problems and objectives

The following broad issues have been dealt with:

- The social, cultural, political and religious values of the genocide memorials within the Rwandan community.
- The manifest and latent functions or dysfunctions of the genocide memorials in the community.
- The potential of the messages of genocide memorials to influence the ongoing process of settling the problems of Rwandan social relationships.

1.6 Principal theories upon which the research project has been constructed

Genocide memorials are complex symbols that would be understood using social, cultural and political perspectives. As symbols that hold various definitions, the theory which is best going to enable all sectors of the community to make use of those monuments, is functionalist. Limited by the manifest functions assigned to the genocide memorials, this would not provide the whole image of the complex symbols. Thus there is a need to analyze these symbols using latent functions, which will help determine their functions not yet recognized.

The theory that integrates both sides and allows the researcher the possibility to analyze genocide memorials from various perceptions and understandings is functionalist theory, detailed by Merton (1968: 105). Using this approach offers the ability to record relevant information regarding the role of genocide monuments among the community. This study will exploit the

theoretical framework offered by the sociological theory of functionalism. This sociological theory "refers to logically interconnected sets of propositions from which empirical uniformities can be derived" (Merton 1968:39).

The use of the word function by the social scientists refers to "the activities assigned to the incumbent of a social status. This social scientific connotation gives rise to a functionary term (Merton 1967:74-75). There is a "functional interdependence" and "functional relations" that the presence of an element gives rise to the connections with other elements in the social system. Sociologists and social anthropologists adopted the social scientific connotation of the term "more often adopted from biological sciences" (Merton 1996:67). The contribution of each sub-system to the whole is defined like the contribution of each part to the "maintenance of the organism" (Merton 1968: 75).

Individual behaviour is moulded by broader social forces, but individuals are decision-makers as actors. The social forces that constrain individuals' behaviour are social facts. External to individuals, "they impose both behaviour and thought, as well as sentiments, on individuals" (Lehmann 1993: 51-52, Timasheff & Theodorson 1976:106-107). They are embedded into socio-political and economic structures which provide a framework for their interpretations. The actors, as individuals or groups, interpret the effects of the social facts according to the environment in which they are produced, and to their personal experiences. The functionalist approach analyses and explores the social facts, which are perceptions and interpretations of genocide memorials, relating to their functional contribution to the social system.

The prominent framework of functionalist theory is explained by Merton (1967:73-138). Pairing function to dysfunction, manifest to latent function, he focuses on the functional role of each part of a social system. Various parts of a system are interconnected like an integrated unit, working

together to produce stability, cohesion and consensus of a group, or a society (Merton 1967:73-138). Merton (1968: 105) states:

> ―*Functions* are those observed consequences which make for the adaptation or adjustment of a given system; and *dysfunctions,* those observed consequences which lessen the adaptation or adjustment of the system. There is also the empirical possibility of *non-functional* consequences which are simply irrelevant to the system under consideration"[…]. *Manifest functions* are those objective consequences contributing to the adjustment or adaptation of the system which are intended and recognized by participants in the system; *Latent functions*, correlatively, being those which are neither intended nor recognized.

Deliberately, a social system is conceived with a purpose. The objectives to be achieved can be explained by an official document or a cultural custom; these are the manifest functions. The designer and past-takers are conscious of what the contribution might be to the system, according to the pre-defined aim. Related to this research, the genocide memorials have been purposely designed. The Rwandan government tried ―to put into those chosen symbols all the meaning they should have" (King 1998:3) and there is a proposed way of reading them.

Even though they have meanings related to their manifest functions, they also have an undisclosed significance (Kaplan and Manners 1972:58). An orphan who goes into a genocide memorial may consider it as a home in which to meet with her/his relatives because during the genocide, her/his parents and relatives camped, were killed and buried in the place where the memorial has been built. According to her/him, those memorials represent a personal heritage, even though they are social monuments.

These unexpected functions can also be observed through the behaviour of individuals. Some people have refused to go back to their churches after the genocide and, instead, use the time for church to go to the memorials and perform rituals related to their beliefs. Are they using the memorial as a church? Or do they express something through those attitudes? Although a socio-cultural attachment to the burial place is an expected behaviour (Bigirumwami 2004: 190), going as far as using genocide memorials as a place to perform rituals is an unexpected action.

The expected functional aspects of genocide memorials may be weakened by their dysfunctional ones. Analyzing genocide memorials using the functionalist approach will come up with various views that create a clear understanding of their popular considerations. The dysfunctional or non-functional consequences of those symbols came from individual understandings and interpretations of genocide memorials.

The unexpected aspects of the messages of genocide memorials emerged within community considerations of those symbols. Functionalist theory is often referred to as a consensus approach in that it does not address the issue of conflict in society. Although functionalism does not address the issues of conflict, non-functional and dysfunctional postulates detailed by Merton (1949: 49-57) relate to the negative consequences of a system within society, and this is in contradiction to the expected consensus of this theory.

Using a functionalist approach, the researcher intends to deepen the sociological theories, detailed by Merton, that social action always embraces unexpected consequences, as a result of the complexity and dynamism of the subject matter. Analyzing the variation between the expected and unexpected consequence, using the case study of genocide memorials, deeply interrogated the postulate of the functional unity of the system. The functionalist theory detailed by Merton (1968: 118) based its experience on Hopi ceremonials. It is a practice of primitive people ‗designed to produce abundant rainfall'. The cultural elements are shared and create a system of meaning which ties a society together (Giddens 2001: 22).

The Hopi ceremonials ―fulfil the latent function of reinforcing the group identity by providing a periodic occasion on which the scattered members of a group assemble to engage in a common activity" (Merton 1996: 91). The sociological interest is not the relevance of this ritual, but the ―analysis of the actual role of this behaviour in the life of the group" (Merton 1967:118). Discussing manifest and latent functions and dysfunctions using a system that ties together a

society, differs from discussing functionalism on the basis of symbols which are open to different interpretations in the community.

The consensus expected by functionalism may not always be achieved, but the maintenance of the system can be. How various considerations of genocide memorials can work together to maintain the stability of the system will be the theoretical contribution of this research. The sites of the memorials have not been arbitrarily selected; they are located in places with a particular history during the genocide period.

What makes them unique places is that a large number of people were enclosed in camps during the time of the genocide and most of them were killed there. Survivors of these camps and perpetrators belong to the same community. The community have various interpretations, expected or unexpected, of the genocide memorials. The focus on Merton's functionalist framework deeply engaged the discussion within the analysis of the genocide memorials in Rwanda, to discover the functional and dysfunctional aspects of these new symbolic representations, their messages and their interpretations by the local community.

The functionalist approach has been chosen as a tool which is going to help the researcher to analyze and understand the functions of genocide memorials. This study will not discuss functionalism as a theory, but will make use of it to discover the meaning of the genocide memorials from the community's point of view. People are not ―empty vessels" waiting to be filled, but "have prior values, cognitions formed by early socialization, membership of social networks and personal experience" (Curran 1996:124) and the official way of reading memorials can be partly applied, or not, to what the community thinks about them.

The theoretical approach which integrates both the expected and unexpected functions of genocide memorials, and which offers the possibility to discover the community use of these

symbols, is the functionalist approach. This approach provides the possibility for the community to propose their own way of understanding and analyzing things, but also to assess their level of assimilating the proposed official definition of memorials.

1.7 Research methodology and methods

Research methodology discusses qualitative methodology, sampling, data collection, data analysis and access.

1.7.1 Qualitative methodology

This research is an empirical study which used a qualitative approach. Genocide memorials are very sensitive symbols that are not easily discussed openly. This approach helped the researcher to describe and analyze different perceptions and interpretations attributed to the genocide memorials by ordinary citizens (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 270).

Genocide memorials are symbols that combine social, political and cultural aspects. From these different perspectives, qualitative methodology has been appropriate to explore the significance of genocide memorials. It helped to ―discover the meaning‖ of the messages memorials are transmitting into the community and how the community understands the messages (Neuman 2000: 123).

1.7.2 Sampling

The research used a purposive or judgmental sampling method. This sampling is appropriate to this research because the researcher knows the environment, the population, the nature of the research and its aims (Babbie and Mouton 2001:166-167). This sampling method helped the researcher to select respondents that enabled her to answer the research questions and meet her

objectives (Saunders *et al.* 2000: 174). Ten genocide memorials from different corners of the country constituted the sample: in the Eastern Province, Nyamata and Kiziguro genocide memorials located in the Bugesera and Gatsibo districts; in the Western Province, Nyamasheke and Bisesero genocide memorials, situated in the Nyamasheke and Karongi districts; in the Northern Province, Nyange and Shyorongi genocide memorials, located in the Ngororero and Rulindo districts; in the Southern Province, Murambi and Kamonyi genocide memorials, sited in the Nyamagabe and Kamonyi districts and, in Kigali City, Rebero and Nyanza genocide memorials, found in the Nyarugenge and Kicukiro districts.

Two categories of respondents constituted a sample: Individual interviews and 10 focus groups with 10 informants in each group. This number facilitated discussion among one hundred individuals. Participants consisted of different genders and ages. This enriched the information that came from respondents (Stewart and Shamdasani 1990: 51). Two hours were spent with each group, as it helped create enough time and space to gather relevant information through discussion. Fifty minutes were spent with each interviewee so as to allow the building of trust and thorough discussion.

1.7.3 Data collection

The primary data was collected using interviews and focus groups. An interview guide helped to prompt the information concerning community perceptions and understandings of the genocide memorials. It included open-ended questions, where respondents answer openly, with an unlimited number of possible answers with explanations (Babbie 1992:147, Kitchin and Nicholas 2000: 51). An interview guide was written in English and translated into Kinyarwanda, a language which most of the respondents understand and feel comfortable to speak.

Focus groups discussed the issue under study. This allowed people to add meaning to the discussion and complement each other during the discussion. This helped the researcher to

discover community perceptions and understandings of genocide memorials (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 270-292, Stewart and Shamdasani 1990: 51-53). This research deepened the popular definitions and perceptions of memorials and their messages. The social group people belong to, and their political trends, are influential factors in understanding and interpreting the genocide memorials.

The researcher was careful when using interviews and group discussion techniques, to ensure that relevant information was gained. Genocide memorials are open and sensitive symbols and some respondents may not feel comfortable with discussing their views in groups. Individual interviews were conducted with those who participated in a focus group, of one hundred respondents, to make sure that all information was recorded.

Notebooks and recording equipment were used to store information during interviews and focus groups, so that during data analysis useful information was available without distortion. In this research, secondary data, such as books, articles from journals and internet resources, including the information on genocide memorials and other related information, were consulted (Babbie and Mouton 2001:79).

Gathering consistent information about sensitive and emotional symbols such as memorials of genocide is very difficult. There was another constraint undermining this sociological analysis: the researcher is a product of the Rwandan social and cultural background, concerned with the emotional aspect of the genocide memorials, the issue under discussion. Aware of the restrictions, the researcher made an effort to minimize the bias that would come with these mentioned limitations.

1.7.4 Data analysis

Content analysis, as a tool of data analysis, helped to analyze the content of the transcripts from the focus groups and interviews. The analysis of the data, using content analysis, helped the researcher to deepen the perceptions, understandings and interpretations of the messages of memorials. Neuman (2000: 293) stresses that ―the content refers to words, meanings, pictures, symbols, ideas, themes, or any message that can be communicated". The content arose out of the focus groups and interviews.

The researcher identified themes to discover the meanings of memorials, their messages and their interpretations, expressed through interviews and group discussions. The presence of concepts, expressing views from the community and their interpretations within the interviews and group discussions, transcripts and recorded materials have been quantified and analyzed (Babbie and Mouton 2001:383-384).

Themes identified enabled the researcher to reflect, articulate and explain the messages of genocide memorials and their interpretations in Rwandan society. Responses from respondents were coded into variables which enabled the researcher to ensure that the intensity and the frequency of terms surrounding the perceptions and interpretations of genocide memorials are clearly identified (Neuman 2000: 293-295).

1.7.5 Access

The necessary authorization has been sought from relevant departments and institutions such as the National Commission for the Fight against Genocide, under which the management of genocide memorials falls, provincial offices and memorials offices. In this research, respondents were not difficult to access. The initial approach occurred by e-mail, telephone or through personal contact.

1.8 Structure of dissertation

Consisting of eight chapters, the dissertation is structured in the following way:

Chapter One covers the general introduction of the study.

Chapter Two is the literature review of Rwandan history which embraces the period of genocide, of which genocide memorials are the products.

Chapter Three provides a general understanding of memory with a special focus on the context of Rwandan society.

Chapter Four discusses the theoretical framework of the sociological theory of Functionalism, which has been used as a tool for understanding genocide memorials and their messages.

Chapter Five is methodology: the fieldwork, collecting data and explaining the process of interviews and group discussions.

Chapter Six explores the popular definitions of genocide memorials and their messages.

Chapter Seven investigates the interpretations of the messages of genocide memorials from the point of view of the community and their influence upon the relationships between ordinary citizens.

Chapter Eight is the conclusion and summary, recommendations and proposal for further work in this new field of research in Rwanda.

Chapter Two: LITERATURE REVIEW OF RWANDAN HISTORY

2.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with an overview of Rwanda's history leading up to the period of the genocide. As a previously colonized country, Rwanda went through three historical periods: the Pre-Colonial, the Colonial and the Post-Colonial periods. The upheaval of each period affected the political, social, economic and cultural systems. The only means of recording events during the Pre-Colonial period was the oral tradition (Overdulve 1997:12, Kagame 1943:13-15). As the oral tradition was the only source of history during this time, it is not easy to confirm the accuracy or relevancy of the information offered by any particular source. There is some information in Rwandan history that remains fragmented due to a single source of information that cannot provide consistent details for the historian (Vansina 2001:13). Rwandan written history is mostly the legacy of the colonizer, and the period of colonization marked an important turn in everyday activities.

With the arrival of the colonizers and the missionaries, the dynamism of the traditional lifestyle changed across all spheres within the country with the introduction of schools, hospitals, new agricultural methods, fashion, clothing and so forth. The Post-Colonial period is, to some extent, a continuity of the Colonial period. Ancient Rwandan history focuses on what was going on within the kingship, the lifestyle of *Umwami* (the King) and those who were related to *Umwami*. The general population came into the Rwandan history only when there was a specific event between them and *Umwami*, at which time they were considered to be related to *Umwami*.

It has been a legacy of Rwandan history, throughout all periods, to focus attention on the small circle of leaders or elite. Rwanda's history has been deliberately disoriented into stories of the ruling elite's power over the population, with civil society being likely to execute the elite's decisions, including the last-minute implementations of the rulers' ideologies. In order to secure

their elevated position of power, war and violence, to the point of genocide, among civil society, was intentionally organized (Ferguson 2003: 28). This perspective of history does not allow historians to discover aspects of community life, especially in remote areas where the power of the elite is not observed.

Community life was assimilated into the life of the small circle of rulers. This assimilation does not reflect the daily reality among the population, which becomes particularly noticeable during conflict periods. In the opinion of the leadership, the population took part in conflicts, which affected the Rwandan community's ability to make choices; the rulers' options were accepted as a predetermined approach to everyday life. The population seems to have been executing the rulers' desires instead of making its own decisions. Chrétien (1995: 48-70) states that what is called civil war and violence in the Rwandan context is the product of the political-social organization into which the population was blindly assimilated, putting the leader's idea into action.

It is when consequences are significant to the population that the people are the most oblivious and exhibit sightless obedience to the rulers, instead of analyzing whether these rulers' actions are judicious or thoughtless. Without reservation, the historian Vansina, cited in Jewsiewicki (2002:127-128), considers this kind of approach as a handicap, both to popular knowledge and to the small circle of leaders. The endeavour to develop this kind of biased history is an attempt to legitimize the power of the leaders in each sphere of the country. The social, the political, the economic and the cultural aspects of society are viewed as the leaders' domain, without considering ideas from the population. Moreover, the people's lives are evaluated through the leaders' views.

Due to this external locus of evaluation, the population has to agree with what the leaders propose and do so without disagreement. This ethos has resulted in a people who accept any behaviour from leaders, even if it is detrimental to them. The independence period has not changed this system; rather, it has worsened the system. The consequence of manipulating civil

society in this way is that an atmosphere of domination has been created over the population. The resultant passivity of the general population has increased the power of the leaders. Haralambos, Holborn and Heald (2004: 212) define civil society as ―the public life of a society as compared to the activities of the state and the private life within households". It is this manipulation that weakened the civil society, to the point that it couldn't challenges the leaders who were preparing the genocide.

Turning to the Rwandan genocide, its origin can be traced to the time of the colonizers but the progress of the ideology was nourished by local leadership, which increased frustrations among social groups. In this sense, Eisenstadt (1995: 1) underlines the influence of the past in making the present and shaping the future. He asserts that, ―men (sic) make their own history, but they do not make it as they please, they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given, and transmitted from the past".

Making reference to one period has made a significant contribution to the Rwandan genocide. Keeping hatred alive between *Hutu* and *Tutsi* had its roots in all three of the Rwandan historical periods (Waller 1996: 8). Even though the Belgian colonizers misused the Rwandan culture to their own interests, especially in perpetuating the myth behind the origin of Rwanda's community, they attempted to divide the country using the existing concepts of Hutu and Tutsi. They indeed incorrectly interpreted the myth already used and accepted since the Pre-Colonial period.

According to Destexhe (1995: viii), the colonizers biased the meaning of the concepts Twa, Hutu and Tutsi to the point of giving them ethnic meaning; this was originated in the colonial period. This misunderstanding has served to increase the division among the Rwandan people. Although there are no actual marked characteristics of different ethnic groups, the colonizers exploited and

stereotyped differences to advance their own interests in having a division in Rwanda's community.

2.2 Description of Rwanda

What is Rwanda today was delimited by the conference of Berlin in 1910 (Kajeguhakwa 2001: 349, Rumiya 1992: 25). Rwanda has an area of 26 336 square kilometres and the population is estimated to be 8 128 553. It is one of the most densely populated countries in Africa, with 292 habitants per square kilometre. Men number 3 879 448, equal to 47.7% of the population and women number 4 249 105, or 52.3% of the population (Service Général de Recensement 2005: 3, 10). Rwandans all share one common mother tongue, *Kinyarwanda,* and two foreign languages which are official languages, French and English (Vulpian 2004: 22). Rwanda is a religious country. The population practices predominantly three religions, namely Christianity, Islam and Traditional (Bureau National de l'Enseignement Protestant 2002: 42-47)

Rwanda is part of the Great Lakes Region, located in the Central African Rift Valley. The natural borders are volcanoes in the North, Lake Kivu and the Rusizi River in the West, the Akanyaru River in the South and the Akagera River in the East. The neighbouring countries are Uganda in the North, Burundi in the South, Tanzania in the East and the Democratic Republic of Congo to the West (Spijker 1990: 8).

Rwanda is a landlocked country, and trade is facilitated by two main ports on the Indian Ocean - Mombasa Port (Kenya) and Dar Es Salaam in Tanzania. From the ports, roads become a vitally important element of the transport infrastructure. Rwanda has four seasons: two rainy seasons and two dry seasons. The long, rainy season is from March to June and the short one from October to December; the long, dry season is from July to September and the short one from January to February. Weather rotation is a powerful determinant in agricultural production

during the year. Diversity in production during the four seasons allows the agrarian population to produce a variety of products.

The majority of Rwanda's farming population are subsistence farmers, representing 92% per cent of the entire population (Nkunzumwami 1996: 11-12). This group of farmers, that is 92% of the population, is not all farming in the real term of the word, because even people who do not have a specific job are designated as farmers; the meaning of ‗farming' and ‗jobless' are the same. Farming has negative connotations and has been neglected. The altitude of Rwanda is between one thousand and two thousand metres above sea level, and the annual temperature is around 20˚C (Rukebesha 1985: 10). The country is divided into three altitudinal zones. In the East of the country, the altitude is less than one thousand five hundred metres above sea level.

The second altitudinal zone is in the region of the Crete of Congo-Nil, about 160 km from North to South and between 20 and 50 km from East to West, representing the fertile and productive agricultural region. It is the heart of Rwanda's agricultural production and the main source of food. The last zone has a high altitude and is characterized by heavy annual rainfall (Lugan1986: 19-20, Vansina 2001: 24-25). This small area of Rwanda has limited agricultural production; pastoralists do not have enough space.

2.3 Pre-Colonial Period

Ancient Rwanda is defined as existing from the XIIth century B.C. to the XIXth century. What is Rwanda today was called *Rwanda rwa Gasabo,* meaning, Rwanda of Gasabo. Gasabo is a place located in the centre of the country, referred to as the primitive entity of the country (May 1999:299). The oral tradition was the only way of recording events during the Pre-Colonial period (Overdulve 1997:11, Semujanga 2004:31).

Analyzing what happened during this period is not easy and various distortions are encountered. For example, where events have been decontextualized or transformed over time and by the nature of oral tradition, whether intentionally or not, the subjectivity of history becomes increasingly intensive, especially during analysis of the ancient history of a country using oral material. The personal context of the analyzer brings into the analysis new thoughts related to the personal understandings (Vansina 2001:11-12). Reading Rwanda's history through Belgian eyes resulted in some realities being misinterpreted.

To explain the Rwandan genesis, there are many myths. Myths were traditionally the most important methods used by Rwandans to explain the origin of everything. The official history of monarchs, which includes information such as rituals, taboos of the kingships and religious practices, were kept by *Abiru* (the royal ritualistic), their name meaning, in Kinyarwanda, ―somebody who keeps secrets". These were carefully selected persons who were charged with keeping the secret code of the monarch, as well as the official communication of the kingship (Nkusi 2004: 57-58).

It is unreasonable to expect that the *Abiru* were able to memorize all the kingship events. They were responsible for memorizing each official event, for interpreting it for *Umwami* and thus for the population. Through poetry, storytelling and other forms of oral methods, traditions were expressed among Rwandans during the Pre-Colonial period. Agriculture was the most important activity in Rwanda, but economic prestige was gained by owning cattle. In fact, the cow had social, economic and cultural significance. A symbol of friendship, it was used as a dowry where two families had agreed to organize a marriage between their children. The King also used it as a reward to his fellows. Other animals, such as goats and sheep, had no such social value (Kayihura 2004: 178-179)

The cow was considered to be a symbol of prestige and wealth among the Rwandan population (Kayihura 2004: 178-179). The social and economic differences which led to the inequalities in Pre-Colonial Rwanda were minor. The social conflict was developed over agriculture, land and pastureland (Vansina 2001: 40-41). Conflict arose around the kingship between clans; this was managed under the taboo beliefs that the only clan that could provide *Umwami* is *Abanyiginya*. These activities, resulting in subordination, would later become the source of conflict. Stereotypes in Rwandan society began to develop differences between Rwandan groups; in particular, between the Hutu and the Tutsi, although Twa have been marginalized throughout history (Overdulve 1997:13, Nkusi 2004:60).

2.3.1 Myth in ancient Rwanda

Myths play an important role in traditional literature; they express an original message as the fruit of intellectual imagination. On their own, they do not make sense. Therefore they acquire their meaning through social, cultural and political institutions in the milieu in which they are rooted and take form. Lévi-Strauss (1978:16-18) stresses that myths do not have any significance in themselves. Their meaning is included in the context in which they are conceived. This statement reinforces the point of view that the values of myths are embedded in their context.

These values are therefore subject to unconscious or conscious manipulation,. This manipulation occurs when people ignore the contexts of myths, or when they choose to introduce other realities into the fabric of the myth. In this way the myth has been misused. When the colonizer tried to understand the significance of the three Rwandan social groups, Twa, Hutu and Tutsi, he considered realities using his own social and cultural background.

Mythology has assumed the responsibility of expressing from where they come from. For this reason, the origin of these groups is uncertain in Rwanda's history. Each group's origin is

explained by more than one myth. In the present research, two popular myths expressing a contradictory explanation of the origin of Rwanda's groups will be scrutinized. The first myth, told by Lema, is quoted by Melvern (2000:7), as follows:

> The pre-colonial Rwanda remains largely a mystery, [---]. One myth told how the first king of all the earth had three sons, *Gatwa, Gahutu* and *Gatutsi,* and to test them he entrusted to each a churn of milk. *Gatwa* quenched his thirst, *Gahutu* spilt the milk but *Gatutsi* kept his intact and so he was entrusted to command the others.

The second myth explaining the origin of the three groups, according to Prunier (1995: 12), suggests that:

> What is Rwanda now was inhabited by the hunter-gatherers, the *Twa*, who were displaced by agriculturalists migrating northwards, and supposedly the ancestors of the *Hutu*. The *Tutsi* were said to have originated in the Horn of Africa, migrating south, and they gradually achieved dominance over the other two groups. It is this theory which led eventually to the view that the *Tutsi* were somehow a _superior race', a lethal interpretation of history and one that would seriously affect the views and the attitudes of the Europeans.

These two myths have some points in common, but others are quite different. The common aspect is that both name three social groups, affirm their existence and give an elevated authority to the *Tutsi* group. They also characterize the three groups differently. The difference asserted by the first myth suggests that *Gatutsi*'s leadership came from his obedience to his father.

Such behaviour was rewarded and *Gatutsi* received the authority to reign over his two brothers. The ideology behind this can be understood as expressing the power, the kindness and the merit of the King when Rwanda was a kingdom, since the kings came from the *Tutsi* group (Smith 1975: 38-39). This would be feasible due to the *Tutsi* domination during the ancient Rwandan period; the power of the kingship has always been expressed in a mythical language. For instance, there is a myth concerning why the *Umwami* came from the *Nyiginya* clan.

The second myth explains the three groups as originating from different regions; one of them coming with authority and reigning over the other groups, even over one group which was considered the landlord of the country, the *Twa*. It addresses the labor division between the three groups; the *Twa* were the hunter-gatherers, the *Hutu,* were farmers and the *Tutsi* were a ‗superior race'. This myth introduced a crucial issue which produced a polar understanding and thought process in Rwanda. It emphasizes the different origins of Rwanda's population, each having its own intrinsic knowledge, which places each poles apart from the other. Even though there are no exact criteria that would assist anyone who needs to analyze the Rwandan ethnic grouping, these groups are still socially typecast.

Mythology is part of Rwanda's community, integral to its traditional customs to conceptualize the origin of everything existing within society (Muzungu, 1975: 28-29). Myths are one method forefathers used to communicate realities which necessitated explanation in their social and cultural context in order to be understood. Lévi-Strauss (1978:17-18) states that, myths have something to say in the community. Myths are not simply abstract stories, they have a valuable message; they are distinguishable from other forms of storytelling and they occupy a particular context within each culture. This context includes the way in which a society explains its realities through the behaviour of humankind, which influences the way of life of that community.

Mythology explores such realities in a mythical system of language which is acceptable and understandable within a particular culture. In Rwanda's customs, each important historical event is told through myth. For example, one heroic Rwandan King, Ruganzu Ndori, who ruled from 1510-1543, conquered through war and added a portion to what was ancient Rwanda, to form today's Rwanda. His courage is told in mythical language. He reigned as a powerful king and a myth conveys this power in its descriptions of his footsteps (Smith 1975: 76).

Within the Rwandan mythological philosophy, everything that exists has an original myth connected to its origin. For example, one myth tells why and when every animal stopped speaking human language, another explains why Rwanda's landscape has hills and valleys. These myths have been told in the daily lives of the Rwandan people and they have both negative and positive impacts on the population, influencing the way they read and understand their history (Smith 1975: 76).

Beyond the social and cultural context, myths do not make sense, but the importance of myths within the social and anthropological existence of communities is considerable, in that they tell ―An ancient story or a set of stories, especially explaining in a literary way the early history of a group of people or about natural events and facts" (Procter *et al*. 1995: 935). A myth comprises both real and unreal elements; separating the real from the unreal is not easy. If the reader is unfamiliar with the textural context of the myth, the entire myth could be grossly misinterpreted. The two myths explaining the origin of the Rwandan social groups have been described in detail because of their contribution to the development of the stereotypes between these groups. The stereotypes have been internalized and socialized throughout the history of the groups.

However, it becomes more complicated when one reality is expressed differently by more than one myth. This is how the problem of the historical origin of the three social groups in Rwanda came about; the myths tried, and still try, to explain where each of those social groups came from, based on the intellectual imagination of those who told them. The discussion in this chapter on mythology can be complemented by the views of Smith (2001: 182.) in his book ―Nationalism, ideology and history". According to Smith, myths are central to the way we live and how we define ourselves. In his pioneering book ―Nationalism, Ideology and History", Smith looks at the overall and theoretical nature of myth on a worldwide basis and examines the explicit myths of various nations. With nationhood and ethnicity at the centre of political attention, Smith's book is well-timed in revealing the deeper, fundamental issues of nationalism that cause so much conflict throughout the world (Smith, 2001: 362-380). Smith attempts a

theoretical explanation and illustration of his approach to nationalism, which he calls ‚ethno-symbolism'.

There are two wide-ranging approaches to studying nationalism which, following Smith, termed as ‚perennialist' and ‚modernist'. Perennialists believe that nations have always existed throughout history. Some individual nations are themselves perennial, other nations come and go, but there is a continuous presence of nations as social and historical phenomena. The modernists reply that nationalism proper, and hence full consciousness of nationhood, is essentially a post-Enlightenment construction.

Smith criticizes the modernists for ignoring the historical precedents of nationalism, which he locates in long-term cultural and ethnic ‚myths and memories'. As a consequence, he believes, the modernists fail to explain the popular and emotional appeal of nationalism. ‚What gives nationalism its power', he says, ‚are the myths, memories, traditions and symbols of ethnic heritages and the ways in which a popular living past has been, and can be, rediscovered.' At the same time, Smith rejects the perennialist trap of implying that nations are an inevitable part of the ‚natural order'. He acknowledges that nationalism has other uses which partly explain its ubiquity in the modern era. For example, as religious feeling has faded, nationalism has been able to provide an alternative source of meaning and belonging. It helps to explain the individual's place in the world, his or her moment in a longer, encompassing history. Nationalism has also been a tool of political mobilization. The attachment to a particular homeland may distinguish it from other kinds of political ideology, but it is nationalism's unsurpassed capacity for motivating people that has made it such a dynamic force in the modern world.

Although Smith accepts that nationalism and, indeed, most nations are modern, he believes they cannot be understood without appreciating ‚their rootedness in shared long term memories or ethno-history and the resulting need to analyze them over long historical time-spans.' The relationship between past and present may be complex and, to some extent, reconstructed or re-

appropriated; but it is a cardinal failure of the modernists that they ignore ―la longue durée" (Smith, 2001: 362-380).

Nations may not be themselves perennial, says Smith, but ethnic groupings are. They ‗can be found in every epoch and continent, wherever human beings feel that they share common ancestry and culture'. ―There is," he says, ―in most cases, a more or less powerful link between modern nations and pre-existing, and often pre-modern ethnicities". Although the various elements of ethno-history are subjective, in that they focus on perceptions, memories, beliefs and values, over time they produce a structure which is independent of these beliefs and perceptions and which provides ‗the framework for the socialisation of successive generations'. These cultural structures also allow flexibility in ethnic groupings, permitting demographic turnover and cultural adaptation and change. Smith therefore rejects the sharp distinction, popular nowadays, between ethnic nations and civic nations, arguing that the latter always have an ethnic core represented in their myths and memories, and that the former have an adaptive and porous cultural superstructure.

2.3.2. Social, cultural, economic and political administration

In ancient Rwanda, the social, economic and political systems were not differentiated. *Umwami* ruled over all those systems as the only authority incarnating a divine power (Muzungu 1975: 32). This historical context is not without consequences; it developed a community's submissive attitude to the leaders as having divine authority. There is a naivety behind this consideration that the community is told what to do and accepts the instructions without question.

2.3.2.1 Socio-cultural organization

Pre-Colonial Rwanda was a traditional society in which there was community solidarity and no division of labour. Social stratification was not a problem. Everyday routine relied on the unanimity that the cow played an important role (Overdulve 1997:13). In this society there was no distinctive social class. Although there was no sensitive stratification, no division of labour

and no distinctive social class structure; ancient Rwandan society did have differences in social status among the population.

Even though the migration of the three Rwandan groups, as told in mythological terms, is questionable, the terms *Twa, Hutu* and *Tutsi* existed and, to some extent, bore an inequality in their everyday use. Even the métiers assigned to each group were not regarded in equal esteem (Kajeguhakwa 2001: 10-11). Society was organized according to the cultural understanding, without any external influences**.** The family and the kingship were the only educational systems to influence the everyday life of the children. Family and relatives assured a child's socialization and the stabilization of the adult personality and facilitated basic social integration in order to ensure the continuity and consensus provided by shared values in the community (Giddens 2001:175, Smart, Neale, and Wade 2001: 5). The environment of the child was made up of the close family, followed by relatives and clan members.

The King's court provided another form of education during this period, where children went with their father to participate in official services. The clan was the reference of identity among the community (Vansina 2001: 44). *Twa, Hutu* and *Tutsi* people may belong to the same clan. What would have been different is their proportional distribution across the clans. There may be more *Tuts*i among the *Nyiginya* clan, less *Hutu* and fewer *Twa*; for the *Abazigaba* clan, there may be more *Hutu* than *Tutsi* and fewer *Twa* (Kayihura 2004: 167). This information suggests that all share the same origin.

The acquired experience within the family education shapes individual personality and consequently, influences the way individuals view the world. How people view daily life is rooted in contextual, social and cultural values and the family plays an important role (Vansina 2001: 45). Socialization can be defined as the human capacity to shape, regulate and monitor its behaviour towards the environment. Considering this definition of socialization, ancient Rwanda managed to socialize the inequality of the three terms *Twa, Hutu* and *Tutsi* and none of the people claim to be the victim of this entertained discrimination within their family.

35

2.3.2.2 Economic organization

The Rwandan Pre-Colonial economy was based on agriculture, pastoralism and hunting. Three recognized chiefs in economic administration were:

- *Umunyabutaka*(*Umunya* the prefix means somebody in charge of -*butaka*, the soil or land), the one in charge of land,
- *Umunyamikenke (Umunya-mikenke,* the pasture*)* the one in charge of pasture and
- *Igisonga* (is probably the important person that is the clan's leader [representing the King], in the district.

The rational function of *Umunyabutaka* and*Umunyamukenke* was to control the economic system, so that the king would receive his due from the country's production. The presence of the *Igisonga*, the symbol of social control, ensured that, in all situations, the kingship was known (Vansina 2001: 54).

2.3.2.3 Political organization

Central organization of the country was the responsibility of the King. The King's mother and *Abiru* had influence over the king's decisions. Rwanda had three kinds of dynasty, *Ibirari, Abamib'Imishumi, Abamib'Ibitekerezo.* The first dynasty was that of *Ibirari*, kings like Gihanga, meaning the creator. There is mythology telling that Gihanga was the creator of Rwanda *GihangacyahanzeUrwanda* (Nkusi 2004: 81).

The history of the second dynasty, meaning the kings of belt, is not known. They were kings who conquered and enlarged the *Rwanda rwa Gasabo* territory. The name Gasabo means where Gihanga started creating Rwanda. It is the central part of the country. The history of the third dynasty, kings of history, is well known. Their ruling period has been identified (Nkusi 2004: 81). The king was a symbol of sacred power; there is a saying in *kinyarwanda* underlining this sacred consideration ‗*Umwami si umuntu ni imana*' (The king is not a human being, he is a god). He is the incarnation of a divine power (Mbonimana 2004: 139-140, Muzungu 1974: 146,

Vansina 2001: 54). The relationship between the community and *Umwami* was a submission of the subjects to a ‚god'.

All kingship valuables and riches belonged to *Umwami,* all wives, all cows and so on were assimilated into his wealth. This mythical ideology increased the power of *Umwami* in the understanding of the community; the ‚god' has to be honoured and humankind cannot criticize anything the ‚god' does. This attitude of submission to all *Umwami's* decisions without comment is not likely to disappear among the Rwandan community, especially at grassroots level. The myths surrounding the dynasty were created to protect their power in creating a kind of predestined environment to access the royal drum and to maintain their power over other clans. This understanding was internalized and perpetuated by those who were privileged by *Umwami*. There was only one clan, the A*banyiginya* clan, whose myth claimed the destiny of begetting *Umwami* over more than thirty clans (Vansina 2001: 13).

It was taboo to try to determine the specific offspring who would succeed his father. The successor would be *uwavukanye imbuto,* the one who was born with ‚sœds'. Once the successor had been named, there would be no conflict over the successor. The secret would be revealed to the community by *Abiru* (Muzungu 1975:32). Different army groups from all social groups were trained to defend the kingship and the territory; *Umwami* was the supreme commander of all armies **(**Kagame 1943: 83-85).

2.3.3 Social frame of Twa, Hutu and Tutsi

The existence of the terms *Twa, Hutu* and *Tutsi* is part of the genesis of Rwanda. Although they did not bear any ethnic characteristics, they frequently used to convey differences in terms of social consideration. Their first meaning was attached to the activities in which anybody could represent the authority of *Umwami;* this was called *Tutsi*. In the same way, the group which

excelled in fighting in the army was named *Tutsi*, manifesting the positive social connotation of the term *Tutsi*.

The term *Tutsi* stereotypes the social significance of one who performed well in any activity. In contrast, the term *Hutu* was used to label somebody who did not perform well in any activity representing the negative connotation of the same concept. This label has been used to detrimental effect. It was used for those who were displeased by *Umwami*'s court services. The palace of *Umwami* was the influential milieu on which Rwandan history focused; it impacted community usage of those stereotypes (Vansina 2001: 173).

These terms of social consideration could be analyzed as inequitable. Humankind's behaviour is the product of its environment, combined with internal sovereignty to make choices. The human attitude arises from both rational and irrational norms and both are used to justify incumbent behaviours (Muzungu 1975: 39). The language used to label, positively or negatively, a human action, if it is applied to any group among others, has the unfortunate potential to cause frustration.

Calling a person who respectively does or does not do well in an army _Umu-Hutu' or _Umu-Tutsi' could jeopardize the social use of those terms. After 1916, these terms were attached to the métier practised, *Tutsi,* to cattle farmers, *Hutu*, to farmers and *Twa*, to hunters. This became institutionalized in the entire country; the métier began to determine to which social group a family belonged (Vansina 2001: 173, Semujanga 1998: 85; Byanafashe 2004: 38).

 In ancient Rwanda, the inequality of the social consideration of social groups did not have such sensitive impact on the community, even if the terms *Twa, Hutu* and *Tutsi* existed. The suspicious ideology behind the *Hutu's* incapacity to honour any commitment may put those who belong to the group into a displeasing position. These judgments may be the small roots of

disgrace which increased and later developed into a deep-seated enshrined sense of superiority to make them issues of contention. Social constraints are made not only by rational thoughts, but by irrational thoughts too. These social judgments however, captured the community's attention.

2.4 Colonization of Rwanda

The period of colonization was characterized by an upheaval that made an important contribution to the development of social, political, economic and cultural systems, both positively and negatively. There are some European elements brought into the Rwandan context that improved life. On the other hand, colonization affected traditional values and norms and uprooted Rwandans from their identity.

Rwanda came under German authority in 1885, when authority shifted to Belgium. The presence of European dominance in the Rwandan territory introduced new elements to traditional lifestyle, such as education through schools, Belgian formal healthcare in the form of hospitals, a new form of Christianity and style of dressing. The new programmes did not consider the traditional lifestyle of Rwanda. While they added some value to the lifestyle, they also frustrated some elements of society.

2.4.1 Myths of *Twa, Hutu* and *Tutsi*

The interpretation of the myths telling the origin of Rwandan social groups contributed greatly to the colonizer's misunderstanding of social, political and cultural realities. Since these myths, explaining the origin of Rwanda's social groups, were read and interpreted as defining ethnic groups, stereotyping each group took hold in the community. The consideration of the three groups in Rwanda as ethnic groups, even though it is not always expressed, increased the issue of superiority among groups. As Prunier (1995:12) states, *Tutsi* were considered a ‗superior race'. This categorization aggravated inequality and hatred among the groups. What was said in a

mythic language was embedded in a taboo that was expressed through a structure and language of superiority.

The first myth is that the groups came from one ancestor, but did not manifest any characteristics of ethnic groups (Melvern 2000: 7; Smith 1975: 39). Their social activities determined their social groups. The differences amongst the groups are based on the social categories in existence. The *Twa*, the smallest group, estimated at 1% of the population, is unrepresented in the conflict between the two other groups. The three groups, *Twa, Hutu* and *Tutsi* have been considered as having explicit activities, but this is not necessarily the case. The *Twa* group has predominantly developed a specific activity as its specialty, that is, pottery. The other two social groups are involved in a similar activity but not to the same extent (Chrétien 1997: 13-16).

The second myth argues that the three groups have different origins (Prunier 1995: 12). One could therefore favour one or other myth and interpret it in a way that promotes her or his interest. *Hutu* and *Tutsi* are migrants from foreign countries and Rwanda had formerly belonged to the *Twa* only. Since they come from different places, *Twa, Hutu* and *Tutsi* should have different ancestors and different stories, which is not the case in Rwandan reality. Melvern (2000: 7) states that ‒those groups were not tribes, for the peoples shared the same religion, told the same ancestral stories and spoke the same language, Kinyarwanda". This myth tries to verbalize something else, but these differences do not relate to ethnic realities. It has the importance of a myth but the realities of Rwanda's social groups are not expressed here.

A myth is important within the social and anthropological existence of communities. The problem of subjectivity has been exposed with these two myths, which explain where Rwanda's social groups came from (Procter *et al.*1995: 935). The unreal side expressed in the myth was inflamed by those who had an interest in Rwanda's division. These were either nationals or foreigners, who shared responsibility for disorienting the history of Rwanda. It is not always easy

to discover the real meaning of a myth, since it is embedded in a context which needs to be understood deeply. This is why many people believe and accept, blindly, the myth as a truth.

2.4.2 Orientation of the social group to the ethnic consideration

During the period of colonization of Rwanda, the colonizer and the missionary included the terms *Twa, Hutu* and *Tutsi* in their vocabulary. Various considerations began to take significance as a historic and social justification for the *Twa, Hutu* and *Tutsi* becoming viewed as ‗ethnic groups', even though they did not have any identifying characteristics.

Destexhe points out that ―The Belgian colonizers exploited the differences between the *Hutus* and *Tutsis* for their own administrative purposes, making the minority *Tutsis* the rulers over the *Hutu* majority" (1995: viii; Chrétien 1997: 14). This quote mentions the differences between the two groups *Hutu* and *Tutsi*. It was not a matter of the physical, mental and cultural characteristics; they were stereotyped and socialized by propaganda. Destexhe (1995: 34) explains that, ―There were certain distinguishable social categories in the existence before the arrival of the colonizers, but the differences between them were not based on ethnic or racial divisions and exaggerating such stereotypes and supporting one group against the others is what the colonizers reinforced, consolidated and ultimately exacerbated".

The myths themselves became the references for reality in order for the colonizers to justify or explain Rwanda's community origins, ignoring the cultural embodiment of myths. Lévi-Strauss (1978: viii-x) states that, in the heart of myths, there is a specific culture in which the system of meaning is elaborated. Whoever reads and interprets myths must know the culture and the context in which the myths are situated.

The myths interpreted and used by the colonizers had already had the major core of their meaning removed. The colonizers had their own background and their own social realities. What the colonizers did was to bring their own social and cultural realities to Rwanda's culture, using their own consideration and ignoring the local context of the myths. The colonizers' understanding is embedded in social, political and cultural realities in their specific environment, quite different from Rwanda's. The colonizers did not access the real meaning of the myths because they ignored Rwanda's culture. This facilitated their aim to use their own interpretation as a colonizing tool that instigated divisions among the society.

From a cultural context which holds the real significance of myths, there is no means of interpreting the myth for its own interest and purpose, because even though myths comprise a number of realities, they need to be read and understood in their environment. Rwanda's colonizers did not allow this literature to be embraced in their system but, instead they shifted their context. The myths were read with foreign eyes, in the Belgian context, as the colonizer of Rwanda, and this yielded outside realities.

Melvern (2000: 10) states that ―In 1933 the Belgian administration organized a census and teams of Belgian bureaucrats classified the whole population as either *Hutu* or *Tutsi* or *Twa*. Every Rwandan was counted and measured". Since this time, what had previously been a social group took on another meaning in the same community, that of an ethnic classification. Three social groups became known as three different ethnic groups. The Belgians introduced a system of identity cards on which ethnic groups were recorded. Each Rwandan was given an identity card. Cattle were at the centre of civil, cultural and political relationships. Melvern (2000: 11) reported that ―Cattle seemed to be the pivot in an extremely complicated series of civil contracts and political relationships".

Thus the cow was the criterion used by the colonizers to know who *Twa, Hutu* and *Tutsi* were when they started the census. Knowing how many cattle each family had determined to what social group it belonged (Semujanga 1998: 85; Byanafashe 2004: 38). It was not easy to determine who was who according to the criteria of ethnic or racial groups. This is why they used criteria they could control; otherwise ethnic characteristics were not applicable in Rwanda's context. Classification contributed to manipulating Rwanda's consideration of the social groups.

When we look at the Rwandan context, *Twa, Hutu* and *Tutsi* do not exhibit any characteristic of ethnic groups. ―The imposed racial construction tends to exaggerate contemporary social distinction" (Eltringham 2004: 19). The identity cards enabled the two Rwandan republics, as the successors educated by the colonizers, to maintain the same ideology. Destexhe (1995: viii) says that ―In the end it was the ethnic classification system of identity cards introduced by the Belgians that enabled the *Hutu* regime to carry out the genocide of *Tutsis*". The fact is that *Twa, Hutu* and *Tutsi* were a part of Rwanda's history from the beginning. What the colonizers did was to sophisticate the divisions within the community.

Giddens (2001: 246) explains that:

> Ethnicity is a concept that is purely social in meaning. Ethnicity refers to the cultural practices and outlooks of a given community of people that set them apart from others. Members of ethnic groups see themselves as culturally distinct from other groups in society, and are seen by those other groups to be so in return. Different characteristics may serve to distinguish ethnic groups from one another, but the most usual are language, history or ancestry (real or imagined), religions and style of dress or adornment.

Giddens, defining ethnicity, mentioned important characteristics which allow one group in society to be considered as an ethnic group. This listed distinctiveness does not fit Rwanda's society. Speaking the same language, having the same history and ancestors, having the same religion and the same style of clothing or decoration, the named ethnic groups are figurative. Even though the feature of being an ethnic group is rejected by many analysts of Rwanda's

history (Giddens 2001: 247; Melvern 2000: 7; Eltringham 2004: 19; Destexhe, 1995: 34), the remaining major crux of this debate is the popular consideration of those realities.

Do they understand the debate about *Hutu*, *Tutsi* and *Twa* as social groups rather than ethnic groups? Through everyday language, the ordinary citizens have maintained the prejudice of the ethnic connotation. Disagreement concerning these realities still exists in a small circle of intellectuals. Melvern (2000: 8) continues, ―There is no consensus among historians or anthropologists on the origin of these divisions so crucial to Rwanda's history. In fact, many anthropologists contest the notion that *Twa, Hutu* and *Tutsi* are distinct groups and maintain that the distinction is more one of class or caste".

The way in which the colonizers and other allies read and understood the myths concerning the origin of Rwanda's population was undermining the fraternal relations of Rwanda's community. The subjectivity of the myth was exploited to create and enlarge the differences within society. Even if based on the engagement of certain activities chosen as a way of living, misusing those myths has stereotyped those activities to fall within a hierarchy. This hierarchy of activities, as well as being linked to the ‗ethnic groups', has upheld the breeding of livestock as being more valued than agriculture. This is because the cow has been seen as a symbol of wealth belonging to what they called the ‗superior race' identified as the *Tutsi*.

2.4.3 Colonial influence to the socio-cultural and economic system

The introduction of a new form of lifestyle has been the platform for creating new socio-cultural changes such as schools, hospitals, roads, clothing and agriculture and has enriched the traditional way of living. Those new elements nourished community development. On the negative side, the gap between the ruling party and the ordinary community, especially between *Hutu,* stereotyped as not having the capability or capacity to rule and *Tutsi,* as gifted with a vivacious intelligence, has increased and become structured (Prunier 1995: 6). The

education system has been the important influential factor for reinforcing differences between among the three Rwandan groups and control of the social, economic and religious systems become possible (Prunier 1995: 5). The first school was inaugurated in 1932.

The recruitment of pupils was based solely on the social groups, *Tutsi* and *Hutu.* This consideration has underlined the inequality between the social groups the colonizer met in Rwandan society and this has affected community life. This segregation of pupils had an impact because the colonial administration worked with the *Tutsi* because they were regarded as predestined to rule. The *Tutsi* were thus educated in the colonizer's interest (Prunier 1995: 7, Semujanga 2004: 37).

The summary below shows how dominant Tutsi were in schools

Year	Tutsi Pupils	Hutu Pupils
1932	45	9
1945	46	3
1954	63	19 (including 13 from Burundi)
1959	279	143

Source: Prunier 1995:12

This atmosphere of group inequalities in the educational system would continue to be the weapon of dividing, and justifying the existence of, the ethnic groups in Rwanda. The first and second republics would later use this form of reinforcing discrimination as a ‚quota system' until 1994, which was been applied to employment. At this time, *Tutsi* and *Twa* would be discriminated against (Mugesera 2004:125). The following schools were created during the colonial time:

45

(a) Petit Seminaire de Kabgayiet and Grand Seminaire de Nyakibanda, both belonging to the Roman Catholic Church;

(b) Ecole officielle de Nyanza; exclusively for *Tutsi* pupils who were trained in administration as the elite class;

(c) Groupe Scolaire d'Asdrida, a secondary and professional public school, in which *Tutsi* and *Hutu* were trained (Mungarulire 2004: 274).

Being in the majority as far as education was concerned, the *Tutsi* were working together with the colonizer. Few *Hutu* and no *Twa* worked in administration at that time. Schools were built by the Belgians. They were the most important legacy that continues to influence the everyday life of Rwanda in the post-colonial period. Rwanda inherited these schools, which continued to be the platform of instigating divisionism and discrimination among Rwandans. The history of education captured the attention of the present researcher, because education has been used mainly as a display platform for explicitly developing discrimination between the social groups.

2.4.4 Elite's interest in maintaining a language of divisionism

The word ‒ethnicity" was introduced by the colonizers and has been maintained since 1933, the time when the population census was organized and the identity card was introduced, and labelled with the so-called ‗ethnic groups' (Eltringham 2004: 18). New terms have the potential to have a significant impact on a population. A word is a significant thought; it is a symbol, embedded in the significance that it communicates something which has no meaning in itself, but in the social context within culture. The value of a word used is given arbitrarily. It is a matter of consensus between the one who communicates and the one who receives the communication. The words used in communication, influence the social and political systems (Le NET 1993: 184-186).

In this regard, a new vocabulary has been created, which means a new understanding in the way Rwanda considers how its' social and cultural realities have changed. The country has been identified as one which has ethnic groups within its population and this influences the way of thinking. What were social groups have become ethnic groups, with a different meaning in Rwanda's social context. Yet, because what are now called ethnic groups do not have the characteristics expected, in that the *Twa*, *Hutu* and *Tutsi* have the same culture, language, dress, and customs, in reality, one could say that Rwandans have social groups instead of ethnic groups.

The influence of the word _ethnic' as a language of divisionism was welcomed in the social and political environment and attracted the interest of Rwanda's political leaders, who used that card to rule the population. Introduced by the colonizers, the word _ethnic' was welcomed by Rwanda's elite, who used ethnicity as a classification in their own interests and achievements. Maintained in the identity card, it became a normal word, of course with many consequences for those who were not favoured by the word. Discussions advanced the interests and knowledge, but did little to make any correction in the naming of those realities. The use of *Twa, Hutu* and *Tutsi* as ethnic groups, though they do not fit the criteria, has been an instrument used by politicians to discriminate and oppress some groups, in their own interests.

Destexhe (1995: 34) states that, ―Since *Hutu* and *Tutsi* became identified as ethnic groups, they became _played cards', a way out of political difficulty‖. Destexhe's statement continues to deny the existence of ethnic groups in Rwanda instead of _certain distinguishable social categories'. Deliberately, the initiation of the word _ethnic' has been a matter of covering up the weakness of the elite. Politicians used to transform their aspirations or weaknesses into a social problem associated with these social groups. For instance, the upheaval in 1959 was rooted in those divisions. This event gave birth to massacres and most of the *Tutsis* were forced, by the situation, to become mass refugees in neighbouring countries. This was not questioned by the leaders of the first republic, which was born in 1962, two or three years after the massacres (Nkunzumwami 1996: 88-90) and the situation was disruptive.

Looking back at the so-called _La Révolution rwandaise (_The Rwandan revolution) in 1959, the *Hutu* social group, which was claiming to be oppressed and aspired to liberation, played the ethnic card. The freedom they aspired to did not justify their reasons for forcing another social group to become refugees. Those who fought in the defence of unjust causes and those who fought for just causes must both respect and take into consideration human rights, otherwise, in both cases, the two social groups have failed and could be considered one and the same according to the acts of violence perpetrated (Cherry 2000: 9-26).

2.5 Post-Colonial Period

The 1959 revolution has been defined as the transit between the colonial and the post-colonial periods. The change that could be observed was that the *Hutu* elite took the place of the *Tutsi* elite, but discriminations, stereotypes and frustrations increased among Rwandans. The 1959 upheaval overturned the *Tutsi* elite, but it did not care about the inequality which developed among Rwanda's groups. This post-colonial period inherited the positive and negative colonial achievements. For instance, Rwandan activities continued to be attributed to the social group and this thinking caused a kind of strata among activities.

