

***THE IMPACT OF NATIONAL UNITY ON SUSTAINABLE
DEVELOPMENT IN RWANDA.***

By

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**A dissertation submitted in part fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of M.A in Sociology in the Faculty of Humanities at the
University of Durban~Westville**

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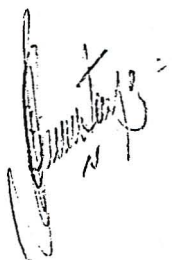
September 2002

DECLARATION

I, *Justin RUTAYISIRE*, REG. No: 200000086 hereby declare that the thesis entitled "*The Impact of National Unity on Sustainable Development in Rwanda*" is the result of my own investigation and research and that it has not been submitted in part or in full for any other degree or to any other University.

Justin RUTAYISIRE

September - 2002

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Justin Rutayisire', with a date '2002' written below it.

DEDICATION

To:

My parents, brothers, sisters and all other victims of Rwandan genocide;

It is really painful for us to survive your absence.

REST IN PEACE.

AND ALSO

To:

The survivors of Rwandan genocide,

Especially my mother VERONIQUE, brothers VIATEUR, DIDACE and MEDARD, sister VIRIGINIE, all friends and close relatives.

This thesis is dedicated to you.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

To accomplish a dissertation (thesis) of this nature is not a simple task. It has been an interesting exercise and a process of discovery.

However, such success would not have been possible without assistance of certain people to who I am deeply indebted for their valuable assistance and guidance.

I want to express my thanks to my supervisor Dr K. NADASEN and Co-supervisor Dr STEARS, for their assistance, guidance, encouragement and constructive criticisms, in the process of completing this research. I wish to extend my thanks to Miss Linda ATUKUNDA, Miss Joy KABUSHUBI, Miss Lucy NGATIA and Dr Emmanuel SINGAYE for the insurmountable task of proof reading. I will never forget you, and your great service was sincerely appreciated from the bottom of my heart.

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Without each of these people this thesis would not have been possible.

Justin RUTAYISIRE.

SUMMARY

Every country, nation and continent across the world has its own history. That history could be bad or good, according to what happened in that country or continent.

Thus, the history of many countries and continents across the world was characterized by internal conflicts, quarrels, disputes, aggressions, wars etc...among its population or by external conflicts or wars against other countries. The impact and consequences of these conflicts and wars were so many and were mostly negative.

Indeed, the African continent especially the great lake region has experienced up to now internal and external conflicts and wars. These repetitive internal and external conflicts and wars have negative impacts on the development of those countries. For example Burundi has internal conflicts between Tutsi and Hutu and is involved in an external conflict (war) in the Democratic Republic of Congo (D.R.C). Uganda is also fighting against the rebels in the North and it is also fighting in the D.R.C.

Thus, Rwanda as a country located in Africa, moreover situated in the great lake region has not escaped the internal and external conflict and wars.

The history of Rwanda is characterized by different wars since the time of its expansion up to the recent different ethnic wars (1959, 1960, 1962, 1963, 67, 73 and the genocide of 1994). The impact of these repetitive wars especially the genocide on Rwanda's socio-economic, cultural, administrative, political, development was so wide and negative.

The researcher's contribution through this research consisted in identifying what the impact of national unity has had on sustainable development in Rwanda after seven years in power of the so-called "government of national unity". Rwandan politicians, the ordinary population or friends of Rwandans together should stand up to fight for building and consolidating the national unity of Rwanda.

This research had aimed to identify and to clarify what impact national unity in Rwanda has had on sustainable development, after the genocide of 1994.

The research had also as specific objectives to:

- * Verify if there is national unity in Rwanda;
- * Identify the different factors that influence national unity in Rwanda;
- * Verify if the Rwandan administrative system allows sustainable development;
- * Identify the factors that influence sustainable development in Rwanda;
- * Identify the impact that national unity has on sustainable development in Rwanda;
- *Propose recommendations.

This study also aimed to answer four complementary questions not isolated variables. Each allowed one to explain the other and vice versa.

These questions are:

- Is there national unity present in Rwanda?
- Which basic factors for national unity were in Rwanda?
- Does the Rwandan administrative system allow sustainable development?
- What were the factors in favour of sustainable development present in Rwanda?
- What was the impact of national unity on sustainable development present in Rwanda?

However, the probable answers to the above questions constitute the hypotheses of the research. These are as follows:

- There is a unity among Rwandans.
- Rwandan national unity is influenced by political, social, economic and demographic factors.
- The Rwandan administrative system allows sustainable development.
- The democratic state, the state based on the rule of law, media freedom and the people's participation in national planning are the factors that influence sustainable development positively;
- The impact of national unity on sustainable development in Rwanda is measured by the improvement or positive social, economic and political change that can be noticed in Rwanda after the genocide of 1994.

- National security, peace, good governance, popular education are the other ingredients for sustainable development in Rwandan.

For the methodological framework, the researcher used different methods and techniques. So far, historico-comparative, systemic, structural-functionalist and dialectic methods have been used. Documentary research and investigation (enquiry) by questionnaire and interviews with interview-guide have been used as techniques for collecting data in the field. All interviews were tape recorded. The research is delimited in space and time. In space, the study is limited to the country of Rwanda. In time the delimitation of the study starts from 1994 (after the genocide) up to now.

However, running the research all over the country was quite impossible, because of the lack of money and time. So far the representative sample of politicians, the military, journalists, civil and public societies and the ordinary people within five provinces have been chosen as a sample and were taken as the respondents.

In this research, all objectives were reached and hypotheses accepted or confirmed. The theoretical framework of the research explored precisely the theme of national unity for sustainable development in general and in Rwanda in particular.

The first part of the study is composed of the general introduction, methodology, literature review and the theoretical framework. The literature review defines different concepts and key words relative to unity and sustainable development that will be used in the research. It gives the sources, typologies and forms of conflicts, defines wars and their impact, typology of violence, peace, sustainable development and the issues of unity and development in Rwanda. The theoretical framework defines different theories of conflict, cohesion, democratic peace and development. The second part of the study concerns the exploration of the topic “The impacts of national unity on sustainable development in Rwanda”. Done within a sociological framework, the study has reached sufficient results.

Regarding the hypotheses, which are subject to verification, the responses from all sampled provinces are in agreement and therefore confirm the hypotheses. Regarding the hypothesis of the need for a “democratic state, state based on the rule of law,

media freedom and the participation of people in national planning are imperative for sustainable development”; this was confirmed by 64,4% of the politicians, 72,4% of representatives of the military, journalists, civil and public societies and 63,5% of the ordinary population. The respondents stated that presently Rwanda is slowly becoming a democratic state, with the application of the rule of law and media freedom. However, they also mentioned that peoples’ participation in national planning is still at the lower stage.

All respondents confirmed that Rwandan national unity facilitates, promotes and encourages the bilateral collaboration between people, between people and authorities and between authorities themselves. The involvement and participation of the people in national planning and protection of national developmental project for future generation; lead to sustainable development. They also confirmed that the Rwandan national unity has improved and influenced positively Rwandan social, economic and political systems.

Lastly, good governance, security, peace, unity and popular education were also cited as the other ingredients of national unity and sustainable development. From this study one can see that national unity in Rwanda has a positive impact on sustainable development, and all factors have played their role.

The consequences of Rwandan conflicts are:

1. Social;
2. Economic;
3. Political;
4. Judicial.

Indeed, after conducting this research, the researcher acquired a technical experience about dealing with people, and authorities. The researcher has verified that the quantitative (with questionnaire) technique that was used, reached limited results. With direct questions that held different possibilities of responses, the respondents had a tendency to give suggested responses, which responses are not often in correspondence with what they feel exactly.

However, with the qualitative research (direct interviews with a tape recorder) and the researcher's experience of being a Rwandan who had lived in the country before, during and after the genocide allowed one to collect different information that allowed one to verify the hypothesis.