The richest men were those who had many cows, *amashyo* in Kinyarwanda. This has become one of the Rwandan's greetings, _giraamashyo' meaning _have many cows'. Although Rwanda's economy is based on the agriculture sector, the political consideration of the cow affected the thoughts of other métiers (Guichaoua 1995: 319, Vansina 2001: 34-35). Agriculture was neglected and attributed to what was called a low social group, the *Hutu*. This ideology was used until the second republic, when the Government started to initiate and encourage the agricultural field as _champ moderé' (an exemplary field in each district, where farmers demonstrated and trained the local community on how to use advanced methods of agriculture).

Cows still represented wealth in such a way that the desire for a cow was more intense than the desire to have land to earn agricultural revenue. The prejudice used to describe each social group influenced the whole nature of Rwanda's population (Botwinick 1996: 5). The misuse of the myths expressing the origin of Rwanda's social groups had such a negative impact on relationships in the community that it became an instrument of division which led to the tragedy of genocide.

Although social groups were used as pawns by politicians, the community was not concerned until the period of the struggles, when they were drawn into the conflict by the leaders. The open example of friendship between social groups is the intermarriage between *Hutu* and *Tutsi* and even after the genocide this phenomenon remains. This means the community shares values other than enclosing them into stereotyped social considerations. There is no sensitive difference between *Hutu* and *Tutsi* communities in everyday life. The differences are located in the social classes rather than in the social groups.

Rwanda's culture underlines solidarity as one of the important social values in the community. Neighbours are *Hutu*, *Tutsi* and *Twa* in all Rwandan situations, relationships and solidarity are entertained by that neighbourliness (Byanafashe 2004: 31). This neighbourliness and intermarriage complicate the understanding of the Rwandan genocide. The gap between social groups arises when there is a political agenda which emphasizes these differences to achieve its objectives. The social conflict concerned land issues or others antagonisms is between the communities, not their social groups. A political crisis nourished by propaganda may lead to conflict or irritation among the community related to their social groups.

2.6 Articulated roots of Rwandan conflict throughout history

Historians and myths agree that the *Twa* were the first proprietors of Rwanda, then the *Hutu* group and lastly the *Tutsi* group. Although it was believed that the Twa were the owners of Rwanda, the creator of Rwanda, Gihanga, did not belong to the Twa group. The myth seems to be quiet about this matter. All *Abami b'Imishumi* and *Abami b'Ibitekerezo,* belonged to the *Abanyiginya* clan of the *Tutsi* group (Overdulve 1997: 13, Nkusi 2004: 60, Vansina 2001: 13).

The consideration that there was only one clan from one group which could be predestinated to rule would contribute to confusing the understanding of the Rwandan context of the three social groups. Myths and historians agree on the absence of a *Twa* or *Hutu* king in Rwanda; the kingship was the property of a few *Tutsi, Abanyiginya*. The reason for this segregation was not clearly defined. The only explanation was given by a myth telling that *Abanyiginya* were *ibimanuka,* meaning that they came from heaven. Therefore they came with a super-natural power to rule that was the only explanation of the hereditary power of the *Nyiginya* clan.

This hereditary power cannot be interpreted as the property of the *Tutsi* social group because not all of them had the chance to rotate to the ruling power; history shows that there was some conflict between the *Abanyiginya* and other clans expressing their disagreement about that predestined power (Vansina 2001: 174, Semujanga 2004: 36, Kajeguhakwa 2001: 12). Throughout history, the *Twa* were not represented and even later in the genocide tragedy, they were not involved as a key group in the conflict. It was the *Hutu* and *Tutsi* groups that were always quarrelling (Kayihura 2004: 166-167).

Although the identity card in itself did not do any harm, in the Rwandan context the way it was conceived became an issue of dehumanization. From the time of the introduction of the identity

card, the socialized ethnic groups became a social phenomenon, affecting each individual as a part of society. The population groups felt that they had different origins and were different in matters physical, intellectual, cultural and historical. Because of this, people began thinking that some were superior to others. With time, this developed into hatred, leading to the injustice, oppressions and violence that climaxed in the 1994 tragedy.

The colonial period introduced the identity card that indicated the ethnic group of the bearer. When the republic replaced the colonial period (the first and second republics 1962-1973; 1973-1994) the problematic identity card remained as part of the legacy. The socio-political system had always been trapped in these ethnic unrealities, which had become socialized in the community. The republics maintained the same identity card, which enabled the administration to recognize who was who, thus generating discrimination and marginalization in the population. Therefore inequality became part of the publicly-accepted socio-political element, affecting other sectors such as education and the job market.

The manner of socio-political propaganda used to carry out divisions, particularly between the two social groups, helped the leaders to enlarge the gap generated by the colonizers to advance their own interests. Eisenstadt (1995: 1) explains that ―Men (sic) make their own history, but they do not make it as they please, they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given, and transmitted from the past". This statement applies to the situation in which the first and second republics were created.

2.6.1 Impact of stereotypes developed toward the three social groups

Stereotypes of the social groups have arisen and tend to be seen as reflecting real differences. These arose as a result of misusing the myths and the misunderstanding that followed concerning the origin of the three groups. Hatred and feelings of superiority and inferiority developed and were internalized throughout the country by political propaganda. The prejudices developed and

became political ‚playing cards'. Any sensitive crisis in Rwanda, leading up to the tragic period of genocide, shows evidence of the ethnic grouping trump card being used. As a result, this hatred later opened the gates and paved the way for violence that culminated in genocide.

The socialization of inequalities through stereotypes was so effective that they became second nature to group members. Giddens (2001: 29-30) delicately defines socialization as ‒the primary channel for the transmission of culture over time and generations". Some elements of culture impact positively or negatively on its members. One negative legacy among the Rwandan culture is that superiority developed between groups.

One example comes from the classroom. At any time, the teacher could ask the pupils to raise their hands according to their social groups. This caused frustration among pupils because *Hutu* looked down on *Tutsi* because they were few in number compared to *Hutu* pupils. Interestingly, some children did not know which group they belonged to. It sometimes happened that a *Hutu* child would raise their hand because a *Tutsi* friend had raised hers or his and *vice versa*. The teacher in this case played the role of policeman/woman to soothe the frustrations between pupils, especially the marginalized *Tutsi* (Mugesera 2004: 125).

2.6.2 Aftermath of „La Révolution Rwandaise de 1959'

In 1959, the colonial era was in transition to independence. There was upheaval in the community, orchestrated by a group of *Hutu* intellectuals. These tensions generated a catastrophic situation of threat and the killing of *Tutsis*. Many refugees belonging to the *Tutsi* social group, in general, but including a few *Hutu* and *Twa* members, fled to neighbouring countries. The expected changes seemed to be a dream for the community, as it was passing out of the colonial era and becoming a republic, ironically an era expected to generate respect for human rights in Rwanda.

The major features of the changes observed were only in the circles of the rulers and the population did not benefit much from these changes. Instead of benefiting from the changes, a large portion of the population fled to neighbouring countries and became refugees. From the *Tutsi* dynasty to the *Hutu* rulers, the social, political and economic history of Rwanda focuses on the leaders' circle; the history of the rest is not known (Jewsiewicki 2002: 127-128, Vansina (2001:13). The leaders included the community in their programme only when they wanted to exploit them in their own interests. This is what happened to the population in the so-called ‒la *Révolution Rwandaise*".

The number of refugees increased in 1973 when the second republic overthrew the first. The 1959 and 1973 refugees constituted a major danger to Rwanda and affected diplomatic relations with the neighbouring countries. After this the refugee issue became a political problem and the political propaganda generated to explain what was going on, was to keep alive `the hatred between *Hutu* and *Tutsi* (Waller 1996: 8). One of the most pressing problems for the republics was the struggle to deal with ‗mass refugees'. This created an atmosphere of fear, mistrust and trauma amongst those who did not run the country, the *Tutsi* social group and a few *Hutu* (Nkunzumwami 1996: 89).

In time, refugees began asking to come back to their native country. The leaders did not give them the chance to come back peacefully, saying that the country was not large enough to host them. Consequently, the refugees organized themselves into a party called the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) and decided to come back forcefully, because negotiations were becoming very difficult. In 1992, the refugee problem had become sensitive for *Tutsis* who had not left the country and a few *Hutu* who believed in the right of refugees to come back to their country.

Mass murders took place after the aircraft crash of Rwanda's President, Habyarimana Juvenal, and this incident was the starting point of the killing of people belonging to the *Tutsi* social

group and a few *Hutu* non-extremists. This upheaval inside the country enhanced Rwanda's Patriotic Front army, allowing it to advance quickly from its position in the north of the country to fight against Rwanda's National Army, which was orchestrating and leading the massacres. It was the RPF which stopped the genocide after winning the combat involving the whole country.

2.7 Socio-political and economic causes of genocide

Throughout the history of Rwanda, there have been many elements which were the foundation of hatred. The political organization was more influential than other factors. Stereotypes developed and socialized and materialized through the identity card were a major factor in stimulating the hatred and discrimination that led to genocide. The _blindness' of the population also could be traced, an important element which facilitated the realization of the genocide.

Political propaganda contributed strongly to the development of this thoughtless and horrible action, but the economic struggles of the population made its contribution. Poverty was not a visible element but it was behind what the population was experiencing, when people were encouraged to participate in the killing by those who planned the genocide (Nkunzumwami 1996: 172-176). The manipulation of the poor is very easy as the poor will accept anything that promises to increase or improve on their wellbeing.

The media, too, played a crucial role in broadcasting the image of the victims and perpetrators. Staub (2003: 458) cautioned that _How the media presents victims and perpetrators greatly affects public attitudes. By devaluing victims and giving the benefit of doubt to perpetrators, the media can generate passivity". One of the most important tools used to convince the population about the refugees' attitudes was national radio and television, private radio stations such as *Radio et Télévision Libre de Mille Colline (RTLM)* and some journals such as Kangura, Kinyamateka and Imvaho. Those tools of mass communication accelerated division and hatred.

54

Mass media presented the agenda to the population and the impact of the information was discussed among the community (Chrétien 1995: 383-386). This strategy opened the door to the critics of the given information and to the acceptance of the ideology behind that information. The ability to criticize information relies on the capacity to have many sources of reference and the environment in which one finds oneself.

The community did not have the tools to balance the information received and the population was oriented to the genocide ideology. One of the prominent facets of the media, which captured the attention of the community, was the ‚Kanguka journal', which published ‚ten Hutu commandments'. It was like a code of *Hutu* conduct towards the *Tutsi*. This code of conduct increased the polarization of Rwandan society into *Hutu/Tutsi* (The Senate 2006: 85-89). The political environment was also favourable to the media, as there was a divisionism arm in every corner of the country. The curiosity to read what the reaction of those who were opposing those ideologies would be promoted the popularity of that journal. It was the most wanted journal for both the Hutu extremists and the Tutsi and Hutu non-extremists to keep informed about the situation. This rendered this journal very popular. A high percentage of Rwandans read this ‚code of conduct'; naively thinking that it was a reality.

The Kanguka journal contributed towards the formation of the three camps in the community belonging to the Hutu social group. First were those who agreed with this dehumanizing publication, second those who questioned the content of the information published and the third group who were confused (Chrétien 1995: 44-52). This has been underscored by Chrétien (1995: 17), who stated that the information transmitted into the community had a character which adapted to the daily situation. What was false looked like it was true, supported by the repetition and the interpretation through different ways of communicating, such as radio, articles, photos, and influencing community thoughts. Interfering with the community agenda is an important factor in initiating social changes and is likely to influence each one to follow.

Another example to underline the importance of communicating information is Radio Muhabura, used by the RPF when they were fighting with the Rwandan Army. Some people were connected secretly, especially *Tutsi* who were menaced, and from Muhabura radio information *Tutsi* youth decided to join the front. In other words, they were recruited by the information received. The radio stimulated curiosity to discuss why they were fighting. The spreading news of the existence of RPF opened a new understanding. Positively or negatively, their name was part of daily discussions in various places. Radio Muhabura unlocked some realities about the misunderstanding between the Rwandan Government and the refugees. The controversy in discussion was an open method of searching for the truth.

2. 8 Period of the genocide

Much of the general public in the international community, genocide in Rwanda appeared suddenly, with a rapid and horrific upsurge in violence against the Tutsi minority in 1994. Genocide, however, is not a sudden event; it is the result of complex factors fuelled by history, psychology, and sociology, culminating in a quest for power. In order to understand how atrocious the genocide was and the sexual violence perpetrated throughout the 1994 genocide and the gender hate propaganda that incited it, I will provide a brief background to the events of 1994 (Green, 2002: 733-776 &733-755).

In other words, genocide ideology does not emerge in one day. It is rooted in the soul of national history. The community comes to sensitize some discriminative term consciously or unconsciously. What is named the period of genocide is the climax of what history was moving towards throughout generations. The genocide can be defined as ‗the final solution‘, ‗destruction‘ or ‗catastrophe‘ (Roth 2001: 67-72). The atrocities which people suffered were terrible.

The atrocities took a strange character into the Rwandan community. If the understanding of the word genocide is difficult, it is more inexplicable in the Rwandan environment. Rwanda is a

country with one language, the entire community shares that important channel of culture, and they share the same stories about their ancestral beliefs. The involvement of the population in the genocide was not the result of the initiative of local communities, but rather was the result of political propaganda, socialized with other social problems behind it. One hundred days is the duration of what is termed the period of mass killing in Rwanda. During this short time, more than eight hundred thousand Rwandans were killed.

The environment in which the Rwandan genocide took place gives to it a particular _colour'. The victims and the perpetrators belong to one country and share the same culture. Within one family, one might find those who were victims, victimized by their own relatives. It is not easy to blueprint the representation of the symbols representing those atrocities in the community. So many people ask what the strategy was that made this happen. However, even though this chapter does not outline all the tools and strategies that were used, chapter two discusses briefly the role of propaganda and media, generally- print & radio and gender propaganda.

2.8.1 Propaganda

The Rwandan genocide was not a chance incident. Nor did it arise solely in response to President Habyarimana's death. The genocide was the culmination of sweeping efforts that had been meticulously planned over a period of years. The participation of the broader population was a critical aspect of the Rwandan genocide; co-workers killed co-workers, neighbours killed neighbours, friends killed friends, husbands killed wives. In fact, a Rwandan theologian has argued that the genocide would have been inconceivable before the 1990s and that it took four years of preparation to make mass violence possible. To this end, the media participated in a structured attempt to use media to influence awareness, attitudes, or behaviour. The intensive propaganda campaign fuelled and funded by Hutu extremists was perhaps the most effective element of this plan. Hutu extremists successfully spread hate speech that would prove remarkably essential and effective before, during, and after the genocide.

2.8.2 General -Print & Radio

The print media was an effective tool for disseminating information to the populace in Rwanda. For example, Rwandan newspapers were published in the capital, but urban workers carried the better known ones back to the hills when travelling home for the weekends. Sixty-six percent of the Rwandan population was literate, and those who could read, read to others who could not. Hutu supporters exerted substantial influence over the print media. Approximately eleven of the forty-two new journals founded in 1991 were linked to the Akazu, a special circle within the larger network of personal connections that worked to support Habyarimana (Green 2002: 733-776, 733-755).

A newspaper called Kangura was one of the most powerful voices of hate. Kangura described itself as ―the voice that seeks to awake and guide the majority people". While the paper had a modest circulation, its distribution included local mayors, and it received active support from powerful military and government patrons. In fact, government credit defrayed Kangura's costs, and Rwanda's mayors received free copies to distribute. Furthermore, Kangura played a role in the dissemination of anti-Tutsi sentiments at a time when government officials still felt publicly constrained by international pressure from speaking openly of ethnicity.

Kangura published a flurry of articles and cartoons vehemently disparaging Tutsis and advocating Hutu supremacy. For example, in March 1993, Kangura published an article criticizing the Tutsi entitled, ―A Cockroach Cannot Give Birth to a Butterfly". In December of the same year, a photograph of Grégoire Kayibanda, leader of the Hutu Revolution and the first president of Rwanda, appeared on the cover of Kangura with a machete, a cynical comment describing the Hutu as the race of God, and a reference to defeating the Tutsis once and for all. The Ten Commandments of the Hutu, published in 1990, was perhaps the most famous and influential article to appear in Kangura. The Commandments espoused a ‗doctrine of militant Hutu purity', declaring the Tutsi an enemy of the Hutu people.

Radio, however, was the most important and influential medium through which the Rwandan population received information. Approximately 29% of households had radios. In urban areas,

the number rose to 58.7%. These figures, however, were likely higher by the start of the genocide since ‚in some areas, the government distributed radios free to local authorities before the genocide and they may have done so after the killing began as well'. People without radios listened to them at bars or obtained information from their neighbours. In 1991, Rwanda had only one radio station, Radio Rwanda. Radio Rwanda was the voice of the government (the MRND) and of President Habyarimana himself. It announced, for example, various political meetings, removals from public office, and examination results for admission to secondary schools. Radio Rwanda sometimes broadcast false information, particularly on the progress of the civil war that preceded the genocide, but most people did not have access to independent sources of information with which to verify its claims (Green 2002: 733-776, 733-755).

Radio Rwanda underwent significant changes, however, in 1992. After the establishment of a coalition government in April, the coalition parties called for a new, more moderate direction for Radio Rwanda. Ferdinand Nahimana, a staunch MRND supporter, was removed from his position as supervisor of Radio Rwanda. Several months later, Jean-Marie Vianney Higiro, a member of an opposing party, was named director with a view to steering the station toward taking a more non-partisan stance.

In response, Hutu extremists created their own station. Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM), incorporated in April 1993, began broadcasting in August of the same year. MRND supporters comprised an overwhelming majority of RTLM's founders. The purpose of RTLM was ‚to prepare the people of Rwanda for genocide'. Indeed, the RTLM argued that the war against Tutsi domination would not only require the participation of the armed forces, but also that of the entire Rwandan population. Furthermore, RTLM's founders designed it to appeal to particularly vulnerable populations: delinquents, the unemployed, and gangs of thugs within the militia. RTLM broadcast on the same frequencies as Radio Rwanda between 8 a.m. and 11 a.m., when Radio Rwanda was not transmitting. This situation ‚encouraged listeners to see the two as linked, if not as identical' (Green, 2002: 733-776, 733-755).

Through radio transmission, the Hutu extremists taught listeners that the Hutu and Tutsi were two different people and that the Tutsi were foreign conquerors who had refused to accept their loss of power in the 1959 revolution. The RTLM broadcasts warned the Tutsi: ‗You cockroaches must know you are made of flesh! We won't let you kill! We will kill you!' The same themes appeared in propaganda both before and during the genocide, suggesting a ‗deliberate coordination among propagandists and between them and government officials'.

Radio transmissions were a critical component of the genocide. In fact, during the genocide, when communications and travel became difficult, the radio became, for most people, the sole source of news as well as the sole authority for interpreting its meaning. After the RTLM identified and criticized an individual, the Interahamwe would immediately seek him out and kill him. Therefore, the RTLM exercised extensive and pervasive influence over the militia. In addition, the RTLM recognized that the participation - both direct and indirect - of the entire Rwandan population was necessary to the success of the genocide. For example, during a broadcast after the genocide had begun, an announcer stated: ‗Stand up, take action . . . without worrying about international opinion'. Additionally, the RTLM employed various narrative techniques to convince the Hutu population that the Tutsi posed a significant threat to Hutu lives and livelihoods. The messages conveyed the idea that the Hutu must ‗kill or be killed' and emphasized that the deaths the Hutu would face at the hands of the Tutsi would be particularly gruesome.

2.9 Consequences of the genocide

―The consequences of genocide always reach beyond the target group and country where it took place, the continuity of savage cruelty for perpetrators and it has to be a collective act. The killers have family and relatives and consequently so do the victims. Even though it is so, the victims have to be identified" states Destexhe (1995: 33-34). In the Rwandan context, the social relationships between the family of the victims and those of the perpetrators are close. The neighbourhood, mixed marriages and friendships developed created a climax of consequences

and interference so that the family of the victims and of the perpetrators share the aftermath of the genocide.

The social identification of the Rwandan community is open to suspicion and has a long way to go (Smith 2004: 4). Memorials of genocide are some of the consequences of genocide. Their integration into Rwandan symbols of memories is having social, cultural, religious and economic implications in the local community. Rwandan history cannot be represented in the memorials, but the roots of genocide are highlighted through the articulated moments of history. The community is sensitized to visiting those heartbreaking symbols that are open to discussion and are influential in their ordinary, daily communication.

How will the community manage the neighbourhood of thirty memorials that carry a traumatic aspect into their social space and which affect their everyday life? There are visual symbols that each Rwandan has to face and try to integrate and understand. The most predominant feature is surrounded by the reality of genocide memorials every day on Rwandan national television. The copious information provided about the genocide indicates that they occupy an important place in the country and this becomes more impressive for the hundred days of Rwanda's genocide.

Although the human subject is rational, that rationality is influenced by the social construct that the milieu in which she/he is plays an important role in regulating the behaviour. The subject is a human being with relative rationality influenced by experiences that create an understanding of the world. Kant says that the human subject's capacity to reason about the world is to be explained by examining the complex relationship between experience and understanding. This understanding may be objective or subjective about concepts or symbols such as memorials. The capacity to reason or to understand and to interpret the environment could be produced by conscious or unconscious cultural or social forces (Ashe 1999: 91-93) that are needed by human beings to have experience of an objective world.

The genocide demolished those Rwandan values and norms considered as the frame of reference. As Giddens (2001: 22) states, ―These abstract ideas, or values, give meaning and provide guidance to humans as they interact with the social world. Norms are the rules of behaviour which reflect or embody a culture's values. Values and norms work together to shape how members of a culture behave within their surroundings".

Harmony in a given society relies on these abstract constructions, in its understanding. These constructions facilitate the relationships between individuals. Within cultural behaviour, the most influential surroundings of the cultural values are the memories of those who perished during the genocide. There is a suspicious atmosphere which does not allow the local community to feel comfortable about the fact that those memories keep two irreconcilable poles within the same community. These redefinitions of the Rwandan social world are the social and psychological consequences of the genocide.

Many survivors have been left without any support and are living in tragic conditions. They are searching for the meaning of life through what happened to them. Orphans are another crucial issue in the whole country. Some of them are heading families and are still minors. Widowhood is another issue that increased the critical condition of survivors, because most of them are very poor and HIV positive. The loneliness, trauma, large numbers of prisoners and refugees are hindrances to wellbeing in the community. It is within this environment that the local community has kept its individual and social memory.

2.10 Conclusion

This chapter discusses the history of Rwanda in its three periods: the pre-colonial, the colonial and the post-colonial periods. Chapter two outlines how the upheaval of each period affected the political, social, economic and cultural systems. Given the fact that the only means of recording events during the Pre-Colonial period depended on the oral tradition, the accuracy of information would always be challenge, giving a window to many historians to interpret the history of Rwanda differently. However, this chapter discusses how Rwandan mythology contributed to dealing with the above challenge. Indeed, we have seen that myths play an important role in traditional literature; they express an original message as the fruit of intellectual imagination. Myths acquire their meaning through social, cultural and political institutions in the milieu in which they have the root and take form.

As this research focuses on the issue of the genocide memorials and the way communities perceive and interpret them, this chapter discusses the post-colonial period – a period marked by the 1994 genocide. We have discussed that the genocide ideology does not emerge in one day, but is rooted in the soul of national history. The community becomes sensitized to some discriminative terms consciously or unconsciously. Thus, what is named the period of genocide is the climax of what history was moving towards throughout generations.

Chapter Three: ASSESSMENT OF THEORY OF MEMORY

3.1 Introduction

There are different events that our memory has the capacity to recall, some are good memories others are bad. Brownm, A. D. *et al.* (2009) argues that during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, scientists have put memory within the paradigm of cognitive psychology. In recent decades, it has become one of the principal pillars of a branch of science called cognitive neuroscience, an interdisciplinary link between cognitive psychology and neuroscience.

Memory is the capacity to recognize ideas or events that happened in the past. Some memories generate a rejoicing atmosphere in the present, others bring anguish and regrets to the present. Memory is a construct of the past where individuals, groups or states recognize with representation their past. The question regarding this representation of the past is until which point can one represent the past. Hartog cited by Kasabova (2008: 332) indicates that memory is the conscious and personal memory of the past actions and events, and a retroactive reconstruction of the past and what is transmitted is the *sense* of these actions and events.

Kanimba, in defining various forms of memory outlines different kinds of memory such as individual memory, collective memory, group memory, local memory, official memory and national memory. In citing these kinds of memory, he opens the list that one can increase or decrease as long as memory is approached at different levels and various individuals' experience (2005: 134). Various authors (Ricoeur 2000, Schreiber 1995, Carruthers 1990 and Halbwachs 1992) agreed on memory representation with the focus on individuals, groups or collective memory, using Halbwachs terminology, whereby the socio-political environment actively reconstructs the past.

This research discusses the traumatic memories related to the genocide in Rwanda in 1994. Although it is undoubtedly difficult to comprehend the enormity of the traumatic situation in the post-1994 genocide, it is perhaps even more difficult to assimilate and certainly equally depressing to consider the fact that the 1994 genocide still has consequences on Rwandan society seventeen years later. Hence, memory is inescapable. It is, in fact, the capacity to remember what happened before and during a given period of time – thus, the ability to use our brains to create or re-create our past. This capacity is in fact what separates human beings from their fellow inhabitants on the planet.

Chapter Three discusses various theories of memory using Rwandan proverbs, sayings and anecdotes to illustrate how complex the situation of memory in the post-1994 genocide is, and possible implications for the society. Memories are both retrospective and prospective, given the fact that the occurrence to remember is reflected in the past but also oriented to the present and future. In the case of Rwanda, indeed, the consequences of genocide memories continue to have negative implications on the community through its memorials and different forms of commemoration of the genocide event. Kasabova contends that a memorial erected today may be a ruin tomorrow, but while it persists it instantiates an occurrence such as a war or a revolution" (2008: 333). This chapter ends with a brief conclusion on the memory, highlighting how the social relationships in the post-1994 genocide society have been complicated by maintaining the symbols of the genocide memorials and the institutionalization of the memory.

3.2 Concept of memory

In evoking what has happened, we connect the memory of a historical event to the present moment. Thus, memory is the ability to look at an item and remember what it looked like in the past using various materials. The archiving of its occurrence is important in the event that people consider its significant consequences, individual and collective memory and the number of people it affects. The necessity of preserving the past is to keep ones' identity and avoid forgetting and erasure. Memory is more selective than storage and people remember some things

over others because they stand in a sense-making relation of antecedent and consequent, where the former explains why the later is the case (Kasabova 2008: 338).

This explains the human capacity to consciously erect a memorial that represents his choice. A memorial is a typical visual representation of memories as it generalizes historical information and opens a window to the past for next generation (Todorov 2004: 46). Memorials are not copies of the past events, they are compilations and selected sequences to represent an event that happened, and the present agent has a say in selecting the representation. The truth in recollecting the past is distorted by external and internal factors.

Doing historical research and writing history is for the investigation and analysis of human action. This investigation concludes in supporting, correcting, and, sometimes, refuting ‚collective memory' (Kasabova 2008: 332) the concept that will be discussed in the following paragraph. The internal factor is the incapacity of humans to recall all details of an event, thus the representation of what happened will include uncertain information; this is crucial to individual memory. The external factors are the social, cultural and political situation that will influence the minds of individuals, particularly in telling their stories within the collective memory.

3.2.1 The ethical situation and three levels of memory

Memory is human life and the commemoration of the event is mainly the product of human actions, such as with the holocaust. Victims, perpetrators and bystanders would not have the same commemoration of the event because they are affected differently by the consequences of what happened. In this case, collective memory is problematic and the collective commemoration of this kind distorts, to some extent, memories. People are under an obligation to have collective memory while they are bound by different perspectives when analyzing their

historical background. People cannot have a memory of the past without, at the same time, mourning a certain amount of their anguish, hatred, or of love lost

Paul Ricoeur, French philosopher, has grappled with three levels of memory in the context of Europe, and the Holocaust is emphasized in post-conflict situations. On this issue, Ricoeur draws the relationship of memory to the present and the future - he does not emphasize the past. He was interested in the issue of the ethics of memory. What is proper memory and how should people proceed to it? Ricoeur (2000: 82-111) started by defining the ethical environment of memory using three levels of memory

(1) Pathological/therapeutic version of memory

At this first level, the memory is mistreated by trauma, an upset to the illness (Ricoeur 2000: 83-96). This level is the one that is best known, it is the individual or personal level of memory associated with psychoanalysis (Homans 1989: 261). Reasoning about what constitutes for an individual an acceptable past to be commemorated, when the memory concerns traumatic things that happened in that past which people have been affected by, is critical at this level. It is true that the lack of memory is a problem even if it is an uneasy event to be remembered. Someone who has too little memory may feel weightless, unanchored and unbalanced. Yet, too much memory is also a problem that can overwhelm and paralyze the one who is remembering (Roth 2001: 106).

Too little memory comes from repression and not being able to cope with something that is extremely destructive. Abuse, violence and trauma tend to lodge in the psyche as an open wound that never fully heals and this may be true at an individual level. The psychoanalytical or therapeutic level of memory views the work of this kind of memory, as being about establishing a proper, healthy or ethical balance between the traumatic event that is remembered and the melancholia of mourning it (Todorov 1995: 13-14).

Mourning is the natural human response to loss, seeking to reconcile the self with the lost objects of love. Melancholia is incomplete mourning, the inability to move beyond the loss that is internalized as a despairing longing for reunification. When you are in a melancholic state, you are unable to move beyond the loss or trauma and are condemned to a form of repetition (Ricoeur 2000: 86-89). In this situation, people live in a disconnected relationship with the day-to-day realities of life, disturbing the work of remembering. At an individual level, it is necessary to move beyond an excess or a repressed memory able to lead only to repetition of the trauma due to the past event. One of the things that gives release from the melancholy and repetition of trauma, and which prompts gentler memory of a traumatic event is unlocking stories and talking about those nightmares with others; this is the approach of psychoanalysts to healing wounds in memory.

(2) Pragmatic or functional memory

The second level *is* the practical level of memory. It links memory to identity, through answering the vulnerable and complicated question of identity. It involves the issue of time when people look to understand their identity in comparing the present to the past (Ricoeur 2000: 97-105).

In this, memory concerns stories that come from the heart of individual identity. It is the stories about people's lives and their relationships, taking into account their past and present, stories that make sense of people's identity. The pragmatic level of memory promotes the continuity of identity through time. Identity involves the issue of similarity and difference. People define themselves through what they are, as much as by what they are not. The problem of identity definition intensifies in a situation of conflict or post-conflict where fear and an uncertain environment disfigure community. Memory is not just retroactive, it also concerns the future. To balance the space of experience and the space of expectation is the crucial concern of people.

(3) Ethical or political level of memory

The third level of memory is the most challenging one in the context of a post-conflict situation. The invitation to remember does not come from the heart of people but from the political situation (Ricoeur 2000: 105-111*).* Memory is a dynamic phenomenon; memory cannot remain unchanged in the process of transmission. Memory changes as people transmit it from generation to generation; it also changes according to whom one tells the story, memory is subjective and situational. Memory is necessary as it opens the possibility of educating or healing through the work of narrative, testimony or storytelling as underlined by the pathological/therapeutic version of memory by Ricoeur.

Memory does not have to be an overpowering thing or coercive, forced or fixed, with a particular position. The possibility to choose what to remember would enable people to have memory at a personal level or collective identity. This is what Ricoeur means by an ethical memory. The past should be open and memorialized as a mechanism to release the future in understanding what has happened. Ethical memory is a way of going beyond the nightmare of the past in memory, not focusing the memory on the conflict, on the moment of violence, on the event. Ethical memory requires a memory that is just to the victims as well as the victors. In the political sphere, the positive orientation of memory is possible with new institutions that avoid recurrence.

Memory is fundamental to human beings, it is inescapable in human relation between the past and the future. Memory is not a form of knowledge; it is an action and is active. Memory is a necessary stay against the annihilating force of time and its remorseless erosion of historic traces; there is a responsibility to remember. In the face of death, memory enables a continuation of action.

3.2.2. Individual memory

In previous paragraphs, various writers defined memory as the ability to look at an item and remember what it looked like in the past. Memory is active and dynamic in understanding the

present using the past and to have expectations for the future. Individuals have memory of different events, ideas of their past days that have different intensities, some of them have low intensity with low influence and others have high intensity with deep effects on the one who is remembering. Various authors named individual memory differently as ‚recollective memory', ‚episodic memory', ‚personal memory', ‚experiential memory', or ‚direct memory' (Campbell 1997 and Hoerl 1999). It is a memory for experienced events and episodes, such as a conversation had this morning or the death of a friend eight years ago.

The same authors continue to elucidate episodic memories which are naturally expressed with a direct object: I remember arguing about Descartes yesterday, and I remember my feelings as we talked. Such personal memories can be generic or specific, and can be memories of more or less extended temporal periods. But the most characteristic feature of episodic remembering, arguably, is the way it brings people into contact with the particular past events which such memories are about and by which they are caused.

In developing a causal theory of memory, Deutscher (1989) argued that the past experience itself must have been causally operative in producing states, which are in turn causally operative in producing the present recollective experience. While some degree of prompting may be necessary to trigger present recollection of past experience, this recollection of a past experience must also causally derive from states which themselves causally derive from that experience. Memory trace continuously bridges the temporal gap, connecting past and present.

3.2.3 Collective memory

Memory creates the continuity, the identity between the past, the present and the future. Scholars coined terms like ‚social memory', ‚collective remembrance', ‚popular history making', to elucidate the collective memory. The concept of ‚national memory', ‚public memory', ‚produced memories' as distinct from ‚grassroots memories' dominated the vocabulary of collective memory studies within the work of different scholars (Kansteiner 2002:181).

Collective memory is not history even if it does sometimes use similar material. It can be a result of conscious manipulation of information or unconscious absorption with mediation. Collective memory refers to the shared pool of information held in the memories of two or more members of a group. It requires a bond among members of the group or community. This kind of memory is born by living together, collaboration among the community in creating solidarity or a community's history. Collective memory can be shared, passed on and constructed by groups both small such as families, the social class, and professions; and large groups such as religious communities, nations, regional groups, political generations (Hutton 1993:73).

Collective remembrance can take place in a private situation or public sphere and in both cases, people give meaning to the group identity. Collective memory is also sustained through a continuous production of representational forms. This generates a flow of, and production of, second hand memories, even if people are not personally linked to the event being remembered. Shared stories and images of the Holocaust shaped people's identities (Schwartz 2000: xi).

Particular narratives and images are reproduced and reframed, and also questioned and challenged by the exchange of group stories that give birth to new images of memory. Written stories and archives are other forms of producing representation of images that sustain collective memory where people come to share a sense of heritage and commonality with individuals that they have never met.

The collective memory is also produced by culture. As people within a community develop a common understanding on rites and ways of living, they tend to develop collective memory or social memory. Assmann (1992: 130) differentiates the potential and actual cultural memories rooted into communities. He argues that ―cultural memories occur when representations of the past are stored in archives, libraries and museums, they occur in the mode of actuality when

those representations are adopted and given new meaning in a new social and historical context". From this point of view, the representation of the past passes through a process of changing their intensity. It traverses communicative spheres, to the actual cultural memory, to the potential cultural memory and vice-versa.

Cultural memory differs from other forms of collective memory by its distance from everyday life. As other memories are dynamic and change with time, cultural memory has fixed points - its horizon does not change with the passing of time. For instance, text, rituals, monuments, observances that are culturally represented do not change, and if they do, they give birth to vocabulary of being adapted to modern representation. The figures of cultural memory recall a retrospective and contemplative behaviour. As people have been together in a given society to form their platform of understanding and view of the world, collective memory maintains their unity and guarantee their continuity.

Collective memory is socially mediated while undermined by individual memory, whereby someone recounts her or his story and in expressing this, members of the group, large or small, accept it; this testimony given and accepted becomes common knowledge. A personal memory becomes a collective memory. It also shows that there is a social bond between the group's members that constrains the collective memory. Explicitly or implicitly, the information members of the group have to remember, is reconstructed and redistributed and this influences how collective memory is organized. For instance the collective memory of a nation is represented partly by the memorials it chooses to erect. Whatever a nation chooses to memorialize in physical monuments, or perhaps more significantly, what not to memorialize, is an indicator of the collective memory. There is a bias in representing the past. It is also sustained through a continuous production of representational forms as a non-static phenomenon (Kansteiner 2002: 183).

In collective memory the _others' is not just a set of people, they are people that conceive unity and a frame of understanding personal stories. Others are significant in shaping memory and healing the past. Collective memory of any society is spontaneous, social, collective and encompassing; borne by living societies, it is permanently evolving like a coral reef, with a cumulative, incremental version of the past, as each generation adds to the evolving story. In this sense, there is a collective collaboration of everyone within a community in creating a collective memory and that memory is embedded in the defining narrative which that community tells to itself. You often find a collective, unified version of what is important and the key points of a community's history achieve a certain recurrence or solidity (Nora 1984: 934)

3.2.4 Memory and History

Both memory and history are respectively the non-academic and academic representation of the past, and both make use of materials (Lowenthal 1985: 214). Memory and history are selective and not objective as they use conscious and unconscious interpretation in which distortion is socially and politically conditioned by uncertain sources and the environment (Burke 1989:98). Historians claim privileged access to the past, based on professional training, on exact protocols and methodologies, on the authority of the archives, and citation of sources; that is thought superior to the version of memory that is individualized, subjective and based on individual story and testimony. In that sense, professional history is viewed as more prestigious than memory.

The main difference lies not so much in the final product, as in the process of rediscovery, in the hunt for the past. Historians are bound to base their work on known or established historical facts or on official sources, at the same time as they are obliged to document, or prove, their findings. The representation and the perception of memory integrate an emotional and pictorial dimension. History tries to organize knowledge about the past and to structure time into various periods, whereas memory is a continuous phenomenon: memories exist insofar as they are still alive in the mind of the narrator. Memories are perceptible: they affect the emotions, ways of thinking, actions and interactions with others.

In his article ―General introduction: Between Memory and History" Nora (1996) proposes a way of understanding collective memory through historical periods of time. The history of memory has gone through three periods: pre-modern, modern and post-modern. Each period is characterized by various materials to sustain memory. The natural and unselfconscious relationship of people and their past through traditions and rituals sustained the stability of community memories in the 19th Century and before. The emergence of industrialization and its pressures, social modernization with social institutions where traditional lifestyles lost their meaning, and the relation between individuals and their past was reconstructed. Specialists produced sites of memory and written traditions, and used archives to secure the future of nation-states. Shared traditions, life worlds with globalization of cultures and political institutions gave birth in the 20th Century to the post-modern period. This period develop an identity crisis assimilated with worldwide culture through mass communication. And where there is a crisis of identity, collective memory tends to have intensity.

3.2.5 Vehicles of collective memory

Memory is represented, structured and used in social settings and it has to presuppose collective relevance to be considered by the consumers. The makers of collective memory uses various and complementary tools to attract the attention of the consumers. From a range of authors cited by Kansteiner (2002:190-193), vehicles of collective memory are pictorial images and scenes, slogans, quips, snatches of verses, abstractions, plots and stretches of discourses, statues, memorials sites, monuments and buildings. In a particular way, images as vehicles of collective memory has been pointed out by Hirsch (2000: 216-243) challenging these tools of collective remembrance within traumatic memory. In her article ―Surviving Images: Holocaust Photographs and the Work of Postmemory" she contended that images are more attractive than others tools. Before an image is used and interpreted, people are curious to know more about it. It retains the attention of the consumers and recalls the physical images of the atrocity.

The same authors went on to say that the violence of camera images underlining atrocities victimizes the subjects looking at them. The destruction perpetrated is doubled by those images, firstly in the flesh, secondly in camera images. The recurrence of atrocities through images, the physical appearance of perpetrators' visages re-enacts the dehumanization and terrorizes the victims. Any image produced and seen by people tends to be used and reproduced. Images do not simply record the existence of a fact. There is an interpretation and the photographer uses the present situation to make it. The intensity of their messages is expressed with day-to-day materials and this extends its influences. People do experience challenging situations when looking at traumatic images, particularly those of holocausts and genocide memorials. When there is this kind of traumatic representation using image, choosing not to look at them is not an easy decision as they are public images. Their environment pressures people to look at them, and this creates a confusing situation for individuals.

Vehicles of collective memory are grouped into two categories. Some of them use oral communication and storytelling, and others use representations and writings. In both cases, the makers choose which vehicles to use to fully express the event. Most of the time, there is a mixture of tools for expressing one event and this is diligently used to attract various consumers (Kansteiner 2002:190-193). Although they have to maintain the image of the past memory relevant to the event remembered, the social and political environment of the makers orients the mind of the consumers and adapts the representation to the dominant power through those vehicles of collective memory.

3.3 Criticism of memory

Memory is a constructive process and some authors have turned their research efforts to the study of suggestibility, misinformation, and distortion. This is not to focus unrealistically on cases where memory goes wrong, or to say that accuracy in memory has suddenly been shown by science to be impossible or unlikely. There is no reason to think that ‗constructed memories' must be false. Loftus (2005) indicates that warnings about the forensic dangers of constructive

75

processes should not lead people simply to equate construction with error, or malleability with unreliability, since veridical memories too are constructed (Campbell 2003, 2004; Barnier, Sutton, Harris and Wilson 2008).

A better understanding of the mechanisms of distortion and confusion should also illuminate the general reliability of memory, by revealing processes which also operate in veridical remembering (Mitchell and Johnson 2000: 179–180). But neither ‗accuracy' nor ‗reliability' is a transparent notion in this context: pragmatic and contextual factors set the standards and criteria (Bernecker 2008:10). ‗Truth' in memory, though not forever inaccessible, is neither single nor simple, and is not the only goal of remembering. In particular, verbatim recall and other forms of exact reproduction are rarely necessary for success in remembering (Rubin 1995).

3.4 The concept of memory in the context of Rwanda

Memory is a state of perception and conception conditioned by time; the object of memory is the past that is viewed by the present agent with adoption and adaptation. The impact of what happened upon the rest of the society will extend the consolidation of memory information. In the case of Rwanda, the harmful and traumatic consequences of the genocide are deeply recalled. Hence, the erection of memorials proves very important because they symbolize a ‗window' through which anybody can gain an idea of what is remembered about the genocide (Zorbas 2004: 4). Considering the depth of the consequences, remembrance is ambivalent as they have the capacity to heal and to reinforce the wounds of the victims. The representation of this situation into a visual symbol draws the attention of many people who see its signs, because the observation of images gives more details of an event than mere story-telling. The representation of this situation in a visual symbol draws the attention of anybody who sees its signs, because the observation of images gives more details on the stressed event than mere story-telling.

Memories are both retrospective and prospective. In fact, the occurrence of memory is located in the past but oriented toward the present and future. This is because its consequences continue

and will continue to stress the community through its symbols, the mourning week and the hundred days period of remembrance that increasingly continue to intensify the freshness of the event. Yehuda (1997) believes that memory revives the event because it stimulates discussion about the consequences of keeping the traumatic aspect alive. Some authors say that traumatic aspects should be buried to pave the route forward (Winter and Sivan 1999, Yehuda 2001 and Lipstadt 1993). The traumatic aspects keep people in the past and underline the harmful characteristic of the memory by neglecting its meaning. Other writers support the significant aspect that the memory contains (Roth 2001:106, Prunier 1995: xii).

These two thoughts will help to analyze the impact of memory. Both negative and positive consequences of the fresh situation are carried into those memories. The destructive aspect of memory, like the nurturing of hatred, can definitely endanger memory, since lack of love may lead to revenge. In fact, this interrogates the conscious or unconscious existence of memory by including the danger of recursion. Not only has memory a positive impact, as is expected by its creator, but it includes a negative aspect that remembrance cannot simply _lead to redemption' (Simon 2005: 1).

Memory is humane. Wiesels, quoted by Roth (2001: 106), states that _if we stop remembering, we stop being'. Discussion may not attend to the _yes' or _no' of remembrance, but to the ways of representing and concretizing memories that will weaken the destructive aspects. The particular problem within remembrance is that there is insistence on traumatic stories. The latter continues to keep the stressful emotion of the observer and the victim alive, which negates society's efforts.

3.4.1 Traumatic memories

The debate about memories and remembrance is, however, mostly concerned with what can be remembered and in which ways. Although most tragic events encode consequences that are

realistic and which cannot be ignored, the way they are remembered and the integration of some imagery and other tools of remembrance need to be discussed. Through the experienced tragic situations, there is a pain which does not diminish. We find that the best means to reduce memory's destructive anguish is to share bad experiences and stories with friends, neighbours and community members.

Memory and remembrance create an open place to understand each other. The sympathy in this is developed via careful attention to the suffering of the victim. In this way, one triggers the social and moral responsibilities of understanding each other, as part of the desire for remembrance, which is not ‗free cost' (Seidel 1986: xii). Although memory symbols raise many questions about their imagery and what could be remembered, they are constraints that have become part of daily life; the positive and bad side of memories are realities of human existence (Roth 2001:106). Learning from the consequences of human action is another aspect of remembrance which can initiate change if memories and symbols are valued (Seidel 1986: xxii).

The rational and irrational feelings of remembrance should be shared by the community as a social responsibility, because they cannot be easily separated (Yehuda 2001:1). On the other hand, individual and community involvement always gives a social character to remembrance. Although memories have their roots in an individual experience, they bear a social character when the time comes to remember. Some challenges in integrating memorials in the community fabric, and the appropriate scale of accepting their message, exist. The present research examined how genocide memorials address the issues of social values within their tangible and intangible aspects. How can the local community view those symbols of a tragic period from their expected and unexpected messages?

Memory does not simply address individual's or private experience, but it is part of the public and collective domain that takes root in social, cultural and political aspects. Memory is a

phenomenon that is directly related to the present. Our perception of the past is always influenced by the present, which means that memory changes with time and space. Memory is a community characteristic. Castoriadis (1977: 281) states that ‗public time may signify a dimension where the collectivity can inspect its own past as a result of its own actions, and where an indeterminate future opens up as a domain for its activities‘. Memory is part of human culture and because of this we learn that Ancient Rwanda had many aspects of family and public memories.

We have seen earlier that it is relevant to maintain proverbs and sayings as contributing to the understanding of memory in the context of culture. However, even though a comprehension of memory is likely to be fundamental in making sense of the continuity of the self, of the connectedness between mind and body, and of our experience of time, it has often been curiously neglected by many social scientists and philosophers. This entry‘s primary focus is on that part of contemporary philosophical discussion of memory which is continuous with the development of theories in the cognitive and social sciences: attention to these interdisciplinary fields of memory studies is driving renewed work on the topic. Many problems regarding memory require us to examine cross cultural, philosophical traditions and sub-disciplines, touching on phenomenology, philosophy of psychology, epistemology, social theory, and ethics at the same time.

Memory is not a representation of everybody who understands the issue. Indeed, it is generated by the social aspect of the matter under consideration. The socialized understanding of what has happened gives power to the event by stressing the whole community. This is facilitated by the dominance of social groups, influential institutions and political power. It is relevant to underline the positive engagement of some members of the community to internalize the common issue. Those social aspects of memories, or the collectivization of memories, may be defined as ‗the property of dominant forces in the state‘ (Winter and Sivan 1999: 9).

One of the necessities in integrating the public memory into the local community is that its effects spread and reach the entire community. From the above diversified points of views, we find that to some extent, memory is a social fact that is external to individuals, as it exercises a coercive force on them. Memory is not a personal product. It is a product of the event that compels the victim and the rest of the community to remember. Memory imposes on individuals a behaviour as the product of what is remembered and so individuals can adopt a stressed attitude to those social facts (Durkheim 1937: 3-14).

3.5 The impact of proverbs and sayings in the Rwandese memory

In this chapter, proverbs and sayings illustrate the concept of memory in the Rwandan culture. Proverbs and sayings show how and what people think about different issues in the community. Some of those maxims are found in Rugamba's writings (1987: 19-22, 315-327; 1988: 24- 26, 50- 55, 128- 130). They state that people who committed wrong should be responsible for their evils and thus the wrong should be absolutely returned to its doer. From the Rwandan proverbs, revenge through punishment is part of re-establishing social relations, but this should be clearly administered. This mentality is still an influential latent aspect to persuade the post-1994 genocide environment in Rwanda.

However, on the other side, the environment of genocide memorials is still permeated with remnants of a culture that accepts revenge. This is a source of concern for the community. Proverbs and sayings are the pillars of customs and ways of living that continue to confuse the population's understandings of genocide memorials. Shyaka (2004: 16) believes that the power that comes after a conflict should be considered, since people are able to learn from the mistakes of the past. This is only possible if the population provides criticism, feelings and a plan for the best manner to organize the society. The dynamic aspect of genocide memorials that enables the community to look forward to a new understanding and consideration of their context, is strange to the cultural content expressed by proverbs and sayings.

In the context of the post-1994 genocide, some sayings and proverbs and the way people are still attached to them, may be a problem in a context where members of the community are claiming justice. As a matter of fact, many Rwandans still believe that the entire family is held accountable if there is one who did wrong and who is ready to bear the responsibility. The traditional Rwandan saying indicates that _inzigo iba mu muryango' (the evils of a family member strain the whole family and if revenge were to apply, the entire family has to suffer). However, this triggers more confusion concerning the interpretation of those symbols of traumatic memories. This dynamic aspect of cultural behaviour is a struggle that complicated the interpretation of the messages genocide memorials and their symbols convey.

It is sensed that behind the new symbol, community members read _a new philosophy'. If this new philosophy is going to contradict the message of proverbs and sayings, those messages are going to face some barriers, because community members read them in their traditional way of understanding things. The reality of the expected changes that will be generated by the genocide memorials are challenged by the community understandings. Taking the example of some sayings like *inzigo iba mu muryango,* which means that the evils of a family member strain the whole family and if revenge were to apply, the entire family had to suffer, the concept *inzigo* (scar) means the attitude of maintaining anger towards the person who wronged in order to carry out revenge against them or their relatives (Rutayisire and Nyirimanzi 2003: 24).

The second meaning of *inzigo* is traced back to traditional rituals of religion. It means the first initiation to *kubandwa,* the practice of Rwandan traditional religious rituals. If somebody did not go through this process, they were considered as *inzigo.* This constrained the person to limited forms of religious rituals. Thus the person could not attend religious ceremonies as her/his freedom was restricted in social and cultural responsibilities. This constraint has always had negative connotations that bound the person to some maledictions if they went beyond what was allowed by their status of being *inzigo* (Bigirumwami 2004:284).

This proverb shows that there is a social, cultural and psychological stigmatization behind the one who is called *inzigo* among the Rwandan community. This concept is still in the present vocabulary. Hence, consciously or unconsciously, those understandings have the potential to influence people's views of their social environment which can influence the meaning of genocide memorials. Conflict does not only affect the individual; it also involves both families. The shame is shared by those who are guilty and those who are innocent (Rutayisire and Nyirimanzi 2003: 24). This kind of socialization of an individual's actions is still believed to affect the social relationship of the community. Thus this proverb means: a fault of one relative concerns all family members. From this traditional Rwandan mentality, there is a fear of not overcoming traditional understanding if we consider genocide memorials' messages when people read about the struggle in the genocide memorials. The reality is that the effort to change this perspective in reading the symbols of genocide memory's message is necessary, though very difficult.

Another example that illustrates how *inzigo* was/is taken seriously in the Rwandan community can be seen in the dowry ceremony. During the ceremony of paying dowry, there is a cultural discusssion between the two concerned families. The discussion, which lasts almost three hours, is organized; the extended family, friends and neighbours are invited to participate. Their talks try to reveal if there is a relative from the boy's family who had harmed a family member of the girl. This then becomes an obstacle to the marriage process and there is an imperative effect that even reaches those who are not involved in the issues. These traditional ceremonies help to explain how the minds of members of the community work. As the dowry process is a family matter, relatives are involved in it and today this is still how Rwandans understand it, even if modern social law decrees that the innocent party is not directly concerned.

The reality is that some consequences continue to be socialized, like paying for the wrong done by a family member. The relatives, who share the shame of a wrong-doing of a family member, continue to live with the messages of genocide memorials. This outlook did not disappear but

was ignored and is latent, waiting for the proper moment to re-appear. When a baby boy is born, people congratulate the family, saying, *yabyaye umuhozi,* which means that the baby boy will take vengeance if anybody shows aggression toward or attacks his family. This gives more social power to the baby boy than the baby girl. What is pointed out here is not to show the inequality between boy and girl but to focus awareness that, given the high sensitivity of the genocide memorials' message, this kind of thinking can jeopardize the process of restoring community social relationships and the whole of unity and reconciliation in the post-1994 Rwanda. Nevertheless, in spite of this sensitive situation of the post-1994 genocide, proverbs and sayings are essential in social communication; they are silent factors that influence how the community views their environment. Some other proverbs, sayings or adages will be discussed in the next sections.

3.6 Rwandans' broad understanding of the living and the dead in the context of memory

The ultimate power belongs to those in the invisible world. The population of the physical world has the obligation to honour those in the metaphysical one, called *impaca or abazimu,* that are defined as the spirit of the dead which comes back to visit the physical world. The relationship is unbalanced due to the fear of being harmed by the metaphysical person, which dominates that co-operation (Byiringiro 2002: 58). Rwandans believe that the living dead are powerful enough to lead the dwelling of the living person and the dwelling of the living dead. Citizens of both these worlds have desires they want satisfied, such as food, clothes, wives and husbands (Muzungu 1975: 27, Bigirumwami 2004: 281-282).

Such an understanding is the framework of the relationship between the living and the dead. In addition, the way people perform funeral rites as a passage to the metaphysical or invisible world is fundamentally influenced by those considerations, which frame the definition of ‗genocide memorials'. The illustration of this behaviour is the common response to the reason why Rwandans have agreed to rebury with dignity, the corpses of the people who were killed during the genocide.

However, some people tend to argue that remembering is suffused with emotion, and is closely involved in both extended affective states such as love and grief, and socially significant practices such as promising and commemorating. It is essential for much reasoning and decision-making, both individual and collective. It is connected in obscure ways with dreaming. Some memories are shaped by language, others by imagery. Much of our moral and social life depends on the peculiar ways in which we are embedded in time. Memory goes wrong in mundane and minor, or in dramatic and disastrous ways.

The capacity of human beings to reason about the world is complex. This is because of the relationship that exists between experience and understanding. The rationality of human beings is influenced by different constraints that exercise forces upon the community. The definition of the social surroundings in which individuals live plays an important role in viewing the worldwide environment. The individual value of liberty to interpret events is embedded in the beliefs, the culture, the social and the political environment (Ashe 1999: 89*).

The definition of the world takes root in a specific cultural context that the tangible and intangible aspects of the milieu influence the way people understand events. Similarly, Rwanda views the world by coupling the visible and invisible world. The invisible world receives individuals coming from the visible world. Nevertheless, there is a supernatural power attributed to the inhabitants of the invisible world that organizes or influences the lifestyle of both. This power is rooted in values.

Within the Rwandan tradition the _me' is more often ignored and gives way to the _we'. The individual is more often regarded as belonging to the _clan' as a reference of identity (Vansina 2001: 45). This collectivization is still influential in the community. Realizations are evaluated in terms of the group and the individual is forgotten. There is a socialization of activities and behaviours (Byiringiro 2002: 48, Muzungu 1975: 25).

This attitude of behaviour collectivization reflects a traditional form of identity that will orient the way the population is divided into categories characterised by ethnicity. A social phenomenon regarding the people who are socialized within a political orientation is a process for changing or replacing their dark side. This is an issue to stress within this study, since it may affect how the local community will use the genocide memorials. Their definitions will be biased by how they relate to the ‗me‘, the person who takes the responsibility of analyzing the situation. This person‘s responsibility does not take into account the consequences or the ‗we‘ that the reliability belongs to the group. This includes the individuals who are innocent even though they live in the same community as those who committed atrocities.

This collectiveness is not defined by public law. It is rather identified by the shared values within the community and it is these values that can define daily life. This is crucial to community life, since even stereotypes can be admired if they are shared by the local community and challenge the real definition of any phenomenon. The consideration of the two worlds is very sensitive in daily life. All activities are organized in order to build good relations in a particular way within those who believe they are world citizens.

However, the above understanding is the framework of the relationship between the living and the dead. In addition, the way people perform funeral rites as a passage to the metaphysical or invisible world is fundamentally influenced by those considerations, which frame the definition of ‗genocide memorials‘. The illustration of this behaviour is the common response to the reason why Rwandans have agreed to rebury with dignity the corpses of the people who were killed during the genocide.

This ritual was performed in the early and previous period before and after the genocide. Some survivors buried their dead in their own compounds, but when the government decided to build provincial and district genocide memorials, the population accepted the decision without any

resistance. In spite of this, one reason was identified: the population expressed their desire to see the people who were killed during the genocide buried in the same place and to see people continuing to comfort one another, which is more helpful than isolation. This is a surprising but deep desire in the hearts of Rwandans. The understanding of this philosophy requires that one analyzes the death rituals and popular thoughts in the Rwandan context.

The supernatural authority given to those who live in the invisible world has become a constraint. When living people perform rituals related to death, they are seeking harmony with the dead. This is due to the fear that living people have toward the dead, _abazimu' or _abakurambere', who may come back to visit their living family. This is the major constraint that pushes the living family to perform the rituals related to death delicately.

There are many stories expressing how the invisible *abazimu* or *abakurambere* come back to bless or harm the living family (Muzungu 1974: 127-8). Within this atmosphere, remembrance will be emphasized to entertain the social relationship between the two worlds. To underline the power of the metaphysical world, there is a popular saying in Kinyarwanda that reads that the death of anybody in the family is announced by a bird of ill omen or by a natural sign that is known to be the channel of those announcements in the community.

From the physical world to the metaphysical one, funeral rites are major events that the Rwandan tradition considers as _the last nuptial ceremony'. The tradition reveals that death becomes imminent with the presence of some birds like owls. If an owl comes to a village and people hear its sound, they immediately conclude that somebody is going to die. In the event of the owl staying permanently in the compound of a family, the family starts performing rituals to eschew the expected sad news (Bigirumwami 2004: 212). The tragic event is always announced so that the community keeps watching, because nature and gods never surprise the community. If something bad or strange happens surprisingly, it means that there is a curse within the

community. These beliefs can be analyzed as not rational as they depict everyday life, which is shaped by value-constraining aspects. In the present context, this brings the aspect of trauma and cultural consideration that are expressed through modern symbols into the genocide memorials.

3.7 Socio-cultural consideration of death

Some Africans consider death as a ―process which removes a person gradually‖ from the physical existence to the metaphysical existence (Robben 2006: 4-5). Death is inevitable and an irreversible event and it has three categories. G*ood death* happens when a person passes away because of age, without illness or violence. It is also called ‗natural death‘. In Kinyarwanda, this kind of death is called ‗*yashaje*‘, the person grows old or *yarangije urugendo,* which means the person, simply ‗terminated the journey‘. In this case, death is considered as a normal process within life and is readily accepted by the relatives. *Bad death* involves a long, painful dying process, which exacts a heavy toll on both the sufferer and the family members. Alternatively, *tragic death* takes place suddenly and strikes healthy human beings, often in the prime of life (Robben 2006: 5).

The bad and tragic death that Robben defined meets the same understanding in *kinyarwanda*. Such a death is more feared and brings a curse to the family. Death takes the person untimely, meaning that they did not ‗terminate‘ their life on earth. Their presence in the metaphysical world becomes a danger for living family members.

Rwandans announce that death as *yakenyutse.* The person interrupts the process of life unexpectedly and prematurely‘ (Straus 2006: 78). The funeral of the tragic and bad deaths needs more care in order to satisfy the dead and to deal with the issue that causes them pain and interrupts their life. In failing to exercise this care, the dead may come back and haunt and upset the living members of their family (Muzungu 1975: 20).

There is a popular belief that the deceased continue to appear to the family members and provide advice or give orders. To confirm the involvement of the living dead in social life, some Rwandans continue to believe that they often come across the *impaca,* the inhabitants of the invisible world, while working during the night or very early in the morning.

Others affirm that they hear their voices while they are in their houses. One genocide survivor testified that she heard the voice of her father very late in the evening, when she was going to the Kigali Memorial Centre to celebrate the tenth anniversary of her father's death. Although such beliefs remain uncertain, undocumented and irrational, they have a major effect on the Rwandan understanding and definition of daily life.

Human irrationality contributes strongly to the understanding of what life is. The subjectivity of these thoughts helps them to reduce the universal fear of death (Robben 2006: 3, Muzungu 1975: 25). In many cases, the deceased person appears to members of the family until there is nobody living who knew their name. The person will be almost forgotten four or five generations after they died.

During the period of appearance to the living family, the departed is called *living dead.* This means that the concept of death does not mean the end of life in African belief (Mbiti 1969: 25). Although the person has disappeared in the physical world, they continue to live in the metaphysical world, meaning that the dead has remained part of the life of the living family.

The *living dead* have a controversial significance. The word *living* opposes *dead* and *dead* means not *living*. This contradiction signifies that the dead are never dead but continue to live in one way or another. This is a psycho-social and cultural consideration of the departed. There is a proverb in Kinyarwanda that states _umupfu ntazima arazimira, which means that the dead do not _extinguish' but _disappear'.

In fact, this proverb expresses individuals' immortality. The dead do not come back physically but they have their own way to do so and continue to affect family activities (Muzungu 1981: 60, Bigirumwami 2004: 176). According to the way some Rwandans understand death, the everyday use of the concept death highlights the expression *living dead,* which means another way to organize behaviour and attitudes. A person who dies does not meet social and cultural norms or values, because such a person is referred to as *uwapfuye ahagaze,* which means he lives although he is already dead; such beliefs undermine the family and society.

This strange behaviour is defined by the social and cultural context (Huber 1980: 15). Physically, the person is alive but the deviance in which she or he is involved makes the community consider them as dead. It is the cultural context that defines this consideration. This engages the person's irresponsibility in the community. The one who seems careless of everything is called *umupfu* or dead.

Human immortality is also expressed through offspring. In Rwandan culture, a childless couple and a family whose children have died reflect malediction (Bigirumwami 2004: 171-180). Mbiti (1969: 27) points out that ―procreation is an absolute way of ensuring that a person is not cut off from personal immortality". The ritual related to death, as a part of life, influences the social communication in everyday life and this holds significance within social relationships for the living family (Byanafashe 2004: 31). The concept of death integrates the scientific and socio-cultural meaning that its complexity generates different definitions and uses of the concept.

The death of one member of the community affects the rest in one way or another. Following Dawson, Santos & Burdick, Marrone (1997: 379) states that

> From this sociological perspective, the death of a community member disrupts the society's smoothly running function. Funeral rituals and memorial services are equilibrium producing systems in that they strengthen the individual recommitment to the community and, in this sense, are the key to a stable society.

The mourning period helps both the individual and the whole community to fill the gap left by the deceased, as well as encouraging the recommitment to the life function and recognizing the position the dead occupied in the community when alive. Similarly, the memorial period in Rwandan culture is a moment of comforting the deceased family. If the departed was a head of a family, father or mother, the rest of the community is responsible for assisting the family to accept the loss and learn to move along with it. During this period, all members of the family are required to attend the mourning, because this is a crucial period, during which serious issues are discussed.

It is the responsibility of the large family to always be there, but, it would wait until the family recovers from the shock (Bigirumwami 2004: 195-196). In Rwandan culture, when someone dies, the person continues to live in the family because she or he is still part of the network within the living family. Such beliefs influence human behaviour and sometimes they fuel fear when the funeral rites are not performed appropriately. Thus, the family feels it necessary to organize the burial process respectfully as well as the mourning and memorializing.

These rites are observed according to the prescript that the deceased had declared before she or he died, in the rituals of *kuraga* [*Kuraga* is the will document in which a person informs the family and friends how to settle important issues left behind, including instructions on how the person will be buried. This ritual becomes more important when it is a parent instructing her or his offspring] (Bigirumwami 2004: 171, Spijker 1990: 52).

3.8 Remembrance

The capacity to recall the stored event is an important tool for keeping history alive. In the present context, the event known as genocide is emphasized. Remembering compels anyone who experienced the event to discuss, testify and speak out about what they saw, heard or lived through. The presence of emotions in those moments may dominate the story-tellers. This is because, in the present case study, the genocide event is surrounded by many traumatic and

inexplicable things that people interpret differently. Some of these understandings are new in the Rwandan context, others have peculiarities that cannot be explained with common language and the impressive aspects of the events lead to different explanations and analysis.

Insisting on the chosen aspects of the remembered occurrence focuses the population's attention. Each person emphasizes the emotional aspect that touched her/him, even though it is a ‗collective remembrance'. This means that some individuals endeavour to associate the public meaning with their private emotional identification. Simon (2005: 4) characterizes the practices of remembrance in the following ways:

> Remembrance attempts to constitute mutual understanding and social coherence through an assent to a communal life grounded in norms embraced as indexical to civility and justice. Both of these practices attempt to secure representation of the past that might be integrated into the social practices of everyday life by the underwriting the enduring values and social forms that organize and regulate these practices.

By repeating what has happened, various attitudes might be observed, in the sense that people can delve deeper into analysing their own experience. This pushes individuals to scrutinize the whole situation, which helps the recovery process when one feels that they are alone. The truth is that other people have gone through the same experiences, although suffering and its consequences are not matters of collectiveness.

The second attitude may be the end of loneliness for the victim, even if others lived the same experiences. The third one may be a different reaction. When the person shares what happened to the community with others, they are deeply affected. Remembrance has the dilemma of being useful and useless at the same time, particularly within the ‗collective revived" and are harmful to both those who lived through and those who did not live through the experience. This aspect of remembrance is not innocent throughout the community, since both the accused and the accuser belong to one local community.

On the other hand, this aspect helps to understand some behaviour in relation to what has happened and improves the healing of the victims. Remembrance prompts the population to recognise how wrong its members are and how deep the consequences are of different testimonies.

3.9 Symbols of remembrance

Rwandan history contains events that are commemorated with significant representations such as monuments or images. Some of them are individual, family or public memorials. In fact, life is made up of accumulated experiences, which makes remembrance a process of keeping alive different physical and emotional experiences. Tangible and intangible aspects of events are expressed through remembrance symbols and ceremonies at physical areas of remembrance. Those symbols may be places, or things such as trees, houses, rocks and so on.

3.9.1 Tombs as symbols of remembrance

The practice of having a sepulchre is first of all a social, hygienic aspect, before it can play any cultural role. Decomposing corpses can affect the lives of community members because they pollute the air if they are not buried. This is confirmed by Gordon and Marshall (2000: 1) who stress that ―throughout history, it proves virtually impossible for the living to ignore the dead". If only for the sake of preventing disease and contamination, their physical remains must be disposed of. Tombs are places where the deceased are buried and tombs hold a significant value.

Tombs are sites for remembrance and they provide an opportunity for the family to express their feelings. Sepulchres are symbols that maintain a relationship between the departed people and the living family. They are a space for retrospection in order to explain and know the reason for the death of the departed. In addition to this, they keep refreshing memory. Careful examination of what caused death is likely to prevent similar cases from occurring and elicit new strategies for avoiding the same mistakes. Remembrance also allows people to repeat the traumatic aspects

of events that the community is facing and remember the terrible events during commemoration days.

In Rwandan tradition, tombs maintain the departed alive in the community, by giving them what they enjoyed when they were alive. This is transmitted through the cultural rituals called *guterekera*. This is a religious ritual in which the family members organize communion with the departed people to appease or inform them about the progress of the family (Bigirumwami 2004:277-282). During this rite, tombs materialize the presence of the *living dead* among the living family and so tombs express the refusal to admit that death is the end of life, but a passage to the metaphysical world (Mbiti 1969: 25).

This ritual of considering tombs as symbols of memory seems to be shared by various world cultures. For example, we can mention the presence of Chinese tombs in Rwanda. With time, tombs become more important for keeping events alive. After twenty-three years, the Chinese Embassy has organized a commemoration ceremony in Rwanda for the twelve Chinese compatriots who died during the construction of the road from Kigali to Ruhengeri, a highway from the Rwandan capital to the Northern Province.

Chinese often take flowers, drinks and other things to those tombs because these were things the deceased liked when they were alive. They reason that these objects are a sign of communion because, in their culture, the dead are still part of the living community. Their death has been recognized as a sign of bravery and courage that conveys their solidarity for the sorrows of the living family, as stated by the Chinese Ambassador to Rwanda (Rwandan Television report on Saturday, 5 April 2008).

Tombs are complex symbols that need to be considered with care. Their definitions are subject to socio-cultural considerations within each society. They represent the sacred livelihood of the

departed and thus the living community that shares such an understanding, view tombs as sacred, which should be recognized by the community. An example of disrespect caused the revulsion of the Muslim community in France, when a group of unknown people poured pigs' blood on Muslim tombs. This event has been called ‗the profanation of the tombs' (BBC News report on Sunday, 6 April 2008). Through tombs, the living community attempts to represent honour, respect and consideration for the humanization of the living family and the community. In this way, tombs represent the dignity, honour and sovereignty of a family, a community or a country.

This is reflected in maintaining the place where beloved ones are buried. Respect for tombs is a symbol that values both the living person and the dead. For instance, when a group of unknown people poured pigs' blood on tombs in France, Muslims felt their honour and dignity were at risk through such profanity; they felt they had been attacked. Actually, those who committed this provocation were also conscious of the situation, because it was not done unwillingly. It was an attempt to harm the living community in blaspheming such an important place for Muslims, where their dearly beloved lay eternally in peace.

As aforementioned, tombs play a religious role when the time comes to remember the departed; because remembrance time brings together family members, friends and neighbours. This is a precious moment of remembering the *living dead* and what they have contributed to the family and to the community. Tombs are cultural bequests that need particular awareness as they are connected to the family identity. Failure to maintain tombs means losing an important part of the family or community identity. Therefore, a tomb is a place of maintaining the relationships between the deceased and the living persons. For this reason, Spijker (1990: 18) calls it a physical place for remembrance. There is a natural conviction that is rooted in human beings that motivates them to carefully maintain the tombs and to be attached to the burial places of the loved ones who have died.

3.9.2 Other common symbols of remembrance

Other remembrance symbols, well-known within Rwandan society, exist. Examples are reserved houses, some kinds of trees, rocks and volcanoes. Underlining the importance of the icon which represents a memory, Simon (2005: 3) explains:

> Remembrance practices link meaning and identity within collective rituals that attempt to rebuild a social consensus by invoking iconic memory that mobilize affective structures of identification. On such terms, remembrance attempts to mobilize corporate commitment based on the psych dynamics of recognition and identification. In the second form, remembrance practices are more overtly hermeneutic.

The symbol that represents an event is open to many interpretations, as each one opens particular reflection when the symbols are seen. This becomes crucial if the representation concerns an issue that carries different views within the same community.

An event is dynamic and multidimensional and the mapping of its details creates clear reading of the symbol from all directions. Although an event is fragmented and blueprinted, it needs relevant information that can be conventional or closer to reality. The latter is represented to articulate important moments of the phenomenon. Traditionally, a house or a small hut could be erected and dedicated for the living family members often come and meet to honour the departed. Some of those buildings include the tombs, but others do not.

This traditional custom is still practised in Rwanda. It has been thoroughly analyzed within genocide memorials as the continuity of the traditional manner of exalting the departed, but by using modern materials. Some traditional tools were kept in these houses, especially those that were used and cherished by the departed. The cause of death of the departed is represented inside those houses or huts. Another example of symbols of remembrance is a thorny type of tree that is called *umuko* or *umurinzi*in Kinyarwanda. There is a myth that explains how one of the Rwandan distinguished ancestors was saved by *umurinzi* when an animal pursued him in the

forest. U*murinzi* means protector, guardian; it is considered to be a sacred tree (Muzungu 1974: 127).

When a person dies and his family is not able to access his corpse for decent burial, the family marks her or his tomb by planting *umurinzi.* In fact, some rituals would take place under this tree to make sure that people are protected from any evil which could originate from the family member whose last rites related to death were not performed. It is redemption for this omission and a symbol of re-establishing good relationships.

The great role that stones and rocks play as memorial symbols in the community cannot be ignored. Stones and rocks bear sacred meaning that is used to illustrate the presence of the ancestors. In remembrance, they have particular stories that are told in a mythical language (Smith 1975: 76). In the same context, volcanoes and lakes symbolize remembrance for the dead in general, because they are the dwelling places of *abazimu or impaca,* which are the spirits or *the living dead.* Volcanoes and lakes are physical symbols that represent the metaphysical world of *Abazimu or impaca.*

The interpretation of volcanic eruption and tempest within bodies of water is that the *living dead* are unhappy. The scientific aspect of these natural catastrophes is questioned by those beliefs that are rooted in Rwandan comprehension of the world. Volcanoes and lakes are feared because they represent the reserved natural places for the *living dead.* These particular natural representations of remembrance are real and dear to the community. They hold them in awe and respect them and any failure to do so would negatively affect the whole community. Whether this understanding is true or not, it is shared by the community and is the basis of their life. Their functional aspect is to keep a group united. Once internalized, this respect influences everyday life; it profoundly leads the community's interpretation of the roles of the genocide memorial.

3.9.3 Time allotted to remembrance

The time allotted to remembrance and to visit symbols of remembrance is a meaningful symbolic representation. The presence of relatives, specially dressed, in the place of a memorial is significant. In Rwanda, the colour purple symbolizes sadness and is associated with death. For this reason, all genocide memorials are decorated by purple banners. During the week of national mourning, Rwandans wear purple as well as on special days for remembering their departed relatives.

In Rwanda, the first week of April each year is a week of national mourning. There are social and cultural implications of this week. These cultural connotations symbolize all who perished during the genocide. The week of national mourning is a non-visual symbol that reinforces the value of the genocide memorials. Everything is announced through the public media and the national flag flies at half mast, which is a sign of honour and respect during the mourning period. Different seminars and public speeches about the genocide are organised, but pleasurable activities are prohibited.

People organize visits to the genocide memorials, attend seminars and organize family mourning time within their households. The last day of the week of national mourning is a public holiday and the Government organizes an official ceremony at a chosen genocide memorial site to close the week. It is a sensational moment and, consciously or unconsciously, the community is exposed to susceptible remembrance through television, newspapers and radio broadcasts, which propose an agenda to the community (Webster 2002: 59-60).

3.9.4 Genocide memorials, symbols of remembrance

Memorials are physical places of memory that represent a more complex piece of history. They are tangible images that ―enable practices of looking, which intervene in capabilities to perceive, judge, feel and speak about the past […]. They are expressive imagery, they contextualize the

past" (Simon 2005: 33, 36). There is always a need for a spatial representation to remember, but the intangible aspect that is attached to the place gives it more significance than the place itself. Remembrance is defined as the recalling of a person, an event or something else that disappeared in the flesh or in its physical aspect. This attaches importance to the past, which becomes the present in everyday life. There is a desire to represent and bring to surface what has gone.

Apart from *les lieux de mémoire* of the genocide period, Rwandans are used to having them belong either to family, clans, regions or to the whole country. Within the genocide memorials this is not a new phenomenon. The *lieux de mémoire* are made real in different ways, either as a tomb, a house, a tree, a common burial place or a public place, where the event happened or did not. The cultural context of the symbol of remembrance is defined by the agreement of those who are concerned and symbolizing the event is a common understanding.

Families in ancient Rwanda used one of the houses in the compound to bury their dead. Thereafter that house would be reserved for remembrance of ‚*Abakurambere*', the living dead ancestors. The house would serve the role of *lieux de mémoire,* where the rituals of ‚*guterekera*' as a way of speaking to the *living dead* would take place. In this view, this practice becomes an issue of private and public concern. Apart from the house of ‚*abakurambere*' belonging to the family or clans, there were common ancestors who belonged to the whole country, such as the king. Their commemorative rituals are observed by the whole country when the time comes to remember (Bigirumwami 2004: 270-283).

3.9.5 Remembrance and denial

All the previous sections showed how memory or remembering the dead is strongly rooted in the Rwanda culture. However, in the context of the memory linked to the genocide, genocide denial and genocide ideology are two other phenomena that Rwandan society is facing in the post-1994 genocide in Rwanda and which has worsened social relationships. Denial of genocide is the final

stage of genocide. It is what Elie Wiesel, cited by Theriault (2003:231-262), has called a ―double killing". Denial murders the dignity of the survivors and seeks to destroy remembrance of the crime. In a century plagued by genocide, we affirm the moral necessity of remembering. Holocaust survivor and Nobel Prize winning author of *Night*, Elie Wiesel, underlines the personal, political and moral magnitudes of genocide denial. Thus, recent incidents of genocide denial raise serious concern, not only involving ordinary people, but the heads of the states as well. As a matter of fact, he says that in November 2006, Sudan's president rejected claims that hundreds of thousands of innocent civilians had been killed in Darfur. One month later, Iran's president who has referred to the Holocaust as a ‗myth' sponsored a conference for Holocaust deniers.

While genocide denial raises universal issues of prejudice, propaganda, morality, and freedom of speech, it is also a deeply personal issue for those touched by genocide. Theriault (2003:231-262) who is a descendant of Armenian genocide survivors explains:

> Deniers operate as agents of the original perpetrators [of the genocide], pursuing and hounding victims through time. Through these agents, the perpetrators reach once again into the lives of the victims long after their escape from the perpetrators' physical grasp.

The concept of denial is sometimes confused with revisionism, or historical revisionism confused with genocide revisionism. However, historical revisionism is the legitimate understanding of historical research that mandates rethinking and rewriting our understanding of specific historical events as more material and interpretation become available. Genocide revisionism is instead an attempt to raise doubts and questions in the unsuspecting and unaware minds of the naïve (Theriault 2003:231-262). In the context of Rwanda, some criticisms were raised that the government is politicizing the genocide denial, but it doesn't mean that the genocide denial is not there. In fact, as genocide memorials are interpreted differently by members of the Rwanda community, in the same way, people interpret genocide denial differently. This becomes a big problem for harmony in the community and a major barrier to unity and reconciliation in Rwanda.

3.9.6 The history of the Rwandan genocide memorials

This section of chapter three, deals with the history of the genocide memorials. The next chapter will deal with their political aspect. Genocide memorials are ‚windows' through which people can look and understand what happened in Rwanda during the genocide period. After the tragedy, as many as a hundred and eighty sites of genocide were identified. Thirty national and district memorials of genocide are currently under construction countrywide. As Rwanda has been divided into thirty districts, one official memorial will be built in each district. In this way, the whole country will be endowed with strong and significant public symbols of remembrance.

The criteria for choosing those memorials at district level are the history connected to the place during the genocide period**,** the accessibility and the capacity to include memorials on the list of infrastructures. Genocide memorials are the product of mass killings. They are the places that are built to show where ‚killing fields' were located, or the situation of camps which enclosed many people, most of whom were subsequently killed.

Each memorial had a particular history during the genocide. This captures the attention of both the analyst and the population. The memorials that are known today are Bisesero, Nyamata, Murambi, Nyange, Kiziguro, Nyanza, Nyamasheke and Shyorongi. Although they are called the ‚killing fields' and *lieux de mémoire,* Rebero and Kamonyiare genocide memorials and ‚*lieux de mémoire'* are places that have been chosen as the location of memorials. No camps were situated there during the genocide of 1994. People who were killed around these areas were hidden here and there in private places. When their bodies were found, they were exhumed and taken to mass graves at genocide memorials.

Although these places have a different relationship to what happened during the genocide, they bear significant social meaning, either consciously or unconsciously, because they are tools for communication. Their everlasting message is supported by the annual week of mourning that is

organized in April. This is part of the hundred days that Rwanda usually celebrates in order to refresh the images of that traumatic event. In doing so, the Rwandan community increasingly revives the genocide's emotional aspect. The understanding of the existence of the genocide memorials is rooted in socio-cultural and political contexts. Although they are *lieux de mémoire, or* ‗killing fields', they stand also for social value. They depict the performance of the last ceremony of the people who were killed during the genocide. The interpretation of the symbols is embedded in various aspects. The latter are influenced by how each Rwandan understands what happened and the possibility to move forward.

The consideration of these places brings to ordinary people an atmosphere of reflection and remembrance of what happened. Such scrutiny and recollection are done with specific details, in order for community members to face their history without excluding their nightmares. The ceremonies that are organized for remembrance bring together the entire population, which would be deeply affected by the message. Ceremonies bring individuals together and serve as the reaffirmation of their common bonds and the enhancement for reinforcing social solidarity. Although it is a painful time, it has a cohesive function because people feel they are together during the organization of the remembrance rituals (Spijker 2005: 164-167). Ritual ceremonies revive the most essential elements of collective consciousness. Indeed, people have personal interests which they defend, such as the existence of others whose needs also need to be considered. The existence of these common places known as genocide memorials enhances some common values within the community. The presence of others shapes the framework of defining the environment in which each one lives (Ricoeur 2000: 147-151).

Ashe (1999: 89) describes the inter-influences among human beings as ‗our ways of thinking and acting that are produced by a network of social forces within which we are immersed". Human beings are not ‗autonomous', ‗self-producing agents', but are a product of changing cultural and discursive fields; they are subject to the influence of the environment. Genocide memorials convey a stormy message in Rwandan social relationships. However, hope is also

seen through this ‗window' of communication since it mirrors a ‗space for calmness and quietness within the hurricane's eye' (Hallie cited by Roth 2001: xiv).

Hallie, quoted by Roth (2001: xiv), considers this space like a blue that requires extension because the alarming aspect of the hurricane is always there. Remembrance ceremonies could be organized to enlarge the ‗blue place' to moderate the negative aspect of those *lieux de mémoire*', which will always be remembered for their atrocities. The community recognizes the traumatic symbols that Finlayson (1999: 132) defined as a ―group of people communicating with each other over a sustained period of time, sharing and recognizing a common culture".

Defining the symbols of remembrance is somehow part of a common culture within a group that shares the same background. Their understanding of the way to use, publicly or secretly, those symbols will bring among their social relationships a fluid movement or hard relationships. Castoriadis (1977: 281) states that ―public time may signify a dimension where the collectivity can inspect its own past as a result of its own actions, and where an indeterminate future opens up as a domain for its activities".

3.10 Consequences of remembrance

Understanding remembrance as a phenomenon that is rooted in human history is significant. Therefore there is a correlation between remembrance and history. Commemoration is about an event that actually happened and which can be identified. Discussion may lead to the interpretation of an event and its representation, but the reality of the happening cannot be overlooked. As for history, it is a science that scrutinizes the past; it includes a series of things and events that happened, located in space and time using specific methods and techniques to study it.

Memory increases the possibility for people to discuss and think about a new society, and people cannot prevent remembrance since it is part of daily routine. Roth (2001: 106) feels that ―if we stop remembering, we stop being‖. The duality of remembering traumatic events cannot be ignored. There is an open discussion concerning the beneficial and the destructive impact of remembering a traumatic event. The challenges lie in how to remember a traumatic event such as genocide or mass killings in a manner that the nightmare does not appear fresh. Some authors such as Seidel (1986), Waintrater (2003) and Roth (2001) feel that remembrance is necessary, but that it imprisons individuals who see or hear the traumatic stories as harmful situations. They argue that people can remember without re-traumatizing community members.

In the present authors‗ view, this emphasizes two important things: (a) it considers that remembrance is part of humanity and thus people should do it; (b) the focal point of the ceremony is not the traumatic aspects of what happened but the lessons drawn from the event which could educate the community, in order to lessen the nightmare of the past during the ceremonies. Those who think the traumatic aspect of remembrance should be removed from the public ceremony propose an approach for remembering. Their proposal can safely guide memories while keeping vulnerable people shielded from emotional aspects.

Many survivors are traumatized by the focus on one hundred days of Rwandan genocide which opens the remembrance ceremonies. The desire for remembrance and its negative impact on the survivors are unbalanced. This needs to be rectified so that the annual remembrance will not reopen wounds. The people who are vulnerable because of the details the testimonies have shown or recounted raise concerns about their individual experiences. What is underlined here is that remembrance makes participants learn something constructive from the past. Remembrance cannot affect those who are still weak.

Using the ‗killing place' as an environment of remembrance is another issue to be discussed. The time being remembered is a sensitive period. Bringing together the sensibility of the milieu as a physically traumatizing place and the atmosphere of remembering is too heavy for the one who survived those periods, as well as for the rest of the community. Some theorists, such as Winter and Sivan (1999), Yehuda (1997 and Lipstadt (1993), opt to remember the traumatic events such as genocide or mass killings in a very simple manner and avoid invoking fresh images of the events.

They argue that letting those events disappear in the ceremonies of remembrance will not lock the population into tragic fear of the past. They add that repeatedly facing a traumatic event prompts or triggers a desire for revenge and so the vicious cycle will polarize the ongoing process of uniting the community. Considering what happened in Cambodia, Rwanda, Kenya and Zimbabwe gives us an idea of what internal conflict is. Remembrance can traumatize people and as a result the important aim of learning from the past can disappear (Winter and Sivan 1999: 271). On the other hand, people think that remembrance is essential and want the traumatic events to be recalled during the remembrance ceremonies. They believe that the strength of facing past realities and their traumatic aspects is the power to overcoming these nightmares for the individuals who lived through these shocking experiences.

Some kind of pain persists and the best way to diminish its morale destroying consequences is to share that pain with friends, neighbours and the community. Learning from the fatality of the consequences of human action is another route toward change. From this understanding, King emphasizes that war will only be avoided in the future if its horror and suffering is not forgotten' (1998: 1). In this context, the underscored aspect of remembrance recalls all the past traumatic events. Similarly, people need to learn and have an implicitly better comprehension of their past. This is because the understanding of past inferences must be represented through details, including the shocking ones.

Although remembrance brings up many questions about the facts, it proves difficult to reconcile these questions positively if we consider the negative emotions which may be conveyed by the memories of the past. When remembering, both the reality of the occurrence and its destructive aspects can be reviewed, with the aim of reducing the negative impacts. Furthermore, despite the fact that unforgettable realities exist, the expected functions of remembrance would not be highlighting only what happened but also drawing some good lessons from the experiences. The dual aspect of memorials contains both sadness and goodness. This reveals the realities of recalling memories but it is possible to reduce the harmful aspect of remembrance (Roth 2001:106). In the same vein, the best safeguard of remembrance cannot be confused with the re-wounding aspects of its details.

Before completing this point, it is relevant to highlight the fact that the social environment in which the population views genocide memorials makes them think of the memorials as consuming symbols, which is biased by their situation of dire poverty (Nkunzumwami 1996: 172-176). This aspect cannot be disconnected from the situation in which Rwandans live, because poverty is defined as a factor that marginalizes human beings by generating social exclusion. In reality, poverty does not allow the poor to participate fully in social, political, cultural or leisure activities (Giddens 2001: 310-342, Haralambos, Holborn and Heald 2004: 236-289).

The United Nations has proposed a definition of poverty. In 1995, the Copenhagen Declaration and Programme of Action: World Summit for Social Development, stated that poverty is ‗a condition characterized by severe deprivation of basic human needs, including food, safe drinking water, sanitation facilities, shelter, education and information‘. Indeed, all these depend not only on income but also on access to different services. The environment in which people are living lack these basic needs and this continually reminds them of what happened. There is a mixture of severe memory: the atrocious death of their relatives, the national and international community that did not protect their relatives, neighbours that were unable to protect them or participated in killings, children, husbands, wives that betrayed families and neighbours and

participated in killings. There is a range of emotions linked to the past memory with various interpretations.

3.11 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have seen various authors trying to elucidate the concept of memory. It is detailed according to individual or collective memory. Individual memory concerns the one who is remembering the past event or ideas, and collective memory concerns a small or a large group of people. This group is linked by a collective conscious as a direct memory, where some people have participated in or witnessed the event in the past, while others did not experience the event yet have shared stories with those who have direct memory. Memory occurrence is important when there are significant consequences of the event. Memory is necessary to preserve the past, to keep one's identity and avoid forgetting and erasure.

The focus on the traumatic images in representing the past has been viewed as having a high potential for refreshing the nightmare of the past. This creates is a dilemma of what to do: Either to not look at those images; or to look at them and face the horror they symbolize. The human conscious to erect a memorial or represent a symbol of memory is invited to consider these dilemmas.

When defining the concept of collective memory, Ricoeur (2000: 82-111) proposed that there are three levels of memory: A pathological/therapeutic version of memory; pragmatic or functional memory; and ethical or political level of memory. Collective memory is about shared stories and emotions through communication. Some materials that consolidate that communicative memory have been highlighted as vehicles of collective memory. Some of them are pictorial images and scenes, slogans, quips, snatches of verses, abstractions, plots and stretches of discourses, statues, memorials sites, monuments and buildings. Images as vehicles of collective memory have been

pointed out by Ricoeur (2000: 216-243), challenging this tool of collective remembrance within traumatic memory.

Memory and history are close concepts, and in defining memory and history, Nora (1996) proposed a way of understanding collective memory through historical periods of time that are pre-modern, modern and post-modern. Each period is characterized by various means to sustain memory. In this chapter the concept of memory, in the context of Rwanda in particular, is analyzed. This is motivated by the case study of genocide memorial as symbol of traumatic memory of the aftermath of the 1994 genocide dominated by the traumatic memory. The horror represented in the genocide memorials combined with a situation of critical living conditions complicates remembrance. The context of memory in Rwanda has been also defined using traditional values, norms and ways of living, proverbs, anecdotes and sayings considered as the framework of community reference.

The focus on genocide memorials brought into this chapter the discussion of the concept of death and its implications for Rwanda's consideration of the rites related to death, and of the broad understanding of the relation between the living family and the dead family. The genocide memorials are a product of the past; this chapter also looked at the history of Rwanda to trace the roots of the genocide whose memorials are the product.

Apart from genocide memorials as symbols of traumatic memory, this chapter discussed the concept of memory in general with a focus on proverbs and sayings in Rwandan culture including particular places and trees. The consequences of remembrance as affecting the community when they recollect a traumatic memory have been discussed.

Chapter Four: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF FUNCTIONALISM

4.1 Introduction

The theoretical framework of functionalism is discussed in this chapter. This theory of functionalism helps to situate this research project within a conceptual and theoretical context, and the theory is related to the methodological framework for the research, given the fact that this theory investigates the functions of the genocide memorials in Rwandan society. The principles detailed in this methodological approach open a means to facilitate the qualitative analysis that is the concern of this study.

In fact, monuments themselves cannot communicate a clear message that is able to reinforce the community's understanding. According to Giddens (1974: 15), meaning is ―not an echo, a reduplication, a structural mirroring of the thing meant, aided perhaps by the struts of a formal framework, but rather the possession of a place, a role, in a language, a form of life, a culture". The symbols of the genocide memorials are significant as they convey messages that can be discovered by the community. The community doesn't only discover them, but also reads and interprets them. The community's interest in these symbols is motivated by what they represent, the memory of a tragic event, and their functional implications. When the community starts to sense the consequences of these realities, they establish a logical connection and express their feelings. The symbols of the genocide memorials are not abstract to the society of Rwanda, but they convey a clear message to people.

Genocide memorials are physical places which influence the everyday relationships among ordinary citizens, and whose presence produces effects which have the potential to produce negative implications in the community's social relations. Hence, this research chose the theory of functionalism to discuss different perceptions of the community towards the genocide memorials. According to Winch, quoted by Giddens (1974:13), meaning is a thing that implies

its use and *vice versa*. The community's reflections on understanding the places of memory are supported by their influential consequences. Even if the importance of an institution can be rooted in the causes, the objectives to be achieved are the functions it fulfils. The veracity of an institution can be confirmed after it produces effects that may challenge the predefined objectives or confirm them in some way. The involvement of the population that undergoes the consequences is motivated if people are affected significantly.

4.2 The background of the genocide memorials in Rwanda and their intended functions

After the genocide tragedy, the Rwandan community expressed its intention to bury the bodies and remains of bodies scattered all over the country. This was one of the strategies to heal the wounds of the genocide survivors and to organize the post-genocide society generally. Given the positive outcomes from the initiatives of honouring people who perished during the genocide, similar initiatives emerged from the local communities around the country. Some parts of the country organized the burial rites as they used to do in their cultural customs.

 In the beginning, some people could identify the bodies or remains of their beloved ones, and managed to bury them in the family yard. Others opted to bury several bodies in the same tomb – in the pubic cemetery. Please bear in mind that the first initiative, which inspired other local communities to do the same, started in the community of Mwurire. However, even though this initiative was noble, there were some controversies within the community about the right way to perform such a good deed. Thereafter, the Government took over those initiatives and transformed them into a national project (Bazubagira 2008: 37). Since it was a government project, the national and provincial authorities became active in the process and the civil society (including churches) and different NGOs followed (Office of the Prime Minister, Official Gazette 23 March 2009).

From this short background, it can be said that the initiative of genocide memorials was started by the community and was later hijacked by the government. This means that there is no official law that legislated the genocide memorials before their construction; it is very recently that a policy on genocide memorials was initiated; it is still in the process of being finalized.

However, although different authors concur on the definition of ‗memory‘, divergences arise when it comes to the symbol of memory and its functions. One tendency considers memorials as representing political propaganda and affirmation of political ideas, instead of emphasizing the event to be remembered (Merridale 1999: 62, King 1998: 6, Roth 2001:69). This consideration underlines the power of the State to manipulate these symbols. As a matter of fact, the genocide memorials have been designed deliberately. The Rwandan Government has tried ‗to put into those chosen symbols all the meanings they should have‘ (King 1998: 3) and there is a proposed, defined way of reading them. According to the complex situation that generated the symbols, manifest functions are undermined. The implication of each one to admit these expected functions is not automatic, because they include different constraints related to Rwandan history. Some would transform those manifest functions into latent ones, others into dysfunctional or non-functional.

It is from this unholistic approach, adopted by the government in building and defining genocide memorials, that conflicts and divisions in the community were inherent in the post-genocide 1994 Rwandan society. Indeed, these conflicts and divisions affected the decision to construct genocide memorials and shaped the manner in which the memorials were perceived by the various sections of the population. In view of the above we can briefly say that in the beginning, the genocide memorial construction had two functions: to heal the wounds for those who lost their relatives and whose bodies were not yet buried, and to fulfil the cultural obligations of burying the dead. But on the other side, for the government the intended function of constructing the genocide memorials was, officially, to support community initiatives, but step by step the government turned the community-based initiative into a political tool.

However, the use of memorials as a political tool can be found in many other countries. This chapter only mentions the two cases of Russia and South Africa. As revealed by Merridale (2002) ―*Night of Stone: Death and Memory in Twentieth-Century Russia*", particularly fascinating is the way in which Stalin chose to play down commemoration, because he feared a resurgence of religious belief in the wake of a general mood combining thanksgiving for victory and mourning for the dead. As an alternative, the population was exhorted to believe in the socialist utopian future and focus on heroism rather than personal or collective mourning. For many this strategy worked and served a political agenda. In fact, socialist propaganda was stepped up, and in 1949 even the folktale was submitted to scrutiny by a committee determined to weed out its ―backward" features (Merridale, 2002: 250).

Merridale highlights that the post-Stalinist thaw period witnessed attempts to escape the stultifying socialist rhetoric about the present and future and perhaps seek answers in religious belief. The official response, as far as death was concerned, was to redouble efforts to promote socialist funerary rituals, and make another (failed) attempt to institute cremation. Though the habit of silence had been partially broken, the tradition died hard, as veterans and families of the dead from the Afghan war realized as their attempts to talk about and deal with the realities were stamped on.

Another example is from Marschall's: *Commemorative Monuments, Memorials and Public Statuary in Post-apartheid South-Africa*, wherein she indicates that under the aegis of the post-apartheid government, much focus has been placed on the transformation and democratization of the heritage sector in South Africa since 1994. The emergent new landscape of memory relies heavily on commemorative monuments, memorials and statues aimed at reconciliation, nation-building and the creation of a shared public history. But not everyone identifies with these new symbolic markers and their associated interpretation of the past. Drawing on a number of theoretical perspectives, this book critically investigates the flourishing monument phenomenon in South Africa, the political discourses that fuel it; its impact on identity formation, its potential

benefits, and most importantly its ambivalences and contradictions (Marschall 1994). Even if the cases of South Africa and Russia are not exactly similar to the case of the Rwandan genocide, all the cases show how memorials can be used for a political agenda.

However, in this research, the use of functionalist theory is not for confirming or confronting its different postulates. It is rather for reflecting and opening a room for accepting different definitions and meanings of the messages of genocide memorials as perceived by the community. The meaning of these physical localities is firstly highlighted by the official definition by pre-defining their role. They are symbols that materialize what has happened, a sign of memory, a tool for fighting genocide ideology, and teaching materials. These manifest functions are the objectives that are carried out by the official determination to build these places of memory.

4.3 Functionalism, a framework to discuss the genocide memorials

As shown in the previous section, the use of the functionalist framework aims at placing this research in the existing literature on the functions and dysfunctions of the genocide memorials in the post-1994 genocide in Rwanda. The public definition of genocide memorials is shared by the entire community. In addition, this public definition has implications for people who visit these places of traumatic memory. Nevertheless, in spite of the official or public meaning of the genocide memorials and their symbols, people have their own definitions of genocide memorials and the messages that they communicate. People explain deeply how they view the messages of genocide memorials and how they address some negative effects from them. The discovery of the motivation of these differences, manifest, latent, dysfunctional and non-functional aspects of functionalist theory, is the platform that helps to understand these variations.

Various postulates of functionalism have helped to convey the various messages of the symbols without narrowing their meaning to public definitions. The groups who go there for

remembrance consider the place as a family cemetery that requires careful attention, as this affects human behaviour. The consideration of this place as a family tomb does not only imply going there for remembrance but also for performing traditional religious rituals. In the views of Bigirumwami (2004), the tomb therefore becomes a mythical place that connects the *living dead* and the *living family (*Bigirumwami 2004: 281-282). Unfortunately, some people who visit these places feel shame because genocide memorials illustrate how the community failed to protect its members who were in danger and how members of the community were involved in the killings.

In fact, there were, even among the respondents, some close relatives of the genocide perpetrators still in jail. In other words, this frustration of the community is a result of the sad actions by the relatives, which led to the construction of this tomb. This complexity of the post-1994 genocide society in Rwanda ensures that people are affected differently by the memorials. There is no standard for classifying what the ordinary people read and feel into the duality of objectivity versus subjectivity (Fay 1996: 200-201). If meaning reflects the relationship between an idea, an understanding of an idea and the one who is concerned, there is no way of limiting people's interpretation of the message of the genocide memorials.

Nonetheless, even if this research is qualitative, it does not aim to explain community behaviour but it explores the different uses of genocide memorials. That is why functionalism is a tool that is used to discover the community understanding that prompts the expected and non-expected meanings of their messages. Functionalist theory is inherent in qualitative research for the simple reason that it avoids forcing some behaviour into predetermined objectives, which may not always be realistic. Thus it helps to avoid consequent listing of a defined outcome as a positive contribution and those are not listed as hindrances to the positive contribution of the institution. They are somehow expected to organically happen by the one who formulated them. The contribution of Merton (1996:71) to detail the functionalist theory that is used in this study provides the possibility of expecting the ‗dysfunctional and non-functional' effects of an

organization. Those two postulates of functionalist theory organize a space where people can objectively or subjectively express their realities relating to the predefined objectives.

The predetermined objectives have their place as the justification for the importance of the symbols. What is not predetermined is somehow expected to happen within this functionalist theory. This partially releases the analysis of sensitive symbols such as genocide memorials. The comparison between positive and negative definitional poles does not appear in this approach, but it is necessary to analyze each pole. The population does not necessarily need to stand behind a provided definition or meaning. What is produced as a new concept means their position is able to find a frame defined by a functionalist postulate (Merton 1968: 105). The people's intrinsic sensations are discussed, as adding more value to the public definition of genocide memorials. For Merton, functionalism has created the possibility of dealing with the meanings that originated in the observer's self, without repeating the public definitions or meanings that were previously proposed.

Functionalist theory has been material in discussing the meaning of genocide memorials, considering the public definitions as manifest functions, but also giving a place to the group or personal definitions into latent, dysfunctions or non-functional roles that are not expressed by the public definitions. Defining genocide memorials based on their functional, dysfunctional and non-functional roles, as seen by ordinary people, provides deeper information. This mirrors what is contained within these places and the extent to which the community is affected by that environment. In fact, social relations are strained by their messages, which make the population feel stressed and fearful. There is a need to use the functionalist theory as a platform for a significant discussion of the way ordinary people consider the memorials.

4.4 Functional analysis

The theoretical framework offered by functionalists, for this study concerns the symbols of the genocide memorials. Functional analysis is a complex concept that analyzes the contribution of each social structure to the entire community (Sztompka 1990: 56). The functional aspects of genocide memorials would be unlocked from the grassroots using manifest, latent, dysfunctional and non-functional concepts (Merton 1968: 105).

The symbols that are relevant to this analysis are discussed and refer to the memory. It is a social fact that has consequences among the community, as discussed in Chapter Three. A social fact is a constraining phenomenon which limits the group or individual behaviour. According to Lehman (1993: 51), discussing Durkheim's theory of social facts, these are things that are collective. This collectivity means that they are shared by a number of people who recognize them. The functional analysis of memory is shared by the Rwandan population, who emphasize their importance to the wellbeing and continuity of society.

A social fact is external to individuals and so the functional analysis implies their impersonal nature. Still, Lehman (1993:51) points out that ―social facts are things which are external to individuals. This externality primarily indicates the lack of power of individuals with respect to social facts. This means that social facts are not the products of individuals. They can only be the products of other social facts". In analyzing the influence that symbols of memory have among the population and how people make sense of what they read from those symbols, it is necessary to discuss the externality of memory. According to Durkheim (1937), the functional analysis of memory through the physical symbol requires a deep contribution of the people to get their meaning (Durkheim 1937:3-14). As they are stressful to the community, the social consciousness of their existence becomes a fact. What is remembered from these physical and emotional symbols and how it affects the community is rooted in the complexity of people's stories. Therefore, functionalist theory brings clarification of their consequences over the population.

Social facts are structured into manifested function as they play a predefined role in the community. They have social consequences that are predetermined by their functional aspects. To some extent, these expected consequences are idealistic because of the complexity of the social structure and it should not be forgotten that social facts are dynamic. Even if they are normal and organized into a structure, people apply them differently. The memory that is a social fact under discussion is the product of other social facts that justify its existence. In addition, they are multidimensional to the extent that people make sense of them from their points of view. Understanding personal or group appropriateness of those symbols and how they are viewed contributes to the clarification of their functions.

4.4.1 Functionalist theory

Functions are consequences that are observed and which make way for the adaptation or adjustment of a given organization that some are predictable and others are not. The consequences of the social organization in the community explain the causes of its presence. The realizations that are going to impact the society prepare for the creation of social organization (Merton 1968: 105).

The experience used by Merton to detail different concepts of this sociological theory was discussed in relation to the tangible and intangible aspects of genocide memorials. The framed definition offered by the management of the genocide symbols may not retain all of the meanings of the monuments. The way in which the population relates to them in their everyday life is open to discussion. As sensitive symbols, memorials' expected function are defined within the public sphere. Indeed, this forms the national and international consideration frame, although the individual or group appropriateness of genocide memorials gives birth to their unexpected functions.

Functionalist theory has been chosen to relate to both aspects of genocide memorials, their anticipated and unanticipated functions that are making impacts on the social relationships inside the community. People's everyday lives include objective and subjective emotions and both attitudes lead individuals to their personal or group understandings, which might not be relevant to the public or to the reality defined within genocide memorials. Once internalized, people's understandings shape their daily life and become part of their subculture. In this, the functionalist theory, which ‒refers to logically interconnected sets of propositions from which empirical uniformities can be derived", is the chosen approach to analyze these aspects of genocide memorials within its expected and unexpected postulates (Merton 1968: 39).

If the public definition of genocide memorials' expected function is not meaningful to what the local community reads through these monuments, and if there is no empirical uniformity expressed through them, the population is able to give or to propose another way of understanding. Consequently, the latter will give meaning to their social life and represent their considerations accordingly. Those perspectives of reading genocide memorials ensure that the official and the community definitions are considered, because they form the platform of interpreting the symbols. The theory which logically deepens both the public and private use of genocide memorials is functionalism (Merton 1968: 105). As mentioned in the previous sections, this approach has been chosen as a means to understand various consequences of genocide memorials for the ordinary citizens.

The present study does not discuss functionalism as a theory. Instead, it made use of it to discover the meaning of the genocide memorials from the point of view of the community. People are not _empty vessels' waiting to be filled up; they ‒have prior values, cognitions formed by early socialization, membership of social networks and personal experience" (Curran 1996: 124). The proposed official way of reading genocide memorials as new monuments in Rwandan society would be completed by the personal use of these symbols. To understand the various considerations from public and private spheres adds more facets to their complex meanings.

4.4.2 Concept of functional relations

Functional analysis originates from Durkheim's work *„Suiåde'* (1951), as it discusses the positive consequences of crime on society even though they are seen as dysfunctional. Durkheim focused on the functional aspect of religions in his book *„Hementary Form of the Religious Life'* (1915), in which he underlines the social consciousness of belonging to a group, which generates a constraining situation and when people's behaviour is to follow the regulations of the group.

Durkheim does not highlight either the origin or the structure of the organization. He only emphasises the contribution it makes to the cohesion of society and that this is the necessity of each organization. According to him, the importance of different sectors of society is the functional contribution to maintain societal cohesion. Coleman (1990: 22) emphasizes that ―functional analysis is specifying the consequences, positive and negative, of a given social phenomena for the various social structures in which they are implicated"

Social phenomena would have the meaning only through the role they play in the community. In reality, this has more effect if ordinary people actively respond to the expected objectives of the social organization. Functional analysis does not consider conflict to be an integral part of the social system. This is selective consideration by functionalists, as it does not consider conflict within a social phenomenon of this theory. The use of the concept ‗functional analysis' in Merton's work in 1949 underlines its perspective of not considering contradictions and conflict.

The focus on cohesion and consensus are key elements in functional analysis, a concept that does not analyze variations that are not relevant to its definitions (Merton 1996: 6). Functional analysis also does not consider changes to be dramatic but rather to be evolutionary. This would be open to discussion as well, as changes are considered revolutionary. Social organizations are

never static. Some of their elements have progressive changes and others change in a dramatic way because there are different factors that generate and influence those changes. The environment which social organizations belong to is more significant in giving them meaning. Political orientation mostly proposes or prescribes meaning to the community, which accepts it naively or actively discusses its content and effectively applies it. Various understandings thus arise; the population seems stressed by the consequences and the environment of the social phenomenon.

However, in the case of any change in socio-political context, organizations adopt those changes. When adopting those changes, some of the manifest functions may change and become latent or dysfunctional and *vice versa*. In other words, there is interdependence between the conception, the orientation and the management of the social organization and its role. In another way, however, differences would be observed at each stage, from the ideal predefinition to the practical realization of the predefined objectives. The functional aspect of each social system engages a discussion between community and public interest. The roles they are going to play would hold rational and irrational interpretations, following different expectations. Variations between expected and unexpected functions are able to generate conflict to a dramatic interpretation of the predefined objectives of a social system. Any considerable change in the environment in which the social system is integrated requires the system to take account of it. This means integrating these changes.