That experience allowed the researcher to collect rich and viable information on the impact of national unity on sustainable development in Rwanda.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

A.D.F: Allied Democratic Front

A.F.R.C: Armed Forces Revolutionary Council

A.P.A.C.O.P.E: Association des Parents pour la Contribution à la Promotion de
l'Enseignement

A.RE.D.E.TWA: Association pour le Relèvement et le Développement des Batwa

A.V.E.G.A: Association des Veuves du Génocide d'Avril

AIDS: Acquired Immune Deficient Syndrome

ARDHO: Association Rwandaise pour la Défense des Droits de l'Homme

B.B.C: British Broadcasting Corporation

C.C.D.F.P: Centre Communal de Développement et de Formation Permanente

C.D.C: Community Development Committee

C.D.R: Coalition pour la Défense de la République

C.E.F.O.T.E.C: Centre de Formation Technique

C.E.R.A.I: Centre d'Enseignement Rural Artisanal Intégré

C.P.D.F.P: Centre Préfectoral de Développement et de Formation Permanente

D.R.C: Democratic Republic of Congo

ELECTROGAZ: Société de Production, de Transport et de Distribution
d'Electricité, d'Eau et de Gaz

F.A.R.C: Revolutionary Armed Forces of Columbia

F.A.R.G: Fonds d'Assistance aux Rescapés du Génocide

F.A.R: Forces Armées Rwandaise

F.M : Fréquence Modulée

FRW: Franc Rwandais

G.D.P: Gross Domestic Product

G.N.P: Gross National Product

HIV: Human Immune Deficiency Virus

I.G.A: Ikigo Gihugura Abaturage

I.M.F: International Monetary Funds

I.S.A.E: Institut Supérieur de l'Agriculture et de l'Elevage

I.S.F.P: Institut Supérieur des Finances Publiques

I.S.P.G: Institut Supérieur Pédagogique de Gitwe

- I.S.P:** Institut Supérieur Pédagogique
- K.H.I:** Kigali Health Institute
- K.I.S.T:** Kigali Institute for Science, Technology and Management
- L.R.A:** Lord's Resistance Army
- M.D.R:** Mouvement Démocratique Républicain
- M.F.D.C:** Casamance Movement of the Democratic Forces
- M.I.U.A.R:** Mission des Nations Unies Aux Rwanda
- M.J.C.P.S:** Military, Journalists, Civil and Public Society
- M.R.N.D:** Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement
- M.T.N:** Mobile Telephone Network
- MINAGRI:** Ministère de l'Agriculture, de l'Elevage et des Forêts
- MINALOC:** Ministère de l'Administration Locale et des Affaires Sociales
- MINECOFIN:** Ministère des Finances et de la Planification Economique
- MINEDUC:** Ministère de l'Education
- MINERENA:** Ministère de l'Energie, de l'Eau et des Ressources Naturelles
- MINISANTE:** Ministère de la Santé
- MINITERE:** Ministère des Terres, de la Réinstallation et de la Protection de
l'Environnement
- MINITRACO:** Ministère des Travaux Publics, du Transport et des Communications
- N.C.H.R:** National Commission of Human Rights
- N.C.R:** National Commission of Reconciliation
- N.D.A:** National Democratic Alliance
- N.G.O:** Non Government Organisations
- N.U:** National Unity
- O.N.A.P.O:** Office National de la Population
- P.D.C:** Parti Démocratique Chrétien
- P.D.I:** Parti Démocratique Islamique
- P.L:** Parti Libéral
- P.S.D:** Parti Socialist Démocratique
- P.S.R:** Parti Sicial Republicain
- PARMEHUTU:** Parti pour l'Emmancipation Hutu
- PROFEMME:** Prommotion de la Femme
- R.I.S:** Rwandan Initiative for Sustainable Development
- R.P.F:** Rwandan Patriotic Front

R.T.L.M: Radio Télévision des Mille Collines

R.U.F: Revolutionary United Front

S.D: Sustainable Development

S.P.L.M: Sudan People's Liberation Movement

U.D.P.R: Union Démocratique de Peuple Rwandais

U.N.A.R: Union Nationale Rwandaise

U.N.D.P: United Nations Development Programme

U.N.I.L.A.K: Université Laïque de Kigali

U.N.I.T.A: Union National pour la Libération Totale de l'Angola

U.N: United Nations

U.S.\$: United States Dollars

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CHAPTER ONE

1. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

There are many things in the world, which give human beings peace. Among these are political, economic and social unity; and when you have unity, you are one.