In view of the above, we can say that there is an interdependence of different elements in a society. The functionalist approach tends to regard these elements of society as having particular functions to perform. Nevertheless, the actor would add disparities between intended and unintended functions of a social system. In the view of Grabb (1990), the relevant function of a social organization can be located in expected consequences, as defined not only by the aim of the organization but also by the unexpected functions as part of the uncertain environment of the social organization (Grabb 1990: 101).

Moreover, Merton (1968: 118) used the sociological experience of the ceremonial rain of the Hopi to explain functionalist theory in detail. The term function originates from biological sciences, where there is a ‚functional interdependence' or ‚functional relations'. In fact, the presence of an element gives rise to the connections with other elements in the organization. This connection is static within a biological system, but not within social systems where all the elements are dynamic. This affects the functional relations of each social organization. For instance, if the functional aspect of the heart is defined by the circulation of blood, a vein is required to serve the rest of the body and the heart would not replace the vein. There is a fixed place and function that would not be permitted to replace any part and plays its function. Any problem concerning the heart affects the whole process of other parts (Merton 1996: 67).

The functional system of the heart is universal and fixed for all individuals on the planet. However, this is not the case in the dynamic aspect within social organizations. Social organizations differ and their universality changes with time and space. What is important for the population today in Rwanda may not be relevant in any other country, or what was necessary fifty years ago, may not relevant be today.

In view of the above, it means that social organizations are embedded in an environment that evolves. This evolution generates the re-adaptation of the social organization, including reworking of its expected and non-expected functions. This means that the rationality of the projected functions would be challenged. According to Giddens (1974), ideas form the logical conception of an organization and admit that clarification leads to ‚searching for a meaning', ‚analysis of alternatives and consequences', ‚a strategy' and ‚predictability' (Giddens 1974: 54-59). Nevertheless, all those concepts that convey the meaning of rationality are open to subjectivity.

We cannot strictly ascertain that the expected functions of a social organization will produce the expected consequences. When we are seeking meaning, the elements of the social environment may change. In this way, the situation forces us to amend the meaning and, accordingly, the strategy may be effective or not; this opens predictability to subjectivity. If the expected rationality unlocks the expected irrationality, this means that both are always together to reveal the functional meaning of a social organization.

Coming back to the biological illustration of functionalism, the unexpected effects would be analyzed to justify the presence of some unpredictable consequence. The functional aspect that uses the biological perspective can partly relate to the social consensus of human organization. The internal and external factors that affect the functional relations of a human body are examined by a specialist. This is because, if the problem is detected, the conclusion would be the same for all specialists in the field and intervention would lessen the negative impact (Merton 1968: 75). The working consensus in functionalism, illustrated by the biological system, is determined by the ‗static' place of each part and function. This is not the case in social organizations or in its sub-entities, because internal and external constraints can force or disorient the functional analysis of a social entity. In addition to this, there are multidimensional functions when a social organization is being analysed.

The contribution of each part to maintaining the society as a system, as sociologists and social anthropologists put it, can be partly applied because: (i) the individual behaviour is moulded by broader social forces that make them change the process and so adapt and adopt their behaviour to the situation in which they are an active actor; (ii) these social forces constraining the behaviour of individuals are social facts. The latter are external to individuals; ―they impose behaviour and thoughts as well as sentiments on individuals" (Lehmann 1993: 51-52, Timasheff & Theodorson 1976:106-107).

Social facts are embedded in socio-political and economic structures which provide a framework for their interpretation. The actors, being individuals or groups, interpret the effects of the social facts according to the environment in which they are produced and also on their personal experiences. (iii) The socio-cultural and political context, of which those interpretations are a part, keep changing. Thus, behaviours, ideas or symbols can have various interpretations, which give sense to the reality of how people understand them.

Understanding a system is forcibly given by its functions, whether expected or not. For this reason, the actor would clearly define a social system based on its consequences. The rational consideration of the effects of a social system is subject to various criticisms, due to the actor's expectations. We believe that each society builds on norms which address a platform of viewing things. Because these things are related to customs, some behaviours are considered as deviances and so-called irrational social behaviour become norms that contribute positively to challenging and improving the social system (Giddens 2001: 207).

In this context, the functional aspect cannot be locked into the concept of ‗consensus' as one way of ‗maintaining the system together' (Merton 1996: 67). Diversity in understanding can be a further step toward maintaining or improving the social system. Human understanding of social phenomena does not neglect the environment in which the individual is integrated (Ashe 1999: 88). The duality regarding rationality and irrationality, stability and instability, cohesion and difference of social system functions is pressurized by both social and political forces. This is an important aspect of setting and altering the goals for society as a whole and ―mobilizing actors and resources to that end" or to its functions (Ritzer 1992: 246). Various interpretations of the functional aspect of a social system would carry a positive contribution.

4.4.3 Value of functional analysis

All social organizations attempt to achieve a goal that labels the _why' of their existence. The justification of their presence is their functional roles. In other words, the expectation of what would be the contribution of an organization and its basic foundation justifies the essence of its existence. The value of functional analysis is defined by the concept _function', for which each social phenomenon plays a role in the community. This investigation intends to evaluate the contribution of the social organization. The analysis does not emphasize only the positive functions but also the negative effects, the limitation to the presumption of positive impact. Should the analyst using this theory accept the depiction that the negative contribution of a social phenomenon to the entire community does improve its existence?

In the view of Durkheim, (Haralambos, Holborn and Heald 2004: 333), the negative impacts of social organizations are functional. This explains how they become barriers to social cohesion, ⁓when its rate is unusually high or low. […], all social changes begin with some form of deviance". The progress of the whole of society requires that polar effects of a social phenomenon contribute to the functional improvement of the community. Understanding the entire role of an institution requires the analysis of the positive and negative consequences of the whole social system. Some social sensations are cultural products and seem mostly to be peaceful, like the Hopi rain ceremony. However, many others are products of a conflicted situation such as the genocide memorials and their consequences for the community are undermined by their presence. Lehmann (1993: 51) states that each institution has certain functions which contribute to the survival of the society as a whole.

A social organization is a more complex organization composed of more sub-organizations than the primary empirical type-reference in the society. The concept of _society' that occupies a central position in sociology can be defined referring to dual generic understandings. Society refers to _a social association' and _a system of social relations' (Miles 2001: 12). The concept _society' refers to the number of people who live in a given and specific place. Some societies

are smaller than others but they are formed by large numbers of people. It refers also to the social relationships defined by cultural boundaries. Thus this becomes a ―system of structured social relationships that connect people according to a shared culture" (Giddens 2001: 699). Social equilibrium and consensus that are privileged by functionalists would be achieved if the population, through institutions or social systems, mirrors their views.

Briefly, the functionalist theory that Merton developed builds its experience on the Hopi ceremonial rain. This is a primitive folk practice that is ‗designed to produce abundant rainfall' (1968: 118). In the context of sociology, the interest is not the relevance of this ritual but the ―analysis of the actual role of this behaviour in the life of the group" (Merton 1967:118). This cultural practice is shared in a way that it created a system of meaning which unites a society (Giddens 2001: 22). Due to this, ―the rationality of social ceremonies rooted in the culture cannot be simply responding to the expected function. They may be irrational but still they play the roles of reinforcing the group identity. They do this by providing a periodic occasion on which the scattered members of a group assemble to engage in a common activity" (Merton 1968: 118-119). Hence, Merton explains the prominent framework of functionalist theory and in pairing function and dysfunction, manifest and latent function, he focuses on the functional role of each part of a social system.

Various parts of a system are interconnected like integrated units that work together to produce stability, cohesion and consensus of a group or a society (Merton 1967: 73-138). He states that:

> *Functions* are those observed consequences which make for the adaptation or adjustment of a given system; and *dysfunctions,* those observed consequences which lessen the adaptation or adjustment of the system. There is also the empirical possibility of *non-functional* consequences which are simply irrelevant to the system under consideration" […]. *Manifest functions* are those consequences contributing to the adjustment or adaptation of the system which are intended and recognized by participants in the system; *Latent functions*, correlatively, being those which are neither intended nor recognized (Merton 1968: 105).

In the above quotation, Merton details functionalism by including features such as: (i) manifest functions, (ii) latent functions, (iii) dysfunctional consequences and (4) non-functional consequences. These four concepts that are central to Merton are discussed in depth.

4.4.3.1 Manifest functions

Manifest refers to something that is not hidden but is exposed to the sight of everybody. People know or see through the practical use of the senses; bearing, seeing, touching and so on. When people use common sense, the manifest functions of a structure become functions that are clearly observable. Those functions are firstly known by the organization which defines them. Secondly, they should be known by the environmental area of the organization because they are manifest.

Functions are structural results or impacts in society. If they are manifest functions, their impacts should be evident. If this is not the case, when the population reads something different and which is not manifest, there is now a problem of defining the contribution of social organization. Either there is a misunderstanding between the structure and the environment where it is located, or the population is reading that structure through different coloured glasses. This is now different from the proposed objectives of the organization. Indeed, this may mean that the social organization has vague objectives where everyone can fit whatever they feel compelled to. Such a challenge is detailed as a constraint of manifest functions.

Manifest functions are expected consequences and predetermined objectives to be achieved. They are the pillars of the existence of the social organization that are easily managed, since they are planned effects. They explain the contribution of a social system to the entire society because they are known outcomes. Obviously promoted, those manifest effects play an important role in influencing people. This is observable when we consider social structure, even though this reads in a different way.

The organization of a social system proposes objectives to achieve. Those predefined objectives would deliver a positive contribution to the whole society but may fail to achieve while structural evaluation relies on them. Then there will be a socialization of societal needs through different convincing objectives that are idealistic in comparison to what the results should be. There is a projected understanding that the formulated objectives are going to satisfy the needs of the population. In this case, people's interest seems to hinder the collectivization of interests. Obviously this is not measured.

The community reaction to the existence of the social organization may defy its manifest functions. If there is no population's appropriateness for the intended contributions, there is a limitation to that structure's objectives. Illustrating this reality in the case of Rwanda, the physical presence of genocide memorials in Rwanda is defined by the government and an official paper, describing the role they are expected to play (CNLG 2009: 7-8). Although their manifest functions are defined, the way the people relate to the intended consequences is an issue that requires discussion with the population. This can help to analyze to what extent the messages of the symbols are interpreted.

Therefore, a social organization is deliberately conceived with a purpose. In other words, the objectives to be achieved are manifest functions. There is a consciousness of what might be the contribution of a social organization as its objectives. The challenge is to know in which way the partaker who did not participate in elaborating those objectives can accommodate them as manifest functions that rely on her or his interest.

4.4.3.2 Constraints of manifest function

The experiences and the expectations of a group or an individual enable the manifest functions of an organization to be understood. It may be interpreted differently by different groups, which means that harmony or consensus is not guaranteed. In considering some social sensations that are found in shared culture, reading their expected function is easy. The fact is that all the actors

126

have the same method of interpreting its consequences; they are also the product of a shared cultural understanding such as the example used by Merton (1996: 91) to detail functionalism, namely the Hopi rain ceremony.

Other social phenomena are the product of conflict within the same society. In fact, their manifest functions would be perceived differently, even though they are expected. The reason for this is that actors are not sharing the same experiences and considerations. Although genocide memorials have elements of cultural representation, they still include a burial place for those killed during the genocide. This makes people discover a contradiction between the expected and the experienced consequences of the community symbols.

In view of the above, we can say that different experiences cause different expectations. Manifest functions are undermined by these differences. Positive contributions for some would be dysfunctions for others within the same community. The consensus concerning the contribution of the social system which deteriorated into a conflict situation would be undermined by diversities of interpretations. The value of consensus ―forms the fundamental integrating principle in society" (Haralambos, Holborn and Heald 2004: 940). This integration of principles is a platform for social equilibrium.

The manifest functions are predetermined by the social organization. At the beginning there is a clear vision of its impact as there is a predefinition of its results. Factors that are able to generate change are ignored, because they can obstruct the normal process of the social organization to impact the community. It is likely to affirm that there is no way of missing its objectives. This inflexibility does not exist in social sciences, particularly in sociology. Human behaviour is uncertain that flexibility is taken into account when the analyst is dealing with something that can influence the human environment. Individuals' interests, uncertain objectives and socio-political changes are barriers to observing the manifest consequences of the social organization.

Those factors lessen the manifest functions of the social organization because they bring irregularity to the interpretation of intended functions.

4.4.3.4 Postulate of latent functions

The concept ‗latent' means a thing out of sight or an idea that is not yet known. Similarly, the idea is covered to the sight of individuals; but although under cover, it exists. A definition of something that is in the process of being is not possible. The only way of learning its meaning is to wait for its consequences. From there, the analyst can motivate some elements of its reality. Latent function overwhelms the social organization as it cannot be predicted. Those functions cannot be known by the organization which defined the social phenomenon.

Latent functions are neither recognized nor expected. But it is true that they contribute to maintaining the social organization. They play a positive role in the meaning of the social system that the actors express. The way actors respond to the presence of a social system includes the way the population owns that institution and uses it to satisfy their desires. Unexpected consequences and their meanings are unlikely to be pre-defined. The effects that would be observed by the actor are latent functions that can enlarge the functional aspect of a social system in the community.

According to Parsons (1967: 261), latent functions are maintenance patterns and cultural-motivational systems. Social organizations have social obligations within their functions as an orientation choice. They also perform a specific function in a specific situation (Parsons 1951: 99). Although individuals are influenced by the social, political and economic environment, their interests and personal identity do not disappear completely into social collectivism. This contributes to further definitions of a given social place that may differ from the public definition.

Manifest functions do not conflict with latent functions, because both are functional. The only difference is that manifest functions are intended but latent ones are not, because they occur in last position. They are likely to be defined as the ramification of the expected consequences of a social system since they come second to manifest functions. The active actors in the social system own and use it to satisfy their aspirations.

Coming back to the Hopi ceremony, it was performed to resolve rain crises and has also been used to ―fulfil the latent function of reinforcing the group identity by providing a periodic occasion on which the scattered members of a group assemble to engage in a common activity" (Merton 1996: 91). Despite the fact that the meaning of the ceremony is related to the manifest functions, it has an undisclosed significance (Kaplan and Manners 1972:58). Congruent with Merton 1968:105), latent functions are neither intended nor recognized, as they cannot be observed or predictable. They emerge from the environment of the manifest functions since they are the extent of expected functions.

Behind the public use of a social system that represents the manifest functions, there are always latent functions. Although these latent functions cannot be predictable in the first definitions, they play an important role in the maintenance of the social system. This applies to genocide memorials that are symbols of remembrance. Official guidelines cannot be sure of how the community would make use of these places. One of the surprising latent functions of the genocide memorials is to represent places which materialize a home in which to meet with survivors' relatives as *living family* and the *living dead*. This is peculiar to genocide memorials that are in the former *killing fields*.

In fact, in the words of Muzungu (1975), genocide memorials are social monuments that represent a personal heritage. People come here to perform rituals related to death. Some of these people do more; they bring drinks to these places that are reserved for tombs, to celebrate the presence of their relatives in a ceremonial dressing (Muzungu 1975: 27). The presence of these behaviours means that the cohesion between people and the *living dead* is maintained.

This social cohesion is a cultural practice that conveys the presence of the community in those genocide memorials, which means that the continuity of the *living family* is certain (Byanafashe 2004: 31). Apart from their public role which includes being tombs for the people who were killed during genocide, and as a reminder of what happened to ensure vigilance in the future, they represent a religious place where people can practise their different beliefs, related to the relational aspect between the *living dead* and the *living family* as a latent function. The attitudes that are expressed within genocide memorials are ‚latent functions'. They attract the curiosity of the researcher to understand how the community makes use of these places of remembrance. The postulate of latent function would help the research to deepen all of that particular appropriateness of those places ordinary citizens.

Although there is a socio-cultural attachment to the burial place as an expected behaviour (Bigirumwami 2004: 190), going this far in using memorials for religious rituals is an unexpected action. The people who have their loved ones buried in these places regard them as places in which they talk earnestly about their stories and talk to their loved ones. They thus maintain their identity as a group which has common stories. Other people who are curious ask about their stories and relate their own (Chaumont 2002: 36). During the mourning period in Rwanda – in April every year - mourners always highlight that the memorials are places offering release. They state that they are in the same place and their life after being killed innocently is recognized. One can observe that the mourners are happy and return home satisfied – by the simple reason of having mourned for their beloved ones. Actually, this is a place which brings hope within its latent function. Latent functions have the potential to modify or add more functional value to the social system.

The materialization of the place includes an emotional aspect which retains everybody's attention. The functional aspect of each system has, in itself, the latent function that is worthy enough to influence the community's analysis of its consequences (Merton 1967: 122). The latent functions that are related to the Hopi rain ceremonies stipulate that the closeness of the people who are involved in the rituals is the ‒basic source of group unity" (1968:119). The place

and time of performing this folkloric ritual has become an opportunity for the group to communicate and strengthen their identity as a latent function.

4.4.3.5 Dysfunctional consequences

The use of the word _dysfunction' relates to an irregularity, which is a function impairment. There is an expected function as a result of a phenomenon. Dysfunction is meaningless if there is no definition of function. Through the analysis of the expected contribution of an organization to the cohesion of the society, some prejudice indicates the presence of dysfunctional aspects. From the views of Merton, dysfunctional consequences are negative effects which lessen the positive contribution of the structure to the entire society. Effects are unfortunate and inopportune to the functional analysis (Merton 1996: 71), which makes them harmful to the society. Although they cannot be predetermined, they exist within each social structure. They affect the realization of manifest functions because they are in contradiction with the functional consequences.

Social organizations are suspected to hold uncertain messages. The latter are viewed differently by the community, to integrate dysfunctions such as genocide memorial symbols within those diversities. The way these effects are managed is undermined by their undisclosed occurrence. The dysfunctional aspect of a social system takes roots in its primary functional definition. Functions are observed consequences which adapt or adjust a given system. Conversely, dysfunctions are observed consequences that lessen the adaptation or adjustment of the system (Merton 1968: 105).

Negative consequences oppose the functional aspect of a social system and they may be dysfunctional for the entire community, or for a group (Merton 1996: 14). This means that social consequences would include both functional and dysfunctional sides, depending on the actors. In the mind of Merton (1996: 96), ―a social dysfunction is any progress that undermines the stability or survival of a social system. The presence of this concept in sociology curbs any tendency towards adopting the doctrine that everything in society works for the harmony and the

good". The dysfunction aspect disrupts the social system because it disorients its expected functions, whose persistence undermines the functional aspect of the social system.

Merton and Nisbet (1971: 839) emphasize that ‒social dysfunction refers to a designated set of consequences of a designated pattern of behaviour, belief or organization that interfere with a designated functional requirement of a designated social system". A social organization would not be fully analyzed using functionalism without considering negative impacts. This is because they are always there and a social system cannot be uniformly dysfunctional for the entire society. This means that dysfunctional consequences are always linked to functional ones. Merton (1996: 97) agrees that the differentiation in ‒the same social pattern can be dysfunctional for some segments of social system and functional for others".

Merton's statement clarifies the specific character of social consequences over different individuals who have different interests or expectations. In other words, ‒social dysfunction is not equivalent to immorality, unethical practice or social disrepute" (Merton 1996:99). However, the connections - good or bad, desirable and undesirable - cannot apply to the sociological analysis. The latter seeks that which could help the society to function as a unit, which reflects an ideal definition of social system that looks for ‗consensus' (Merton 1996: 96-97).

The different groups that exist inside the same society have various expectations that sometimes conflict. Because of this, one group or an individual's functional social consequences may be the social dysfunctional consequences of the other group or individuals. In this, dysfunctional consequences are subject to different interpretations. The truth is that this depends on the side of the social system the individual wants to analyze. Inside one social organization ‒some elements are functional for the entire system but carry certain dysfunctional side-effects" (Merton 1996: 14).

This situation influences the interpretations of the community members in one way or another. In fact, the environment in which the functionalism theory is used as a tool to analyze genocide memorials is a complex situation inside the Rwandan community. Families are still struggling with the genocide's consequences. Some survivors are widows or orphans who have suffered many physical and mental handicaps. The relatives of many others are in exile, in prison or doing Common Development Labor [*TIG: Travauxd'InteretGénéral,* which means work for the public interest]. Therefore, in this research, the dysfunctional aspects of genocide memorials come from such a complexity (Merton 1996:99). However, although social dysfunctional consequences are defined as lessening expected functions, they create ―strong and insistent pressure for change", since they attempt to adjust the consequences (Elster 1990: 132).

4.4.3.6 Non-functional consequences

The non-functional concept does not imply a specific impact, either positive or negative, and it does not engage any functional role. The social structure exists but it does not impact on the community in the way it defines its objective. Normally, the contribution of a social organization has multidimensional consequences in society. The contribution of the social system cannot be coined only within its expected functions, because this discloses a way of welcoming unanticipated functions. The dynamic relations between the organization, the actor and the environment generate non-functional consequences which are simply irrelevant to the system under consideration (Merton 1968: 105). Therefore it seems possible to use it for other purposes due to its complexity.

4.5 Nature of functionalism

4.5.1 Functional unity

The interest of functionalist theorists is not the internal constitution of a social organization, but rather the role it plays in the entire society it belongs to. The privileged consensus of functionalism does not engage uniformity of ideas or behaviours. The ‗empirical acceptability' of functional unity notion is a dubious assumption (Merton 1996:72, 80). The adequacy of

functional unity inside a society excludes dysfunctional and non-functional consequences that could be observed. The sameness of functional consequences does not accept the variations of functional, dysfunctional and non-functional consequences that are played by a social organization.

In order to achieve this functional unity, functionalists would imagine the uniformity of interest among the community members. The latter have the same expectations and a duplication of individuals seems to be a utopia (Merton 1968:80). Merton (1996: 74) adds that ―one need not go far afield to show that assumption of the complete functional unity of human society is repeatedly contrary to fact. Social usages or sentiments may be functional for some groups and dysfunctional for others in the same society". Nevertheless, the uniformity of interests among community members encompasses both conflicts and consensus among them.

a. *Conflict*

Conflict theory is discussed here as one of the essences of social change. The presence of conflict provides the opportunity to introduce new ideas into a society. In fact, conflicts are adaptive and innovative forces (Giddens 2001: 207). The prominence of functionalist theory does not explicitly and overtly accept the integration of the concept conflict into their discussion. Unwillingly, Merton (1996: 96-98) considers the presence of conflict as dysfunctional and the unexpected aspect of a social system.

Social organizations bear multifunctional roles, since the functional unity that is negotiated by functionalists is partly applied. The multiplicity of functions in a social organization confronts the situation between those different utilities. This said, some of those roles prove considerable and dominating, while others are dominated. There is a range of varying factors that help to label those categories. People‗s interests and socio-political profits are fundamental in prompting or inducing conflicts and therefore functional unity is in doubt. Moreover, some conflicts which are the consequences of a social system cannot be resolved and regulated. Although there is a degree

of common expectation inside a society, functional unity is weakened by the presence of persistent conflict. This forces the social system to integrate and manage these unexpected consequences.

In the case of Rwanda, although there are functional genocide monuments, their existence was brought about by a shameful event. Hence, some people may not be proud of their existence and this generates some conflicts. However, conflicts are not always open confrontations; some may be latent. Hence, the evolution of social institutions engages a perpetual reorientation of their functions. This is due to the reality of the change that updates the functional aspects of a social organization. Furthermore, according to (Durkheim 1937: 90-91), development weakens the dysfunctional and non-functional consequences of a social organization, since it is a factor that is dynamic in time and space

b. Consensus

A social organization that is far from performing an exclusive function plays various roles. As different people are involved in the organization, it becomes a suggestion to assorted users within a range of interests and thus various expectations. The consensus that is privileged by the functionalist theory is challenged by ‚contradictions‘ within the structure. Contradictions can be placed at different levels. Those which are minute disturbances are quickly resolved and cannot be considered as a barrier to ‚consensus‘, which is cherished by functionalists (Haralambos, Holborn and Heald 2004: xiv).

Contradictions become more related to the conceptualization of consensus. If they persist and cannot be resolved, they stress the redefinition of the organization as their consequences dominate. Different interests and understandings are the basis of these ‚disturbing‘ factors of consensus. The appropriateness of a social organization to the need of each group within the society gives birth to the misinterpretation of its functions (Merton 1968:105). The meaning of a social organization develops through its roles. Although it has its predefined goals and expected

functions as manifest, it would be entirely defined once the expected and unexpected functions have been analyzed, because they cannot be predicted.

4.5.2 Indispensability of functions

The notion of indispensability means that ‑there are certain functions which are indispensable, in the sense that, unless they are performed, the society (or group or individual) will not persist,[…] they are functional prerequisites or preconditions functionally necessary for a society " (Merton 1996: 78). This perspective is built upon the emphasis of maintaining the society members together as ‑postulate of functional unity'. For a society to subsist, it is required to develop its functional organizations.

The indispensability of functions relies on the speciality of performing certain functions. The contribution of a given organization has specific roles to play. In case there is an unfilled function, this emptiness would smoothly affect other societal functional entities. In order for the social organization to exist as a way to satisfy societal needs, it is necessary that it claims for its existence. The specificity of each institution underlines the indispensability of its functions that contribute to social cohesion. For instance, every society would have symbols of memories because they have certain functions which contribute to the survival of the society as a whole.

Symbols are necessary for ‑memory trace" decay, a process whose occurrence or absence is responsible for effects such as memory loss and retention and which is affected by stress or emotion in certain distinctive ways. Signs are necessary because there is no any other social organization that can replace them. The invocation of a memory icon, is an attempt to build up a social organization through the representation of the past (Simon 2005:3-4). A social organization has an indispensable function to perform, which justifies its existence.

The dysfunction or non-function consequences that are among its functional roles would not, in any case, attempt to deny the indispensability of its existence. The presence of dysfunctional and non-functional consequences within the social organization is a challenge that also proves the importance of social organization. Functionalists consider different expectations of a social organization; they believe that the confrontations between the expected and unexpected functions are facts. Emphasizing what would be the contribution of a social organization is an ideal expectation that explains the vitality of a social structure (Merton 1996: 87) and this is the key to each society. The necessity of each unity exists in an environment because it must be able to adapt to it. Once more, this creates preconditional consequences of a social organization.

In the process of adaptation, there is a redefinition of the intended functions that there is a window of re-orienting the social organization based on the situation. The cruciality of social organization among units or groups must be regulated. Congruent with Parsons (1951: 132-4), the concept integration is the need to co-ordinate, adjust and regulate relationships among various actors or units within the system in order to keep unity alive. This regulation integrates changes that do not disorganize the entity.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the theoretical framework of functionalism and helped to situate this research project within a conceptual and theoretical context. We have seen that the symbols of the genocide memorials are significant as they convey messages that the community can discover and interpret. In this chapter it was highlighted that the community's interest in the symbols of memory is motivated by what they represent, the memory of a tragic event, and their functional implications. Hence, it was clear in this chapter that the symbols of the genocide memorials are not abstract to the society of Rwanda, but they convey a clear message to people. We have discussed that in the beginning, the genocide memorials constructions aimed at functional purposes but some unexpected dysfunctional factors were also stated.

We have further discussed the fact that, if the public definition of genocide memorials as an expected function is not meaningful to what the local community reads through these monuments, and if there is no empirical uniformity expressed through them, the population is able to give or to suggest another way of understanding. Additionally, we have seen in this chapter how the functional analysis specifies the consequences, positive and negative, of a given social phenomena for the various social structures in which they are implicated. The chapter was taking the case study of the genocide memorials in Rwanda and the community's perception and interpretation of their symbols and messages.

Chapter Five: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

One of the principles required to enable the researcher to achieve reliable discussions of the chosen topic is methodology. Methods clearly map the procedures that are used to gather relevant information and discuss them. Methodology deals with the nature of the research to make sure that the techniques and methods used are appropriate to the research quality. This study is an empirical one; therefore it is based on experiences and data collected from fieldwork to provide appropriate information. The present research used a qualitative approach to discover the knowledge from the experiences of the population (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 270).

To some extent, there are aspects of a quantitative approach that have been used to measure the consistency of key themes from different group discussions. Even if the researcher used some quantitative data to support the quality of information, the research is based on qualitative analysis that used exploratory, descriptive, causal, evaluative and predictive questions to discuss the issue under study (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 76).

Methodology specifies techniques and methods that are the tools that are used to collect and analyze data. Techniques are open to the entire process that is used to collect data. They are selected according to the field of research and to the issue under discussion. In this study, in-depth interviews and focus groups were applied to gather the people's views on the definition and interpretation of the messages of the genocide memorials.

Methods are sets of principles, rules and intellectual operations used to analyze and interpret the data collected from the field in order to achieve a result. They are tools that help to discuss information and draw conclusions. The present research used content analysis to scrutinize data

from the field and to constitute a logical understanding of the functions and possible dysfunctions of genocide memorials.

Being a qualitative study, the primary goal of this approach is to describe and understand rather than to explain human behaviour (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 270). This methodology is appropriate to the research because of the qualitative nature of social and cultural experiences related to genocide memorials. Qualitative questions helped to discover the messages and meanings conveyed by genocide memorials. This approach helped to discover the functions of genocide memorials through the message they transmit to the community and how these messages influence the daily life of the community. These questions enabled the researcher to analyze different perceptions and interpretations which the community attributed to the genocide memorials.

However, gathering qualitative data requires defining the ethics of social research. The methodology provides the means to fulfil this necessity and others, such as the whole process of recruiting respondents. It presents the practical modality of being involved in the research as a respondent. It gives the outline of the field work and explains the environment of the sample.

Methods explain to respondents the kind of research they are involved in. This helps them to have a clear image of their contribution. Some constraints that could arise as a result of revealing sensitive information have been discussed to agree on the solution once they are observed. The method of storing information from interviews and group discussion has been discussed. Audio-recording information from group discussions and interviews served as a means of storing all discussions and helped with reviews during analysis.

5.2 The profile of the respondents

Respondents, in group discussion and personal interviews, who participated in this research included different genders, ages and educational levels, which positioned them relatively well for revealing all information the research needed. Each respondent was identified in the group by completing, voluntarily, a form during tea-time. These forms did not include the respondent's name, to respect confidentiality. The researcher expected to have ten respondents in each focus group but some groups exceeded this number to twelve individuals.

Figure 1: The summary of respondents' identification

Age bracket	Sex	Illiteracy	Primary	Secondary	Professional	University	Total	%
20-30	F		4	7	1	4	31	26
	M		4	5	2	4		
31-40	F		3	2	2	4	24	20
	M		5	2	3	3		
41-50	F	1	6			1	18	15
	M		5	2		3		
51-60	F	2	1	1	2		14	11.7
	M		3	3	1	1		
61-70	F	4	1	1	1		17	14.3
	M	1	6	2		1		
>70	F	2	4				15	12.6
	M	6	3					
TOTAL		16	45	25	12	21	119	100
%		13	38	21	10	18	100	

%	Percentage
F	Female respondent
M	Male respondent

Sources: Fieldwork November 2009 - April 2010

Looking at the table above, women who participated in the interview numbered 54 (45.38%) while men numbered 65 (54.22%). Given the fact that Rwanda considers the age of youth as between 20 – 40 years, one can see that the youth was dominant in the study, making 55 of 119 respondents – equivalent to 46.22%. However, there are two categories of youth, one from 20-30 years, and another one from 30 – 40 years. The second category followed the occurrences during the genocide and was indirectly involved. The first category of the youth doesn't have accurate information about the genocide because they were too young during the genocide. The sensitivity and emotions of the two categories during the focus group were different. The middle age (from 41-60 years) constituted 32 of 119 respondents – equivalent to 26.89% and the elders (61 and above) constituted 32of 119 as well – equivalent to 26.98%.

Respondents having primary and secondary levels of education dominate others. Consequently, there was a considerable number of youth within the sample. Individuals who attend primary education in Rwanda count for 38%. Those undergoing secondary education manke up 21% of the population and almost 18% are at university level. On the other side of the coin, 13% of the repondents were illiterate people, whereas only 10% belong to the professional domain. Illiterate respondents belong to the age group of the aged, that is between 60 and 70 and they represent 10% of the population. Among the respondents, there were 65 males compared with 54 females (see the above table 1).

5.3 System of recruiting respondents

Ten genocide memorials were selected from various corners of the country as the sample for our research. The choice was motivated by a number of factors such as the sensitivity of the place, its historical background and the region in which it is located. Some of those places are ‗killing fields' and places of memory, and others are places of memory only. The emotions that surround those localities differ from one place to another. The emotions one encounters at the places of memory are not the same as at the killing fields.

The recruitment of the respondents was done through community-based organizations: youth associations, women's councils, community cooperatives, institutes of social research, church organizations. It was the only way to find people together and talk to them about the research. To a very limited extent, the researcher consulted the community counsellors regarding the process of recruitment. There were not strict criteria to follow in the recruitment process, but the researcher needed to interview both relatives of the genocide survivors or genocide survivors themselves, as well as relatives of genocide perpetrators, and if possible – find some people who may be neutral. For the key informants, the researcher recruited some community groups that had been hired by IRDP research centre previously.

5.4 Techniques of data collection

Data collection usually takes place early on in an improvement project, and is often formalized through a data collection plan (Onwuegbuzie and Collins 2010: 696-726) which often contains the following activity: (1) pre-collection activity – agree goals, target data, definitions, methods, (2) collection – data collection, and (3) present findings – usually involves some form of sorting analysis and/or presentation. This was followed by the researcher, and prior to any data collection, the researcher conducted a pre-collection activity which is one of the most crucial steps in the process.

Weimer (1995) makes it clear that it is often discovered too late that the value of respondents' information is discounted as a consequence of poor sampling of both questions and informants and poor elicitation techniques. After the pre-collection activity was fully completed, data collection in the field was conducted through focus group discussions and individual interviews which were carried out in a structured, systematic and scientific way. A formal data collection process was necessary in this research as it ensures that data gathered is both defined and accurate and that subsequent decisions based on arguments embodied in the findings are valid. The process provides both a baseline from which to measure and in certain cases a target on what to improve.

5.4.1 Focus groups interviews

There are different techniques that are useful to collect data. The researcher chose focus groups and structured interviews. These interviews offered an opportunity to deepen the understanding of the messages genocide memorials communicate to the community. Babbie and Mouton (2001: 292) state that ―focus groups are useful because they allow a space in which people may get together and create meaning among themselves, rather than individually". This technique supported the need to hold a conversation with people in order to discover their thoughts and feelings about messages of genocide memorials.

The way in which respondents discussed the topic helped the researcher to explore different people's understandings. This shows that they complement each other and come up with strong responses (Stewart and Shamdasani 1990: 51-53; Babbie and Mouton 2001: 270). The way in which the respondents expressed their opinions allowed the researcher to record the information needed (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 291). Two hours and forty minutes spent with each focus group was enough time to collect helpful information. Structured interviews were used to elicit the necessary data. This technique involved the face-to-face interview, in which respondents interacted with the researcher using previously compiled open questions (Welman and Kruger 2001:160).

Although questions were flexible and continued to create an easy atmosphere for discussion, respondents were compelled to follow a given process proposed by the interviewer. This was a successful data collection technique that offered the respondents the possibility to reveal the information that was hard to disclose during group discussions. All the interviewees were people who participated in one of the group discussions. Forty minutes with each individual in the interview was sufficient time to cover the issues being dealt with.

In order to conduct a structured interview with a focus group, an interview guide was necessary. For this study, an interview guide was designed. It enabled the researcher to gather useful information and was made up of thirteen open questions, in English. For most respondents to feel comfortable with the discussion, the questions were translated into Kinyarwanda. Focus group interviews in this study were used as a data collection method. De Vos (2002:305) notes that focus group interviews are a means of better understanding how people feel or think about an issue. He further states that the respondents are selected because they have certain characteristics in common that relate to the focus group.

For the purpose of this study, 10 focus group discussions were done in places arranged prior to the discussions. Each focus group consisted of between 10 and 12 members. Despite the fact that this system of data collection is appreciated by social scientists, it has some disadvantages, given the fact that some passive participants may be unduly influenced or inhibited by active participants. Morgan and Krueger (1998: 4) suggest some guiding principles of facilitation to be followed during group interviews: (1) be interested in the participants and show positive regard, (2) be a facilitator, not participant, and (3) be ready to hear unpleasant views.

After securing access to the relevant departments and institutions, the next step was to enlist the members of focus groups. The recruitment of respondents was not a difficult task, as the first contact was made via e-mail, telephone or through personal contact. During the focus group discussions, questions were posed to get the necessary responses, perceptions and experiences from the respondents. Table 1 provides a summary of the participants of focus group discussions conducted by the researcher.

5.4.2 In-depth interviews

In-depth interviews were conducted with key informants. In this study the key informants were drawn from the two focus group from IRDP *(Institut de Recherche et de Dialogue pour la Paix-*

Institute for Research and Dialogue for Peace). In this study, key informants were respondents assumed to have a great deal of knowledge on the genocide memorials specifically and the Rwandan genocide generally. Furthermore, key informants were chosen to obtain an informed picture of the genocide memorials and the community perceptions of them, and also to obtain information pertaining to this study. Participation was voluntary, but the researcher together with IRDP made clear that respondents must have a clear understanding of the genocide memorials and social issues generally. The IRDP groups were involved in regular discussions about social problems that are crucial and which impact on social relations in a way or another. In considering a certain level of society, two groups were formed by the members of IRDP groups, but the interview was individual.

The individuals who belonged to IRDP, an institution with extensive experience in social research, were located at their usual place for meeting, and the researcher met them there for recruitment. Although they worked for IRDP, their personal views were welcomed to help the study. In fact, they were not delegated by IRDP, they participated freely and voluntarily. For some respondents, the researcher was committed to find them in their respective families.

The key informant interview is one method used in rapid assessment for gathering information from fieldwork. As highlighted in the previous section, the term key informant was applied to anyone who could provide thorough information and opinion-based knowledge and a good understanding of the genocide memorials in Rwanda, in the areas targeted by this study. Key informant interviews seek qualitative information that can be narrated and cross checked with quantitative data, a method called ―triangulation‖ (Whitman 2008: 47). Interviews with the key informants took place formally or informally – preferably in a setting familiar to the informant.

The semi-structured interviews which were also applied by the researcher are usually conducted in a face-to-face setting which permits the researcher to seek new insights, ask questions, and

assess phenomena in different perspectives. In the view of McKillip (1987), the key informant interview is used when written records or published documents are limited or do not exist, when information from different perspectives is needed, and when there are key informants who are accessible and have in-depth knowledge of a topic. This is what the two focus groups from IRDP did.

5.4.3 Secondary data

This study also used secondary data. The effectiveness of using secondary data is highlighted by Babbie and Mouton (2001:79). The secondary data that the researcher used included library research. In this respect, books, articles from journals, internet resources and recorded materials were consulted. Secondary data provided an interaction between data from the field work to strengthen people's interpretation of the message genocide memorials communicate and the literature review.

5.4.4 Visit of the genocide memorials

Respondents were required visit the memorials before the interviews. Almost all respondents knew about genocide memorials because they had been there at least once. They knew that the architecture of this category of genocide memorials includes a house of memory. This is a building which consists of different rooms in which people's remains are displayed. In addition, there is a garden in which there are mass graves. The Nyamata genocide memorial is an illustration of such a place - the gallery of which is shown in Figure 1.

The visits were organized according to the focus groups. The visits were, however, organized differently with some groups according to the availability of respondents. As some respondents knew the local genocide memorials very well, they chose to visit memorials in other areas. This was acceptable. The visits were organized according to the visit schedule for every genocide

memorial. The areas visited were the compound, the house of memory and the interior (including different corners where remains are kept) and mass graves.

In the visiting process, the respondents who visited a local unsheltered mass grave, where remains were exposed, went through a longer application process than to others. The researcher used the presentation of genocide memorial images with all details possible. Tombs, houses of memory and exhibitions of human remains, were used in order to unlock the respondents' curiosity about other genocide memorials. This aided the discussion, especially for those groups that had a local memorial of mass graves only. This enriched their arguments in interpreting the message genocide memorials communicate and their impact on the community.

5.4.4.1 Nyamata genocide memorial

The Nyamata genocide memorial is located in Bugesera District, 35 km from Kigali, the capital city of Rwanda. Bugesera remains one of the regions that were the most devastated by the genocide in 1994. The historical background of this area emphasizes the population's struggles. In 1960, Tutsi people from different areas of Rwanda were forced to abandon their places of residence and migrate to Bugesera. This area was one of the Rwandan regions known for infertility, because access to water was difficult. The region was covered by a large forest, in which TseTse flies abounded. These flies transmitted sleeping sickness which killed many people who dwelled in the area. In this way, the region became an undesirable and lifeless place to live in. Official leaders forced the Tutsi to settle in the region, expecting them not to resist the harmful and tragic living conditions.

Unfortunately, some of them were killed by diseases while others resisted disease. As a result, Bugesera became a region in which the Tutsi social group was predominant. Some of the people who resisted the sleeping sickness finally managed to exploit the land. Fortunately, the natural soil of this region became productive and today it has impacted on Rwandan agricultural productivity. Due to lack of infrastructure, however, that productivity did not strongly affect the

people's welfare. The group discussion covered these events. Respondents described their isolation and found value in having a forum in which they could tell their painful story.

Figure 2: Gallery of the Nyamata genocide memorial

   a. The house of memory, formerly a church building

        Source : Fieldwork 2010

b. Remnants of clothes inside the house of memory and a tomb with coffins

Source: Fieldwork 2010

c. Relics of the human body exposed inside the house of memory

Figure 3: Inside a burial ground
   a. Mass graves

Source: Fieldwork 2010

b. The inside of a mass grave

Source: Fieldwork 2010

5.4.4.2 The Murambi genocide memorial

The Murambi genocide memorial is located in the Southern Province of Rwanda, in the Nyamagabe District, approximately 30 minutes from the Rwanda National Museum in Butare. Murambi is known as a place that had a secondary school. It is close to the former town of Gikongoro and its main activities are cattle farming, crop production and small businesses facilitated by its proximity to the town of Gikongoro and a neighbouring school. In reality, its background does not have any particularity with the Rwandan struggles of tribal segregation.

During the genocide period, the Murambi pupils were not at school. Normally, this period coincided with the school holidays in Rwanda. Therefore, a large number of people went to the school, seeking protection from Nyamagabe authorities. This was because these authorities expressed the need to group individuals targeted by the *Interahamwe* and protect them. Some people were even escorted from their dwelling places to Murambi by the police. Following this, the place accommodated a high number of *Tutsi;* it is believed that more than 45,000 people were placed in the classrooms.

A few days after the operation the massacres started. The French army was deployed in three zones. These were defined as safe places which killers could not access and control easily. Gikongoro was part of the ―zone turquoise", or the area where the French soldiers had their headquarters (Prunier 1999: 335; Adelman 1996: 54-57). The massacres were organized for 21 April 1994. At this time the *Interahamwe* militia and former Rwandan soldiers came and killed all the people who were assembled in different classrooms. The estimated number of the victims was 850.

Murambi is no longer a school. It now contains the human remains that are partly preserved inside different classrooms, waiting for the completion of the genocide memorials. A public

project is building genocide memorials that include a house of memory, where the human relics will be exhibited in different rooms. Murambi is both a killing field and place of memory.

5.4.4.3 The Kamonyi genocide memorial

The Kamonyi genocide memorial is located in the Kamonyi District, Southern Province. This is a place of memory and has been chosen as a strategic place in the Kamonyi District because of its accessibility. Despite the fact that it is a place chosen by the authority to be a district genocide memorial place, it does not have any particular history relating to the genocide. The victims' bodies buried at the Kamonyi genocide memorial were from different localities. This genocide memorial site includes a document house, in which various materials that were used in the genocide and other documents are gathered for research purposes.

The Kamonyi focus group regarded the atmosphere in the Kamonyi District as different from the other sites, because it is a place of memory and not a killing field. Even if it represents an important aspect of honouring the people who were massacred during the genocide, their sensitivity was limited to telling stories that are often related during the week of mourning and during the burial time for the people who were killed during the genocide, if their bodies are discovered. The District of Kamonyi has other genocide memorials that are at the same time killing fields and places of memory. The respondents stressed that there are specific emotions that are within killing fields, but which cannot be transferred to other places of memory.

5.4.4.4 The Bisesero memorial

The Bisesero genocide memorial is situated in the Western Province, in the Karongi District. It is a mountainous region that is situated about 31 km from the lakeside town of Karongi. Historically, the majority of the people who lived in Bisesero were Tutsis. Their main activity was cattle-raising, so, they were called *Abasesero,* a name from which the region derived its name. During the 1994 genocide, Bisesero and the surrounding areas united in order to resist and protect themselves from the killers. For this reason, the place is now called the ―Hill of Resistance". They were successful for some days in fighting against the Interahamwe, who were

armed with clubs and machetes. After some days, soldiers from Kigali city came to reinforce the ―Interahamwe‖ militiamen against *Abasesero,* who could not resist and only a few of them survived. Bisesero is both a killing field and place of memory that contains about 27 000 bodies.

It is known as a place of resistance of the Tutsi who tried their utmost to protect themselves against the massacres that occurred between 27and 30 June 1994 (African Rights 1998). Their resistance was unsuccessful because they were fighting with sticks against well-armed and trained soldiers. The former prefecture of Kibuye, in which the Bisesero site is located, was part of the ‗Turquoise Zone‘ under control of the French army (Prunier 1999: 335, Adelman 1996: 54-57). In 1996, after the genocide, an association of survivors called ‗Kibuye Solidarity‘, together with other survivors, decided to preserve the victims‘ remains that were scattered over different hills and valleys, in one place, in order to bury them with dignity.

The Bisesero genocide memorial is a complex of nine small buildings, which represent the nine districts of the former province of Kibuye. Apart from these symbolic buildings, there is a circle that is surrounded by nine traditional weapons that show the materials that were used to kill during the 1994 genocide. These traditional weapons are at the entrance of the genocide memorial. In 1998, the official burial ceremonies were organized in Bisesero and the Ministry of Sport and Culture, in collaboration with INMR, began the internment of the bones and skulls of the victims.

5.4.4.5. The Rebero genocide memorial

The memorials that include mass graves and walls of names have different profiles. Although they do not exhibit the remains, they have impressive and emotive stories to tell. The groups that visited these memorials and discussed the issue under study considered them as ‗simple genocide memorials‘, as opposed to ‗complex genocide memorials‘. Multipart monuments of genocide include the house of memory and the exhibition of remains. The community seems to be comfortable with the organization of these memory places. Some of them, like Rebero and

Nyanza, have a space where there is a wall of names for the bodies that were buried. The illustrations below depict Rebero and Nyange genocide monuments.

Figure 4: Rebero and Nyange genocide memorials
   a. Wall of names at Rebero genocide memorial

Fieldwork, 2010

Rebero is a hill that is located in Kicukiro District, in Kigali city. It is a strategic place that has a good view of Kigali city. It favoured the control of Kigali and the Nyabarongo River by the troops that were based on that hill during the genocide. This river runs through Kigali and the Southern Province. It was considered a tourism destination, where the late president of Rwanda, Juvénal Habyarimana, built a good hotel, using traditional materials and methods, in order to serve as a place of leisure.

During the genocide, Rebero became a strategic vantage point, because it allowed the forces of government to keep all the movements in Kigali under control. It was very difficult for the RPF to conquer this hill. Many soldiers, from both sides, lost their lives during the battle. The Rebero genocide memorial is not a killing field, because it did not serve as a camp for the targeted group during the genocide but, it is rather considered as a place of memory. It is a genocide memorial, particularly for the politicians who were massacred because of their political ideologies and because they were strongly opposed to the former government. The corpses that were buried there include the people who were killed in the garden of the Kigali Hospital (CHUK). Rebero contains almost 14 400 bodies that were buried there. In April 1995 the first public genocide commemoration was organized at Rebero. Respondents noted that ―not only are genocide monuments honorific symbols for the departed but they also highlight the presence of divisions that are beyond definition".

5.4.4.6 The Nyange genocide memorial

The Nyange genocide memorial is located in the Northern Province, in Ngororero District, alongside the main road from Kigali City to Kibuye. The Nyange genocide memorial has a specific history in the genocide. It is a killing field and a place of memory. The village of Nyange was the Roman Catholic Church's mission. People went there to get protection by hiding in the church because the church is considered as a holy place. Reality showed the contrary, when the church compound was turned into a killing field.

The Nyange genocide memorial is located in the former prefecture of Kibuye, which was part of the ‗Turquoise Zones'. In effect, people who, fleeing from the war, came from different corners of the country, gathered in this region since they believed it to be well protected and controlled by the French army. This caused more trouble for the targeted group. Sometimes, the killers were confused by the uncertainty of the physical appearance of the *Tutsi*, which caused them to kill some *Hutus,* who were not the target during the genocide.

Another form of memorial with mass grave

5.4.4.7 The Kiziguro genocide memorial

The Kiziguro genocide memorial is situated in the Western Province, in the Gatsibo District. The eleventh national commemoration of the genocide was organized at the Kiziguro genocide memorial. The Kiziguro group discussed this celebration and the message they read through that event of memory. This place is a bit different from Bugesera, where the church building has become a genocide memorial. At Kiziguro, the genocide memorial is built inside the church compound.

5.4.4.8 The Nyamasheke genocide memorial

The Nyamasheke genocide memorial is situated in the Western Province, in the Nyamasheke District. This place attracts many tourists because it is located on Lake Kivu. It borders with the Democratic Republic of Congo and Nyungwe forest. It is situated in the former ‗Prefecture de Cyangugu' and this region was part of the ‗Turquoise Zone'. From this area, the French soldiers

could organize operations in Rwanda during the genocide period, pretending to protect Rwandan civilians.

The Nyamasheke region has a dual historical background during the genocide because killings took place there, as in the other parts of the country. It harboured many refugees from different parts of the country who were fleeing to the DRC, the former Zaire, after the defeat of the Rwandan Forces Army. As part of the ‗Turquoise Zone', it took time for the RPF to enter that region. During this period, the killers had enough time to exterminate even the people who were not their genocide target but anyone who were suspected of having any ties with the Tutsi.

5.4.4.9 The Nyanza genocide memorial

Situated in Kigali City, in the Kicukiro District, this place is described as being both a killing field and place of memory. Nyanza was the place where the United Nations Forces (MINUAR) was stationed. Actually, they were located in a secondary school known as ―Ecole *Technique de Kicukiro"*. People from the areas surrounding Nyanza fled in large number to this school, seeking the protection of the United Nations Forces. Unfortunately, these forces left the place and returned to their respective countries, leaving behind them almost 5 000 *Tutsi* who were finally massacred (CNLG 2009: 3).

5.4.4.10 The Shyorongi genocide memorial

Located in the Northern Province, in the Rulindo District, the Shyorongi genocide memorial belongs to the category of local genocide memorials that include only mass graves. This location has been chosen as a strategic place that is easily accessible and located on the main road to the Rulindo District. Apart from being a place that has been selected by the authorities to hold a local genocide memorial, it does not have any particular history. All the victims' bodies that are buried here were collected from areas surrounding the memorial

5.5 Framework of scientific method and functionalism

The research technique that offered a platform for collecting the various views of the population and framing them is functionalism. Discussions with respondents reflected the official meanings. They revealed further meanings that are not part of the public definitions. Functionalism helped to discover the official and non-official meanings of the genocide memorials. Although they represent a reality of what happened, their messages intend to capture the reader's attention.

The population's concern is to uncover the messages and understand them. When the population reads those symbols, it discovers something that is not explicitly predefined. There is no way to limit or confirm the community's understanding of the predefined roles of genocide memorials. The designers of the memorials must be open and accept that the users of the symbols can usefully expand the roles of these sensitive places, as the population has different stories about them.

The particularity of the functionalist approach in the process of gathering information is the integration of the public and non-public functions of social organization. This approach develops an insightful logic between expected and unexpected functions. Functionalists accept that the community's perceptions are substantial to motivate the role of a social organization. People's understanding helped the researcher to discover a reality that was not expressed by the public definition of genocide memorials.

The views of the community are grouped using functionalism postulates and they form relevant scientific knowledge (Fay 1996: 2). The ideal public definitions that are expressed on the expected consequences of genocide memorials and the grassroots perceptions that are unexpected functions were gathered and analyzed. Since these explanations have an effect on the social environment of the community, they impose behaviour on the community (Giddens 1974: 5-6)

Putting together the population's views to make up a coherent text has been facilitated by functionalist theory. There are no homogeneous arguments that convey an understanding common to the population, because diversities were maintained as giving meaning to the messages of the genocide memorials. Although there was no conformity with official definitions, this does not mean that they were excluded from community perceptions. Some of the expected consequences have been emphasized, as well as the unexpected ones.

People looked beyond the architecture, the exhibition and the mass graves to perceive the entire influence of the genocide memorials. Respondents could not recall some arguments about these symbols, but personal and relatives' experiences greatly inspired them. In this way respondents defined genocide memorials and analyzed their impact. They also analysed their functionalist theory, which helped extensively in locating the content of the information of the ordinary people.

Respondents did not name or list the different functions of the memorials, but they discussed a reality that produced an understanding. Giddens (1974: 2) defines this knowledge as ―relating more or less directly to a reality apprehended by the receiver". There is a closer relationship between the data from the field, its analysis and the theory used to frame the population's perceptions of the symbols that are related to manifest or latent functions and dysfunctional or non-functional postulates of functionalism.

Genocide memorials are not abstract realities; they are facts that produce effects within the community. Their social, political and cultural nature gives them a particular emphasis that is able to influence community attitudes. Different postulates of functionalist theory opened the door to collect and discuss all the views of the community as giving sense to the social context of these localities. The externality of social facts considers their effects, because social facts exercise constraints on the community. Their coercive consequences attract the attention of

community members to consider their presence. They impose behaviours on the community awareness of these constraining environments and functionalism offers dysfunctional or non-functional postulates, where people make use of unpredictable roles (Lehmann1993: 51).

5.6 The practical modalities leading up to data collection

Conditions were discussed with those who consented to participate in the research on *An exploration of Community Perceptions and Understandings of Rwandan Genocide Memorials.* These included convenient times for group discussions and interviews. An agreement was made and the participants proposed a convenient venue to hold discussions. Famous places were chosen, that people like for different ceremonies. The venues had to be accessible by public transport. It was stated that respondents in the focus group were free during the discussions, and this feeling of security enabled important information on the topic to be revealed.

5.6.1 Interview venue and time

As seen earlier, there were two groups of respondents from IRDP. They already had venues and a timetable for their regular meetings. Their choice to maintain those venues and their own schedule for group discussions was approved by the researcher. The fact that respondents were free to choose a convenient time and place for their discussions helped the research to be worthy and meaningful. For other groups, discussions were held in the locations of genocide memorials or in other places chosen by respondents. In some cases, it was not easy to find a time and meeting place convenient for everybody, but through cooperation the researcher managed to set up a schedule that allowed access to everyone.

The criteria for choosing a given place depended on its accessibility and calmness. In all group discussions, this was respected, even in the gatherings that were held in the memorial places. The counsellor stressed that it was important that the venue created an atmosphere that facilitated

discussion. Equally, the schedule for meetings was discussed and various groups proposed different hours. Three groups planned to meet in the morning, from 09:00 until 11:30, four groups in the afternoon, from 02:00 to 16:30 and the three remaining groups proposed 16:00 to 18:30. This allotted time was appropriate to hold in-depth discussions and produce the necessary information.

For the detailed interviews, the time and place depended on each individual. Each respondent of the focus group enhanced the possibility of producing the information that is considered as hard to reveal within group discussions. Different hours of the day were used and the appointment was made just after the group discussion. Fifty minutes were allocated to each person for personal discussion on the genocide memorials' messages and their interpretations, as well as the impact of the genocide memorials on the community. Important issues on the definition of the genocide memorials and the messages they communicate were revealed. This was a method which indicated how sensitive these places are. The days of the group discussions and the two following days were availed by the interviewees, in order to have personal interaction for those who were interested. The other respondents, who could not be available in this period, proposed other convenient days and locations to the researcher.

Briefly, as was planned, four months was enough to carry out the fieldwork, remembering that before organizing the interviews, meeting people and visiting the memorials, the researcher received official authorization from different organizations, and this authorization allowed me to conduct fieldwork research in the whole country. Respondents were given a briefing of what was going on and what they were to help with and also a short presentation concerning the researcher and the object of study. This first contact was to organize an appointment with them so that their consent could be obtained. Thereafter, the recruiting process started. After this, the practical modalities of their participation and some relevant information were discussed. Finally, the holding of group discussions and interviews was organized.

5.6.2 Access to the fieldwork

The genocide memorials are located in different corners of the country. The period of two months (November and December 2009) was enough to seek authorization for the study. It was in the same period that the respondents of focus groups were recruited. A written letter in Kinyarwanda was addressed to the representative of the organization that supervises genocide memorials. The National Commission for Fighting Against Genocide (NCFAG), provincial offices and the offices of different genocide memorials in particular were involved. Correspondence included details of the aim of the research. Within few days, feedback on my request was received.

5.6.3 The organization of the interview guide

Robson (1993:128) defines interviews as purposeful conversation initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research relevant information to satisfy set research objectives. Interviews are the most commonly used approach in social science research as they are straightforward and non-problematic mode of finding things out. Interviews encompass a wide range of forms ranging from structured to unstructured interviews.

With regard to this study, an interview guide was drawn up in order to prompt the necessary information. The interview guide included open-ended questions, the aim of which was to discuss the issues in detail. These questions were composed in English and then translated into Kinyarwanda, as some of the respondents in the focus groups and interviewees could speak and understand Kinyarwanda, and were comfortable using it.

A pilot study of the interview guide was organized two weeks before the fieldwork. This aimed at making sure that the respondents clearly understood all the questions in order to provide relative information. Welman and Kruger (2001:141) draw their attention to this step because it helps to detect possible flaws in the measurement procedures and in making the independent

variables operational, to identify unclear or ambiguously formulated items, to allow researchers to note non-verbal behaviour that possibly may signify discomfort or embarrassment about the content or wording of the questions". Eleven respondents from the Nyanza, Nyamata, Rebero and Shyorongi focus groups were picked to test the questions of the interview guide. The meeting-place was the Nyanza genocide memorial.

Nyanza Memorial is located in the middle of the respondent area of this pilot group. To specifically measure this instrument of data collection, two hours and thirty minutes were allocated to the activities. This pilot test showed a good result, confirming that all questions were clearly understood and the respondents felt comfortable to provide their points of view relating to the information needed. Thereafter, the field research was prepared with a certain level of confidence that the intended responses would be gained in the following days, when group discussions and interviews took place.

That pre-test of the interview guide helped the researcher to test that there were no redundant questions. This pre-test helped the researcher to check for possible confusion in the wording of some questions, and if possible to reformulate the questions before group discussions began. This also helped to avoid annoyance during focus group discussions. Additionally, it was a way of putting more emphasis on some sensitive questions that were identified for the pre-test in order to alert the counsellor so he/she could assist emotional respondents. This was a very important step that prepared the ground for the focus groups. The time that was allocated to group discussions was easily managed, since the researcher and the counsellor knew the sensitivity of each question and they prepared themselves accordingly (Mouton 2001: 113-114).

Additionally, the pre-test was a good way of testing the atmosphere of a group discussion and it prepared the researcher to equip herself properly to facilitate discussion. In testing the questions, some respondents were very excited and wanted to provide comments that were not even

relevant to the information needed. The pre-test assisted the researcher to control and minimize these extended discussions without frustrating group members, because she was well equipped to do so beforehand. Some individual testimonies that could take time were avoided.

During the group discussions all questions were exhaustively covered within two hours and thirty minutes. Respondents felt comfortable to express their opinions. Discussions were so interesting that the respondents discovered new insights through other members of the group. At the end of the interviews, recommendations were formulated. Some of them will appear in the last chapter in the section concerning suggestions.

5.6.4 Sampling

This research is qualitative because it used a purposeful or judgmental sampling method. This sampling is appropriate to this research because the researcher knows the environment, the population, the nature of the research and its aims (Babbie and Mouton 2001:166-167). This sampling method helped the researcher to select respondents. This was done in such a way that all categories of the Rwandan population were represented, including a range of gender, age and education. This enabled the researcher to gain information that was balanced, from various aspects.

The ten genocide memorials that were selected as the sample for the research from different regions of the country are Bisesero, Kamonyi, Kiziguro, Murambi, Nyamata, Nyamasheke, Nyange, Nyanza, Rebero and Shyorongi. The choice was motivated by some factors such as the sensitivity of the place, its historical background and even the region in which it is located. Some of those places are ‚killing fields‘, places of memory and others were only *‚lieux de memoire‘*. The emotions that are developed by respondents differ on arrival at these places. The emotions one experiences at the place of memory is not the same as those which are experience at a killing field.

5.7 Methods of data analysis

These methods are key tools to analyze, understand and make connection between themes and key words that form the guideline for data analysis. They also present the figures of some realities, using graphic numbers. Content analysis and quantitative methods were useful to draw inferences about different group discussion texts and interviews. The content of this research needs to be investigated. The content consists of recorded texts that are elicited from group discussions and interviews, and contains matters raised during the group discussions. The comments that were sent through the researcher's personal e-mail were considered, as they constituted fundamental information.

The analysis of the transcripts helped the researcher to deepen the messages, perceptions, understandings and interpretations of genocide memorials. Neuman (2000: 293) explains that ‒content refers to words, meanings, pictures, symbols, ideas, themes or any message that can be communicated". From the contents of data collection, the researcher identified themes to discover the meanings of memorials, the messages they convey to the community and their interpretation of the messages.

Themes and words that form the core of the research were identified in order to express the community's views. These opinions concern the messages of the genocide memorials that were quantified by examining the commonalities and diversities during different group discussions. These symbols of traumatic memories speak to different environments in the same or different ways. The researcher used percentages to measure various themes and words that were repeated by all participants in group discussions or interviews.

As aforementioned, this research is a qualitative study and as such it labels each theme and words in scrutinizing the transcripts. This means that there is some description of genocide memorials which has not been considered. In a situation where an idea, explanation or

understanding was given by 0, 25% of respondents it was meaningful, but the effect of this interpretation is minor compared to a view expressed by 65% of the respondents. Such a high percentage shows the correct picture of the perceptions and understanding of community and their interpretations on the genocide memorials. Some statistical analysis improved the shared understandings.

The themes that were identified enabled the researcher to reflect, articulate and explain the messages of genocide memorials and their interpretations in the Rwandan context. The responses of the participants were grouped by themes through all the groups. Different variables intensified the frequency of terms surrounding the perceptions and interpretation of genocide memorials (Neuman 2000: 293-295).

The concentration of certain variables in all transcripts drew the researcher's attention. This encouraged her to consider them during the analysis of the impact of the genocide memorial messages and their interpretation when discussing the impact of the messages on social relations (Neuman 2000: 293-295). The core of this research is social action. This attempts to study ―human action from the perspective of social actors themselves" (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 270). The researcher described and analyzed different perceptions and interpretations that are attributed to the genocide memorials from the ordinary citizen's point of view.

The content analysis shows that genocide memorials are symbols that combine social, political and cultural factors. From the different environments of these traumatic reminders, group discussions and interviews defined their significance at those particular genocide memorial sites. Discussions in the focus groups and with key informants helped to ―discover the meaning" of the messages being transmitted to the community and how the community understands and interprets the messages (Neuman 2000: 123).

5.8 Delimitation of the study

Of the thirty genocide memorials that are located in Rwanda, ten from different parts of the country will constitute the sample. In the Eastern Province: Nyamata and Kiziguro genocide memorials, located in Bugesera and Gatsibo Districts; in the Western Province: Nyamasheke and Bisesero genocide memorials, situated in Nyamasheke and Karongi Districts; in the Northern Province: Nyange and Shyorongi genocide memorials, located in Ngororero and Rulindo Districts; in the Southern Province: Murambi and Kamonyi genocide memorials, located in Nyamagabe and Kamonyi Districts, and finally in Kigali City: Rebero and Nyanza genocide memorials, located in Nyarugenge and Kicukiro Districts, respectively. However, as shown earlier, this study used a sample of ten genocide memorials.

The genocide memorials that are located in Uganda are not part of this research. The reason for this is that this study analyzes the Rwandan understanding of the symbols of traumatic memories. Those founded in the neighbouring country of Uganda do not respond to the criterion of being surrounded by Rwandese. Their environment is different from the context in which the Rwandan genocide memorials are being analyzed. In addition, the management of these symbols differs in Rwanda and Uganda.

5.9 The ethics of social research

This research is a social study using a qualitative approach that requires the observation of the ethics of social research. It is a defined process through which the researcher obtains the consent of respondents to voluntary participation and freely reveals information relevant to the issue under study. Without doing any harm, confidentiality must be guaranteed. All research involving people must define the ethical values that are going to pave the way of gaining consistent information. In order to observe the ethics of social research in this study, meetings were organized with the people who agreed to participate in different group discussions.

A particular presentation was organized to explain the nature of the research. It examined what was required from respondents' participation as well as the practical modalities. This study highlights the three values of social research, namely voluntary participation, no harm to the participants, and confidentiality. A thorough look at the ethics of social research allowed the author to collect the required and consistent information. This is because the respondents undertook discussion in an atmosphere of mutual respect. They were comfortable in exchanging their views. This was a positive contribution to data collection using a sensitive study of genocide memorials.

In each case, the venues and times for the first meetings were agreed upon by the respondents of the focus groups themselves. The purpose of this initial discussion was the presentation of the nature of the study, its interest and aims and, finally, the ethical issues of social research. The researcher started by briefly informing the respondents about the topic. This was conducted in the respondents' mother tongue, Kinyarwanda. The researcher then shared ethical conditions that would be observed in the study. Details regarding the way the respondents would be involved in the study were given; the following three ethical values were discussed in detail with respondents.

5.9.1 The respect of respondents' voluntary participation

The researcher explained the meaning of ‗voluntary participation‘ in the research. This is the first value to be respected when social research is conducted. The investigation required that the participants reveal personal details or information about a group or a community. Though their contribution was very important to accomplishing the research, their participation also had to be deliberate, unforced and not manipulated. To some extent, this ethical value enables the participants to be responsible for providing consistent information.

Voluntary participation is of paramount importance, because if it is not respected, the respondents will participate but they will not release genuine information. What is more, this

value increases the opportunity of gathering relevant data. The participants were clearly and fully informed about the study. This allowed them to make their decisions whether to participate or not with intent. Given that the researcher and the participants should benefit from the collaboration and co-operation, this would not occur if participation had been forced or manipulated (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 521-522).

To emphasize the necessity of this value of voluntary participation, the researcher stressed freedom of expression during the participation. For the members of a focus group, there was no pressure or obligation to attend the first meeting. This meant that respondents were allowed to withdraw the decision for participation. Respondents were sure that participation did not affect them in any way. After the exploration of this value, all the respondents expressed their free will to participate, because nobody forced them to decide.

5.9.2 The respect of „no harm to the participants'

This is the second ethical value that was discussed. During the first meeting, the researcher promised not to harm the participants who willingly agreed to participate. Babbie (1992: 465) taught us that ―social research should never injure the people being studied, regardless of whether they volunteer for the study". Once participants offer their participation to the study, they should be guaranteed respect. This reflects respective communication in group discussions and the free decision to withdraw from the study for any reason. This withdrawal cannot be allowed to impede the process.

The participants who agreed to contribute to the study were asked to provide information, respect the duration of group discussions, participate actively in debates and respect the internal regulation of the group. Similarly, the respondents should exercise politeness when responding to points of views, listen carefully without talking while someone is speaking and wait for their turn by raising their hands. All the above details facilitated a good atmosphere during group discussions.

Another important detail that was discussed with the respondents was how to motivate their fellow participants who were hesitant to give their points of views. Participants devised a way of provoking them. They would be given a turn to express themselves, even though they did not raise their hands. The group leader, for instance, would say _let us hear the opinion of x'; this was an interesting approach that broke the silence of some respondents. Each one contributed to the discussion, criticism and completion of the information by other members of the group.

For those who agreed to participate in the discussion, measures were taken to soothe emotions that could be roused by the sensitivity of the topic, which dug up terrible experiences. Although the researcher was a counsellor and equipped to face any problems which may arise from the discussions, she provided professional advice to settle any traumatic emotions which could arise during the focus group discussions. This gave increased confidence to the respondents, who could not be harmed psychologically by the discussions.

The present research develops a highly sensitive topic that requires focussed attention when conducting group discussions. The author had to be sure that the vulnerability that is included in its sensitivity was minimized. Although a specialist in counselling was provided to prevent distress that could arise when informants recalled their traumatic experiences, further measures to help those who might need extra therapy were taken before any group discussions. These measures were the provision of more psychological help and treatment, if necessary.

Throughout the discussion, only two respondents sought help, as they were stressed by the emotional aspect raised by the discussions. This issue was handled by the researcher herself as it was at the end of the focus group's discussion. Twenty minutes were spent with the participant and thereafter she confirmed she felt well. The next day, when the researcher did a follow up, she was doing well. Apart from these two respondents who felt disturbed, there was nobody else who asked for further treatment.

5.9.3 The confidentiality and anonymity values discussed

The last ethical value that was discussed with the respondents who agreed to participate in this study was confidentiality and anonymity, meaning the protection of a participant who revealed delicate information. Genocide memorials are open symbols that are rooted in Rwandan divisions. The memorials arouse different passions according to the person's background. This makes discussion concerning them so sensitive that confidentiality and anonymity were underlined to make sure that any information that was revealed would not affect any respondent.

5.9.3.1Confidentiality

In this case, the researcher knew who provided the information but their names were not revealed. Confidentiality was also applied to any descriptions that would reveal who provided the information and this was guaranteed to respondents (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 523). Any information that would reveal the identity of its source could not be discussed in the conference, in other public debate or published.

The discussion concerning the ethical value of confidentiality extended its discussion to protecting the autonomy of respondents to social stigmatization or victimization. The identification of the group and individuals did not include the names and addresses of the participants. The forms used required the provision of age brackets, gender and level of education only.

Apart from the identification form, which did not include names and addresses, the researcher assured the participants that there would be no exchange of information with third parties. In order to apply the ethical value of confidentiality, the researcher discussed with the respondents the materials to use in the group discussions and the time for the interviews to take place.

In addition to the above, audio recording and cameras could be used, but respondents expressed concern about the camera. For this reason, the researcher agreed not to take photographs of the groups but the audio recorder was utilized, as it was agreed upon by both sides. The researcher made sure that there was no respondent's name that was recorded in the discussion group, because some respondents mentioned their fellow participants' names unwittingly.

Sometimes, names were pronounced during the recording of a group discussion. For example, when the definition of a genocide memorial that was given by Y was incomplete, another respondent said _I would like to complete it if Y allows'. It is understandable that the name of the respondent's real name was recorded, but the researcher could go back directly to the recorder to delete the real name in the recorded text to make sure that all information did not include any name. The respondents were very satisfied with this respectful procedure. This was done immediately when the name was mentioned because some of the respondents expressed their distress as they could hear their colleagues utter their names.

5.9.3.2 Anonymity

Anonymity was also mentioned with respect to ethical values. Although the researcher provided some explanation concerning this ethical value, respondents were very interested in it. In this context, the researcher received information but its source remained unknown. This may be willingly planned or not, such as when the researcher asked for information using internet tools. The responses would not leak the respondents' identification (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 523). Although the researcher did not plan to apply this ethical value, it surprisingly happened during the study.

Some respondents of the focus group decided to send e-mails and printed papers to add to their points of view, to complete the information that was raised during group discussions. Although their e-mails bore no names, they were coded and they had relevant and consistent information. All these details, as well as hard copies, explained further messages of genocide memorials, their

interpretation and the way in which understanding affects the community's daily life. These were a part of group discussion, because they quoted groups' views in their responses.

5.10 Further clarification

The aim of the first meeting with the respondents who agreed to participate in this research was to inform them about what they could expect from their participation. Respondents were given clarification that their information should be provided freely. The researcher also told them that she was not going to offer any money for the information received, because this exercise did not entail buying information from them.

There were, however, refreshments as a token of thanks. The researcher provided transport fares for the respondents who were willing to attend the meetings. Public transportation was recommended to limit costly transport fares. This did not affect in any way the time of the meeting because places of group discussions that were chosen were selected because of their accessibility. In places where public transport was not possible, private means were organized to reach the venue for group discussion.

Further clarification was given concerning the presentation of the specialist counsellor who accompanied the researcher. The counsellor was with the respondents and the author, to help in case emotional aspects arose from the discussion, due to the nature of the topic. While discussing everyday life issues, additional possibilities were explained to those who needed a personal discussion that related to the topic. This raised the curiosity of the group discussions or interviews. The researcher welcomed the respondents who wished to arrange personal appointments for closer discussion with her, but if there appeared a burning issue that raised a personal interest to be discussed with the counsellor, the researcher gave the green light. This created a good mutual atmosphere between the researcher and the interviewees.

Respondents felt the necessity for organizing discussions about the open symbols, even if it was not easy. These symbols are questioning to all Rwandans. Their message cannot be ignored or covered up, for they are famous places. The meaning of such places cannot be misunderstood or misinterpreted, as this could result in a great loss for the entire community. In discussing their functional aspects in the community, clarification of obscure points would be given. This tends to inform the community and so further steps would be taken to manage the variations that are included in the symbols of traumatic memories.

Some respondents insisted on discussing privately some issues that were raised in their groups. This aimed at adding additional information to what has been gained. Although this was not truly related to the research, the author felt it was necessary to listen to them in extra time. Thus, irrelevant information was discussed, which was another thing the respondents expected from their participation in this research. The number of respondents who took part in such discussion was 2% of the interviewees.

5.11 The constraints of the fieldwork

This study could not cover all the centres because of time and financial constraints. This study is thus limited to ten genocide memorials. There are some limits related to the time chosen by the respondents of each group discussion. Some of the respondents who arrived late for the discussions made other members wait for them. This disrespect for the time of ending our group discussions and interviews meant the researcher had to wait for the respondents. This affected the process of the interviews, but the information was still shared, as planned.

Many questions were raised by the unknown respondents who used e-mails and printed papers. Such interventions were deemed irrelevant to the research and, because of time limitations, the

researcher did not consider them. The curiosity that was raised by the group discussions was not satisfied; therefore further investigation would be needed. Apart from the two groups of IRDP, the other groups asked whether or not the discussions could be extended. In this way, they would have an opportunity to continue with their own sharing of information.

5.12 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter discussed the methodology of the research. We have seen that this is an empirical study, based on experiences and data collected from fieldwork to provide appropriate information, through a qualitative approach to discover the knowledge from the experiences of the population. However, we have seen in this chapter that even if the researcher used some quantitative data to support the quality of information, the research is mainly based on qualitative analysis that used exploratory, descriptive, causal, evaluative and predictive questions to discuss the issue under study.

Furthermore, in the process of recruiting respondents, we have seen that no strict criteria were followed. The key criterion was that the researcher needed to see people from the local community and from different sections of the population. We have seen that some of them were relatives of genocide survivors or genocide survivors themselves, and others were relatives of genocide perpetrators. The researcher undertook the difficult task of finding respondents with a neutral position. For the key informants, the researcher recruited some community groups that were hired by IRDP research centre. This chapter discussed ethical factors that were followed to avoid harming respondents in any way.

Chapter Six: PRESENTATION OF THE FIELDWORK AND DATA ANALYSIS

6.1 Introduction

Genocide memorials are places that convey messages to the community through their various facets. They are communicative places that are respected by the family of the departed and by the community as a whole. This makes them thought of as meaningful reminders. The analysis of these places favours the understanding of community relationships. People are largely social constructs, in the way that the social and political meanings of the genocide memorials affect their social environment. A sociological analysis is thus necessary to understand the messages of the memorials in their social, cultural and political contexts.

The architecture and images of these places are designed to convey messages that enable people who visit them to feel their public emphasis. This public determination of their building underlines their importance in influencing the socio-political environment. Genocide memorials are places that reflect the problematic context in which the community is living. AN analysis of the memorials, therefore necessitates the contribution of the population in order to reveal how they view the messages of these symbols of traumatic memories.

Community definitions of genocide memorials underscore their physical appearance as architecture and their social, cultural and political reflections as an idea. The meaning of their physical locations and their socio-political significance play an important role in influencing community behaviours. The existence of these symbols drew the attention of the respondents when they were defining them. Once inside these very sensitive localities, the respondents manifested uncontrollable emotions.

6.2. Presentation of the fieldwork data

This section includes condensed responses from focus group discussion, personal interviews and observations of the researcher. Where there was no unanimous agreement of respondents, especially with focus group discussion, responses are expressed using percentages to show the trend of views. The researcher's observations capture fieldwork during the first visit on site; and during the interactions in the individual and focus group interviews.

6.2.1 Presentation of the focus group

The researcher planned to have ten respondents in each focus group, yet in reality some groups had twelve individuals. This occurred as a result of some of the recruited participants not arriving on the day of the focus groups. Some of the recruited participants expressed their apologies for having other urgent commitments. The researcher made a decision to restructure the groups, integrating a number of respondents who were available after their initial focus groups had completed their discussions into groups short of participants. The fact that there were extra members in some of the focus groups was not an impediment but rather an opportunity that increased variety in discussion and interpretation of the messages of the genocide memorials.

In another case, during a visit to a genocide memorial, two independent visitors who were there negotiated to participate in the group discussions – possibly due to an interest in some of the details the researcher had provided inside the memorial house.

All the groups included a range of genders, ages and educational levels as seen in table 1 in the previous chapter. Each respondent was identified in the group by voluntarily completing a consent form during tea-time. These forms did not include the respondent's name, for the sake of confidentiality. Both the consent form and questionnaire copies are annexed to this thesis in the form of appendices. The researcher provided further information regarding these forms before

starting the interviews or discussions. As agreed upon with the respondents, these forms were destroyed after their use in data analysis. These forms were intended to detail the relevant information that was collected relative to the genocide memorials' messages.

6.2.2 Condensed responses from the focus group discussions

Focus group discussions were used to collect primary data and the reading or recorded materials provided the relevant secondary data. Themes and key word categories formed the guideline for storing and keeping the data that had been collected and thus followed their analysis. The topic was explored through discussion and each member offered relevant and consistent information. The information relevant to the question posed by the researcher was completed and discussed in an informal style. There was no aggressive behaviour or trouble, since the respondents exchanged their views by consensus, yet acknowledging diversity. Recording materials were used to store the information that was given throughout the discussions. This also facilitated the work of revisiting the entire discussion.

A methodology was adopted to condense responses from the focus groups. The method of compiling responses from the 12 focus groups below consisted of taking all the responses from all the focus groups on one question, and collating them. The next step was to summarize the responses of all the focus groups to each question. This was one of the methods used to avoid repetition of views by the respondents. The same methodology was used for the individual interviews. The following are the condensed responses from the focus groups:

(1) **The meaning of the memorial**

Question one (Q1) was intended to discover how the members of focus groups understand the meaning of the concept of memorials. Respondents from the focus groups defined the memorial according to what it means to them in their daily life, and referred to different traditional memorials in general. Some called it a symbol of remembrance, others a symbol of what

happened in the past. Respondents also said that what the memorial is was shaped by the government. The conclusion of ‗what is a memorial?‘ according to the group discussion ‗is a symbol of remembering what happened in the past, which is shaped by the government in the case of social monuments or by family or individuals if it is a family monument. Respondents disclosed that the definition of a memorial cannot be defined only through a top-down approach, where local leaders impose the right definition on the community. This undermines the capacity of the community to define the memorials in their own context. In responding to this question, a dilemma was stated due to dualities of defining a symbol of memory from the state perspective as distinct from community understandings.

(2) The meaning of a genocide memorial

Similarly as for question one, respondents in the group discussions defined a genocide memorial (Q2) depending on their background and what it means to them. Some of the respondents were local residents whose relatives are buried in the local memorials, others were relatives of genocide perpetrators and some were neutral. These categories of participants could be identified through their responses during the focus group. Some of them saw a genocide memorial as a home in which to meet with their relatives (75%). For this type of respondent, the genocide memorials represent their personal heritage, even though it is a social monument. For them, the genocide memorials play an instructional role and will continue to play an instructional role when the time comes for looking at their heritage.

A genocide memorial is also a place for maintaining the relationships between the deceased and the living. It is a physical place of remembrance. This point of view stated by respondents is underlined by Spijker (1990: 18) who expressed the necessity of having a tomb or a place that materializes the continuity between the living family and the deceased. When asked this question, respondents stated the definition of a genocide memorial as a place, but with a specific meaning – a place of mass burial that reflects the anguish of the genocide period.

Some respondents, especially those who have family members who perpetrated the genocide see a genocide memorial as a shocking and harmful place (27%). Other respondents (4%) who were released from detention as they had confessed, and now are living among the community, define genocide memorials as a shameful and shocking symbol of their former behaviour, and as being a reminder to their relatives. Some other respondents, especially the highly educated respondents, define the genocide memorial as a political tool (65%). The public and the local community will thus continue to consider the place differently.

Some of the responses were influenced by the level of age in that the views of the youth, middle aged respondents and elders differed on some points. For instance, genocide memorials were viewed by the elders from the focus groups as the worst humiliation for Rwandese culture (55%). The traditional Rwandan values of solidarity, responsibility, trust, reciprocal respect, acceptance, sympathy, kindness and hospitality do not have echoes among the community. On the other hand, 38% of respondents of group discussion challenged this view of the elders and said that there are in fact echoes of those Rwanda traditional values among the community.

Maybe Rwandese values were not strong enough to stand against the evil but some outstanding behaviour showed the effect of solidarity, sympathy and hospitality among Rwandans during the period of genocide. In places where genocide memorials were built by the community, regardless of their ethnic background, a genocide memorial is a symbol of solidarity, unity and reconciliation. Respondents from Murambi (91 %) viewed the genocide memorials as a symbol of malediction and shame for local citizens due to extreme atrocities that happened in their area and which they passively watched.

During the focus group discussions on these questions, two types of definition were stated: Public definition from the local government and which the community were compelled to memorize, and the definition of the community which defines them according to their social environment. The respondents' definition of genocide memorials integrates positive and negative

consequences which highlight both the functional and the dysfunctional roles played by the genocide memorials.

(3) Observation inside the genocide memorials

Through visiting the genocide memorials, respondents found that genocide memorials have three categories. The first category of genocide memorials are complex buildings, for example, Kamonyi, Murambi and Nyamata. They include the burial places of people who were killed during the genocide. Such places include gardens and houses of memories, with rooms which contain different exhibitions. The second category is the genocide memorials which are located in places without buildings, for example, Bisesero. This category contains the remains of people who were killed and are now exhibited in a place that is not equipped to protect them. Finally, the third category is the one that includes the gardens. Some examples are Nyamasheke, Kiziguro, Nyange, Nyanza, Rebero and Shyorongi. In all levels, such places surround mass graves and walls of names.

As the elders among the focus groups considered tombs as a home for their beloved, a place for their eternal rest, they felt that when they are inside the places of memory that they are in communion with the living dead (53%). Yet they cannot practice *guterekera,* because this traditional ritual is practiced on a private grave, when people are buried at home.

Respondents concentrated their observation on the emotional responses raised by the exhibition of material used to kill, the remains of the bodies, photos of the deceased, and stories that are expressions of atrocities. The physical appearance of genocide memorials was not emphasized, only few respondents (0,4 %) mentioned mass graves, house of memory and gardens during the visit to the genocide memorial. When inside of the genocide memorial, the house of memory, people saw anti-values, atrocities, no-respect for humanity, the powerlessness of the state in

killing the population, the zeal to do wrong, and animosity of abandoning the vulnerable people: women, children and elders.

To complete the discussion on the inside of genocide memorials (Q3), question eleven (Q11) which focused on the specific details of the interior of the houses of memory, asked respondents to interpret the presence of images, pictures, bones, short movies and other imagery inside genocide memorials, adding details to what respondents expressed when discussing question three. Unanimously, respondents showed how the presence of these different representations inside the house of memory fuels unpredictable and uncontrollable emotions. The view of the elders and youth diverged on this point. For elders, that presence is something unusual in the Rwandan culture. On the other side, the youth doesn't see anything abnormal in the house of memory. Youth view this as educative, though frightening. Respondents (80%) expressed that they felt embarrassment when entering the house of memory. Where there is the presence of images, pictures, bones, short movies and other imagery, there is an anguish that holds your attention. Memory is the capacity to remember or to recall what happened, and if this recall of the situation is triggered by images, the images are able to have a strong impact on both sides, positive and negative.

(4) The importance of having a memorial

In addressing this issue, respondents of group discussion recalled the definition of a memorial (Q1) and of a genocide memorial (Q2). The importance of having a memorial is found in the necessity of remembrance as part of human lives. Although some memories cause uneasy emotions, respondents emphasized the importance of having a memorial: It keeps the history of the community alive. It is a part of life as long as people live and they have to build memorials. The experience people go through becomes part of their lives and thus symbols of memory are necessary. They are teaching tools and this disclosed two arguments – they are able to positively impact the community (70 %) but also negatively (65%).

When discussing the importance of memorials in general, genocide memorials dominated the group discussions. Respondents emphasized that genocide memorials are symbols of the recognition of their citizenship and the humanity of the people who were killed during the genocide. Respondents (71 %) added that as the former governments planned and organized the killings of their people, the current genocide memorials are now the symbols of the presence of state power among the community. The state recognizes the humanity of its people by building, or contributing to building, genocide memorials. Some respondents (22%) see genocide memorials as a government project.

There were no strong differences as to whether to have or not have a memorial, but rather on their form and content. There were some divergences on the necessity for having memorials and houses of memory and most of the respondents agreed on the necessity of having genocide memorials (79%), but in the form of mass graves and walls of names. They felt that a memorial that kept the nightmare of the past alive promotes negative thoughts among the members of the community.

(5) The expected place of memory

Questions five and six (Q5 & Q6) motivated the group to discuss what they felt a genocide memorial, which would meet their expectations as a place of memory, should look like. For respondents from the Bisesero area, genocide memorials were expected to be symbols of unity where the population recognizes the struggles of genocide survivors as part of their community and finds out how to resolve their problems together. This statement was shared by respondents. In addition, this unity should eliminate the atmosphere of suspicion directed at the families of perpetrators and foster justice and equity. The community reads something different into the place of genocide memorials, in that the emotional aspect of these places dominates their physical appearance in the minds of the population.

In term of physical appearance, there were diversities. Some respondents (15 %) would like to have a genocide memorial with complex buildings belonging to the first level (Q3), and the government is responsible for building this monument as the community cannot manage it. It was revealed that the local community was not cooperative in the process of building memorials. It is as if the government is making reparation for what the former government did. The Bisesero group discussion respondents expressed the view that unfinished genocide memorials represent their critical living conditions.

Other respondents (52%) would like to have a genocide memorial with a house of memory and gardens with mass graves and wall of names. The house of memory should include photos of the deceased, stories about other genocide memorials as well as the values of unity and other important aspects that have no negative impact those who enter. There should be no images of physical atrocities and no exhibition of remains.

Other respondents (32 %) in the group discussions would prefer to have genocide memorials in the form of gardens with mass graves and walls of names. This reflects the third category of memorials discussed under question 3. These respondents indicated that if they had to design a genocide memorial that would meet their expectations, they wouldn't include the house of memory. This group are possibly people who fear the remains of the human body. Other respondents (1%) were neutral in this, saying _they don't have any idea'.

(6) The explicit message of genocide memorials

Respondents understand genocide memorials as tools that communicate a message. Some examples of the explicit messages were expressed. In the case of Rebero genocide memorial, mass graves and the wall of names are reminders to the local citizens of heroism. 70% of the participants in the Rebero group discussion read this explicit message into Rebero genocide memorial. Their historical experience of some Hutu leaders of the former government refusing

the plan of killings Tutsi and being eliminated by the government, is a probable key factor in their understanding of the message.

The mass graves and memorial sites are also seen as symbols of the betrayal by the international community and the Rwandan government that couldn't protect their relatives. The Nyanza genocide memorial focus group highlighted this explicit message. In common, respondents argued that reading the messages genocide memorials communicate brings a feeling of shame. Another message highlighted by many respondents (88%) was that genocide memorials convey a message of the weaknesses of the community as they couldn't protect their neighbours, friends, fellow citizens and human beings.

Respondents (74%) also mentioned that genocide memorials convey controversial messages of two main types: Between healing the wounds and aggravating the wounds, and between uniting the community and affecting social relationships within the community. For the older respondents (97%), genocide memorials convey relevant messages in the sense that they keep alive the relationship between the *living community* and the *living dead*. They are symbols that highlight the continual good relations between the *living family* and the *living dead.* This significant positive effect releases the community.

Respondents made it clear that interpretation of the messages of the genocide memorials emphasized their physical appearances as localities as well as their social considerations, and their unlimited consequences stimulate people into thinking actively about the influence of the memorials on themselves. They revealed how social and cultural values are the framework of the community's understanding; as they include the way the population performs its rituals and ceremonies.

Unanimously, respondents from the focus groups showed that genocide memorials are dreadful places that convey traumatic memories and highlight the power of the government. The power of the government is addressed in particular relationship to these costly symbols of memory. Respondents pointed out that they are aware that genocide memorials are stressful symbols. One of the focus groups mentioned that daily life is all about remembering in order to make the present meaningful. In summary, in the views of most of the respondents (Q7 & Q8), genocide memorials' messages reveal the manifest and latent conflicts in society, the pain of enduring and accepting differences that challenge the community to think of how to focus on the way forward and remind them of a few outstanding people that give sense to humanity.

(7) **Various opinions on the message genocide memorials convey**

Question nine (9) motivated respondents to understand deeply the message genocide memorials communicate. Respondents (66%) indicated that a symbol can generate and increase the fragility of the community. Some respondents (41%) showed that genocide memorials make people think of the traumatic experiences they went through which prompts discussion on the way forward. All respondents commented on the duality of a symbol of traumatic memory. It plays functional and dysfunctional roles – the memorials teach the community to avoid the same mistake, prevent vengeance for these cruelties and at the same time they keep the community in fear.

Some respondents (34%) underlined their attachment to the symbols, while others (59%) simply recognized their presence, with their attachment being limited to the official ceremonies during the commemoration days (every year, there is one week for a national commemoration of the genocide in Rwanda). The remainder (7%) were disinterested. In another point highlighted by the respondents, some of the genocide memorials are still under construction and the community is not capable of finishing them, despite the fact that they have a moral obligation to do so. This upset the respondents, especially neighbours of those monuments. Respondents, and particularly the youth, stated that genocide memorials are very sensitive symbols in steeping people in the atmosphere of being surrounded by death and the rituals of death.

Given the top-down approach by which they were initiated, genocide memorials have been a disappointment to some people who view them as politically biased (39%). Most respondents (98 %) view genocide memorials as a way of keeping the past vivid, but when it is a bad past, it has limited positive impact on the community (57%). In other words, reawakening the emotional and cruel images of killing is a tragic method of recording what happened. Briefly, pointing to genocide memorials of the first and second categories (Q3), most of the respondents (55%) highlighted that the dysfunctional aspects dominate the functional aspects of the genocide memorials, while other respondents (36%) expressed the view that the functional aspect of genocide memorials dominate the dysfunctional ones. Few respondents (6%) stood for the functional side only and the rest of respondents (3%) stood for the dysfunctional aspect.

Respondents in group discussions (84%) underlined that the third category (Q3) of genocide memorial is more functional. Few respondents (15%) expressed that the third category of genocide memorials cannot be fully functional in that they don't have important aspects that enable a genocide memorial to communicate the required message. The messages of genocide memorials results in two effects: avoiding the same mistake, which is positive; and the prevention of vengeance for these cruelties. There is no guarantee that the community is going to use the messages of genocide memorials positively. From the anguish of revisiting the traumatic images, people could resort to vengeance. The symbols simply speak to everyone who passes and sees them or hears about them, yet as to how to apply the message received, a variety of interpretations is expected.

(8) The influences of the genocide memorials on social relationships

People view genocide memorials differently. Previous responses underlined the multidimensional analysis of those symbols of memory. There is no unanimity about the explicit messages they communicate (Q7 & Q8). Genocide memorials can become a raging storm if the community is not well sensitized and educated about their impact. Respondents indicated that some of the memorials were built through a top-down approach, others from the idea of the local

government or from IBUKA, the survivors of genocide organization. This created a sense of a lack of responsibility in the community as they were not considered when they were built. The local community looks at the government and IBUKA as the owner of genocide memorials. There is an unhealthy relationship between the local community and the owner of those genocide memorials.

Respondents expressed the view that people view the symbols of the genocide memorials as keeping the community locked in traumatic memories, and negatively affecting people in different ways. This affects their relationships positively and negatively. In all the focus group discussions, the positive and negative consequences of genocide memorials were emphasized in the respondents' definitions. Thus, from their view, genocide memorials are necessary for the community, but can disrupt community relationships if the population is not educated about them. Respondents suggested putting more focus on the future, rather than taking the past as a point of reference. Respondents challenge the public sphere on this question, given the fact that they ignored the role of the community in conceiving and implementing the genocide memorials.

Primarily in individual interviews, this attitude was stated to be the root of the dualities in defining the genocide memorials and their relevance. These dualities were manifested in respondents' definition of the genocide memorials which showed how the community has blindly followed a public position that is conceived from top-down and which is not holistic.

In connection with the way genocide memorials affect social relationships, respondents (39%) felt that an atmosphere of suspicion exists, which prevents the opening of an embryonic process of improving social relations. The physical proximity of the genocide memorials does not facilitate communication, but rather increases the atmosphere of fear. Murambi, Nyamata and Bisesero genocide memorials, because of the detailed information contained there, provoke emotions and foster an atmosphere of suspicion. A very large number of people were massacred

there and consequently a very large number of people participated in killing. The first impression people have is that those who are living close to the memorial must have been involved in the killing in one way or another, which undermines the social relationships among the community.

Significantly, when one enters Bugesera genocide memorial, which used to be a place of worship and is now a killing field genocide memorial, one feels shock and shame. It was on this note that all respondents in the Bugesera group discussion questioned the values of the church, making comments that it is not easy to differentiate church buildings and other buildings. In fact, this specific memorial represents a challenge not only to the community, but specifically to the Christian church. In fact, some respondents mentioned how the community still regrets what happened there, including their passive watching of events, and the involvement of some relatives. It is in this context that genocide memorials challenge community behaviour (Q13).

Genocide memorials in some places like Bisesero are sources of conflict between the community and genocide survivors, and the government that failed to help them in completing the work on the genocide memorial. In this way, genocide memorials jeopardize social relationships. Respondents of Murambi, Nyamasheke and Nyamata mentioned the link between the genocide memorial and poverty, as some people killed their neighbours to take their belongings. To some extent, poverty dehumanizes people and thus destroys their social relationships.

(9) The contribution of genocide memorials to building a new understanding of Rwandan identity that goes beyond the sectarian problems of the past

In this, there were two different views from respondents. Firstly, the commemoration period in April every year brings people together, as they mourn together. In addition, there are other public discussions organized on understanding the Rwandan community struggles and how they came to accept the artificial categories of ethnic groups. The visit to genocide memorials gives a frame of understanding the atrocity which occurred and how discrimination was nourished by

public, private and individuals during the genocide period. Respondents (21%) emphasized the first category of genocide memorials here (Q3).

Respondents expressed the view that, even if there is no guarantee, there is a likelihood of people thinking about the way forward after visiting genocide memorials. The problem that undermines this probability is that, as expressed by respondents, visits to memorials are not voluntary in many cases. Visits are initiated by an institution where people work and they attend for the purpose of being part of that group. Although visits to the genocide memorials are sometimes forced on individuals by external factors, respondents discussed some cases where those visits helped people to critically change the way they consider the opposite social group. Some respondents (30%) justified the reasons for not being interested in visiting these genocide memorials, arguing that they fear seeing traumatizing images and messages (Q13). Other respondents (37%) made it clear that the community must be ready to accept the consequences of their actions - hence, the responsibility of the community includes accepting those negative images.

Secondly, respondents whose family members are imprisoned for killing people indicated that visiting memorials is a difficult process for them, as everyone is talking about the genocide, its planners and executors. In this case, respondents (82%) expressed that change is not easy but it is possible. The consequences of their relatives having participated in killings are heavy and continue to destroy their lives. Respondents underlined the issue of Gacaca Court. When time comes to repay what was destroyed by the perpetrators of genocide, the family is involved. Children, the wife or the husband are affected socially and economically. There is a conflicting situation between the past identities with its consequences today. The one who is expected to redefine her/his identity is frustrated.

6.2.3 Condensed responses from the key informants and other individual respondents

As explained in detail in the previous chapter, there were two kinds of individual interviews – one consisting of key informants, and of members of the focus groups who needed to engage the researcher in private. These respondents participated in the focus groups, yet wanted to add something to their views in a private one on one situation. Some points were considered as relevant during the individual interviews. Section A includes those views which were strongly supported by all respondents. Section B includes views where respondents differed:

Section A:

- The symbols of traumatic memories need particular attention as they have implications for the community's social relationships. Moreover, people read different messages through those symbols of memory and the interpretations of the messages are different.

- There are two different implications to the message genocide memorials carry: (1) memory places go beyond their expectations and are shameful places to some people among the community and (2) they are very sensitive places that need both the leaders' and the population's vigilance as their dysfunctional consequences may have negative implications on the improvement of social relations.

- The presence of genocide memorials was at first interpreted as a means of capturing the attention of the international community about the 1994 genocide.

- There are some initiatives whereby public and private organizations have started a programme of managing genocide consequences in the form of improving social relations within the community, by talking about what happened. Such experiences help the community to regulate and manage their nervous tension.

- The tragic stories inside these genocide memorials can be explained using the historical background of discrimination in some places like the Nyamata area and the Bugesera region as a whole. Hence, this memorial is a symbol of the recognition of the terrible past

in Rwanda wherein a section of the population was considered foreigners in their own country.

- Despite the fact that it is a place chosen by the authority to be a district genocide memorial, it does not necessarily mean that the bodies buried there were local citizens. An example is the Kamonyi genocide memorial.

Section B:

- Some community members fear the genocide memorials, which directly or indirectly have negative implications on solidarity among the community. Hence, the management of those genocide memorials should take into account those latent consequences that undermine the well-being of the community, and by extension – the identity of the society (69 % of respondents).

- The community social relations are uncertain and the genocide memorials symbols are not communicating any message that can help in improving this situation. The message of the genocide memorials has been interpreted by individual interviewees as ‗an endless mourning' sixteen years after the genocide. To reinforce this view, during an individual interview one respondent pointed out that ‗genocide memorials will be reminding the future generation of the matter. This can be positively appreciated when it is for the good but a problem would arise if it is for revenge or for negative action" (73% of respondents).

- The public meaning of the genocide memorials is dictated to the community and this misleads the community's interpretations of the symbols in the house of memories. In fact, stereotypes and prejudices are part of the elements that can shape the community's interpretation of genocide memorials. This labels and biases people's reflections in their interpretations (24% of respondents).

- Discussing the messages connected to the genocide memorials is very difficult. People are not sure which vocabulary to use because every word used becomes hurtful (11% of respondents).

6.2.4 A summary of the researcher's observation during the interviews

There are two methods the researcher used to obtain information through observation: (1) during the first fieldwork visit and, (2) during the interactions in the individual and focus group interviews. The information from that observation forms an integral part of this research. The following is the summary of the main points from the researcher's observations:

- Some of the respondents admitted to having received a constructive message from the symbols of the genocide memorials. The second category viewed the symbols as disruptive and harmful. It was observed that these two poles were zealous about their positions. The third category, took an intermediary position, viewing the message of the symbols as holding paradoxically traumatic memories and constructive messages.

- Some arguments coincided for all focus groups and individual interviews (especially on questions 7, 8 & 9). For instance, all the respondents mentioned that genocide memorials reflect the history of the social relationships in Rwanda, and that genocide memorials are impressive places that call for the community to honour and respect both the living and the departed. Furthermore, the argument was that blameful and violent messages express shame and divisions in the Rwandan family and in the community. This is the challenge Rwanda faces in its struggle to reharmonize the social relations of its citizens in the post-1994 genocide.

- A mistrust of the churches was observed during the interviews, given the fact that the church leaders were either involved in the genocide, or merely couldn't protect people.

- There is a mixture of ideas such as accusations and violent symbols that can affect the educational roles of the messages of the genocide memorials. A historical tool that keeps alive the dead and the event that caused death can also affect social relationships. In this way, the community can feel frustrated and so fail to maintain the balance of understanding the group identity.

- The researcher observed that during the focus group discussions the older respondents liked to illustrate their views through analogies and proverbs talking about the past while the youth look more to the future. Thus, the way educated people analyze the symbols differs from the way uneducated people do. The context in which the elders consider those symbols varies from that of the youth. How females sense the presence of the symbols of traumatic memories did not diverge from the male view.

- From the observation of the researcher, the specificity of a symbol to influence human behaviour is not its physical presence but its associated meanings, and to measure the objectivity and subjectivity of the meanings does not affect their consequences among the community.

- The community's interpretation is crucial to influencing people's behaviour – by extension, the context in which the common people interpret the genocide memorials' messages can strongly and consciously influence their social environment.

- It was observed that most of the respondents interpret the genocide memorials just by repeating the definitions that were suggested by the leaders. This attitude gives more power to leaders to dominate the community.

- It was observed that the management of genocide memorials and the organization of their buildings add an important consideration to the places. The memorials dominate the area and catch the attention of people passing by. Most tourists who come to Rwanda visit the genocide memorials.

- It was observed that the conception and the management of genocide memorials is the concern of the government and IBUKA.

- Without a doubt, the symbols of genocide memorials are highly sensitive as they reopen conflict and wounds. In public, people talk about the functional side of the symbols so as to avoid reopening their social conflict, but internally they live with the controversial dysfunctional and functional aspects of the genocide memorials. It is not helpful to the community to interact exhaustively with genocide memorials.

- From the views of the respondents, one can state that the genocide memorials reduce the suspicion that those who were killed during the genocide were cursed by nature and that was a shame to the community. The presence of tombs as a part of genocide memorials gives hope to people who believe that if they were not buried and their tombs recognized, it would mean that the death of those who were killed during the genocide was a punishment. The message of the genocide memorials emphasizes that the deceased were not being punished and forgotten. There is an acceptance and a confirmation of their humanity through the symbols of memory.

- As mentioned earlier, the elders referred to history in their responses, and are more attached to culture, which the youth see as irrelevant details. However, without ignoring the past, the youth was more focused on the future – about how both the genocide memorials and the social relationships can be improved in the future. Briefly, in different age categories, there were two poles which were sometimes difficult to moderate. There were also some middle-aged respondents who seemed to be neutral.

6.3. Key issues identified during the fieldwork and interviews

The focus group discussions and the key informants/individual interviews provided very useful information, but some key issues were identified and analyzed.

6.3.1. Genocide memorials understood as a place

This section draws mainly from responses to question one (Q1), relating to the definition of the memorial, and question two (Q2) relating to the meaning of the genocide memorial. It includes some views from individual interviews.

A place is a physical location that is geographically situated and which has a history or background that validates the relationships between the population and the place. The activities that are held in these places justify various meanings of the locality. In most cases, people connect to the place in order to remember stories about the locality, essentially the stories that have affected their lives. Casey, quoted by Hayden (1999: 145), states ―what is contained in a place is on its way to being well remembered". The human activities that are organized using the physical locality in building a household, being an inhabitant of a specific place, or ceremony ordered in the place have an important effect on the definition of that place.

From the views of the respondents during the focus groups (Q2), it is evident that the way people take care of such places has become an influential fact in human behaviour. Indeed, there is interdependency between place and human life and any change that is related to physical locality affects human behaviour. Hayden (1999: 143) explains that ―place attachment includes biological, social, material and ideological dimensions, as individuals develop ties to kin and community, own or rent land, and participate in public life as residents of particular community".

Respondents (Q2) made it clear that a place has direct or indirect influence on the people who know it. This also applies to individuals who have something to remember about what happened in that very place. Hence, a particular activity renders the locality special, since an ordinary place may become a particular place that means different things to different people. Once that particularity is enhanced by social, cultural and political interest, the population becomes more sensitive to the influence of the locality. The consideration of the place and events that have happened and thus the socio-cultural and political environment, propose meanings accordingly.

The interest of the people who are involved in giving significance to the locality adds value to that consideration.

The sensitivity of a place is the product of a network between the physical locality, the event that happened there and the emphasis on that event, pointed out as a result of various factors. The conflicting definitions of the same locality are rooted in those diversities. For instance, from the views of one respondent during the individual interviews (Q2), if a meaningful place like a genocide memorial is defined by the local community to be hurtful or negative, because it includes details of human remains, the political interest behind its creation does not change, as it has its own interest in meeting a particular objective. The public and the local community would thus continue to consider the place differently (Individual interview with anonymous respondent, January 2010).

Although a place can create particular interest because of its natural elements, the attention given to it arouses curiosity among the community. Another key informant (Q1&2) stated that one place can hold different definitions through expected and unexpected effects. The impact the place has in the community environment forms the platform of the ordinary people's definitions. Some places are meaningful because of a specific activity occurring there. This calls for a particular kind of behaviour in the community, such as building churches, museums, cemeteries and genocide memorials (Anonymous key informant interview, January 2010).

6.3.2 The idea behind the place of genocide memorials

There are different factors that make a place of memory more sensitive than other places. The social character of the event that is remembered and the political power behind it are some of these factors. During the focus group interview (Q1&2), respondents highlighted that most genocide memorials are meaningful in the community because of mass graves which are burial-sites for people who were killed during the genocide. Apart from the cultural consideration of

cemeteries within genocide memorials, they are also places that connect people to their various past struggles. They are physically and socially emotional settings that interact with the community (Lefebvre 1991: 286).

Respondents (Q3) unanimously mentioned that when they are inside the places of memory, they are in communion with the *living dead.* The cultural and psychological character of the genocide memorials experienced by the community justifies their presence in the particular localities. There are a large number of people who are directly or indirectly connected with these places. The fact that their relatives were buried there means that these places have a high value for different people, even among the respondents, who included both the relatives of the departed as well as other people who live in the neighbourhood of the places of memory. The community feels that the places of memory speak to them by their physical presence and refer to these places as familiar ones for various reasons. They orientate people, because they indicate the location where their relatives were murdered and buried. They are familiar places.

Considering the above, the definition of genocide memorials is embedded in the social, cultural and political environment. This is because the entire population is concerned about the effects of the symbols. Community definitions reflect their understanding of emphasizing the community belief in life after death. During the focus groups' discussions, respondents (Q1 &2) emphasized the social aspects of the localities as they honour the dead. These places are also believed to bear political ideas behind their creation and when they define genocide memorials, it highlights their authoritative messages, because these influence people's behaviour even if that authority cannot be reasonably explained. Giddens (2001: 22) notes that social life is possible because the members of the society are actively engaged in making sense of their environment. All the definitions that converge to make sense of the genocide memorials influence the community's everyday life.

From the researcher's observations, respondents specifically and the community generally tend to define a place or an idea drawing from the roles the place or idea plays among the people. Similarly, genocide memorials are defined by considering their effects on the local community. The physical appearance and stories that are related to these memorials affect the community's everyday relationships. This is because genocide memorials are not voiceless; meaning that they communicate messages to the people who read and give them significance. Various definitions of the memorials acknowledge people's wounds and emotions. These definitions refresh the consequences of the symbolic presence of traumatic memories.

The positive and negative consequences of those places for the community were emphasized by the respondents' definitions as complex symbols (Q2). Such places are necessary for the community, but can disrupt community relationships. They are stressed like ‚electrified places' that have both positive and negative poles. Consequently, the community should be careful in defining them.

6.3.3 Storm within the place of traumatic memories

The illustration of the complexity of the definition of the genocide memorials required the respondents to use images for clear expression of their feelings. These are places that fuel unpredictable emotions which cannot be easily explained. Their messages (Q1, 2 & 11) evoke uncontrollable emotions. Defining such places requires people to summarize their emotions, but these are unpredictable, depending on the time and on individuals.

At times, they seem harmless and at other times they are highly hurtful for the same group. These variations in the messages of traumatic symbols complicate their definition. When somebody is expressing the innocence of messages those symbols communicate, the next person would disagree and stress the unkind consequences of the messages, based on the factual symbols and experiences. Referring to the views of respondents (Q10), the community defines genocide

memorials by pointing out their embarrassing messages, and comparing them to the storm that cannot be ignored. Nobody can know whether the wind will change into a tempest or not. The only sign of the presence of wind, however, is its consequences that often affect human life. In fact, genocide memorials are like a raging storm.

During the focus group discussions, respondents tried to interpret the messages of the genocide memorials, as well as to discover possible implications on the social environment of the Rwandan society. However, the use of those symbols requires delicate consideration in order to draw lessons from them. Illustrating Hallie's hurricane, Roth (2001: xiv) points out that:

> While the storm raged all around, he saw something else; there was space for calm and quiet within the hurricane's eye […]. Hallie's hurricane experience contained vision that provided him with moral insight. We are in the hurricane, he stressed, and we must not forget how menacing that place will always be. Within the storm, however, there can be space like the haven provided by Le Chambon. More than that, Hallie's passion was to use his lucidity to do what he could do to _expend the bleu'. Some people make a larger space for bleu, for peace, for love.

Genocide memorials are dreadful places that convey their full messages. They clearly communicate a stressful message, just as hurricanes do. This requires gathering various elements in order to master the situation. It involves reading the heartening message from the symbols of traumatic memories without forgetting how menacing they are. During an individual interview, a key informant (Q8) stressed that the community is required to try to understand these ominous places and in order to build community relationships and other values that are fundamental to their lives, the community has to read and understand the existence of such places (Interview with anonymous key informant, January 2010).

Reflecting on these different images emphasizes learning from the past through symbols of traumatic memories. These symbols become critical, even though they convey a positive meaning. People must increase the peaceful place inside the storm. If there is a small cloud, it

shows that maybe it is going to rain, but people hesitate to confirm this reality, based on uncertainty. Although this hesitation does not mean that it will not rain, it does not confirm that things will change positively or negatively. The examples above were quoted by all groups, in order to express positive and negative messages of genocide memorials.

6.3.4 Symbols of communication

King (1998: 246) states that ―communication did not take place through the symbol itself, but through the confrontation between people and symbol". For King, it is only when people approach the symbol, read the images and understand them fully that it impacts on them. From the views of the respondents (Q9), one can deduce that a symbol that continually drives traumatic information requires careful consideration. The reason is that a symbol can generate and increase the fragility of the community. For these respondents, a symbol stands for a reality, because it draws the attention of the community back into traumatic experiences.

Any symbolic representations that stand for a traumatic event are like tunnelling operations that undermine the community's life. They will hurt people if they are not well managed. During the individual interviews, one respondent said:

> Genocide memorials are symbols of traumatic memories. They are built up to emphasize their positive contribution to the community, but their negatives aspects are not viewed carefully since they are sometimes ignored. They may be weapons that are used either to defend the community values or to make the community feel their blindness or to drive the community into fear that kill certain of its critical behaviours (Interview with anonymous respondent, January 2010).

From the views of the respondents during the focus group (Q9), the researcher stated that the community defines genocide memorials by pointing out their positive and negative impacts on the groups. During the interviews, respondents underlined the duality of genocide memorials as dysfunctional aspects. In particular, those places that include a house of memory with an

exhibition dominated the functional roles. These places are very sensitive and complex. The descriptions that people used to convey their meanings and messages contained illustrations. As earlier stated, and referring to Hallie's hurricane, respondents emphasized the chance the Rwandan community has of enlarging the peaceful place at the eye of the Hurricane. This is not always possible since there is no guarantee of increasing this space.

6.3.5 Emphasis on wrong-doing

Genocide memorials expose the community's evils and people are more interested in places that are critical to their wellbeing. They develop a physical and psychological attachment to the stressing locality in a particular way (Altman and Low 1992: 52). There is a paradox that makes people feel anxious and does not improve their wellbeing. Practically, people seem to give greater importance to such places or events, as they depict an identity bond that has been shared in the past, in spite of the fact that it was costly.

In the same way, the efforts that are made to understand what happened stimulate the attachment to the place that represents an event. There was a particular relationship that was highlighted by different groups to these costly symbols of memory. One respondent pointed out that ―we are aware that genocide memorials are stressful symbols. Once you go there or think about their content, you feel like denying your humanity or passing away and sometimes you take long to recover from those effects; you are unable to avoid them" (Interview with anonymous respondent, January 2010)

In fact, during the visit to the memorials, one could see that people who read the messages accept their devastating effects passively, yet still confirm the relevance of these localities. Places exist that are tied to people's everyday lives. People refer to genocide memorials as physical localities, the presence of which calls for the curiosity of future generations to know why and how those symbols existed in Rwandan social and cultural history. One respondent highlighted that ―one of

the anxious definitions of genocide memorials is the freshness of their images and messages that will last forever and all generations would not understand how those atrocities came to be organized in Rwanda" (Individual interview with anonymous respondent, January 2010).

The visual representation of an event discloses a vivid perpetual curiosity to ask for information and deepen its roots. In summary of the views of the respondents during the focus group discussions (Q8 & 9), the curiosity behind the messages of genocide memorials is that they have two functions: avoiding the same mistake, which is positive; and the prevention of vengeance for these cruelties, which is negative. There is no guarantee that the community is going to use the messages of genocide memorials positively. From the anguish of the traumatic images, people could resort to vengeance or exhibit strong personal views and resist the factors responsible for the existence of the memorials. The symbols simply speak to everyone who passes and sees them or hears about them. To reinforce this view, during the individual interview (Q8 & 9) – one respondent pointed out that ─genocide memorials will be reminding the future generation of the atrocity committed. This can be positively appreciated when it is for the good but the problem would arise if it is for revenge, for negative action" (Interview with anonymous respondent, January 2010).

During the focus groups, the researcher observed that during the discussions the older respondents prefered to illustrate their views through analogies and proverbs. It is in this way a respondent of that category (Q 8 & 9) illustrated the above worries by using a family as an example. If a family built up a symbol of friendship and the parents died without returning the gesture, their children would be judged by the moral value of recognition and so the symbol of conflict would perpetrate the ill-feeling and lead to a negative reaction" (Interview with anonymous respondent, January 2010).

The symbol of evil-doing prolongs certain behaviour that can disrupt community relationships. It is normal to feel concerned about what happened to the family. If people are linked to the shock

and pain of what happened, the first emotions would be a desire for vengeance. The possible dysfunctional consequences of genocide memorials can be understood in this way, as they stir up emotions. The past will always be a burden to future generations that will try to understand what happened. Using a symbol constantly reminds people of the wrong-doing of the past generation (Bloomfield 2005: 9).

Various definitions of genocide memorials involve positive or constructive roles as well as negative or destructive roles. There is no way to define the symbols of traumatic memories without integrating both elements. These symbols traumatize, even though they mean something to the community. There is a moderate way to understand their negative and positive effects, however. The confrontation between these two aspects of these symbols has been a platform of analyzing their influences and their forces to intervene in the social environment for the community.

6.3.6 Portrayal of concerned genocide memorials

From the visit to the genocide memorials, respondents (Q3) stated that representation of genocide memorials fall into three categories. The first category is the genocide memorials that include the burial places of the people who were killed during the genocide. They include gardens and houses of memories, with rooms which contain different exhibitions. Among the houses of memories are Bugesera, Kamonyi and Murambi. The second category is the genocide memorials which are located in places without buildings. This category contains the remains of people who were killed and are now exhibited in a place that is not equipped to protect them. Bisesero belongs to this category. Finally, the third category is the one that includes the gardens, Nyamasheke, Kiziguro, Nyange, Nyanza, Rebero and Shyorongi. Such places surround mass graves and walls of names.

All these places hold different levels of sensitivity according to their physical appearance. Some of the places that include a house of memory, where there is an exhibition of the remains, are more sensitive than those which do not include such an exhibition. Those places hold sensitivities that increase according to their historical background. The places that are currently called killing fields and places of memory are highly sensitive, more so than those which are simply considered as places of memory.

6.3.7 Observation on some specific memorials

a. *Nyamata genocide memorial*

During the focus group discussions, respondents from Nyamata area revealed (Q13) that throughout history the population of Bugesera has not been trusted by politicians – even to the extent that they suffered victimization at the level of the 1994 genocide when any political problem occurred in the country. When the Rwandan Patriotic Force (RPF) engaged in the liberation war in 1990 against the then regime of Habyalimana, the leaders of that time were highly suspicious of the region of Bugesera. In 1992, people were killed, houses burned down and the majority of the people took refuge in different public places, particularly in churches. Hence, from the views of these respondents, their interpretation of the genocide memorials isn't dissociated from the history of the region in terms of political discrimination.

On this point, one respondent during the individual interview indicated that ‟the tragic stories that are inside this genocide memorial can be explained using the historical background of discrimination in the Nyamata area and Bugesera region as a whole (Interview with anonymous respondent, January 2010). The same respondent (Q4) emphasized that ‟this memorial is a symbol of the recognition of their citizenship and the humanity of the people who were killed during the genocide because they had been considered as foreigners in their own land". They

added that it not only holds tragic memories but also the community reads something different into these traumatic places. They are the symbols of the presence of state power among the community; the state recognizes their humanity.

b. *Kamonyi genocide memorial*

A focus group that visited Kamonyi were told that the symbol of genocide memorial is a place of memory and had been chosen as a strategic place in the Kamonyi District because of its accessibility. A key informant (Q4) indicated that, despite the fact that it is a place chosen by the authorities as a district genocide memorial location, it does not have any particular history relating to the genocide (interview with anonymous respondent, Kamonyi: January, 2010). The bodies buried at the Kamonyi genocide memorial were from different locations and were buried together with very few local victims. This genocide memorial site includes a document house, in which various materials that were used in the genocide and other documents are gathered for better research facilitation.

The Kamonyi focus group regarded the atmosphere in the Kamonyi District as different from the other sites, because it is a place of memory and not a killing field. Even if it represents an important aspect of honouring the people who were massacred during the genocide, their sensitivity was limited to telling stories that are often related during the week of mourning and during the burial time for the people who were killed during the genocide, if their bodies are discovered. The District of Kamonyi has other genocide memorials that are both killing fields and places of memory. The respondents stressed that there are specific emotions that exist within killing fields, but which cannot be transferred to other places of memory.

From the explanations of the guides at the genocide memorial and from their own experience, the respondents (Q2) stated that a genocide memorial is a place where people can go to perform

certain rituals in relation to death and to exchange experiences. They emphasized public power in order to define the importance of this place.

c. *Murambi genocide memorial*

The focus group that visited Murambi genocide memorial emphasised particular struggles when defining that symbol of memory. This influenced the way they read the message the traumatic memories communicate. The definition of this focus group (Q2) highlighted the misuse of public power in killing the population, instead of protecting the community. Their definitions also covered protection of the skeletons and the memory. As the house of memory overwhelms other buildings around the memorial site, respondents stated that ―the genocide memorial is uncovering the affirmation of the state to improve those places and make them special ones". The community is confused by these dramatic realizations, because the living conditions of the community have not improved.

From the same focus group (Q2), memorials are seen as signs of malediction for the local citizens. The Murambi area has been plagued by poverty as a result of infertile soils. The complex message the population can read in the memorial site is the complicity of some of their neighbours in killing their relatives and friends and a message of poverty that harms social relationships. Respondents pointed to poverty, believing it creates uncertain living conditions. They added that people are mindless, as they support any ideas without considering the consequences that may follow. The definition of the genocide memorials includes the fact that extreme poverty causes a population to become confused and mindless.

d. *Bisesero genocide memorial*

The focus group that visited Bisesero genocide memorial knew that there were problems at this place concerning the incomplete house of the genocide memorial. According to the population of

Bisesero, these genocide memorials are symbols of conflict between the community and the government, because the erection of these buildings is not complete. While respondents (Q5) stated that in Bugesera the power of the state apologising and marking its presence was seen, the Bisesero genocide memorial shows weakness of the state, which should mark its concern by completing the construction of this memorial.

The respondents (Q4) said that they were not comfortable with the neglect that is expressed toward this memorial site, since it reveals their powerless living conditions. It remains a reminder of their historical background and their struggles during the genocide period. The group stressed the fact that this place reminds them of their critical living conditions, because the site is still under construction. The community definition of what the message genocide memorials is, has aggravated the problematic situation. The physical appearance of the Bisesero memorial has affected their trust in the public decision of the government to construct these memorials.

The difficulty in accomplishing its building and making it into a modern genocide memorial, where there is documentation and conservation of testimonies, was viewed as community shame. Yet the population of Bisesero also read in that place of traumatic memories the solidarity of the victims and the courage to defend their humanity. This was emphasized during the group discussion of Bisesero respondents (Q13) which mentioned that when they see the genocide memorials, they read from them the failure of the government to protect its own citizens –some members of the government passively watching their extermination, another part being involved in the extermination of a section of the population.

e. Nyamasheke genocide memorial

A focus group visited Nyamasheke genocide memorial. In the respondents' views (Q7), Cyangugu reflects complex stories because of what people read in that genocide memorial. This place holds an unavoidable dual message due to the traumatic situation of the genocide and the

traumatic situation of refugees. This non-functional role of the genocide memorial was discussed in more detail by the focus group (Q7). They went on to say that not only are mass graves reminders of their struggles to protect their relatives or friends, but they also depict the struggles of their relatives and friends who fled to the DRC and never returned.

f. Nyanza memorial

Respondents (Q7) stated that ―it is a shame to read the messages genocide memorials are communicating. It is not quite understandable that both national and international community's failed to stop the Rwandan genocide". There is a kind of fear that grips one when one reads such messages. This is tantamount to saying that the population is valueless and that only the leaders have value. At present, this creates a sentiment of frustration in the messages genocide memorials communicate.

g. Shyorongi genocide memorial

The focus group that visited Shyorongi genocide memorial compared their genocide memorial with the biggest memorial, which is located in Kigali. The focus group (Q4) concluded that they would like their local genocide memorial to be improved. They added that their wish is to equip it with a house of memory and a garden, like the one in Kigali. The physical appearance of this place of memory has drawn the respondents' attention; they said that if it represents an important aspect of honouring the people who were massacred there, it must be modernized, to resemble the Kigali Memorial Centre of Genocide.

6.3.8 Complexity of genocide memorial definitions

Based on the responses of the respondents (Q 7,9 & 11, the definitions of genocide memorials are based on three elements: (1) the history of the place itself increases its sensitivity; (2) the physical appearance of the genocide memorial, including or not the house of memory, in which remains are exhibited; and (3) the living conditions of the community. As seen in the previous

210

sections, before the genocide some memorials, such as Nyamata and Bisesero, had a particular history that affected the population's everyday life. This history became strengthened by the advent of the genocide. The physical appearance of these symbols raised different emotions. What is true is that the places which are killing fields include a house of memory that presents fresh images.

Additionally, genocide memorials are defined as part of community life. Some respondents (Q9) underlined their attachment to the symbols, while others simply recognized their presence, yet their attachment was limited to the official ceremonies that are organized there. Various definitions by respondents (Q7) revealed that these places sometimes communicate controversial messages: (i) the community has different perspectives when reading the messages genocide memorials convey; (ii) symbols are imperfect things that have a specific definition. This shows that once the community is given a chance by the local authorities to be involved in defining the genocide memorials, people will manage to propose reliable meanings to the public, based on their experience with these memorials and the events that led to their construction.

In addition to the views of the respondents, King (1998: 3) points out that ―all the virtue and energy of its significance comes from the heart and mind of him who uses or accepts it". Although the architecture of genocide memorials uses specific representations, different people read dissimilar messages in it. The story of what happened is depicted there, but the definition of that reality is multidimensional. Various factors are behind the community definition of the symbol of traumatic memories. Among these reasons can be included the survivors' struggles, the community's reorganization, the social communication and the power to converse about the symbols in everyday discussions for reinforcing definitions.

This is supported by King's (1998: 10) views that ―the communication of ideas plays an important part in producing and understanding symbols, but other social processes are crucial

influences in shaping symbolic activity and imagery, and in determining their affects on people". The definitions that are proposed for the symbols of the genocide memorials integrate King's perspective. There are contradictions and complementarities among the community definitions of genocide memorials. Communities' definitions were manipulated by various factors, such as social, political, economic and religious factors.

Although they are symbols of mourning and traumatic deaths, ordinary people extend their symbolism and give them sense. During the individual interviews, one respondent (Q9) said:

> We do need those symbols as well as the tombs as they make material our beloved; however, sometimes the struggles of daily life do not allow us to cope with those memorials because we are unable to maintain them properly. This shows lack of ownership, which makes the community feel depressed by that incapacity, they are purely responding to the public aspiration (Interview with anonymous respondent, January 2010)

The above ideas are supported by Hayden (1999: 144), as he cautions that

> An expensive building or sculpture monument may have little ability to trigger place memory, if it lacks much connection to the context of everyday life during the war or in the present. Humble, battered buildings and natural landscapes often evoke more direct responses than elaborate structures because they are closer to the experiences of most people.

The adaptation of the symbols of memory to the lifestyle of the common people enables the community to view them simply. These genocide memorials transmit a certain message and the people read some meaning from these symbols. This is crucial, since the issue can still be discussed in detail through the following sections, by pointing out additional definitions that are attributed to these symbols.

6.3.9 Popular definitions of genocide memorials

The descriptions of the genocide memorials' symbols hold diversities that generate mixed definitions. They stand as reminders of the past and are depressing to the present generation as they hold a tragic message for future generations. From the observation of the researcher, the daily life of the community in affected areas is all about remembering in order to make the present meaningful. Genocide memorials' messages reveal: (1) the latent conflicts in social communication; (2) the pain of enduring and accepting differences; and (3) they challenge the way forward among the community.

Therefore, in making the bridge between the past; where the social relations were disapproved of, and the present, where there is a new definition of social environment in order to prepare for the future, the community did not clearly sense the contribution of the symbols to the improvement of social relations. Their social relations, their necessity are underlined by the place of mass graves. The interest of the local community in giving meaning to the genocide symbols lies in the fact that they do affect people's environments (Wilkinson 2005:30).

Genocide memorial symbols have a public definition that influences the population's attitudes. To some extent, a conventional explanation that is given to the symbols is known among the community members, who forged their own definitions according to their understanding. Even though leaders characterized the public symbols, the public consideration does not always meet the understandings of the ordinary people. Indeed, this is true of the way respondents (Q10) view symbols of traumatic memories as affecting their relationships positively and negatively. This excludes the assertion that the public intention in designing them was to emphasize the cost of their negative effects.

Respondents (Q1 & 2) felt that ―Each year during the genocide commemoration, from these commemorations, the community improves the definition of genocide memorials. The

respondents' definitions during the focus group discussions and individual interviews differ from public definitions. The exploration of community definitions of genocide memorials is in contradiction to the public one which proposed a meaning of the symbols. Their projected roles cannot influence community relationships if they do not reflect the population's understanding. People's daily relationships can improve, thanks to the domestic definitions that take root in the social environment of their community. The people's definitions clarify how they cope with the symbols they have defined, which normally affect their social context.

For both the focus groups and the individual interviews (Q1 & 2), defining something means being aware of its existence, its necessity and its objectives. Memorial definitions clarify their different uses. It is an explanation of what people see, hear, touch and feel. The way the community defines things reflects the way they consider or apply them. To be able to give an exhaustive definition requires tracing, or knowing the background that includes the evolution of the phenomenon.

The reality can be discovered when people master the context that led to the creation of the thing being defined. People must make sure they avail themselves of different elements of reference. When people are forced to memorize the proposed meanings, they cannot understand it fully, which limits its comprehension. Ashe (1999: 89) believes that ‒our ways of thinking and acting are produced by a network of social forces within which we are immersed". In Ashe's view, the human capacity to define and express how they feel is often determined by the environment and the personal decision. Undeniably, the reaction of human beings is driven by the political and social environment and by personal interest, as expressed by one respondent (Interview with anonymous key informant, January 2010).

 When dealing with symbols that are open, public definitions are not enough to uncover all the applications of the symbols. The population that reads, hears and feels the message of those symbols can formulate meaningful definitions. In order to be able to discover the complete

definition of genocide memorials and their influence on the community, there is a necessity to compare the definitions given by the common people with the proposed public definitions, in order to discover and weigh all the meanings of the symbols and finally select the most relevant.

6.3.9.1 Emphasis on positive effects: genocide memorials are symbols of release

There is a need to clarify the concept of ‗positive definition‗, as used by respondents (Q1 & 2). Indeed, it means that the definition holds a constructive message. In this case, it relates to the definition of the respondents. The latter underlines the helpful message people can read in genocide memorials, that is the outcome of the evils of conflict. In recalling good memories, doing good and shaping the symbols of the genocide memorials, people feel that there is nothing abnormal in these symbols. Members of groups have enumerated various examples in order to illuminate this stand. Some of these illustrations are symbols of friendship, symbols of power and symbols of development.

These symbols of greatness add value to the social context in which they are integrated. The population would be proud of such achievements in their country, region or localities. In the Rwandan culture there is a symbol of power drawn from a heroic Rwandan king, Ruganzu Ndori. He ruled Rwanda from 1510 to 1543, conquered much territory through warfare and so increased the size of the country (Smith 1975: 76). It seems necessary to erect and decorate the symbol of his power so that when people visit his memorial place they can always remember Ruganzu‗s power. It is an honour to have a place like this because it expresses the outstanding patriotism of Rwandans.

By contrast, when people visit a memorial that illustrates shame, division and conflict among the community, they don‗t see any positive message that these symbols communicate. Respondents (Q4 & 5) pointed out that ―genocide memorials have roots from a situation that complexes its positive contributions. As a symbol of greater things, let the people feel the existence of that greatness and accordingly, the symbol of divisions will let the people feel those divisions.

215

However, this does not exclude a positive message that can emerge from it because this will probably reduce its shame".

The respondents (Q9) dwelt on the positive aspects of the symbols as they pointed out mass graves. They said that ―the mass graves inside the place of memory for the people who died during the genocide are an honour to the *living family* and to the *living dead*. They express the public recognition of their humanity". Tombs pass on social and cultural significance; thus, not having them is like not recognizing the existence of the departed. In such a situation, people may think there is no continuity of the family. Similarly, places that manifest the continuity and the honour of the departed are necessary to the wellbeing of the community.

The respondents (Q11) believed that ―there is life that rises from death through the observance of the rituals, even if death disrupts community life". A symbol is a social and political instrument that values what happened. People differ when they give importance to an event since they emphasize different episodes. A symbol that provokes the community to express their nightmares helps them to recover from their struggles and to free themselves from their internal anguishes.

Genocide memorials, especially those that contain a house of memory, disclose emotions. This drives people toward the openness of saying sorry, which makes them sympathize with those who were targeted by the genocide. Even if this attitude cannot be perpetuated as a habitual case, it can in most cases challenge human behaviour. The respondents (Q10) accentuated the fact that the walls of names that are erected in genocide memorials keep the *living dead* alive, as people continually read their names and visit the tombs. Ngulinzira (2001**:**89) emphasizes the releasing aspect of these places. He confirms that these places are typical symbols of mourning that give life to the *living family* and please the *living dead.*

Various focus groups (Q 7 & 11) indicated that ̶genocide memorials are keeping alive the relationship between the *living community* and the *living dead*. They are symbols that materialize the continual good relationship between the *living family* and the *living dead* and this important positive effect releases the community". Spijker (1990: 18) stresses that the necessity of providing a cultural space that is symbolic to represent the departed is, in reality, a release to the *living family*.

Even if the traumatic images that are expressed within genocide memorials undermine their releasing aspects, the respondents (Q5) stated that they read comforting messages through the traumatic images. No doubt that this is a way of letting people read what is in their hearts in order to help them feel recovery. Sharing that nightmare is a way of healing the wounds of the community and diminishing their anguish. The symbols of traumatic memories drag people into discussion, provided that they can accept it. Therefore, discussion can help them discover the truth and so find a way out of trauma.

The anxiety that can be included in the message of genocide memorials is the communication that can produce constructive results. In facing the traumatic past, people can discover the way to avoid past mistakes. This is because if people fear the consequences, they must seek ways to expose these traumatic memories. Some respondents (Q13) pointed out that sometimes mistakes are good teachers and people learn from them in different ways.

The respondents (Q13) expressed that keeping the eyes of the community on the extreme period of discrimination in Rwanda keeps the suffering of that period alive. If an event occurred, its repetition may be expected if the community are not alerted to avoid its re-occurrence (Osrin 2001:13). It is for this reason that the respondents felt that the traumatic images that are developed in genocide memorials deeply question people's behaviour. They may help people to be careful when taking decisions; such images alert the community and warn the people that

there is still hope that the community can learn how to be critical towards their commitments from those symbols.

The memorials stress the necessity of being responsible. Sometimes, liability makes people blind, because the population's involvement in the killing was defined as a community matter which in the end caused the punishment of individuals. Indeed, memory is a reality and what should be represented by the symbol that makes material what happened, somehow requires the exposure of some relevant images that the respondents pointed out. Although there is a public power behind the choice of what should be represented within symbols, everything should be creating the truth about the image of the event. This is a positive consideration that releases the community even if it is from troublesome places.

From the view of a key informant (Q2), genocide memorials hold cultural functions that make them socially significant in the community. The community interprets those places as sacred since they are places where people perform their rituals of *guterekera* (individual interview with anonymous respondent, January 2010). This rite is ingrained in Rwandan beliefs as a way of communicating with the *living dead*. There is a feeling of community continuity in performing such a traditional ritual. Holding this cultural significance, they give to the community an opportunity to maintain their identity.

In Rwandan culture, a place where people perform the ritual of *guterekera* is respected and the place is believed to communicate life. According to Ngulinzira (2001: 94), genocide memorials play the role of being a cultural place. People meet, perform rituals and communicate with the *living dead*. The rite of g*uterekera* keeps the relationship between the *living family* and the *living dead* healthy and protects the community from traumas. People are thus able to live with their memory peacefully. There is a psychological bond with the place of the genocide memorial.

Figure 5: Representation of non-violent messages of genocide memorials

Representation
of the past

Illustration of
a happening

Demystification
of story

Non-
violent

Creating
curiosity

Community
continuity

Expressing
Behaviours

Honour to
family

Warning
tools

Promoting
culture

The presence
of the afterlife
believed
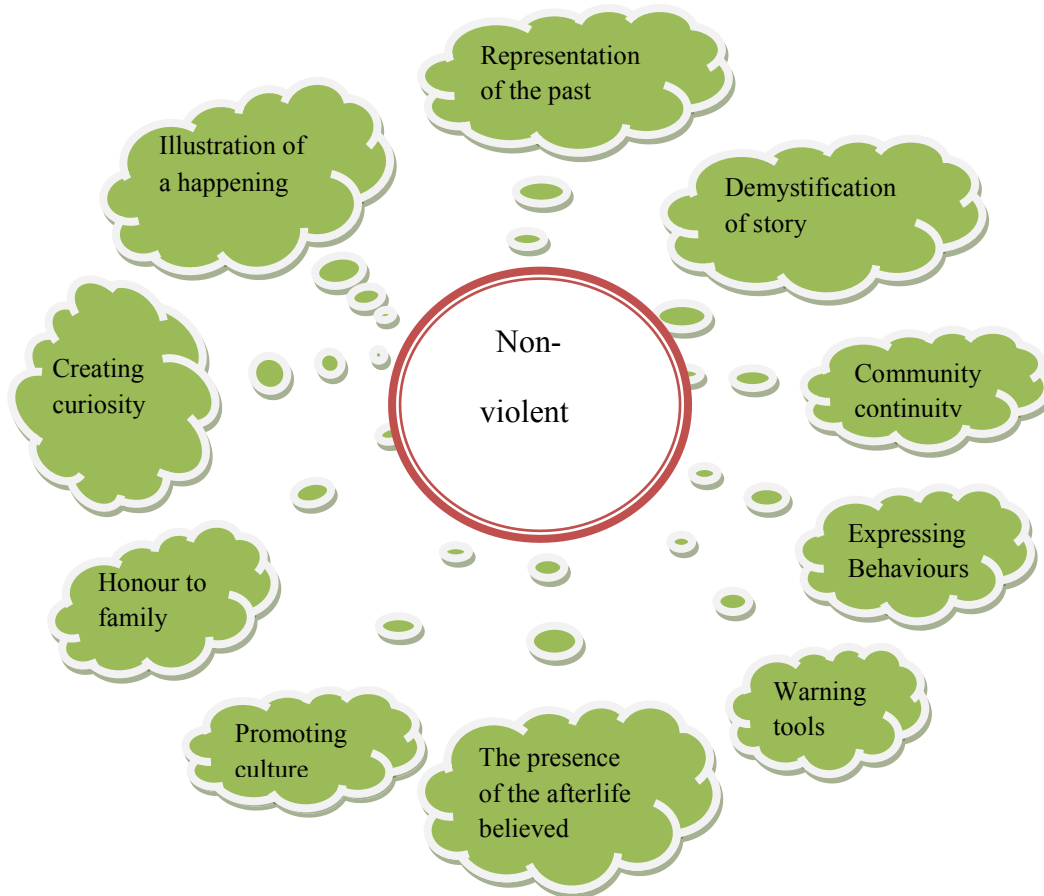
Sources: Fieldwork, November 2009 to April 2010

6.3.9.2 Emphasis on negative effects: genocide memorials as distrustful symbols

The definitions of genocide memorials also emphasized negative aspects. This concern requires a careful consideration of the messages that are conveyed by symbols of traumatic memories. The respondents (Q9) specified that the messages genocide memorials transmit make people worry about their effects on the community. They pointed out that writing a hurtful story on a rock is not different from keeping the nightmare of the past alive. This would hold people back and destroy their present, which can affect their future. This illustration introduced definitions that reveal the destructive messages the places communicate.

The genocide memorials carry constructive messages to the community. The term ‚unconstructive' raised discussion in focus groups because there was no consensus of its use. The respondents (Q9) who supported this position during the focus group discussions concluded that ―not forgetting a wrongdoing and letting all the future generations have the legacy that can be explained as critical to the wellbeing of the community. Although those symbols are considered as an educational tool, this is not sufficient to eliminate their harmfulness".

The discussion regarding this definition was not the presence of the genocide memorials as symbols, but rather the traumatic details that contain critical images. Despite the fact that these signs represent teaching materials, this is not always the case. The traumatic atmosphere of a material may limit the attentiveness of learners. Teaching using traumatic stories and images tends also to develop a silent mechanism of revenge. The respondents therefore warned about the danger of using traumatizing tools in teaching.

People's expectations and good definitions cannot limit the influence of teaching materials. This is an uncontrollable phenomenon that can generate negative impacts on its users. The respondents (Q10) stressed that genocide memorials' images have destructive characters and exposing them to people affects community relationships. There is a covered aspect of those tools that is not emphasized, when people expect them to be teaching materials and innocent tools that are going to challenge the behaviour of the community.

To support their position, the respondents (Q5) revealed that they were indeed representing a historical event that sounds different according the background of the community members. It is reasonably relevant to feel pain when the community thinks of or sees those places as symbols of traumatic death. Walking inside those symbols seems like walking in hell and this feeling in the genocide memorials will not change. Yehuda (1997:2) cautions that the attempt to understand memorials is likely to delve deeper into the sorrow of the genocide. Emphasizing the wrongdoing does not help to build up good relations, but maintains people in perpetual fear,

because they become prisoners of the past, which prompts them to blame each other. They are addressing questionable messages to the community.

To illustrate the perpetual disruptive message of a symbol of traumatic memory, some respondents (Q13) pointed out *urutare rwa Kamegeli* or ―Kamegeli's rock" (see Figure 6) Vigilance in building symbols of wrongdoing is required, as they are going to be a heritage that upholds distress. The story depicts a King and a fellow called Kamegeli. One day, a man annoyed the King by acting wrongly. The King decided to make an example of him. Asking for advice on what kind of reprimand to give to this undisciplined fellow, Kamegeli proposed lighting a rock and laying the disruptive person on it (Smith 1975: 44).

The King was very disappointed because the proposal was too cruel. He decided to turn back to Kamegeli and ordered him taken the burning rock and so he died. Now everybody who passes that rock needs to know and comment on it. As this symbol is alongside the main road, everybody who passes there wants to know and hear about the story of that rock, which recalls the anger of Kamegeli's time.

Kamegeli's rock belongs to ancient Rwanda and it continues to be a legacy that can stimulate animated discussion. For the respondents (Q9), this example creates a problem for those who see the genocide memorials and feel that their own innocence may be accepted with difficulty. People feel ashamed when they hear or see the symbols of wrong-doing. The respondents strongly stated that, neutrality is impossible in any way when people live near these representations.

Figure 6: Urutare rwa Kamegeli

Source: Fieldwork 2010

The socio-cultural context in which genocide memorials are embedded communicates a message to the community. This comprehension is not at all easy to integrate with the positive aspect they are expected to play. Discussing the content of genocide memorials and their roles among the ordinary people causes worry, as the community developed both positive and negative understanding towards them.

6.3.9.3 Places of heavy burden

Genocide memorial places are the mirror of the community, where they can evaluate their relationships and their failures. The cruelty that is represented in the house of memory challenges Rwandans and demonstrates how their social relations were so superficial, given the level of hate that culminated in genocide. The principles, values, customs and norms that are community guidelines are not sensed in the symbols of traumatic memories. One feels confused by the kind of social relationships that the Rwandan population developed throughout history. Suffering is

deeply ingrained, to the extent that the intention of existing becomes vague in the houses of memory.

Houses of memory are places that challenge social relations among the Rwandan population. There is a range of questions that has triggered vehement discussion of past social relationships among the community. Few of the community members could say ‗no' to evil. In some areas the killers were army forces, but in most cases, they were neighbours. It is wondered what kind of neighbourhood they had developed. Nobody can provide a convincing argument and today people are wondering in which context it can be said that there is hope of improving social relationships.

Genocide memorials will remain a heavy burden for years to come and will continue to shock many Rwandans from generation to generation. Today, the community is struggling to convey its experiences clearly and vividly. Walking inside the memory house, people read similar experiences that increase their mental turmoil and put hope for the future in jeopardy. The incomprehension of their own identity by Rwandans does not help to define the present and the future clearly.

Nefsky (1998: x) stated that there is a gulf that cannot completely bridge the past and the present. One young female respondent (Q7, 8 & 9) said that every time she goes to visit a genocide memorial, she becomes curious to know which social group her fellow colleagues and friends belong to. She starts searching and analyzing some behavioural patterns and classifies people accordingly. She stated that the images inside the house of memory are very confusing for her. When she hears some tragic stories that are shameful, she links them to the social class she does not belong to (Individual interview with anonymous respondent, January 2010).

The stories and images that are inside the houses of memory represent the work of agitation. Some stereotypes that are part of Rwandan history are maintained in the houses of memory. Respondents maintained that labels are likely to confirm that social groups behave differently. This point of view is one of the dysfunctional roles of genocide memorials.

6.3.9.4 Places of shame

The opinion of some respondents (Q2) was that ―A genocide memorial is a symbol of shame. Walking around these symbols is like poisoning the mind with bad thoughts. It is humiliating to sense and hear different stories concerning the animosity that is represented in the houses of memory. What is there reflects a denial of humanity on the part of a section of the population towards their fellow citizens. Everyone who visits the place feels ashamed of history as it is depicted in genocide memorials. Hayden (1999: 142) feels that ―space is permeated with social relations; it is not only supported by social relations but it is also producing and produced by social relations". People interpret their identity using what is contained in these places. The awful content of the place of memory destroys the peaceful atmosphere of the community.

Memory places are areas that keep the population in repetitive mourning. This generates fear, as was pointed out by some respondents. Lefebvre explains this in these words: ―mourning also involves memories of hate or feared places such as the front line or the concentration camps" (1991:286). This describes the dishonour and uncertain environment that people read into genocide memorials, as these places are stressful for the community.

6.3.10 Double appearance of genocide memorials

During the focus group discussions, respondents pointed out the contradictory constructive and deconstructive messages people read from the genocide memorials. This position has captured the attention of personal interviewees and that of the group discussion, as more realistic. The emphasis that is put on one aspect of the symbols of traumatic memories has been attributed to

fanatics. One can blindly define the genocide memorials if one considers a single aspect of their message as being releasing or disrupting. The acceptance of their positive impact within the community does not wipe away their negative effects among the people. In contrast, it integrates both sensitivities.

A considerable percentage of respondents (76%), have provided definitions of genocide memorials by amalgamating positive and negative messages of these localities. In specifying their points of view, they felt that genocide memorials do not transmit exclusively positive or negative messages. Respondents (Q1, 2 & 9) pointed out that if we define those symbols looking at one aspect, we risk missing the significant aspect of those places within the community. They hold both aspects and when you visit them, you feel the presence of those dualities, which creates a dilemma.

Respondents went on to accentuate (Q1, 2 & 9) that _accountability' and _responsibility' need emphasis since both of them are considered positively and negatively. Responsibility will therefore mean accepting, facing and dealing with what happened. After acceptance people have to read the shame that is in the event and feel humiliated and mortified. The legacy of the event that is symbolized in those memorials includes dishonour; the population cannot ignore this disgrace which should also be represented in the symbols of traumatic memories.

The problem arises when people are not reading the message of the genocide memorials objectively. In confusing shame with honour, the population is misreading them. This cannot really help social communication to take place because people read the symbols in a fanatical way. This misunderstanding will not help people to be accountable for this shame. There is a kind of frustration that needs to be addressed through those symbols. The truth is that there is no way personal and social conscientiousness can escape that embarrassment. Indeed, the

community reads the message of the symbols that are the product of socio-political conflicts that affected the population.

Undeniably, the message of release should not be ignored but recognized. Even if it is very hard to read a releasing message through the traumatic images, the recognition of the victims of the genocide by the dressing of a symbol that helps the community to remember and discuss what happened is a part of that which impacts positively on Rwandan daily life. This may help the community to find the causes of their struggles that damage their social relations. They are somehow an open window that let people sense the fragility of their shared history and living conditions.

Genocide memorials not only propose a space to discuss their living conditions to the community, but also to share the afterlife that is currently accentuated in mass graves. For some respondents, this probably helps community members to redefine their identity. In the words of Yehuda (1997: 2), genocide memorials present a duality, since:

> It is reasonably relevant to feel pain and comfort at the same time. Pain because the symbols of tomb that represent memorials are signs of a friend or a relative who are no more. Confronting the memorials also include integrating that misery. The attempt to understand memorials is likely to go deeper into the sorrow of genocide. For that, memorials of genocide are that kind of symbol. Memorials are having something that hold each one back and you can't afford to ignore it publicly.

Deliberately, Yehuda stressed the duality of memorials. Having them integrates the misery of what caused the symbol to exist. However, the entire message memorials communicate cannot be assumed to only cause desolation. Looking into genocide memorials is a source of pain, but there is a positive aspect that is embedded in these symbols that brings consolation.

Genocide memorials contain uncomfortable messages which are able to disrupt those who read them, but which also consoles them. In congruence with some re spondents (Q7 & 9), the message of those symbols needs to be view ed c arefully, be cause their unde rstanding shoul d integrate both aspects. There is no wa y to positively bi as their stressful messages. For thi s reason, there is no ne ed to cover the positive messages they c onvey t o the community. The representation below (Figure 7) e xpresses different terms that unde rline the duality of the symbols of traumatic memories.

Figure 7: Representation of blaming and violent messages
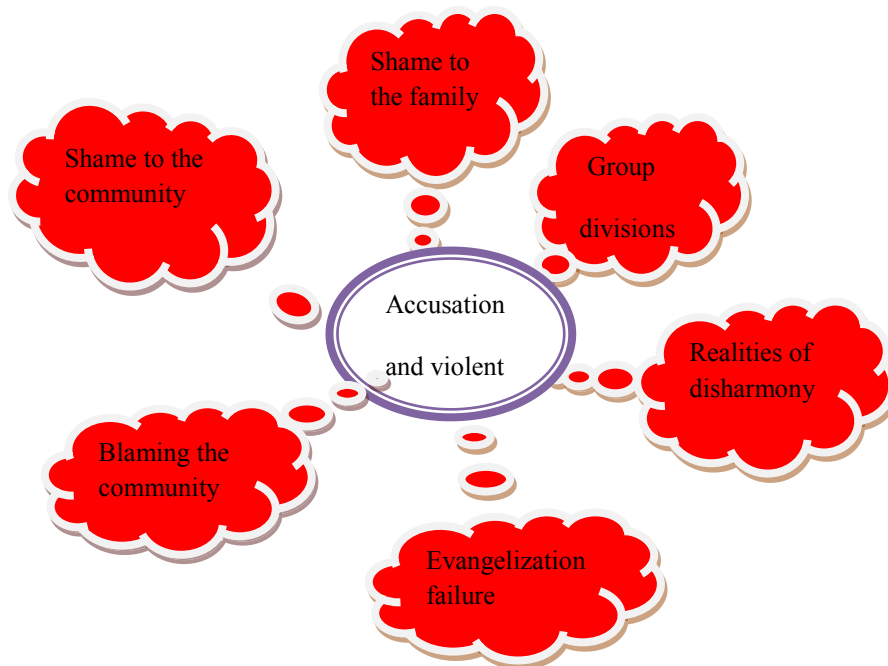
Source: Field work November 2009 to April 2011

Inside genocide memorials, some stories illustrate the failure to save or to do somethi ng that could have redeemed the life of the targeted people during the genocide period. One of the key informants indicated that this happened because of the political and social situation of that ti me which did not a llow the population to do something (interview with anonymous key informant,

January 2010). However, there were a few people who were able to do great things and save several lives. Their stories within the memorials give hope to the community. Some were brave enough to combat violence without considering what would happen to them if they were discovered. Essentially, it is possible to always find a way to say ―no‖ to violence, even if there are dire consequences for the courageous people involved.

Those outstanding stories question the rest of the community who justify their not reacting because of the situation. There is a continuous culpability that distresses the population (Ngulinzira 2001: 100-103). One respondent revealed (Q13): ―I read in genocide memorials a message of frustration. I was ineffective to take decision to welcome for protection the people who were in danger. Today, when I hear the stories and see the image of those who were committed to save people without any fear or risk for their lives, I feel to blame‖ (Interview with anonymous key informant, January 2010). This challenges the people who were continually explaining the reasons why they did not attempt to protect their neighbours.

The stories heard, dominated community definitions. People went beyond what they read or saw in the local genocide memorial they visited. The majority of the respondents were comparing the local genocide memorials to the Kigali Memorial Centre of Genocide that they had previously visited. Although genocide memorials are stressful symbols, they attract the attention of many people, even tourists from foreign countries. Once people visit them, they feel the curiosity to visit other genocide memorials. Nevertheless, a large number of respondents swore that this interest was inculcated with fear. These places enclose the community‘s emotions through their respective corners. Although these passions are costly and embarrassing, the people feel they are obliged to visit the genocide memorials.

While the intimidating messages of these symbols of traumatic memory dominate their positive contribution, they are unlocking impressive behaviour among the community that would not be

possible without them. Based on the respondents' opinions (Q4, 9 & 10), traumatic messages functionally str ess the community, but this anxiety mak es people thi nk de eply a bout the community's responsibility. The dialogue between the community and the symbols of traumatic memory will remain in the history of R wanda for a long time after the genocide. Their image will remain the same in challenging people's social relationships. The different sectors of genocide memorials give a picture of continuous messages. These messages keep the nightmare of the genocide period alive in the minds of the people who visit those places. This message can promote ne gative a nd p ositive effects among th e membe rs of the community. See figure 8 below.

Figure 8: Representation of the double faces of genocide memorials
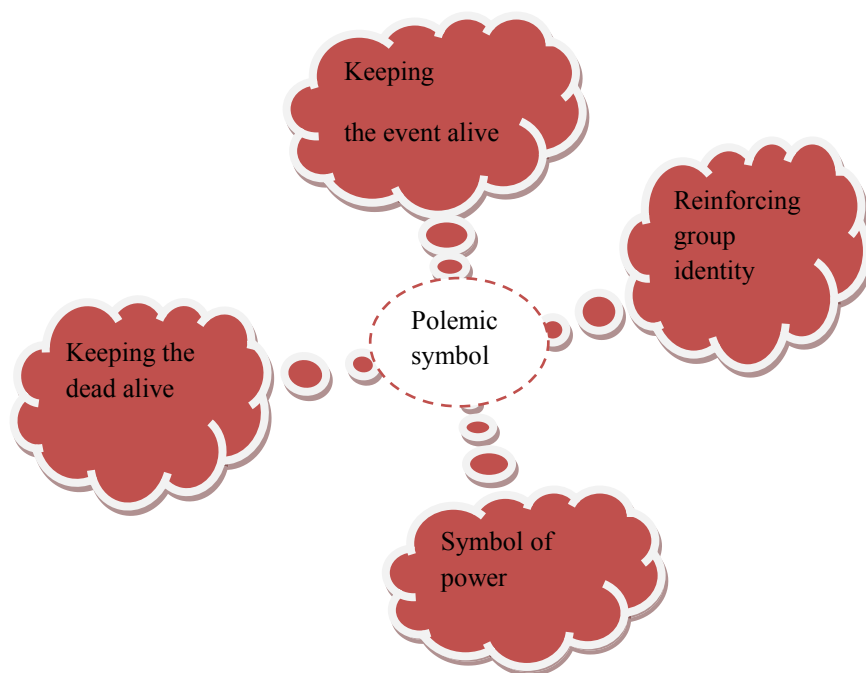
Sources: Fieldwork November 2009 to April 2010

6.3.11 Problematic aspects of the definitions of genocide memorials

Although people have tried to define what the representation of the symbols of traumatic memories can be, their messages remain polemic in a sense but also complementary.

Positive poles	*Negative poles*	*Confrontations of both poles*
Representation of past history	Maintaining group divisions	Reading past history is necessary because it is part of life, but there is a danger of emphasizing the conflicting elements of history; it is likely to maintain community divisions. If so, emphasizing division undermines the improvement of social relationships.
Community continuity	Shame to the community	Through those symbols, both aspects are represented. The tombs that are one compound emphasize community continuity, because of the relationship between the *living dead* and the *living family*. There is also shame, however, when the community thinks about what caused those mass graves to exist in the first place.
Expressing a variety of behaviour	Social disharmony	The behaviour that is expressed via the stories of genocide memorials reveal the social disharmony that can be challenged and improved. This means that hope can arise from these symbols, but their improvement is not guaranteed.
Honour to the family	Shame to the family	At the same time, genocide memorials are symbols of honour and shame to the Rwandan family. The symbols do not exclusively address positive or negative messages. They currently transmit a double message and the negative pole continues to weaken the social environment.

Promoting culture	Blaming the community culture	Some rituals that are observed within the symbols do not express culture promotion. Even if this has been mentioned by respondents, it means something other than promoting culture. The contrast of blaming culture can be understood as the symbols that question the values and norms of Rwandan culture; this underlines mutual respect and the importance of life that has not been respected.
Presence of the afterlife believed	Evangelization failure	Mass graves in genocide memorials materialize the communication with the *living dead* that may take place. Such conviction underlines the continuity of the social relations of the *living dead* and the *living family*. The people who read evangelization failure in genocide memorials refer to the high number of Rwandan Christians who did not respect the values and principles of mutual respect and love. The genocide memorials that are located especially inside former churches uncover this weakness.
Warning tools	Socialized hatred	The warning aspect of the symbols that was pointed out by different groups represents an interpretation more than a definition. When making sense of the presence of genocide memorials, this aspect becomes positively highlighted. If this perspective is not gained, the contrast will reinforce hatred, since these places recall the nightmare and the genocide.
Creating curiosity	Internalizing hatred	In a sense, the illustration of the happening pushes the population into deep comprehension of their history. Some questions are raised by the symbols. This inquisitiveness can be useful or useless, following the internalized hatred.

The community makes some effort to read these symbols and discover their messages.

This endeavour does not totally assure the population that the places of memory are helpful for improving social relations. The respondents were very emotional when they expressed their satisfaction with the presence of the symbolic representations. On the contrary, the effects of these symbols undercut their approval, since there is much to worry about.

The respondents appreciated the symbols because they demonstrate human values, but the meaning of the content goes beyond their understanding. There is a way of remembering, without integrating, a very high sensitivity in the content of genocide memorials. In the same context, the respondents (Q11) admitted the existence of a polemic message inside genocide memorials, but that there is a problem identifying the proper message the symbols transmit.

6.4 Conclusion

The messages that are perceived from genocide memorials as physical and social localities are multidimensional. These memorials are physical locations or places that are situated geographically. They have a history that links the place to the population and the relation of place-population has been emphasized. Some of these physical locations are killing fields and memory places and others are only memory places. Killing fields are more sensitive than places of memory. Before and during the genocide, the history of these places empowers their sensitivity. Hayden (1999: 144) argues that ‒people perceive places with all five senses; the encoding of long-term memory connected to places is particularly strong".

Such places remain very meaningful to the community, as they represent symbols that honour and recognize the people who were killed during the genocide. As these places include mass graves, they are important for the *living family* to be in touch with the *living dead.* In view of this, they are physical localities that help people to express their beliefs. They are feared

locations because they remind the community of the genocide nightmare. This feeling is more intensely observed during the week of mourning, a period in which many people relive the hardship they went through. However, they become so re-traumatized that healing is required.

These places keep alive the event and the atmosphere that disrupts the people. They demoralize community life conditions. The dilemma is strongly sensed in the community definitions, that there is a need to have them as a part of human life due to remembering their positive and their disruptive messages. Those different perspectives have animated the population's understanding of the established genocide memorials.

Their social, cultural, political and religious values fall between their positive and negative consequences among the community. The emphasis that is put on their positive effects highlights that they are releasing symbols that open the population's minds to their past history, as well as to the stories that create a curiosity to learn more about their background. Some of the obvious functions that are emphasized in the creation of these symbols of memory were pointed out by respondents. Genocide memorials are warning and teaching tools. In this way, genocide memorials deliberately uncover some mistakes of the past. They can also educate the population positively, but this is not always the case, since there is a factor that limits the process of settling social relationships.

Symbols are imperfect things that have a specific definition. The community is believed to have the capacity to convey particular reliable meanings. The latent conflicts that exist between social communication, and the pain of enduring and accepting differences facilitate the reading of the messages of genocide memorials that can challenge the way forward for the community (Intikal 1994: 69).

Genocide memorials have both predictable and unpredictable influences on the community. This is because they are historic symbols; they stand for the past, the present and the future. People are attached to these places because they are connected to the history of their land, despite the fact that they are shocking public places. Through the respondents' definition of the messages they read in genocide memorials, negative effects dominated positive ones. The symbols of traumatic memories will impact community relationships. They are actually a shame to Rwanda's society and to the family; this dysfunctional role has been emphasized.

There is nobody who is proud of those symbols, even if the public definition did not address this issue openly. As they highlight a long story of disharmony and hatred among the community, the internalized and socialized hatred worry the population and the hope of eradicating this hatred will take longer than expected. The effort that is summoned to improve the social environment has a long way to go, because a social situation that is being dealt with has already deeply infected the people.

Chapter Seven: GRASSROOTS INTERPRETATIONS OF GENOCIDE MEMORIAL MESSAGES AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON PEOPLE'S RELATIONSHIPS

7.1 Introduction

Genocide memorials are physical places that are geographically located. They are particular locations holding both socio-cultural and political meanings. They stand for the national memory through local remembrance within the local community. In the views of a key informant (Q2 & 3), as symbols of traumatic memories, the places of genocide memorials influence the community's social relationships, thus necessitating particular attention. These places include meaningful physical items, such as tombs, houses of memory, various images and body remains (Anonymous key informant interview, January 2010).

The meaning of the event they stand for and the physical appearance of these localities are integral parts of the socio-cultural and political ideas that are behind their creation. During the focus group discussions (Q4, 7 & 8), respondents mentioned that genocide memorials communicate important messages that affect the community in different ways as people try to interpret the message. In fact, humans give sense to the physical place in relation to the specific activities or events that happen or happened there and this emphasis is strengthened by the political power that is behind it. The environment of human beings has many places that have varieties of cultural and socio-political meanings.

As we have said earlier, people pay particular attention to a physical location. This is supported by the socio-cultural and political authority in order to influence the behaviour of the community. The genocide memorials, as physical locations, have gained a socio-political consideration that affects the community's everyday life. The interpretation of the physical place

and its social consideration explain its effects. The framework of understanding the place of genocide memorials involves customs and ways of living, in both political and social contexts.

In an individual interview, one respondent (Q7) highlighted that the community's interpretations of the symbols speak more confidently to them than any other proposed influential meaning. The population refers to different situations, to a symbol or to activities, to characterize an event (Anonymous respondent, January 2010). The community's interpretation of the message genocide memorials communicate reveals their effects on the population.

Respondents made it clear that interpretation of the messages of the genocide memorials emphasized their physical appearances as localities and their social considerations, and their unlimited consequences stimulate people to think actively about their influence on themselves. They revealed how social and cultural values are the framework of the community's understanding; as they include the way the population performs its rituals and ceremonies (Focus group interview, January, 2010: Q11). In addition, these values set out monuments of various memories to make sense of the objectivity and subjectivity of their behaviours. From the views of Haralambos, Holborn, and Heald, it is believed that human understanding cannot be listed as rational or irrational. What people call irrationality in human behaviour can sometimes become a peculiar sort of misinterpretation of their rationality (Haralambos, Holborn, and Heald 2004: 333).

From the observation of the researcher, the specificity of a symbol to influence human behaviour is not its physical presence but its associated meanings and, to measure the objectivity and subjectivity of the meanings does not affect their consequences among the community. Hence, it is unfair to assess the relevant meaning of the symbols that stress everyday community life by the manifest consequences. Fay makes it clear that the full rationality is measured by the people's definition of the symbols and by public definitions. The population's reasons to

determine the effect of the symbols of memory to the social relations affect the objectivity of their understanding. These meanings are realities that guide the community's social environment (Fay 1996: 104).

From the respondents' views, there is a kind of sensibility behind these symbols when they are associated with death, and rituals of death impose a particular observance that is deeply considered in relative rationality (Focus group Interview, January, 2010: Q9). In other words, genocide memorials are sensitive symbols whose message interpretation is embedded in emotions. The emphasis that is placed on the social meaning of death and the afterlife are the pillars that respond to the imperative obligation of the community to bury the bodies. This consideration is therefore more sensitive for interpreting genocide memorials. In this regard, Spijker (2005: 157) states that, ―When I was in Rwanda during the later period after the genocide, I was even more impressed by the indispensable function the funeral rites have for the bereaved. Many people who survived the genocide were happy to be able to accomplish a proper burial when the bodies of their relatives were discovered".

There exist social relations behind performing rituals and these relations are directly linked to death. Therefore, any discussion that targets the improvement of community relations would consider this basic aspect. As the result of a particular situation, there were no attempts to include mass graves as a way of performing burials and one of the key informants highlighted that genocide memorials are a way of making sure the community understands the advent of genocide in a place (Key informant interview, January 2010: Q13). In fact, the proposed information enables diversities through interpretation, and the latter gives birth to other opportunities of discovering the impact of the social places on the society. The content of that interpretation has revealed that the symbols do stress social relations.

The expected functions of the symbols, the latent functions that are generated by the users of these places, the dysfunctional and non-functional effects that are originated by the users of the localities map the whole picture of the genocide memorials' impacts. There is a functional relationship between the predefined messages that are expected from the symbols of traumatic memories and the non-expected functions. The interpretation of the symbols of genocide memorials does not simply clarify the expected message.

From the researcher's observation, the explanations of the expected and unexpected messages of these places, which are obviously in the interests of the community, create meaningful understanding of their effects. One of the key informants pointed out two different meanings that the message genocide memorials carry: (i) memory places go beyond their expectations and are embarrassing places to some people among the community and (ii) they are very sensitive places that need both the leaders' and the population's vigilance as their dysfunctional consequences may have negative implications on the improvement of social relations (Key informant interview, January 2010).

7.2 The concept of interpretation in the context of genocide memorials

As in the previous section in this part of chapter seven, various views were given by respondents, whether from the focus group discussions or the individual interviews, on different questions that were subject to discussions. All of the questions and discussions revolve around the subject of this research on ―An exploration of community perceptions and understanding of Rwandan genocide memorials".

According to Collin, interpretation is a way an individual expresses consciously how they understand a proposed idea or information and thereafter make comments accordingly. It is a reaction to the received information that is either accepted as it is, or partly accepted with criticism, or simply rejected. Interpretation goes beyond what people see, explore, hear and touch

concerning the outside environment; it comes from the inside as a decision (Collin 1985:339). Collin adds that interpretation is motivated by human interest to explicitly make sense of a situation. The interpreters own the situation or the event and argue its significant aspects, using their conviction. In a nutshell, it ―is an exegetical translation in which an entity's or event's meaning is uncovered and rendered comprehensible" (Fay 1996: 25). Interpretation is like reading a situation, an event, an idea or information, using one's own deductive powers.

With regard to the way respondents interpreted the presence of images, pictures, bones, short movies and other imagery inside genocide memorials, the researcher observed that the consequences of a situation in the community are stimuli for interpretation that people refer to. In the respondents ‗interpretations of the genocide memorials (Q2 & 11), they revealed how they experienced their effects in their everyday life and they evaluated to what extent they impact on the situation in the community. This is reinforced by Sperber (1975: 48-49) who indicates that the interpretation of the genocide memorials' messages is the assessment of their consequences and that genocide memorials are simply symbols of memory. Sperber further mentions that not only the interpretation of their messages concerns their content, but it concerns the whole story of the community that extends their interpretation.

From the responses of the key informants (Q11), it is clear that genocide memorials speak to the community, making them the receiver of the message, and people read different messages through those symbols of memory and their interpretations. In fact, since people are different, they have various understandings and there is no consensus in their comprehension. The researcher's observation was that the community's interpretation is crucial to influence people's behaviour. This is because individuals give their feelings and emotions as the feedback to the messages of genocide memorials. The context in which the common people interpret the genocide memorials' messages can strongly and consciously influence their social environment.

Moreover, consideration of the community's interpretation of the places of memory enabled the researcher to understand their impact and the context in which they influence people's social

239

relationships. Indeed, there are predefined consequences of genocide memorials and expected effects. In order to discover the whole meaning of those localities, however, the contribution of the people's interpretations would bring new elements to the use of the symbols. For this reason, people brought in other meanings that were not included in the expected consequences.

The respondents' definition of genocide memorials (Q2 & 11) integrates positive and negative consequences which highlight both the functional and the dysfunctional roles played by the genocide memorials. There is a connection between what is defined as positive and negative effects. Respondents emphasized dysfunctions as factors that stood in the way of the functions that are expressed regarding the symbols of traumatic memories. Those dysfunctional aspects seem to dominate the functional ones. The people's understanding of genocide memorials brings a supplementary nuance to the symbols. The dysfunctions that were mentioned by the community were additional factors of significance associated with the memorials.

In the present qualitative study, interpretation does not depend on checking the validity of the information that was proposed by genocide memorials. Rather, it made sense of the consequences of the message that is received by the community through interviews. The challenge to the validity of the expected roles was revealed by the local community as the opposition between functions and dysfunctions of genocide memorials. The respondents' views (Q 7, 8 & 9) were not to legitimize or to delegitimize the message of the places of memory, but to highlight their functional and dysfunctional aspects of influencing the community's social environment.

The authority of the message that was addressed in those symbols was encouraged. However, some of their parts were challenged by the interpretation of the respondents. Though the respondents' understanding accentuated the predefined functions of the symbols, the emphasis that was placed on their dysfunctional roles to some extent undermined the functional roles. In

this study, interpretation means the reality that cannot be predefined. This is because, according to the view of a respondent during the individual interview, the community is talented enough to significantly propose understandings that are unknown to the symbol's maker (Anonymous respondent, January 2010: Q7). As seen earlier, the community has a common way of viewing genocide memorials, for they affect people's daily life, hence, their physical presence and their social, cultural and political impacts motivate the community to view them.

7.2.1 Consistent interpretation

During the focus group discussions (Q 4, 5 & 7), respondents expressed that genocide memorials communicate a sensitive message that has a multidimensional interpretation. People were expressing their concern on how the genocide memorials messages influence their social environment in different ways. However, given the fact that respondents showed both the destructive and constructive sides of the genocide memorials (Q 5, 7 & 3), the feedback they provided could not be regarded as being consistent. In fact, some respondents were motivated by emotions in their understanding, but still their views reflected how genocide memorials have an impact on community relationships with paramount importance. During the discussions, some respondents' interpretations seemed to be irrelevant; but their effects cannot be irrelevant, since they influence everyday life. The functional or dysfunctional roles highlighted by respondents in their interpretations concern the community and require their consideration.

Some of the messages defined by respondents during the focus group discussions (Q8) indicated how genocide memorials communicate an intimidating message. Whenever people enter those places or hear about them, they feel fear. From this intimidation, some respondents (Q13) justified why they are not interested in visiting these localities in their areas. This atmosphere does not help the community, because it limits active participation during the week of mourning, when all the community gets together to remember their relatives or neighbours who were killed during the genocide. However, a key informant showed that in her experience, the sensitivity of this period does increase the intimidating message these symbols communicate (Key informant

interview, January 2010). The misunderstanding or misinterpretation of the mourners towards the emotions from some citizens who don't participate actively in the mourning week can trigger some discrimination or mistrust, if the situation is not well managed by local authorities.

However, it is good to discover whether or not this intimidation is relevant or irrelevant. Nevertheless, even if discussion on that matter is relevant, this study places emphasis on the consequences. The context in which social relationships are affected by the message that people read from the symbols of memory should be considered. But the view of the researcher remains that, in the context of a post-genocide Rwanda, if there is any message that has the potential to create problems and jeopardize the improvement of social relationships, the message deserves to be considered. Yet it is also beneficial to consider the view of a key informant who highlighted that if there are some national activities that are not shared (i.e. the mourning week), the community's social environment cannot improve. The same informant revealed that everyday life is influenced by these insignificant stories that in the long run have significant consequences for the community (Interview with anonymous key informant, January 2010).

However, in spite of the above divergences among the respondents, there is no interpretation that doesn't attract the curiosity of the social analyst if it involves people's behaviour. The use of the functionalism theory makes sense of all those consequences that must be taken into account simply because they can affect society. This theory has even provided for the analysis of the consequences that can be mentioned and that are not relevant to the definition of the symbols of the genocide memorials. The data was thus analyzed using even the non-functional aspect. Stereotypes or something else that can be attributed to the interpretation of the message genocide memorials transmit necessitates careful attention, to limit its dysfunctional dissonance as a symbol of traumatic memory.

The respondents (Q 4 & 5) expressed their opposition to the consistent interpretation that the message they read from a genocide memorial must meet the expected function. Without a doubt, these places are highly sensitive, as they reopen conflict and wounds. In public, people talk about the functional side of the symbols so as to avoid reopening their social conflicts, but inside, they live with controversial dysfunctional and functional aspects of the genocide memorials. It is not helpful to the community to interact exhaustively with genocide memorials. The words of a key informant accentuate that ―There is an atmosphere of fear of disclosing new emotions when you are in those symbols or if you are talking about them. Even if there are covered emotions and understandings from the community perspective, they undercut community relations." (Interview with anonymous key informant, January 2010)

This has been emphasized predominantly during the week of mourning, when people are congregating and commemorating in these places. The interpretation people have of the messages that the symbols offer inform their decision on what action to take. Some people prefer to stay home, which means that they do not participate. The interpretations of genocide memorials' messages shape the behaviours of the community either positively or negatively. Some of the interpretations supported the expected functions of genocide memorials that are pre-defined officially. Yet others were supplied by the population's appropriate use of those places for unexpected functions that were not pre-conceived.

7.2.2 Adequate interpretation

The concept ‗adequacy' means the constructs of scientific or common sense understanding that makes ideas comprehensive. The arguments of people to clarify their views make the interpreted message understandable as a coherent unity (Collin 1985:150). For instance, the manifest function of genocide memorials that was expressed during the fifteenth anniversary commemoration of the genocide, held at the Nyanza Genocide Memorial, showed that there exist some symbols that should bring hope for the future (CNLG 2009: 36).

The adequate interpretation of this message should bring the population to address criticism that stands behind the interpretation that forms a coherent agreement. Supporting this manifest role of genocide memorials will probably provide relevant arguments to motivate the way those symbols are improving the community social environment and the hope for a better future. Some points of view will fit into positive or negative forms of these expected consequences of the existent genocide memorials.

This shuns the idealistic understandings that don't help the population to think positively, and instead to think critically about the genocide memorials' messages. The platform for interpreting the message that those symbols communicate is critical. Therefore it is necessary to gather different tools in order to eschew those interpretations that are not realistic. They are inaccurate because they cannot contribute to the deeper understanding of the genocide memorials' messages. In fact, people have a background which helps them to read the message resulting from their adequate interpretations.

Some messages of the places of memory are clear enough to the community, but, for many others, interpretation is very difficult. An acceptable interpretation was achieved and, due to this, people joined cohesive elements to justify the form of their interpretation. This study used a functional theory in order to discover the qualitative message of the genocide memorials and it made sense to the understanding of the respondents. However, some dysfunctional views were shown by some respondents during the focus group discussions.

7.2.3 Stereotypes and prejudgments toward interpretation

From the points of view of the key informants (Q13), one of the problems of interpretation is the consideration of some misunderstandings or false realities as being part of the legitimate realities which influence community views. Stereotypes and prejudices are part of the elements that can shape the community's interpretation of genocide memorials (Anonymous key informant,

244

January 2010). These labels and prejudices curtail people's reflections, since they have been behind misleading Rwandan realities. Preconceptions and prejudgments are suspicions that form and manipulate human behaviour and the way the people view the symbols of traumatic memories.

Interpretation matters for the present research, since it also considered the meanings that are rooted in those uncertain realities that are stereotypes and prejudices. The reason given by one key informant (Q 4,5 & 9) was that, if stereotypes and prejudices are accepted and shared by the community, they affect the social environment and this influence makes considering these doubtful realities necessary (Interview with anonymous key informant, January 2010). Their role of balancing the community's understanding, which was considered in this analysis, and the authority that they have, led to the interpretation of genocide memorials. Anything that can constrain community action cannot be ignored. This is because consideration is required and the theory that supports the truth is certain to influence the community.

Although some proposed interpretations of the genocide memorials' messages may not have evidence to substantiate them, the reality behind their consideration is that people are behaving accordingly. This behaviour imposes a reflection as it affects community relationships. The interest that is shown in the people's interpretation is not justified by the verification of its veracity, yet it extends from its influential character to social relations. In other words, the official meaning of genocide memorials is not the standard of measuring the community's views. People are accountable for these messages as they permeate the social environment. There is no typical interpretation of reality, but to some extent, there is a need to orientate the behaviours of the community. The use of the functionalist approach openly provides a space for everyone and respondents revealed some consequences that were not even expected or considered relevant by some members of the community.

Those consequences are defined as latent functions, dysfunctional and non-functional uses of the social institution. According to the views of Danielle de Lame (2002), if the population is trying

to understand the multidimensional social places, people will use all means possible to understand them, as they are meaningful to their social life (Danielle de Lame 2002: 136). In fact, the meaning of the place that relates to the community's experience, the correlation between the place and population, can be explained by a convincing argument, and non-convincing ones, because people are expressing their feelings relating to the effects of the place and also to how the place mirrors the existing circumstances.

In short, the verifiability of the consistency, the adequacy and stereotypes and prejudgments were realities that enabled the interpretations of genocide memorials to take place. The privileged aspect of understanding the community's meaning is not what the population refers to as the official interpretation of the message genocide memorials communicate. This gives room for the community's capacity to interpret the message of genocide memorials. The interpretation that is susceptible to shape the community social environment is the one that comes from their internal comprehension of the message.

7.2.4 Community's consideration of leaders' influence on the interpretation of the genocide memorials' messages

During the discussions, respondents felt that the traditional saying _Umwami si umuntu ni Imana' (The king is not a human being, he is a god), justifies some strange behaviours by the people. The leaders' ideology has powerful influence on individuals' behaviour in proposing values or anti-values as models. The population responds to the proposition as if they retain an invisible force, because of their position of power, and the population is seen as _weak minded'.

What is understood as fundamental solidarity is not justified within the message communicated by the symbols of traumatic memory. Population identity throughout the history of Rwanda has been defined in relation to the submissive attitude of the people. Accepting blindly the leaders' orientation and the population's adherence does not mean a strong, organized society. The people's daily life is separated from the story of the leaders' circle and thus is not known. It

continues to be affected by this combination and there is repetition of the leader's opinion that resembles the condition of community identity. The submissive character of the population to the leaders is mistakenly understood as a manifestation of weakness.

Political orientation trains the population behind it. The people are not used to saying ‗no' to what is proposed by their leaders. From the researcher's observation, the introduction of a discussion on genocide memorials resembled a repeating of the definitions that were suggested by the leaders. When asked for their own views, they took time to give their own interpretations. Discovering their deep considerations, which had been dormant but nonetheless had been influencing their behaviour, challenged some of their naïve attitudes. The population has acquired a stronger attachment to the top-down authority of leaders to the population, which gives more power to leaders to dominate the community. This attitude limits the community's initiative and the commitment would not be exhaustive.

One key informant illustrated the above by arguing that the population waits for the leaders' go-ahead (Anonymous key informant, January 2010). In fact, the social environment is aligned with the leaders' positions. The population passively responds to its circumstances. There is a passivity in accepting everything that comes from the leaders' order. This mentality is a limitation to improving social relationships. The community is not accountable for their actions, as they hide themselves behind their leaders. The use of the genocide memorials did not escape this challenge. People were referring mainly to the public interpretation. The dominance of this passivity or immature behaviour does not clearly define how far the population is in terms of reorganizing social relationships. There is simply a repetition of public speeches.

7.3 Substantial meanings through physical appearance of genocide memorials

During their visits, respondents observed that genocide memorials are composed of architecture; green spaces in which there are different kinds of trees and stones; mass graves; and houses of memory where the remains of bodies are exhibited in some memorials. The physical appearance of the memorials recalls the visible shocking images which results in a stirring of the community's feelings. Perceiving the image of the genocide memorials does not set the population free. They tell visitors a silent story about the genocide event, they are able to prompt emotions and they keep the attention of the community in the freshness of the period of genocide.

Places of memories impose their messages on the community by their architecture. The location of the genocide memorials is not an accident, but thoughtfully chosen. There is a logical connection between the place and the event, or, according to Rudacogora (2005), the choice is influenced by other factors such as accessibility, strategic reasons, or the availability of enough space to hold a memorial function (Rudacogora 2005: 150-153).

7.3.1 Physical locations

The places were grouped into two categories. The first category has green spaces, where there are trees, mass graves and walls of names. There are no physical details or images that appear. The Nyanza genocide memorial is an example of this category (see Fig 9).

The second category has green spaces with trees and mass graves, walls of names and houses of memory, in which there are exhibitions of body remains (see Fig 10).

Figure 9: The Nyanza genocide memorial

Source: Field research 2010

Figure 10: The Bisesero genocide memorial

Inside the house of memory

Source: Fieldwork 2010

The respondents (Q3 & 11) pointed out that those two categories do not have the same level of sensitivity. They, however, both tell the story and remind Rwandans of the genocide as symbols of memory. The houses of memory, in which human remains are exhibited, are highly emotive. They hold the attention of the population by their historical background of the place as a physical location that has different stories in parts.

From the observation of the researcher, it is clear that the management of these places and the organization of their buildings add an important consideration to the places. They dominate the area and catch the attention of people passing by. They have striking architecture and are admired from the outside, especially those which include a house of memory. Other genocide memorials, where there are banners or inscriptions announcing the nature of the place you are approaching, also attract the attention of passers-by.

The architecture of genocide sites which are completed or approaching completion gives an idea of how substantial they are. The physical presence of these monuments, and in particular the details of their finish, makes an impression on the entire population. For instance, the Murambi

genocide memorial attracts the attention of people more than other buildings would. As pointed out by respondents during the visit to Murambi genocide memorial, the movement within the space is another aspect which gives a particular significance to the place.

They are places subject to different interpretations, with their social, cultural and political aspects, and the community uses them according to their different physical aspects. To what extent the population converges and diverges when giving meaning to the places of memory, depends on their understandings and considerations of what is being represented. The mass graves seem to mean the same to all groups within the community, yet opinions differ on the necessity for having memorials and houses of memory.

7.3.2 The necessity of having a symbol of memory

As seen in the previous section, respondents (Q4) agreed unanimously on the necessity of having genocide memorials, but in the form of mass graves. The divergences arise, however, in the necessity for having memorials and houses of memory. Indeed, it is part of traditional culture. Rwanda has symbols to emphasize that what happened is important and should be remembered by the community. Curran highlights that symbols capture the attention of each one who knows or does not know what the event symbolized (Curran 1996: 120). They are fixed reminders. Although symbols are open to different interpretations, the main message of the event represented is maintained. The image initiates curiosity to know more, prompts a search for details and keeps the event alive. Symbols are a strategic means of developing consciousness of the event.

According to the views of a key informant (Q4 & 5), the presence of genocide memorials was at first interpreted as a means of communication, a proposed platform for convincing the national and international population about what happened (Interview with anonymous key informant, October 2010). Materializing a symbol with detail provides more orientation to the reading of its

messages, but according to the observations of the researcher, this does not avoid the latent messages that can be discovered when interpreting the symbols. Some genocide memorials have details to make them more readable, but this is not without confusion, since the event represented is full of complexity in the Rwandan context.

In comparison with the holocaust, Roth (2001) points out that ―Holocaust has serious limits, partly because of our finite and fallible human capacity and partly because the event raises questions and possesses implications that there are more than history can contain" (Roth 2001:69). There are some realities that are beyond human understanding. As for having a message that is able to reopen wounds, it has to be addressed gently. One of the necessities of having genocide memorials, emphasized by respondents, is that a forum is opened for discussing the legacy of Rwanda's history.

Dealing with a legacy of past human rights abuse is one of the most difficult tasks that post-conflict societies face. Although there is no standard model for discussion of that past legacy, the power of the one who is designing it lies in their own preconception of what a symbol should be. Strategies are put together to allow the community to understand the message of the symbols, yet interpretation is partly influenced by public context and background. Some episodes of Rwanda's history have various interpretations that influence the meaning of the message those symbols are communicating.

Respondents (Q4 & 11) said that discussing the message of genocide memorials is likely to raise the violent legacy of Rwanda's history. The past heritage is a conduit to the comprehension of the genocide memorials. Historical diversities dominated the meaning of the symbols. Throughout almost two decades, there is a history that has been developed and accepted and is still exerting its effect within the community. Through these symbols, people hear or read a history that includes some differences that were emphasized and taught before the genocide.

The population's legacy includes the past history of their country, and the history after the genocide emphasizes some aspects that may not be accepted by the community, who may still question the different versions of Rwanda's history. Even if the symbols of memory are addressing something other than history, they remain linked to history. Roth makes it clear that history explains the symbols, which are in turn part of history. The symbols highlight a period that is crucial and the community uses history to give meaning to their struggles when reading the genocide memorials (Roth 2001:69).

A history has multidimensional aspects to be considered. As pointed out by respondents, obscuring some aspects and accentuating others may create suspicion of being distorted. In fact, the environment in the aftermath of the genocide is permeated by these various histories, which influence the meaning of the symbols. There is an interaction relating to various parts of Rwanda's history among the community understandings of genocide memorials.

7.3.3 Tombs, particular physical places

Respondents from the focus groups (Q11) highlighted that the socio-cultural meanings of tombs were emphasized as communicating a message that is able to help the population in the process of accepting the separation between the *living dead* and the *living family*. The places of tombs and gardens that are well kept, with trees, respond positively to the needs of the population. Bigirumami (2004) argues that the highly positive contribution of the message interpreted from the genocide memorials is the emphasis that is placed on the tombs, because the rites associated with death are fundamental in Rwanda's culture (Bigirumwami 2004: 171).

Having places which are in line with community interpretation and rituals related to death gives more significance to the places. Recognizing and accepting the loss of the departed was underlined when interpreting the genocide memorials' message. Even though these rituals were not performed at the correct time according to traditional culture and practises, at least their functional effects are recognized through the symbols.

253

The respondents' interpretation emphasized the presence of cultural values related to burials. Attention was paid to the mass graves during group discussions. This emphasis is supported by the Rwandan belief in the afterlife, the *living dead.* Gordon and Marshall (2000: 1) explain that:

> Moreover, even beyond an initial period of grief and bereavement, the emotional bonds which link the survivors to the deceased have usually demanded some form of symbolic commemoration, as well as a belief in the continued existence of the dead in some afterlife place or state. If societies are to continue to function, the dead must, in a variety of senses, be put in their place.

The social and moral obligation to perform rituals is determined by a culture with a specific background which determines the social and acceptable behaviour of the community. It is a process of configuration that gives meaning to what people are doing. The meaning of the message genocide memorials communicate bases its strength on the cultural consideration of death rituals. There is a message of comfort behind this observance.

From the discussions of the respondents (Q9 & 11), the researcher observed that the genocide memorials reduce the suspicion that those who were killed during the genocide were cursed by nature, bringing shame to the community. These false assumptions were removed by the presence of the genocide memorials. The presence of tombs as a part of genocide memorials gives hope to people who believe if the dead were not buried and their tombs recognized, it would mean that the death of those who were killed during the genocide was a punishment. The message of the genocide memorials emphasizes that the deceased were not being punished and forgotten. There is an acceptance and a confirmation of their humanity through the symbols of memory.

Genocide memorials are places that motivate the celebration of socio-cultural ceremonies associated with death, in which the community maintains its identity and the living show their consideration of the departed. This meaning, as emphasized by different groups, gives a dynamic

interest to the representation of the genocide memorials. Certainly, their significance is understood as honouring Rwanda's culture.

Tombs are a heritage to the living family, in that they keep family stories alive. The places of mass graves within genocide memorials are a refusal to allow some families to disappear in the community. People interpret the genocide memorials as a heritage of their deceased. This consideration inevitably supplants all other meanings. Genocide memorials reduce the anguish of not having a family burial ground which would perpetuate the presence of the deceased in the community.

The message of these symbols of memory facilitates the collective mourning of what happened in Rwanda. Since the people belong to the society that suffered the genocide, they are concerned with the history of their country. The symbols sustain a consciousness of common concern. What caused the existence of the symbols, the genocide, is a tragic event, and its remembrance raises the issue of cruelty. Cemetery memorials are potentially able to contribute to giving hope to the community, to improving their humanity and to building trust that there is continuity.

7.4. The cost of having genocide memorials

Having physical places that represent an event is important to human behaviour. It means a certain level of specific consideration. The social-political emphasis on the genocide memorials sometimes needs to be reduced to avoid placing too much emphasis on destructive aspects, as they hold a message which is able to negatively affect the community's social environment. The population's vulnerability is a stress factor which needs to be taken into account in building the symbols of memory. During the focus group discussions, respondents (Q11) highlighted that where a house of memory is not yet built, it is necessary to think about the reconstructive ethic, to deal with the fatality of a blessed life in facing traumatic images every day.

Normally, a wounded life has the potential to fuel hostility, which is a barrier to the social relationships as pointed out by respondents (Q13). From this fragility, Ferry mentions that subjectivity takes place and becomes a weapon of addressing stories that give emphasis to the uncertain atmosphere limiting social communication (Ferry 1996: 20). People are not open to speaking to their neighbours about the places of memory because of their sensitive messages. In the individual interviews, a key informant cautioned that ―discussing the messages related to the genocide memorials is very hard. People are not sure which vocabulary to use because every word used become prejudice of wounding" (Interview with anonymous key informant, January 2010).

This atmosphere keeps the population in fear of the symbols of memory. The social environment is critical and people are not able to discuss the meaning of those symbols as a community. There is an atmosphere that keeps people in fear of the symbols of the genocide memorial, because they reopen the wounds of their social relations. Significantly, these discussions concerning genocide memorials were held in 2010, sixteen years after the genocide, yet respondents were still saying that there is a freshness to the message that speaks to the community, just as there was in 1994.

The presence of the physical symbols and their contents returns the population to the genocide nightmares. Some atrocities represented in the houses of memory are very hard to face. Respondents (Q11) said that death is accentuated within the genocide memorials, in which there is no sign of hope. Chaumont (2002:19-20), talking about the memorials, questioned the perspective of transforming the traumatic message of those symbols into a strength that can help the population to move forward. This is to say that traumatic images are not helping the population to free their minds and move forward. Fear is maintained by the images of tragic deaths.

Factors which dehumanize the identity of a human are maintained in those houses of memory. Everyday reflection is included in those traumas, yet the environment does not improve the

social relations, as stated by one respondent during the individual interviews (Individual interview with anonymous respondent, January 2010). Veil highlights that the representations of cruel actions perpetrated by humans on others gives birth to uncertain living conditions (Veil 1992: 272). The same respondent stressed that the trauma of those atrocities are manifested in different human reactions.

From the researcher's statement during the interviews, the traumatic images prompt people to see, hear and touch the violence and the pressure of the images develops a predisposition of latent conflict. The physical appearance of the memorials ignites emotions and there is an anguish that does not disappear when people enter the house of memory and see those tragic images. These opinions of the respondents are confirmed by Sezibera (2003: 77). In the words of Goldberg, there is a perpetual mourning that will never expire, since these symbols will continue to emphasize the message of traumatic memory that sustains the strong emotions experienced. In this way, social relations are undermined (Goldberg 1991: 55).

The physical appearance of genocide memorials provoke people to continuously think about the shame and frustration they endured during the genocide period. There is a continuous humiliation that is included in these physical localities and this situation makes people generally, and respondents specifically, feel guilty, because those who committed the genocide are in many cases their relatives, neighbours, or friends. Furthermore, their failure to stop the genocide demonstrates a failure of their moral responsibility. Chaumont (2002: 28) reinforces that a place that brings the community back to the situation of the genocide cannot easily help to improve social relationships. There is a need to have a place which materializes what happened, but the content of those places is still questioned by a number of people, who feel that there is no need to retain the population's attention on traumatic images. Here the content of the house of memory is pointed at.

Other respondents (Q11) supported having details within the genocide memorials and said that providing even more detail of what happened would be beneficial. The question is, how does one build a symbol that serves as a genocide memorial, yet does not keep the thoughts of the population fixed on traumatic memories? There was no consensus among respondents concerning this question. Some respondents (15 %), supported memorials that include details of traumatic memories, others (32 %), felt that a place of memory with tombs and a wall of names would be enough, and yet others (52%) would like to have a genocide memorial with a house of memory and gardens with mass graves and wall of names. According to them, the house of memory should include photos of the deceased, stories about other national and international genocide memorials; as well as emphasise the values of unity and other important aspects that do no emotional harm to visitors. There should be no images of physical atrocities and no exhibition of remains of bodies.

In discussing these three opposing views, respondents (Q5, 6 & 13) said that in the context of events like the genocide which happened in Rwanda, the community should be ready to cherish the consequences of their actions. The responsibility of the community includes accepting those harmful images. Seidel (1986: xii) stated that memory is not without cost and there is a price to pay by the community that is embracing the consequences of their actions. This justification of keeping the traumatic imagery within the houses of memory raised discussion which confronted the opinions of respondents who felt they would like to have a simple genocide memorial with mass graves and a wall of names.

Some respondents (32%) in the focus groups expressed that, in this case, genocide memorials are there to keep people in fear and in uncertain relationships. The environment of death and killing is maintained by those physical images of atrocity. A key informant started that ―what could help the community accept the responsibility of human action is not creating a monument that retains fresh images of killing" (Interview with anonymous key informant, January 2010). Some respondents in group discussions (52%) stand between the two opposing views. They underlined

the fact that physical images trigger wounds and uncontrollable emotions. There is a need to have a memorial which considers the fragility of its environment.

7.4.1 Making sense of present life

This sub-section focuses mainly on the question related to the extent to which genocide memorials influence the social relationships of the Rwandan society (Q10). Experiences people went through are meaningful to present living conditions and there is no separation between the past and the present. This does not mean that a deeply traumatic experience that affected community relationships can easily be forgotten. Piralian (1994:78) and Waintrater (2003:100) indicate that there is no disconnection between the present, the past and the future, but there is a continuity that people are involuntarily engaged in to use the past in order to make sense of the present.

Genocide memorials are saying ‗no' to what people may call letting the past go and moving on. This ideal is impossible, because people are formed by their past history and their experience and the present is the result. Respondents (Q10) expressed as a critical situation in their environment, that to consider the past in their present brings with it all the problems that have not yet been resolved. Even if it is impossible to let go of the past, there is a way of not putting too much emphasis on the past.

People feel that their present is undermined by past conflicts. When the community refers to the symbols of memory to make sense to their everyday life, they regret that the effort to improve their social relationships is not very easy, yet not impossible. In reading the message of traumatic memories and the conditions of social relationships of that period, it is possible to observe that changes that have happened since that time. The distress of that period helps the population feel that a small step forward is an important achievement.

259

This message has been interpreted by the researcher as giving hope to the community that even immense achievement is possible. However, the community has to take their responsibility seriously and to make great efforts to move forward, as people refer to the situation that prevailed during the genocide. The fragile environment in which the population receives the message of genocide memorials is a barrier to the critical analysis of their social context. The symbols of traumatic memories are saying that there has been a step forward from the time of killing to today's relationships.

Sezibera (2003: 76) stresses that memorials are symbols that let people sense the evil work done, but do not create any corrections. Making sense of present life through wrongdoing is not without a cost. The evil should appear and be seen by all, not as a means to cover the blood of the innocent. According to the views of Maxwell (1990: 5), everyday relationships are affected by this concentration on the suffering. Although there is a sense of not being indifferent, what is felt from the messages of the genocide memorials is dangerous to those recovering from the trauma.

7.4.2 Reminders and storytellers

The functionalist approach has been a helpful tool for discussing the meaning of the genocide memorials' messages. The everyday situation of the population relates to the functional message of the symbols. Rudacogora (2005: 148) characterizes their functional aspects: ―they are reminders, they are history tellers via their location, their architectural aspects and the writings they carry".

The information that is currently available in these places of memory discloses the community understanding of their social environment. This critical situation of community relations calls for the attention of the population to think about the day-to-day improvement of those conditions. In an individual interview, one respondent mentioned that the reminder of their different stories,

which are motivated by these places, does not let the community develop their neighbourhood. These reminders create an atmosphere of suspicion, since there is something that undermines the community solidarity, said the respondent (Interview with anonymous respondent, January 2010). These reminders help people to review critically community values which do not improve their cohabitation.

When looking at the views of the respondents during the focus groups (Q11 & 12), one can state that genocide memorials are symbols that require the community to review their ways of living and to think about their relationships. Some values are only assumed to exist, but they are not tangible among the community when people are reading the messages of genocide memorials. The community's behaviour shows that there is a discontinuity between the definition of a population unity and what happened. The situation today does not guarantee changes.

There is a silence and an atmosphere of suspicion and the community is still under pressure because of what happened. This dysfunctional aspect of genocide memorials has been disclosed through different group discussions and personal interviews. Two of the manifest functions of those symbols are as reminders and storytellers. One of the stories that were told by a respondent in an individual interview was connected to the tragic death of a woman who was killed after being raped. The remains of the woman are exposed at the entrance of the genocide memorial. People are outraged by such expressive violence. Healing the social relationships and then facing such stories is a dilemma (Individual interview with anonymous respondent, January 2010). Once again, this highlights the way genocide memorials' symbols create fear and shame in the community.

In responding to question eight of the questionnaire about the explicit messages held by the genocide memorials (Q8), respondents felt that the stories expressed in these symbols of memory push the population to doubt the sustainability of their social environment today. Whenever they

compare the traumas caused by the social environment before the horror of genocide with the current situation, everyone can see the change in the social environment pre-genocide through post-genocide. Some of respondents (Q13) felt that there were no indications to warn people before the alarming situation arose. Even if injustices occurred, the community would not have responded to the planned genocide to such a degree. The community is still regretting what happened; their passive watching or the involvement of some relatives.

The information available, diffused in the symbols of memory, is viewed by some people to be a weapon of intimidation in the community's definition of their social environment. The use of the information received from the places of memory is crucial to questioning the community social relationships. The community does not understand why and how the cruelty went so far. Genocide memorials only serve to enhance divisions.

The exhibition of the bodies' remains in the houses of memory exposes various cruelties, but the community was unable to pull itself out of the mess. Because of this fragility, people do not cope with the genocide memorials peacefully. Respondents (Q11& 11) expressed shame when they read the messages. Memory is the capacity to remember, to recall what happened and if this recalling the situation is sustained by images, it has strong effects. There are emotions that are stimulated by these images.

The inscriptions on the walls never change. Unfortunately, the inscriptions are not concerned with resolving the situation they stand for and will continuously pass information and particular messages to all generations. People who see and hear the story will feel the delicacy of their social relationships. The repetition of these details does not pave the way forward to building trust, as providing everlasting details of what made their forefathers behave in such an atrocious does not ensure that history does not repeat itself.

There are various ways of interpreting stories, as they affect people differently. People hold symbols that force them to view, in detail, cruelty metered out on their neighbours, friends or relatives. For instance, as revealed by one respondent during the focus groups' discussions, in reading the story of a boy who was killed by his classmates, the respondent interpreted it as jealous behaviour because they were competing in class. This clarification of the story is the particularity of those who knew them well. This cruelty; the same respondent confirmed, destroyed the relationships the learners had in their classes. (Interview with anonymous respondent, January 2010)

People relive traumatic memories, fears and stresses of the past because of memories. The present situation undermines the improvement of social relations. Genocide memorials materialize the product of a long process that involves a mixture of factors and puts it into reality. In the same community, some people were actively involved in killing, were bystanders to those killings, or were victims. Healing and bridging the gaps between the community's members has to be achieved by the very same people. The relationships journey still has a long way to go. The possibility that makes an event happen does not merely disappear. There are other latent causes that are rooted in it and this worries the community. Osrin (2001:13-14) mentions that keeping the mind of the population fixed on these images is like keeping them under pressure in the troubling environment.

In view of the above, there are some questions that create a dilemma. Why should people remember and build memories of such traumatic and evocative events? Why keep or imprison the memory rather than releasing it? How do people orient traumatic memories so that they cannot continue to exercise negative effects on their lives? In the answer of Roth, there is a dilemma that memory is life and if people stop remembering they stop being (Roth 2001:106). How does one respond to this life requirement and still attend to its re-wounding aspect in the community? The question revolves around how to cope with what is necessary for life and how to deal with its hindering consequences on the community. Interrogations like these hold the

attention of respondents when discussing the locations of traumatic memories. Smith (2004: 12) points out that ―You cannot suppress the memory of what has happened, but you can live in peace with your memories once you are given an opportunity for healing".

7.4.3 Symbols that are networking emotions

This sub-section focuses on two main questions: the way respondents interpret the presence of images, pictures, bones, short movies and other imagery inside genocide memorials (Q11) and further comments of the respondents (Q13). The physical appearances and the social meanings of these places raise the community's emotions. They make everybody feel sorry for what happened to Rwanda, thus rendering the locations complex. Lefebvre (1991: 286) emphasizes the social aspect of the place**:** ―space is permeated with social relations; it is not only supported by social relations but it is also producing and produced by social relations".

There are physical, social, political and cultural spaces that people make connections with, as people have somehow to create a life story that relates to the place of the genocide memorial. Even if they are critical to their well-being, there is a psychological attachment that gives meaning to what people are (Altman and Low 1992: 62). People have been educated, have prayed, cultivated, hidden and lodged there, and the place of memorial has become part of their stories. There is a social relationship between the place and those who used those locations as physical places in the past such as Murambi, the secondary school where there is now a genocide memorial; or Bugesera Roman Catholic church, where the church is now a genocide memorial.

Anyone who was educated at a school like Murambi or prayed in the Bugesera Roman Catholic church has a social connection to the locality which makes them feel concerned by the history of that place. It is part of their lives, in that it has to be considered when addressing who they are. For the respondents (Q13), today it is shameful to read, for instance, in someone's *curriculum*

vitae that they have been educated in the Murambi secondary school, where those cruelties were organized, and which makes people remember the genocide atrocities.

A focus group that visited Bugesera genocide memorial (Q13), mentioned the shame that they experienced in that place. In fact, when somebody enters this place which used to be a place of worship and is now a killing field genocide memorial, they feel something strange and not understandable. It was on this note that some respondents questioned the values of the church, making comments that it is not easy to differentiate church buildings and other buildings. The memorials maintained that the sacred characteristic of church buildings has gone, and that Christian values are not strong enough in Rwanda.

If genocide memorials like the one of Bugesera are located in churches, it means that the message that was preached to people from this church did not change them. Instead, they learned dishonesty. Such behaviour still lingers within the members of the same church. The group emphasized this by saying that the atmosphere was still producing other effects on the social relations among Christians that dominate Bugesera area.

The management of these stories which are the products of psychological attachment, is not easy. People are forced by this connection to refer to the location and thus refer to the whole story of what is represented there. A large number of the community's members are connected to these places of traumatic memories. The emotional aspects of these places are part of the community's everyday language. Some of the community interpretations seem to justify their stand and bond their identity to the physical place. The interpretation of the messages people read from these genocide memorials mirror that background. They are open to mean the entire history of the area and people understand their struggles from those memorials.

Considering all the previous discussions, one can state that the genocide memorials convey both functional and dysfunctional roles. The invitation to visit memorials or to participate in any

activity, such as the communal walk organized every last Saturday of each month, can reflect that reality, because the population is constrained to pay special attention to genocide memorials. As mentioned by some respondents (Q6), it would be easy if the places did not include a house of memory. In this situation, it is clear that genocide memorials create coldness among the population and the frequency of visits by the population to those places is decreasing. If the visit is not organized by local leaders and the population is invited to visit as groups, their presence in these places is limited to public events. Respondents (Q13) noticed that ―the emotional attachment to those places has decreased because the places of tombs that are particular to them are not used as regularly as before".

Genocide memorials keep the population's emotions in undefined social relationships, full of the anguish they evoke. There is public meaning of the symbols that is meant to influence the community's understandings, but the people do not see clearly their ability to improve their social context. If this has to be discussed, it is only the place of the cemetery that plays a meaningful role among the community. Their presence is motivated by tombs. Other parts that are emphasized within the house of memory belong to the public interest and the population does not understand the meaning. Their influences are limited to the relationship between the l*iving family* and the *living dead.* Sadly, ordinary people do not see beyond that!

7.4.3.1 Stressful places

In the views of the key informants (Q7), genocide memorials are the product of a period of time when there was extreme disorder in social relationships among the entire population. Symbols that represent that period perpetuate the atmosphere of placing stress on the environment of social relations among the community (Individual interview with anonymous respondent, January 2010). There are some initiatives, public and private organizations, that have programmes designed to manage the distress of social relationships. Composed by different social groups, they are trying to improve social relations by talking about what happened. Such experiences help the community to regulate and manage their nervous tension.

In an individual interview, one respondent (Q10) mused that when people think about the stories inside the memorials, they feel inadequate to develop or improve their social relations. They fear those places, which directly or indirectly have negative implications and destroy the empathy and solidarity among the community. Genocide memorials bear messages that disclose sadness and enable the population to rethink their social environment. The community considers these symbols as being able to influence their behaviour either positively or negatively, but the negative side dominates the positive one.

7.4.3.2 Re-wounding locations

Respondents (Q4 & 7) expressed that genocide memorials re-open wounds. The messages these symbols communicate emphasize a history that does not let the community believe that their identity can be healed from divisions. The visit of the community to these places, even if it is mostly initiated by local leaders or the organizations they work for, makes people feel that there is no compatibility between the values of a community who share the same culture, religious values and the ancestral stories the messages represent in these memorials.

The messages motivate the existence of something that makes Rwandans feel that they are different. The messages of genocide memorials are too radical in making people feel that they are different. This dissimilarity does not justify the genocide, however. The messages are not letting people sense that they have the same history as the whole community. There is a confirmation of what is called the misunderstanding of Rwandan myth that forced the population to believe that they have different ancestors and thus belong to different ethnic groups. The stories inside the genocide memorials give credence to this kind of thinking. It then becomes difficult for the Rwandans to accept the history of the country.

Some respondents (Q9) indicated that these disappointments are positively equipped to enhance the definition of community relations. They realize that their identity as a community has been undermined by biased information for a long time. This bias has been accepted and shared and

267

there is a worry about how the community will accept another definition of their identity. The genocide memorials' messages are hurting the community. The wounds relating to their history have still not healed. The genocide stories emphasize the past and destroy the citizenship of the population. Where there is an identity crisis, people do not feel secure.

Reviewing the past versus the present history, respondents (Q 4 & 9) pointed out the confusing atmosphere of accepting who people are and why these differences are problems which mystify the community vocabulary. This discussion emphasized the message of the symbols. The message prejudices the comprehension of the past, therefore the present is not understood. Some respondents (Q10) stated that people are scared by the message these symbols communicate, because they bias their history. Community relationships have long been defined by the public sphere and there was no emphasis on the everyday life of the community. This desperate message of the genocide memorials makes people passionless and they tend to view these symbols as irrelevant to their context. Since these locations raise the emotions of the community, they seem to destroy the community's humanity. This is believed, since each problem seems to create a disturbance to the wellbeing of the community.

Genocide stories have created an insensitive atmosphere that makes people fearless of anything else. Pollak (1990: 316) cautioned that the conflict of comparing phenomena is not giving sense to their particular effect. Each one has particularities that do not allow comparisons. Even though it is not permitted to compare social phenomena that are not similar, people continue to use their situation to try to understand others. The message of the symbols of memory fires the emotions of people, who continually refer to the genocide stories to classify other stories.

Genocide messages are not solely traumatic stories (Q4). There are also a few stories relating to the outstanding actions taken by ordinary people, who said ‗no' to the power of the evil and risked their lives to save people. Respondents stated that these stories highlight the values of

compassion and solidarity among the community. These values were not destroyed by the genocide ideology. These brave people's reactions can still re-wound the population, in the sense that the people who were terrified did nothing because they had been taught that they were powerless.

These people are frustrated by the stories of the genocide memorials concerning other powerless, ordinary people that had the courage to do great actions and, in some cases, sacrifice their lives. Ngulinzira (2001: 100) states that memorials let people discover the incredible ability of supposedly powerless people to combat the evil and the extreme failure of powerful people to defeat the evil. He is underpinning the challenging aspects of those localities and letting individuals question some principles that did not work. People see the rest of the community as using that outstanding behaviour to condemn people. Genocide memorials are socialized places that provide continuity of emotions.

Genocide memorials oppose dualities between what is right and wrong, good and evil, just and unjust. Behind those dissimilarities, people misuse this list to classify their fellows. Individuals who belong to the first category are for the good and the second category is for the wrong-doers. This categorization of values and anti-values, using a particular period of time, does not help the community to characterize the reality of their social relationships, as some respondents highlighted (Q10). The particular period of the genocide requires a particular analysis that cannot be generalized.

7. 5 Competitiveness and comparability of meanings

Genocide memorials communicate messages that have various interpretations. The interpretations rely on a range of elements that are rooted in personal and social experiences and cultural and political environments. The community's interpretation of genocide memorials' meanings affects their social environment, both positively and negatively. There is an aggressive

competition in defining the symbols of memory that produce a confrontational atmosphere among the community. The community does not agree on the functional and dysfunctional consequences of the symbols of traumatic memory.

Respondents (Q 6 & 13) indicated that genocide memorials question the behaviour of some Rwandans, yet the community is not involved in restoring its tarnished image. However, it is relevant for the leaders to approach the community in a holistic manner. The community must be in the centre in defining and constructing the genocide memorials.

From the researcher's observation, if social relations are to be improved, the attention of these symbols of traumatic memory has to be shifted for two reasons. The first is, if people emphasize the symbols of traumatic memories, they are accentuating the process of conceiving a dramatic project of hatred that underpins their negative thoughts. Secondly, they bury all community emotions in order to focus on other emotional aspects that arise from the community. People do not respond to more general community struggles in the same way. Their emotions are highly limited to the issue relating to the genocide memorials, their dysfunctional aspects stand in the way of sharing emotions. Their disturbing messages, expressed by all groups, stimulated a discussion on either having or not having the genocide memorials. This brought the group to review the content of various places of memory.

On question six (Q6) which explores the way respondents would like to build genocide memorials that meet their expectations, they suggested some new things that could be added to the content for putting more detail into those memorials. Others did not support this stand, stressing that ―they would like a genocide memorial that is without details‖. Genocide memorials that have only mass graves and where there is no exhibition of the remains of bodies are worthwhile.

The frustrating message people read in the genocide memorials breeds a positive improvement in social life. Community life becomes a way of believing that life must continue after the genocide. For the sake of resolving their frustration, people respond positively to the worrying message from the genocide memorials by working hard to veil problems with neighbours who were directly or indirectly the cause of their struggles. They stimulate an atmosphere of working hard to silence their frustration and not let them think about death.

One of our respondents revealed that:

> Our symbols of memory add more troubles to the community environment in which we live. The victims and the victimizers do belong to the same environment that there are still some aspects that cannot let you feel comfortable. As you think about how they want us to be poor, and this is expressed when they destroyed our heritage, our homes, during the genocide. We read a message of not letting them see us careless. The way of expressing that people are still alive is to improve the life conditions and genocide memorials message which are like dynamic stories to force you to work hard as they keep reminding us the stories of the genocide (individual interview with anonymous respondent, January 2010).

By keeping busy, people have the satisfaction of introspection, which raises the memory of the tombs of relatives, which in turn causes anguish. The only way of limiting the intimidation the message genocide memorials transmit, even if the community does not visit these symbols, is always to try to remain involved with your daily business. Is this behaviour going to resolve the problem of social relationships or improve it? Some respondents felt that being busy is one way of reducing conflict. They referred to a Rwandan saying that ―*Abasangira ubusa bitana ibisambo*" [those who share little, regard one another as gluttons or thieves]. If people improve their lives, relations will be restored. Consequently, people strongly believe and support the move to improve their living conditions.

From the views of respondents (Q13), if people focus on the traumatic aspect of the genocide memorials, they feel ashamed. If there is any realization that could free people from that shame, it is improving the well-being of hard-working people. There is connectivity between poverty and mindlessness; this was expressed by various group discussions. This point of view supports

that people refuse to be called _abapfuye bahagaze'; memorial messages make one die because of the excessive suffering they cause, so improving life conditions diminishes this stigmatization.

Securing a way out and being busy assists the population to not feel too preoccupied by the past. Competition in life is becoming the opposite of genocide memorials' messages. It is hoped that if the people empower themselves by working hard, some social conflicts that are the result of not having enough means for living, would be decreased. The time for hearing everything and nothing that causes division among the community members could be used for improving the social context (Individual interview with anonymous respondent, January 2010).

Inactivity causes people to discuss their past, but activity makes people think about their future. One of the factors that stimulate the situation of working hard is the fear of being kept in the past. Even if there are other factors that motivated people to participate in the killings, Nkunzumwami (1996: 172-176) confirmed that many people responded to the genocide ideology because they were very poor and were jobless.

7.5.1 Pillars of public realization

There is no major achievement in Rwanda that is not measured against the hard times of the genocide period. There is an amazing appreciation of how the consequences of genocide memorials are managed. This has an implication in defining those symbols of traumatic memories and hence the product of the genocide. Genocide memorials are places that reflect a portion of the history of the country, from the upheaval of the genocide period to the building of memories of that period.

The positive and negative significance that people read and hear from the symbols of traumatic memories is a reality that necessitates attention to help people objectively interpret what those places reflect. Some of the respondents (Q10) revealed how the kind of zeal that the community has in the interpretation of the message conveyed by genocide memorials unfortunately cannot help the community to discover some of the aspects that jeopardize their social relationships. The

misinterpretation manifested in people's definition of the genocide memorials reflects how the community is blindly following a public position that is conceived from top-down and unholistically – which makes the community see these symbols as strange in their community. This has seriously affected the improvement of the social environment in the post-1994 genocide.

From this point of view, people interpret this as a great achievement. Actually, it is a realization that explains the goodwill of the public in caring about community problems. They positively support the need to look for justice and demystify that which destroyed community values. Genocide memorials are not voiceless, but speak on behalf of the one who put an end to the mass murder of the Tutsis. They are the illustrations of invisible power materialized in the places of memory.

Social changes do not happen as an accident, yet they take time and the contribution of people to make them happen. The symbols that emphasize the past hold the population back, and people analyze them using past social problems, but also using today's realizations. The community integrates their messages into the entire environment. If the population is still finding its way out of poverty, misreading history and recovering their social values, the symbols stand in the way of living and expressing the weakness of the past and the present.

Respondents (Q11) pointed out that since they are involved in defining and interpreting the message of genocide memorials, they are given an opportunity to adopt their own position towards the genocide memorials, and consequently the community can in turn contribute to managing some negative effects caused by them. Given the extent to which these symbols affect the improvement of the socio-emotional aspect of some Rwandans, their interpretation must be considered by the leaders as the contribution of the community which is traumatized by the presence of these symbols.

There is a psychological healing through these symbols of traumatic memories which is emphasized by the public apparatus. They are important as symbols that provoke the attitude of sharing stories. Through commentaries on those symbols people come to express their anguish and they are thus opening their hearts to healing. This highlights the importance of the public decision to use all means to comfort the community. According to the theory of counselling, ignoring or hiding emotions cannot help people to move on or to heal people's wounds. The symbols are helping the community stop being prisoners of their own thinking.

7.5.2 Restriction of functional interpretation of genocide memorials

Although there is indispensability in having symbols of memory, their contents necessitate a delicate emphasis, as they are able to restrict their functional consequences by the malaise that is the result of their physical appearances. Caring about the memorials is essential. A neglected symbol of memory does not help, but would dehumanize the *living family* and the *living dead.* Coquio (2004: 75) indicates that to effectively equip a genocide memorial to be functionally helpful, the attention would not emphasize details of the traumatic stories while they were still fresh.

The genocide memorials keep xenophobia alive in the community. This does not let people comfortably define their identity. This trauma does not go away; sixteen years later it is still negatively affecting the community. Underlining the problem of discovering an identity, the community's struggle defines properly their identity after a cruel conflict that negatively affected the people's sovereignty (Piralian 1994: 6). The phobia of the people is deeper than what is expressed. Facing everyday representation reminds them that these problems are affecting their identity bond. A key informant stated that the management of those genocide memorials should take into account those consistent latent consequences that undermine the well-being of the community, and by extension, the identity of the society (Interview with anonymous key informant, January 2010).

Identity is something that has a double definition; it is an inner heritage but is also a social fabric. Even if the community does have that inner heritage of their identity, how they consider their identity is embedded in the socio-political environment which is essential to human life. Remembering is part of life, but some aspects of what life is require more attention. Is memory an obligation or activity that comes from a free will? If it is an obligation that proposes what should be remembered to the one who is remembering, it loses its significance and becomes a political instrument of expressing something else behind remembering.

Vierbücher, quoted by Piralian (1994: 71), compares remembrance to silent music that has various notes. In checking if there are notes that could give birth to hostilities, the people generate other discriminations. Producing mass graves is the concern of the one who is viewing the traumatic events. Annihilation, dehumanization and violence are notes that are vibrant in the conscious and subconscious of the population's mind.

If people remain in the domain of the present research, this music is able to entertain the population in their conflict. If there is an individual who is deeply aggrieved, communication tends to be limited. Through representation, the person is likely to read anxiety and sadness into images in order to understand their feelings. For a short time, this is a healing step, exorcising the harassments, but if they endure as written words they continue to harm the person morally and psychologically.

As Levi (1988: 23) explains, ―a person who has been wounded tends to block out the memory so as not to renew the pain; the person who has inflicted the wound pushes the memory deep down, to get rid of it, to alleviate the feeling of guilt". Communication is very hard, because wounds are still fresh. Talk about enhancing social relations is at the definitional level. People accuse each other rather than opening a way forward, if the messages of the symbols of traumatic memory

are dwelt upon. The bitterness of people is provoked by the message of those symbols, pointed out the respondents.

Respondents (Q9 & 10) felt that there is a atmosphere of suspicion which is a barrier to opening an embryonic process of improving social relations. The physical proximity of the symbols does not disclose the communication, but increases the atmosphere of fear. Murambi, Nyamata and Bisesero genocide memorials, because of the details that are contained there, provoke the emotion of each one and hence foster a suspicious atmosphere. A very large number of people were massacred there. The first impression people have is that those who are living close to the memorial must have been involved in the killing.

There is a difficult social environment when one visits these symbols of traumatic memories. Is the community equipped to think beyond what they see, hear or sense, and do they have the space for dealing with these messages? There is an ambivalent context that the emotions still experience, to really know the social environment. Respondents (Q9) pointed out that they are very sensitive symbols that that play a big role in people's emotions.

There is a long way to go; maybe a simple representation would be enough for today. Future generation could take action as not being directly concerned with the emotional side of the event. There are other aspects that require consideration, not only an emphasis on the memory. Memory has its place in community life, but the context in which memory is integrated is more meaningful. Nefsky (1998: xii, 4) states: ―although memory is necessary, alone it will not suffice to protect the community […]. Memory is not entirely in our control". The community should keep it in mind that, if memory is not totally controlled by their will, its management can harm the social environment.

7.6 Functional, dysfunctional, non-functional interpretation of the messages of genocide memorials

The messages genocide memorials communicate are sensibly dominated by the common people's interpretation. The interpretation exposes people's concerns about the dominating messages which destroy and bring shame to community social relationships, and which harm their identity bond. In spite of the fact that there is a dominance of dysfunctional consequences, the functional effects of the symbols were pointed out by respondents (Q4, 7 & 9). In the views of the respondents (Q6 & 13), in order to avoid traumatic memories for the community in the neighbourhoods of the genocide memorials, mass graves would be preferred to the houses of memory where parts of human bodies are exposed – and this directly or indirectly influences the way the community views these places.

The dysfunctional consequence that tends to overwhelm the functional ones provokes everyday conflict. An estimated 11% of the respondents (Q7 & 9) critically stipulated that genocide memorials which speak out about struggles and nightmares of the population seem to be barriers to the community well-being because they maintain a atmosphere of suspicion among the community. Genocide memorials convey a sentiment of panic that makes people feel uncomfortable. This situation is viewed by the community as similar to the time of suspicion that followed the 1994 genocide. Sometimes, frustration can push the community to violent behaviour. We talked about a situation of suspicion among the community, and the reality is that from that suspicion, stereotypes form in the community. This proves once again why there are concerns in reading and interpreting the symbols of memory. One of the factors that aggravated division among Rwandans was the identification of social groups through ethnic based identity cards.

From the researcher's observation, as genocide memorials resurrect the sentiment of death and shame among the community, there is a need to be careful when relating to the symbols. They are perpetual pictures of a cruel period. They are heart-breaking. A respondent mentioned that a

number of people continue to be traumatized when visiting the symbols, especially during the week of public mourning (Individual interview with anonymous respondent, January 2010). This affirms that there is a negative impact of recalling all traumatic aspects of the freshness of the genocide period. If the result is high numbers of traumatized people it means the emphasis on that period is harmful.

People do not clearly understand how to address some stories around the genocide memorials without re-wounding the community. This is a complex situation. Respondents (Q10) revealed that ―relatives that were living together are, all of a sudden turned against each other, and in the end condemn each other. Talking about their relationships is a multifaceted story that requires time to be clearly addressed. There are some embryonic stories that give hope to improving the relationship between them but it is too early to confirm this".

Living together has been heavily criticized as not being an indicator of the fact that the community is living improved social relationships. Until the days of genocide, the Rwandan community did not have any problem with cohabitation. ―Even prior to the genocide, there were no signs that genocide could happen. Struggles and inequalities were pointed out but not really announcing that the genocide could be as cruel as it was", stated a key informant (Anonymous key informant interview, January 2010).

From the context in which the Rwandan genocide happened, revising the symbols does not help the population to progress. Instead the symbols keep them in fear of what is going on in the community which could result in positive change. They confirm that there is change but it does not make them feel secure. Those memories revisited through symbols are indexed to maintain the community's fear with significant consequences to Rwandan social relationships today. Before the genocide, respondents (Q13) said that their struggles were located somewhere else, such as in education, the army, leadership and so forth, but not in social relationships.

These struggles were sensed by the local community indirectly, since they were not competing for places and they were not able to critically analyze their situation. When it came to the time of informing them, they were convinced that it was the right way of doing things. A few educated people in their leadership circle disagreed, thinking that community relations in Rwanda would consider other factors. Based on the above, the following was collected from a key informant:

> ―In the beginning, neighbours were living in harmony and suddenly started killing each other, and few months later started condemning each other. These accusations include various controversial stories. Few of them are false accusations, others are true and others standing between. When the system of *gacaca* courts were initiated and revealed how the social relationship in the community was still fragile. The reality is that the political power is controlling the situation hoping to move ahead, but the community social relation is uncertain and the genocide memorials symbols are not communicating any message that can help in improving this situation" (Interview with anonymous key informant, January 2010).

The reality is that Rwandans do not have a culture of criticizing what they hear, especially from the elders or political authorities. The assimilation seems to be easier than analyzing or criticizing. If there is any exception to this, there are few that go beyond what is expressed. This behaviour does not open a deeper discussion; a looking in other corners that require deeper attention to discover their contents.

The repeated message of genocide memorials links the community to fear, death and shame. The messages are unable to define how this came to be true in their context. Victims and victimizers are both ashamed, because the presence of the symbols of traumatic memories questions their cultural identity and their social relations. Visiting the genocide memorials results in frustrating social relations, in a context where the community does not have any choice but to live together. Despite the fact that the genocide did happen in Rwanda, along with its consequences, land and culture are still shared and people have to live together. There is an atmosphere of constraint that

forces community relations to take place, stressed respondents (Q10). This possibility can be exploited to improve community relationships.

Genocide memorials were, and are, being designed while there is a crisis in social relationships. People are looking for their identity, living in fear and wounded by the tragic death and shame of what happened to them. However, life concerns today are not all about social relationships, but about living conditions. As people experience the pressure of poverty, their social relations are affected and people define social relations by referring to the crucial problem of poverty. The role of poverty in the Rwandan conflicts before, during and after the genocide must not be ignored. Some people killed their neighbours just to take their belongings. In the situation described above, some people in the community are still hopeless about tomorrow. Although the government is trying to formulate how Rwandans' relationships should be, the government should look at all the factors contributing to the deterioration of the social relationships.

The message of the genocide memorials has been interpreted by the respondents (Q13) as ‗an endless time of mourning" as the commemoration has been carried out for sixteen years after the genocide. The question of how to bury the past and continue to remember, without harming community life, was stressed. Jewsiewicki (2002: 126) wonders ‗how to separate the past from the present without forgetting what happened, without abandoning the dead to oblivion". If there is no end to the mourning, for Rwandans this means that reparation and integration is not easy. If reparation and integration are not done, social relationships are negatively affected.

The time for ending the mourning in Rwandan culture is a crucial moment for discussing the madness of the past and seeing jointly in which way the situation can be resolved. To this end, the community is engaged in new life after the disrupting death. At this time relatives and neighbours will be free to go back to their normal lives. Currently people live in an atmosphere that does not allow them to be free, as they continue to mourn and do not end their time of mourning. They are surrounded by fear of death and react accordingly. The symbols of traumatic

memories are ensuring that mourning will continue to keep the population's mind on the abnormal reactions which generate non-standard or uncertain behaviour. There is an intimidation related to this period that disrupts the normal process of mourning and makes genocide memorials critical places.

The emphasis on the time of mourning, on the social relationships between the deceased and the community, and on the rest of the social relations within the community is seen to be problematic. In highlighting the fundamental relations between the departed and the community, the *living family* highlighted what caused them to die and this is emphasized in the houses of memory.

There is a concern that the conflict between the departed and the living community cannot be resolved and respondents (Q13) who raised this issue quoted the saying that ―*Inzigoiba mu muryango*" [the evils of a family member strain the whole family and if revenge were to apply, the entire family had to suffer]. However, in spite of these challenges, the contribution of the community in improving social relations is not clearly seen. Being prisoners of the past has been shown to cause negative effects. One of the illustrating examples is the declaration of the president of *Ibuka* during the communal social work in the Nyanza genocide memorial. He expressed the desire to change how Nyanza genocide memorial is arranged, with stones in the courtyard, instead of flowers and herbs, to signify the absence of life during the genocide.

After sixteen years, the period of trauma has to be emphasized more. People are transplanting the struggles of yesterday into the present. There is no life to be expressed within those symbols and whoever enters them should sense that. All genocide memorials should communicate this deeply. The genocide memorials keep the community in the nightmares of the genocide and this cannot contribute to equipping the population effectively to move forward. They are under the pressure of the past (Rwandan Television declaration: News of 27 April 2010).

People are looking at all means of keeping the past vivid. Respondents (Q9) highlighted that the population is worried about being backward-facing and focusing on the past rather than the future. The community's efforts in building expensive genocide memorials explain their interest in the stories of the past. People do not visit the genocide memorials to learn or seek explanations; they go there to read somehow what is in their hearts and thus make comparisons. A complex tool of communication gives birth to a complex message. Respondents mentioned that the reciprocity between looking backward to the traumatic situation and hoping to improve social relations are polar situations. The experience which harms the population is constraining the process of humanizing the environment of Rwanda. Within this perspective, the main force of the population focuses on trying to understand what made those traumatic events happen and this somehow affects the beliefs about the changes in the situation. In addressing a message that disrupts the community, putting the event in the centre of everyday life is surely not helping the population to improve their social environment, since the same community includes victims and perpetrators.

These symbols are engraving on the memory of the community a fear that cannot allow them to heal their divisions The simple messages received from them capture the population's minds. The atmosphere does not help the community to think about what to do next, but generates a sentiment of a suspicion. Chaumont (2002: 11) stressed that if the community keeps meditating on the past, they are creating latent conflict. This view was supported by respondents (Q 9, 10 & 11) in the present study.

Remembrance engages revisiting the past. The symbol that materializes this remembrance keeps appearing in people's seeing, talking and thinking. This could be beneficial if remembrance concerned good realities, but if it concerns bad happenings such as the genocide, ‗the attempts to mutual understanding‗ could hardly be the case within the Rwandan situation (Simon 2005: 3-4).

Respondents (Q9) wondered themselves about what remembering is, how to remember and what images should be remembered. Bringing back all the emotional and cruel images of killing is a tragic way of recording what happened. It communicates a non-liberating message. It imprisons people in fear and sadness. How to deal with that sadness necessitates a public consideration of building a non-violent symbol of traumatic memory.

7.6.1 The suspected coherence

The symbols of memories are questioning the everyday life of the people. From the views of the respondents on different questions, the researcher observed that the mutual understanding that seems to be in the community is not trusted by some members of the community. Referring to the experience even before the genocide, things seemed well among the grassroots community. Today's situation cannot guarantee people that the population has changed their mind! There is a dissonance between what is said and the everyday situation; there is an interrogating silence which announces the embarrassment of social coherence; there is an ambivalent environment

Genocide memorials have an uncertain message that keeps the population in latent conflict. They express dehumanization and death happening simultaneously. These cumulative effects keep people re-living the genocide nightmares and, as a result, keep people in a situation of division. From the above situation, one wanders through the exhibits overwhelmed by sadness. The exhibits have repetitive traumatic stories. The way to avoid repeating traumatic stories was discussed during the focus groups without getting any answer. However, for the sake of healing, this situation must be accepted and managed, but in the period of memory people should rethink their dissonant ways of evaluating the situation. Nevertheless, in spite of the dominant dysfunctional role played by the genocide memorials as seen earlier, as instrumental tools of traumatic memories, the genocide memorials have functional roles. They are, however, dominated by many dysfunctional aspects. People need to read them and consider their functional and dysfunctional consequences (Pollak 1990: 316). The approach of detailing the traumatic story into a house of memory needs attention to give those symbols positive meanings.

7.6.2 The analogy of an "electric installation"

Memorials have a significant role in the process of facing the past in post-conflict Rwanda. The fact that almost all the groups gave a critical review on messages included in the genocide memorials, shows how they are controversial to many people in the community. Given the high level at which they affect community relations, what is required is to inform the population as to how delicate they are. An elderly respondent compared this situation to _an electric installation ―:

> The relationships in the community are like an electric circuit whereby the messages of the community are like a cable that connects the individuals and their community problems. When there is delicate connection, it gives light and this is what is needed to illuminate a place. Controversially, the same cable can burn up all things because of bad installation. Either a technical problem can happen or the destination may have problems. The facts of misconnection cannot be observed from the cable, but from the destination or the source of power (electricity). Whether in this analogy of ―lectricity installation" or in the case of genocide memorials - accidents are waited for and their consequences cannot be avoided. The best to do is to consider all those aspects in designing those symbols of traumatic memories. The symbols of memory are imperative as electricity but it is essential to make sure one doesn't abuse them, but use them efficiently so they may not harm deeply the community (Individual interview with anonymous respondent, January 2010)

Reflecting on the analogy of an ―electricity installation", in setting up the server there is power regulation. The cable's size, according to what is needed, is of paramount importance. Unfortunately this step was not considered resulting in the implementation of the symbols being carried out emotionally and some realities not being discussed. The atmosphere was too tense to see possible negative implications in the future. The complexity of the situation did not allow the designer of those symbols to think beyond their elementary existence, said some respondents (Q9)

The similarity between genocide memorials and the system of electric power dominated the attention of the group during discussions. The system is installed by the one who knows how to deal with electricity. If there is any mistake with the installation, the whole system is affected and thus the house is destroyed. The negotiation of a further solution will be after drastic consequences. Respondents (Q7 & 9) felt that genocide memorials are necessary to the

community but are not without negative connotations. Their two poles, negative and positive, are able to either resolve or maintain discriminating language among the community.

The effects of genocide memorials should have been sensed at the beginning, when designing them. The fragility of the situation today deserves deeper analysis of some influences among the community. In the beginning, genocide memorials reflected good impressions from the population, but the interpretation of these symbols of memory was the root of the problem among the community.

The same respondent (Q9) emphasized that, until today, discussions concerning the finishing of the memorials which are still under construction - of how to equip them, their construction not meeting the standards of memorials, the keeping of the remains of bodies and the tools used to kill and so on - is emphasized, but their psychological management is not emphasized. The management of the physical place is highlighted, but their emotional consequences among the community are not carefully considered in term of the end-results of those places. They are burning up the emotional energy of the community. In fact, there is no guarantee of avoiding tribulation when you connect your place to the electricity. What is required is to equip you to reduce the negative effects. This is a realistic attitude that people can have, yet people that are connected still experience that fragility of being somehow harmed even by that high level of attention.

Functional and dysfunctional aspects of the symbols have been thoroughly discussed. The designer and user of the symbols are both concerned by the struggles of Rwanda. Who is the technician of those symbols and their messages whom can reduce their dysfunctional aspects? This is the dilemma, because the technician and the user are concerned about their sensitivity. The designer and the user of the symbols have their experience relating to the genocide memorials, but they have a predefined orientation to analyze them.

The history responsible for the existence of the genocide memorials affected the designer and the user of the symbols and this is crucial to the use the symbols and what to include in them. Coquio (2004: 79) stressed the danger that the symbol of memory is able to provoke division. It was raised by different groups that they are symbols that are like mines, destabilizing the Rwandan people. The dilemma is how to manage that atmosphere by minimizing the harmful aspects of their messages.

Respondents pointed out that ―there is fragility in what people call social relationships. This might be worsened by the genocide and the poverty of the people, since the latter is always behind every Rwandan conflict. In order to address change, people must work for an improved development and from there they would be able to discuss easily some issues that are undermining social environment‖. The community responsibility of improving their social relationship is not the focus of their responses as they are waiting for external factors to improve them.

7.7 Conclusion

From the focus group and interviews, various stories have revealed that some common factors can be pointed out as cutting across all group discussions. The interpretation of the messages that genocide memorials convey can be classified as functional and dysfunctional roles. Non-functional roles were not mentioned. There is both convergence and divergence in the interpretation of genocide memorials‗ messages. Different variables were emphasized as summarizing the discussion of the way the community understands the messages that genocide memorials communicate. Throughout the community‗s interpretations, genocide memorials are helpful and teaching tools that are able to improve the coherence of the community via their functional roles.

Those highlighted manifest functions of the genocide memorials do help social relationships of the community to strengthen. The place of a tomb within those places is a comfort to the *living*

dead and the *living family*. The main focus of the groups was that cultural considerations of tombs makes them considered as important places that materialize the presence of the *living dead* among the community. This is a supportive factor that gives relief to the community that did not perform the rituals related to death at the usual time, when killings took place. Thus the public concern for these places gives emotional support to the *living family*.

There is an honour, a recognition of the humanity of the deceased, and of the living family, by the entire community. There is a step that tends to humanize the social environment of the aftermath of the genocide through these symbols of traumatic memory that have to be understood in an effort to improve the social environment. Genocide memorials are viewed by the community as cemeteries and this gives them a cultural and social necessity, responding to the cultural need. Even if this consideration is not the whole manifest function behind their creation, it has an important characteristic among the community.

Viewed as cemeteries, memorials improve community coherence through the rites of burial. The potential of the messages of genocide memorials to influence the ongoing process of settling the problems of Rwandan social relationships has been located in that humanization of the deceased and the survivors. There is an acceptance that they were not foreigners in their country, but had a heritage in their ancestral land. The tomb is therefore viewed as an eternal land heritage. The population responds positively to genocide memorials, confusing them with the place of mass graves. Conversely, memorials are feared and disrupt the community by communicating a message rooted in division and hatred. The houses of memory highlight the cruelty of the community. After viewing the messages, people lose hope and cannot see the way out of their struggles. They are exposing an excessive fragility among the community, which embarrasses people.

Teaching and learning from detrimental traumatic stories may result in frustrations that complicate the definition of a nation's identity. The horrible human exhibits in the houses of memory do not allow any space to a stranger to share their stories as a way of healing wounds.

She or he rather experiences terrible stories that can lead to fear and intimidation, or even reopen the wounds of the community. The repetition of traumatic stories is dangerous. It stresses and reminds the community of their past and compels them to live under the pressure of those negative forces. Networking those emotional places to the everyday life of the community requires a delicate decision. The complexity of a genocide memorial demands attention in quoting them, since their messages hold back the community in the nightmares of the genocide period. Building a genocide memorial is a significant decision, but caring about the manifest, latent and dysfunctional consequences of those symbols and materializing the Rwandan conflict is more important.

The symbols that stand for conflict via dysfunctional consequences are likely to dominate. The interpretation of the message the symbols of traumatic memories are communicating is dominated by their dysfunctional roles. They do not propose another way of living, but help the community to return to their anguish. In addition, the values of the community were destroyed; they polluted the environment and distorted the social identity. The heavy burden that was caused by what makes the symbols exist can push the population to actively change their mindsets, either positively or negatively. The insecurity felt in the place of memory is a shock that can invoke different reactions.

Through the community interpretation of messages genocide memorials communicate, apart from mass graves, other stories are between their functional and dysfunctional roles. Being informed about the roots and consequences of the genocide ideology in order to avoid it and combat all kinds of decisions is not sensed strongly by the interpretation of their messages as manifest roles of genocide memorials. They are not grounding the community in this atmosphere. The truth is that community interpretations of genocide memorials are multidimensional, in that they underline the manifest, latent and dysfunctional roles among the community. The message of genocide memorials can affect community relationships either negatively or positively. There is no other way of avoiding the negative effects of those symbols

that stand for community divisions where its identity is not strong enough to stand into that feared atmosphere.

Chapter Eight: CONCLUSION

8.1 Summary

In conclusion, this research discussed ‗An Exploration of Community Perceptions and Understandings of Rwandan Genocide Memorials' using functionalist theory as a tool for reading different messages that are addressed by those symbols to the community. The interpretations of those messages helped the researcher to discover their potential influence on the ongoing process of settling the problems of Rwandan social relationships. This research defined memory as the ability to store, retain and recall information of the past and a factor that influences the present in a particular way in the social environment. The point was that from past and present experiences, the future can be predicted and symbols of memory are retrospective and prospective.

The research highlighted how complex the concepts of memory, remembrance and genocide memorials are, and this is illustrated by the fact that the community interprets them differently and that difference to some extent becomes a barrier to the improvement of social relationships in the post-1994 genocide Rwanda. On the other hand, these concepts are politicized and lose their expected functions. One of the reasons is that the memory concerns many aspects that reopen the wounds of the community. Once the story that is remembered is open to various understandings and considerations, the national symbols of memory are automatically sensed in different ways. Their functional and dysfunctional roles among the community are emphasized and the symbols of memory are defined as being authoritative, as they influence community behaviours in their physical appearance, as ‗people perceive places with all five senses' (Hayden 1999: 144).

Nevertheless, when people are given a chance to discuss and to tell their side of the story about the memory, the risk of being wounded by the nightmares of the genocide reduces. This is one

290

important functional role of these symbols of traumatic memories. They are spaces that permit people to revisit their past traumatic history and stories. The views of Vidal (2004: 9) make a good summary, when he says that covering up traumatizing effects of an event is not a solution to protect the population from its negative effects, as these effects continue to be carried in the heart of the people. From his understanding, symbols of trauma are like giving a possibility to the community to be healed with the passage of time.

We have further seen in this research that the space of revisiting the past trauma does not necessarily need physical images that potentially re-wound the community. The location where the killings event took place plays that role. Genocide memorials attempt to play the role of those spaces that let the community tell their stories. Finding a moment for peace in turbulent times is difficult. There is a dilemma in that killings are included, even in repeating the message of traumatic memory or the letting go of those traumas. Genocide memorials are able to develop unhealthy social relationships or to improve them.

This research emphasized the complexity of symbols of memory and the way they help to formulate their definitions. Some stories that are focused on seem to be particular to the moment that is stressed by the political orientation. The number of people who are affected and the position of the state in the matter are the factors that show how the symbols of memory will be considered. Sometimes the stories that concern the event in memory are tortured by emotions. To some extent, memory is the reality of what happened. This includes the untrue stories that are purposefully added.

In the case of the community members who suffered the different atrocities, the symbols of those traumatic memories were also revived. This is critical in the Rwandan situation, where the legacy of the past is still stressful for the population and social cohesion is not yet settled. Although memory is human reality, states Waintrater (2003: 91), it keeps the event alive and its traumatic

aspects are able to re-wound the one who is remembering. The traumatic stories remembered are costly and do not result in functional consequences only. It has also dysfunctional consequences among the community.

The manifest, latent function and dysfunction postulates of the functionalist approach have been used as conduits, throughout respondents' discussions and interviews, to understand the use of genocide memorials. This study found that genocide memorials have both functional and dysfunctional roles, but with dysfunctional roles being dominant. In fact, each functional role includes a dysfunctional role and each role is doubled by functional and dysfunctional poles and there is no differentiation between the two consequences. There is a duality that has been observed throughout discussions and interviews.

In view of the above, the conclusion of this research is that the dysfunctional and functional roles of the genocide memorials cannot be separated. We have seen that the emphasized manifest functions of the symbols as ‗teaching tools' have a dysfunctional aspect of preparing and turning an atmosphere of learning into an atmosphere of fear that is able to generate revenge due to the traumatic images used. As the genocide memorials are intended to teach the community, respondents stated during the discussions that they learn under fear of the negative implications that genocide memorials should generate in the long-run.

Learning under fear complicates the learners' attitudes, because they feel they are intimidated, which can be destructive. Using genocide memorials, particularly the place where physical images lie, makes the students feel traumatized and this was observed by the researcher as being risky. As they underline the difference between the population and the atrocity of the period of genocide, this is able to culminate in other atrocities among learners and, as a result, complicate their social environment.

For more understanding, another example to illustrate this duality is the repetition of traumatic stories. Underlined as a way of healing, as counsellors' support it, it helps the community to diminish its anguish. People discuss their internal conflict and this is a process of letting go of their trauma. At the same time, the repetition of their anguish intoxicates their offspring. In emphasizing their problem between the two social groups in Rwanda, they maintain those divisions. There is fear of ushering in a desire for revenge in the next generation.

The heavy burden that is caused by what makes those symbols exist can push the population to change their mindsets, either positively or negatively; this was sensed throughout respondents' answers. The potential to influence the ongoing process of improving the social relationships among Rwandans, using the genocide memorial, is standing between the negative and positive poles. The positive contribution of genocide memorials was not clearly detected. They are symbols of memory, but the justification behind their creation is not emphasized as helping the process of improving the social environment.

Nevertheless, the physical place of genocide memorials in the form of tombs is important- and burying the remains of those who were killed during the genocide and performing cultural rituals related to death is good for the community as well. But at the same time, during the group discussion, the community showed that some places are significantly more necessary than others. Indeed, quoting the different arguments of various authors, Giddens highlights that ―Meaning is not an echo, a reduplication, a structural mirroring of the thing meant, aided perhaps by the struts of a formal framework: it is the possession of a place, a role, in a language, a form of life, a culture" (Giddens, 1974: 15). In this, the meaning controls behaviour of the community.

In describing a symbol, people reveal where their interests lie. Their interpretations express what they perceive and how they understand things. People's interpretations show their concerns and how they are affected by the consequences of the subject matter. In this research, we have seen

that the meanings of the genocide memorials reveal that the community interest is in the mass grave and the garden. The population is responding to those symbols because they include the cemetery which makes them unavoidable as they are near to the community. The national commemoration of the genocide is organized there and the population participates.

Genocide memorials are open and their different perceived messages are orientated to two poles that give two ways of interpreting those messages. Firstly, the community reads those symbols using the place of tombs of mass graves, where people read a message of comfort and release into genocide memorials. The recognition of their deceased, and the public emphasis on the issue of burying them in well-managed symbols of memory, resurrects some sentiment of humanity and honour. The community considers these places as a heritage and a place of cultural practice and a latent function.

Spijker (1990: 115) stressed this functional role of being a place that releases and comforts the *living family*. The tomb becomes a symbol of remembrance and the family has to visit and take care of it. There is continuity in this relationship. This is fundamental in Rwandan culture, where people believe that even if the person dies physically, she or he remains in the family psychologically. In spite of the top-down involvement of the state, the community still values the existence of the genocide memorials.

This manifest role of genocide memorials positively affects the community's social relations. This helps the community accept the loss and integrate the *living dead* into the process of the ritual related to death. Tombs assure the community that the rituals related to death are performed in order to avoid aggressive reactions of those who died but were not buried. The mass grave sections of genocide memorials were appreciated by all groups, to be a place that makes material the genocide memorials. The genocide memorials that are represented as tombs

are Nyange, Nyamasheke, Shyorongi, Kamonyi, Rebero and Nyanza, where all remains are buried. The population considers them to be models of genocide memorials.

The public recognizes through the genocide memorials the large number of people killed. The effort to humanize the *living family* and the *living dead* by building memorials is essential. The re-establishment of those relations makes the community that is steeped in cultural practices of death feel released. Hence, genocide memorials are places that refuse to let ‗deaths go unrecognized or distorted by propaganda' (Prunier, 1995: xii). There is an effort to recognize the right of the family to have a place where the *living dead* are.

Actually, such acceptance of the loss to the community is a stage to accepting the event which made these people pass away. Taught as a symbol of the dead, they are responding to the question of burying the past and continuing to remember without abandoning the dead to oblivion. They are helping the community to separate the past from the present. This may help the community to move forward (Jewsiewicki, 2002: 126).

The genocide memorials that include houses of memory, with traumatic images and exhibitions truly communicate an endless mourning. If there is no end to the mourning time, for Rwandans, this means reparation and integration into normal life is not easy. This means, in turn, that the community is still under the pressure of death, that there is no normal life and the community is living in a delicate situation. Improving their social conditions in this situation does not look easy. There is a fragility of social relationships in the aftermath of the genocide. Social relationships continue to be uncertain and respondents said some aspects of the house of memory contribute to it. Houses of memory thicken the atmosphere of fear. The images and other exhibitions inside the houses of memory tend to be shameful for the community.

This dysfunctional role of the genocide memorials was highlighted by respondents, who said that genocide memorials' messages maintain fear among the community and jeopardize social relationships. They emphasize the image of a cruel community and this cruelty imprisons people in an insecure environment. Genocide memorials' messages thus negatively affect the social relationships of the community. The mute dialogue inside the house of memory recalls the collectivization of innocence or wrong-doing (Niwese 2001: 13).

Genocide memorials tend to enforce stereotypes and generalize the community's behaviour and this affects the family identity. The state's regulation of the community' social relations are the only solution expected, but this is not from personal decision, it is like a proposed behaviour. The cohabitation, as the neighbourhood, has been defined as superficial because of state regulation. People do not have other options. Perpetrators and victims share may things in the community, and have the same social institutions and means of livelihood. Measuring the improvement of the cohabitation is not definitely clear. If the atmosphere seems to be calm, it is because of the power of the state to manage the situation. The value of a traumatic memorial in facilitating cohabitation cannot be assessed.

Since one social group victimized the other, it is obvious that there will be consequent behaviour. This may be the response to the atrocities by other atrocities and this atmosphere is potential to increase the problems of social relations. Memorials stimulate a fearful and uncertain atmosphere. The community's communication system is embarrassed. The presence of these places in the community illustrate an agenda, such as the organization of the local community to visit them as a group, the communal work in those places and the participation in reburying the remains and the remembrance. This presence in these places to some extent proposes to the community a certain behaviour that makes the places more important than any other place. In this, the community consciously develops closeness to the traumatic memories.

However, on the other hand, to be attached to places that critically define their identity, people become uncomfortable and their past has no significance in the present. Reading this controversy in the houses of memory willingly or unwillingly involves the declining of the family identity. How does one protect the identity of the coming generation against the frustrations that complicate who they are? In fact, there is a dilemma about defining the past using the perspective of the aftermath of genocide.

The physical appearance that includes houses, gardens, places of masses graves, house of memory and other tools used during the genocide were pointed at as having the potential to undermine the social relationships of future generations. Altman and Low (1992: 62) stressed that people develop an attachment to places that have a critical history in the well-being of the population, even if it brings frustration to their lives and so, genocide memorials are visited by many people. There is a large number that fear them, however, because they are not ready to face the horror expressed and represented inside the houses of memory. These places of memory maintain community fragility, they stimulate a perpetual fear that is already entertained by the event they stand for. These dysfunctional effects among the community have been revealed by respondents.

Respondents proposed a very simple monument, which does not include images and other exhibitions, similar to those places of memory which include mass graves and a wall of names, such as the Rebero and Nyanza genocide memorials. These memorials would help the heartbroken to recover and to be open to positive discussion, as they are not highly sensitive.

Respondents suggested that letting people continue to read the message of shame in the genocide memorials is similar to keeping the population in a perpetual traumatic situation. Lasting symbols of traumatic memories will always be prisons for community identity. Genocide memorials are inert in communicating the way forward. They maintain tension between the

Rwandan social groups, who feel that an improvement in social relations from reading and interpreting the messages in the memorials is not expected soon.

The political interest in making these symbolic complexes is a way of materializing the ideology that should be known. Unfortunately the community is not discovering this manifest function. The destructive aspect of the genocide ideology and discrimination is not sensed by the community. They refer to the ideology as the cause of their relatives' deaths, but not as something that can teach them to change their mentality. The message that is emphasized points a finger at the problems of leadership. If leaders are good enough, the population does not have any problem. People are still reticent to accept their roles, they are accusing leadership and saying that indeed those details are there for local leaders and that they are used as a political tool to address to leaders a message". The influence of the ideology and the community's beliefs is not detected.

The ideology behind the creation of the genocide memorial sites is to influence the community's understandings and considerations of their everyday lives. The measurement of all realizations in the Rwandan community is explained by the sentence from different respondents in this study, ―at least they recognized the population that died innocently". This generates an atmosphere of appreciation of the state's actions and critics are ignored in the name of not letting death go unrecognized. A latent function of genocide memorials is that they are windows for appreciating the state's empathy.

People are different and from these differences they differently emphasize events or episodes of events. To hold those pluralities within one symbol of memory looks impossible. The latent functional aspect of this message is on the emphasis of the good definition of the public interest to be on the community side. It equips people with confidence that the state cares about the community. Even if the community feels that genocide memorials resurrect social vulnerability

(Prunier 1999: 426), they also point to the public concern relating to those who died during the genocide and the will to console the community.

Giving sense to the aftermath of the genocide includes the capacity to analyze and understand the context in which the community lives. To investigate the negative impact of the past situation, and increase the possibility to improve the social environment, necessitates the combination of different factors and agents of change. Genocide memorials are one of the factors that are expected to motivate changes in social relations and this manifest function was not confirmed. It was difficult to link the presence of genocide memorials and the hope for better social relationships.

The result of the uncertain atmosphere in which the community lives does not predict what happens next. Building trust in the social environment is still an unconfident way to access the past. The past is traumatizing the present population, where community social interactions are safe. There is a dilemma that comes from using a tool that materializes and recalls traumatic experiences. Building a trustable social environment from those places that represent an incomprehensible reality is not clearly defined. Uncontrolled emotions stirred up by the fresh images inside the house of memory undermine the lives of the population. They are places that express lives as meaningful, referring to the place of tombs. They also express meaningless lives, referring to the images in the houses of memory.

The values, principles and ways of living in Rwanda's society are challenged by the places of traumatic memory. Do they mean that the challenge will end up in a positive decision to say ‗never again' or in a perpetual desire for vengeance? Their expected function supports the fact that their messages contribute to positive changes. On the other hand, their dysfunctional consequences confirm that their messages are able to provoke psycho-social violence. If some people interpret their loneliness, their widowed state, their poor living conditions through those

symbols of memory, the one at whom the finger is pointed will never be able to improve the social relationships with the one that is still struggling to understand their conditions. Genocide memorials symbols denounce the community's cruelty and make understandable the sense of Rwandan values of a human being.

The uncertain atmosphere those symbols of memory communicate make people fear the present and the future, because of the past. The social relations are basically defined looking at the past that makes sense to the present. Social relationships are still questioning the present situation and wounds are still too fresh to talk about the realities of the community concern. Even if there is hope of improving the social environment of Rwanda, many factors hinder the process. Trust building, solidarity, discussing openly their past among the community to improve social relations was implemented through a top-down approach and was seemingly fruitless. Cohabitation is possible, but people are struggling to define the appropriate strategy to empower social relationships. They are in the process of understanding their identity. Estimating the improvement in social relationships after the genocide is subjective. What is observable is that some indexes give hope for their improvement, but it is too early to confirm using the symbols of traumatic memories.

8.2 Suggestions

Throughout interviews and group discussions, helpful suggestions were made by the respondents. Some of them generally pointed at the genocide memorials, as buildings, ideas and places that are used to gather information for commemorating the genocide event during the week of mourning. The sensitivity of the position of genocide memorials, linked to the commemoration and to the stories of those days, was stated by respondents to be more dysfunctional than functional. Those who are still vulnerable to being re-traumatized are assimilated with those who are strengthened to manage their emotions. In addressing speeches and testimonies, the numbers of those who are highly sensitive to these stories end up being be traumatised and hospitalised for special treatment.

From this atmosphere some suggestions need to be addressed to CNLG. This is a Rwandan government organization in charge of genocide memorials, responsible for construction, equipment and preparation of the genocide commemoration. Although memory is a necessity, it is also costly. Those two sides of memory require attention, since this necessity is part of life but its endless destructive aspect has to be deeply considered (Simon 2005: 1). Apart from the suggestions that have been raised by respondents, others emerged with data analysis through various postulates of the functionalist approach that are manifest and latent functions and dysfunctional consequences of genocide memorials.

The data collected from the fieldwork reveals that there is a need to rethink the presence of the genocide memorials in the Rwandan community in order to diminish their detrimental consequences. This is not undermining their existence, but rather would help to increase their positive impact among the people and to diminish and limit their dysfunctional roles, as they are stressing the community and standing in the way of improving social relationships. The fear of those places mentioned by all respondents during group discussions and interviews alert the public to consider the presence of fear in the environment. It interrupts the community's communication. It is dangerous to people's psychological security and affects the rest of their relationships.

8.2.1 Suggestions to the CNLG

Various public leaders are concerned by the organization of the places of genocide memorials, their location, architecture and the content of the houses of memory. The Rwandan Government has put in place CNLG, as a specialist organization, that is in charge of genocide memorials. The community is concerned only when the time comes to manage and to use the genocide memorials. The community benefit from these places is limited to being a place where it buries its people who were killed during the genocide. The community may also visit the victims' tombs.

Community members approve the memorials' presence, including mass graves, in their local environment. The respondents suggested that fresh presentations of the images that recall the tragic deaths during the genocide can be represented by cartoons or other forms of images which can reduce emotions when interring the houses of memory. The tools used to kill express much about the cruelty of that period. Indeed, many survivors are still sensitive to anything similar and are easily shocked. In addressing this suggestion of using caricatures, respondents stated that they limit emotions and thereafter, whoever goes to dig up the evidence of those events, would be responsible because, they know how difficult it is to manage such strong emotions.

The desire to investigate would not be imposed by the real-life images in the houses of memory and suddenly force people to be stressed as they see them. This suggestion received the approval of 86% of respondents, who suggested that there should be another way of representing what happened in the house of memory other than using the real-life images. This should partly release the anguish of seeing their relatives and friends being macheted and crying for help. As for the different tools that were used to kill during the genocide, the respondents suggested that they should be presented. The reason they gave was that they mean that the problem is not those materials, because they are always in use in other everyday activities. The problem is rather with the people who used them.

The next suggestion that has caught the attention of the respondents was the architecture of those buildings. The architecture of genocide memorials that include houses of memory has to take into account the level of the living conditions of the local population. Respondents cautioned that the sophisticated houses of memory are strange within the context that they would suggest, that Kigali Memorial Centre of Genocide is sufficient to keep international and national attention. Other genocide memorials should be very simple structures that the community would be able to help maintain as mass graves and walls of names.

Genocide memorials may be a teaching tool, but respondents suggested that schools have to be careful when using those places, because in emphasizing the cruelty of the past, there is a danger of precipitating violence among pupils. The emphasis should rather be on the possibility of overcoming past struggles.

The discussion of the message genocide memorials communicates included the commemoration of the genocide during the week of mourning. During this week, particular attention is paid to the place of memory. Respondents commented on television images and testimonies that are televised in such a way that they reopen people's wounds. Many people are re-traumatized. Respondents suggested that the Government should re-examine and revise how the mourning is organized in order to reduce its traumatic effects. Replacing the real-life images, for instance by cartoons, could reduce too much emotions and help the community emphasis the achievements.

People have to learn from this commemoration but also remain safe. Respondents revealed that, because of the fear of emotional stories, some community members do not attend the commemoration. The mourning week holds a particular sensitivity that requires particular attention from the organizers. Although national mourning is very important, it handles the situation in such a way that, fresh images return of what the community has experienced. Facing each year, fresh images of the genocide through television, radio, movies and the cinema provoke trouble in communities' lives. As we have seen earlier, during this week the number of traumatized people increases.

Using this week to highlight the values and norms of what it is to be a good citizen today, should be a priority during this period, when the community is more receptive. Emphasizing the sadness of the period of genocide is like continuing to indoctrinate something that is not good in the people's minds. Stressing how things should be done progressively destroys those negative thoughts that can provide a facility to commemorate the genocide.

There is a need to establish national programmes to discuss social relationships within communities. In order to promote an understanding of the genocide memorials, such discussions would help the community to tell their stories. In small groups those who are broken-hearted can easily be identified and helped before they reach depression. Emotions would be controlled, because there are counsellors among the local community that have been trained to help small groups rather than large groups at a national level. A space of expressing community experience is needed, but in small groups, where each person is allocated sufficient time. This time can be used to generate changes in their outlook.

There are particular places that can be used to improve social relationships within communities. Workshops on the use of these places needed to discuss their functional and dysfunctional effects on the community. Control of the language that was used in the genocide memorials during their visit was needed in order to avoid any generalizations. It should be stressed that they are national symbols and do not belong to one social group only.

The Government should inform the community about the heightened sensitivity of the symbols, which are able to disrupt the social environment. The harmful potentiality of these symbols has to be addressed so that the community is made aware. The vulnerability of social relations can be the product of the social and cultural values that were disrupted during the genocide. They may also be embedded in economic and political systems. Respondents suggested that the Government should continue to improve the welfare of the population, so that cohabitation will be made easy. When the basic needs are satisfied and the political apparatus is strong enough to manage equity and justice, the social environment will be enhanced.

8.2.2 Suggestions to institutions

It is good that Non-Governmental Organizations and public institutions, as partners in building and managing them through economic support, are concerned about genocide memorials. Those

institutions are potentially equipped to provide a facility where different people can go beyond visits to genocide memorials and discuss their influence among the community. The institution can help the population to think deeply about the message the memorials are communicating to the community and their influence on social relationships within the community.

These institutions need to take time to prepare those visits, to follow up and not allow them to be spontaneous. The large numbers involved in visits to the genocide memorials should help the community to analyze the message genocide memorials communicate. The memorials create a free space in which people are willingly able to deal with their social relationships. This can help the community to express their emotions in a safe atmosphere of acceptance, which reduces reciprocal accusations.

8.2.3 Suggestions to the community

Since genocide memorials are a reality, the community cannot avoid their existence and impact. The history and stories concerning these symbols challenge the community and increase the vulnerability of the social environment that is undermined by the presence of these places. Consciously or unconsciously, they are asking the community to exert a considerable effort to understand and manage the message genocide memorials are communicating. The community's interpretations of their messages have the potential to entrench their social problems.

There is a need to be careful about the language used when reading and interpreting the message of genocide memorials that can help to avoid the generalizing thinking, which is the foundation of unhealthy social relationships. The community should consider the fragility of its environment. The past is part of the present, to organize the future. People are responsible for choosing how to use their past and live the present for a better future. Emphasizing the functional aspect of the genocide memorials is possible if the community uses those symbols reasonably.

The official recognition of the deceased is one thing, but its management and importance in everyday life is another thing. If those places constantly reopen the wounds of the living family, this dysfunctional effect does not help the community to improve its social well-being. People are required to improve and manage their emotions when dealing with the places of traumatic memories. To emphasize this, Coloroso (2004: 11), in the view of Carolyn, points out that ―if I have known what troubles you were bearing, I would have been more gentle, more caring and tried to give you gladness for space". People need to know the kind of troubles that their neighbours have. They should make an effort to improve social relationships.

8.2.4 Suggestions to researchers

Even if symbols of memory are not new in Rwanda, genocide memorials are new symbols in the community and they present new fields of research. They generate the curiosity of researchers within the country and those who come from abroad. There are still many areas which need to be researched. The following are examples of the topics that may interest researchers:

- Rwanda intends to build thirty genocide memorials. Analyzing their utility and the organization of their management could stimulate the interest of researchers.

- Deepening the functional and dysfunctional roles of genocide memorials used as a teaching tool in primary, secondary schools and higher institutions of learning could unlock various interesting discussions relating to the theory of learning using traumatic examples.

- Positive examples stimulate positive thoughts. Do negative examples stimulate negative thoughts? The confrontation between those two extremes necessitates an analysis, using educational and psychological theories.

- The roles of genocide memorials in convincing the people of the wrongs they committed.

- The place of the genocide memorials in building the community's identity as Rwandans.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix 1

Research instrument for a study project.

Study title: *An exploration of Community Perceptions and Understandings of Rwandan*

Genocide Memorials

A Guide for Interviews and Focus Groups,   English Version

1. Identification of respondents:

Range of age	F	M	Level of education	F	M
20-30			None		
31-40			Primary		
41-50			Post primary		
51-60			Secondary		
61-70			Undergraduate		
Over 70			Honor or other degrees (specify)		

1   Questions

(1) What is a memorial?

(2) What is a genocide memorial?

(3) What did you observe inside the genocide memorials?

(4) What is the importance of having a memorial?

(5) Are the genocide memorials meeting your expectations as a memory place?

(6) Some genocide memorials are not yet built. Describe how you would like to design a genocide memorial that would meet your expectations

(7) Do you think genocide memorials are holding explicit messages?

(8) What are those messages?

(9) What are your opinions about the genocide memorials messages?

(10)   To what extent do the genocide memorials influence the social relationships?

(11)   How do you interpret the presence of images, pictures, bones, short movies and others imageries inside genocide memorials?

(12)   Can these Centres contribute to a new understanding of Rwandan identity that goes beyond the sectarian problems of the past?

(13)   Further comments on genocide memorials?

Appendix 2

A Guide for Interviews and Focus Groups,   Kinyarwanda Version

Umushinga w'ubushakashatsi

Uku yitwa : Kungurana ibitekerezo ku myumvire y'abaturage n'uko basobanukirwa

inzibutso za genocide mu Rwanda.

1. Umwirondora w'usubiza:

Ikiciro cy'imyaka	Umugore	Umugabo	Amashuri wize	Umugore	Umugabo
20-30			Ntayo		
31-40			Abanza		
41-50			A y'imyuga		
51-60			Ayisumbuye		
61-70			Makuru icyiciro kibanza		
Over 70			Makuru icyiciro cyisumbuye		

Ibibazo bizayobora ibiganiro

1. Urwibitso ni iki?
2. Urwibutso rwa genocide ni iki?
3. Ese mwabonye iki mu rwibutso twasuye?
4. Ni uwuhe mumaro wo kugira urwibutso?
5. Ese ubona Urwibutso rwa genoside rumeze nk'uko ubyifuza nk'aho kwibukira?
6. Zimwe mu nzibutso za genoside ntizirubakwa, wumva wifuza ko zakubakwa gute?
7. Ese utekereza ko inzibutso za genoside zitanga ubutumwa busobanutse?
8. Ubwo butumwa ni ubuhe?
9. Wowe utekereza iki ku butumwa wasomye mu rwibutso rwa genocide?
10. Ubona urwibutso rwa genocide rugira uruhe ruhare mu mibanire y'abantu?
11. Usobanura ute amashusho n'ibisigazwa by' imibiri y'abantu usanga mu nzibutso za genoside?
12. Ubona inzibutso za genoside zafasha mu gusobanukirwa umunyarwanda owo ariwe, bigafasha mu kurenga amacakubiri yaranze imibanire yabo?
13. Ese hari ikindi wifuza kongera kubyo twaganiriye ku nzibutso za genoside?

Appendix 3

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION RESEARCH PROJECT: English Version

I am Revd Appoline Kabera Bazubagira. I am a PhD student in Sociology, School of Sociology & Social Studies, University of Kwazulu-Natal, South Africa. My mobile number is 0785695396 and my e-mail is kaberaa2002@yahoo.fr. I would like to thank you for accepting to participate in this study. It is designed to learn about Memorials of Genocide in Rwanda. This study is supervised by Prof. Simon Burton, from the University of Kwazulu Natal, South Africa.

This research plans to contribute to the body of knowledge about Genocide Memorials. The study evokes the social, political and cultural understanding which ties together a community. This relates to how a society integrates new symbols and interprets them. The social, political and cultural aspects of the Rwandan society are studied to understand the consideration of the messages memorials are communicating and its involvement in the daily lives of its members.

By your participation you will be asked to give information about the understandings of memorials as symbols that are communicating a message in the Rwandan community. You will also be asked to provide interpretation of the genocide memorials messages and its influences into your community relationships. The information that you will offer is from your free will and the researcher is not going to offer any money for the information. However there will be refreshments sharing with researcher and participants just to give the word of thanks. Helpful suggestions will be accepted for possible transformation regarding the way that the community understands the genocide memorials messages.

If you use any public transport to come to the research related meeting you will be paid back. The researcher will write down answers to the questions of interview guide and audio recording. All information will be kept in a safe place for a period of time until it is no longer necessary to

use. The strict confidentiality is assured to you and there will be no names and addresses in writing the research dissertation. Unless you consent otherwise any information which can reveal your identity will not be discussed in the conference or in the published research. Please note that this is free participation and you are free to stop participation, there will be no consequences for withdrawing.

Agreement to participate

I have read carefully the above information, I have consulted my family and friend and have taken decision to participate in this study. I hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project. I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire.

Signature of participant   Date : ....

Appendix 4.

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION RESEARCH PROJECT: Kinyarwanda
                                                                          Version

Amasezerano y'abemeye gutanga ibitekerezo ku mushinga w'ubushakashatsi

Nitwa Revd Appoline Kabera Bazubagira, niga mu cyiciro kirangiza amashuri ya Univerisite mu Ishami ry' Imibanire y'Abantu muri Univerisite ya Kwazulu Natal muri Afurika y'Epfo. Telefoni igendanwa ni 0785695396 naho e-mail ni kaberaa2002@yahoo.fr Ndabashimira ko mwameye gutanga ibitekerezo muri ubu bushakashatsi, ku byerekeye Inzibutso za Genoside mu Rwanda. Ubu bushakashatsi buhagarikiwe na Mwarimu Simon Burton, wigisha muri Univerisite ya Kwazulu Natal muri Afurika y'Epfo.

Ubu bushakashatsi bugamije kongera ubumenyi ku byerekeye Inzibutso za Genoside. Uburyo abanyarwanda bumva inzibutso, uko baturana nazo nk'ibimenyetso bishya n'uko babisobanukirwa. Imibanire yabo, imitegekere ya politiki n'umuco by'abanyarwanda uko bifata izo nzibutso za genoside n'ubutumwa zitanga, n'ingaruka ubwo butumwa zitanga bugira ku mibanire y'abanyarwanda ya buri munsi

Muri ubu bushakashatsi, birabasaba gutanga amakuri ku nzibutso za genoside, uko muzisobanukirwa, uko musoma ubutumwa burimo n;uko mubusobanura. Tuzaganira kandi ku ngaruka ubwo butumwa musoma mu nzibutso za genoside bubagiraho mu mibanire yanyu ya buri munsi. Amakuru muzatanga ni ubushake bwanyu kandi ntabwo umushakashatsi azayagura, kuko nawe ntazayagurisha. Ariko mu gihe muzamara muganira ku nzibutso hari icyo kumwa kizatangwa nk'uburyo bwo kubashimira ko mwitabiriye ubu bushakashatsi kandi mwiteguye gutanga amakuru y'ingirakamaro. Ibyifuzo muzatanga birebana n'uburyo habaho impinduka ngo ubutumwa inzibutso za genocide zitanga bugire akamaro bizahahabwa agaciro.

330

Muza aho ikiganiro kizabera, imidoka isanzwe muzatega amafaranga mwakoresheje muzayasubizwa. Mu kiganiro, umushakashatsi azandika ibisubizo muzaganira ndetse anabifate akaresheje akaradio. Ibyo yanditse n;ibyo azafata, bizabikwa ahantu hizewe hafunze kugeza igihe bizaba bitagikenewe kandi nta wundi wemerewe kubisoma cyangwa ngo abyumve kandi nta mazina azakoreshwa ngo ibisubizo bigume mu ibanga, no mu kwandika igitabo nta mazina azakoreshwa. Icyo mwasaba ko kitaganirwaho mu manama manini mu kurinda ibanga ry'uwakivuze ntikizaganirwaho. Kuba muri ubu bushakashatsi ni icyemezo cya buri wese kandi yemerewe guhagarika ntakomeze ibiganiro igihe cyose abishatse kandi nta ngaruka byamugiraho.

Icyemezo

Maze gusoma neza ibyavuzwe haruguru, maze no kubaza inshuti n'umuryango, nemeye gutanga amakuru muri ubu bushakashatsi, Ndemeza ko nasomye neza kandi ko nasobanukiwe ibisabwa n'ibizaganirwaho muri ubu bushakashatsi kandi nemeye gutanga amakuru. Nzi neza ko mfite ubrenganzira bwo kubivamo igihe cyose numva ntagishoboye gukomeza.

Umukono w'ubyemeye   Itariki : ....