A country's peace and security then follows automatically. With unity one can build all that one needs for development. But without unity, one is divided, and can be easily involved in conflict. The tendency is to fight each other. When one does not have peace it is easy to destroy what one has strived for in order to achieve development.

The last century was characterized by wars and conflicts in the world in general and Rwanda in particular. Among the Rwandan wars, the most significant was the 1959 and 1973 civil wars. The latest, which was the most catastrophic and destructive, was the genocide, which took place from April to July 1994. During these wars, especially during the genocide, about one million Tutsi people were killed; and thousands fled the country. A large part of the country's infrastructure (hospitals, houses, roads, water canals, telephones etc...) was destroyed. Domestic animals and wild animals were killed and forests were destroyed. The Rwandan war had a negative effect, specifically on tourism and generally on economic growth.

From the above it is agreed that a population without unity, peace and security experiences difficulties in terms of development. In order to reach sustainable development, unity, peace and security seem to be the main ingredients. In the case of Rwanda, disunity led to the destruction of its infrastructure and social cohesion. These took centuries to develop but were destroyed in a matter of a few months. The unity of

Rwandans is the foundation on which new Rwanda will be built. In fact, the unity of Rwanda will determine its prosperity in future; otherwise, it will be impossible for Rwanda to develop in different spheres such as politics and social relations. The economy and development will also not be strong and will be likely to collapse.

Indeed, after stopping the genocide of 1994, the Rwandan Patriotic Front (R.P.F) discovered that to promote the development of Rwanda they must first restore security, peace and unity among Rwandans. They thought about, how to organise the country and unite Rwandans for the best future. They formed a government, the so called 'government of national unity' with the political parties, which did not participate in the genocide of 1994. For the past seven years, this government has experienced a lot of problems in seeking unity among Rwanda's people for the development of the country.

This research then, looks specifically at the impact that national unity, has had on sustainable development in Rwanda, seven years after the genocide, and consists of two parts:

- The first part clarifies all theories on unity and sustainable development in general and in Rwanda in particular;
- The second part applies these theories to ascertain what impact Rwandan national unity has on sustainable development.

This research was therefore done to:

- * Identify the impact of national unity on sustainable development in Rwanda;
- * Identify different factors for national unity, as well as for sustainable development in Rwanda;
- *Propose solutions and suggestions for consolidating unity and sustainable development.

1.2 HISTORICAL REVIEW AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Before the colonial period (before the year 1900), Roman catholic missionaries began to settle in Rwanda, where Rwandans were united. No war had taken place amongst the three ethnic groups in the country before that time. All were united, i.e. the Hutu, Tutsi

and Twa people. They all comprised what the ancestors called ‘the king’s people’. All of them knew that “they were Rwandans that they belonged to Rwanda as their country, that they were equal and they had equal rights to participate fully in all spheres of the day to day activities of the government” (Republic of Rwanda; Office of the President of the Republic, 1999:4).

During the period of colonialism and especially the Belgian era, there was a dramatic change in the economic and socio-political system of Rwanda. That started the foundation of disunity between the Hutu and Tutsi. This is clearly evident in the United Nations (U.N) report, which states that

“the Hutu political movement, which stood to gain from majority rule- one of the governing concepts of decolonisation at the time- was gaining momentum while segments of the Tutsi establishments resisted democratisation and the loss of their acquired privileges. In early November 1959, a small violent incident sparked a Hutu uprising, during which hundreds of Tutsis were killed and thousands were displaced or fled to neighbouring countries. This series of events marked the start of the so-called ‘**Hutu peasant revolution**’ or ‘**social revolution**’ ” (United Nations, 1996:8).

After the 1961 independence, especially between 1962 and 1967, Tutsi refugees who were in neighbouring countries had a strong feeling and desire to return to the country and thus they organized military attacks. The consequences of these different attacks were that after each attack, large numbers of Tutsi civilians who were inside the country were killed, and new waves of refugees were created. According to the United Nations report (1996:10), the killing of Tutsi did not end there. “Many Tutsis were killed and others became refugees in neighbouring countries in 1973, when Habyarimana seized power in a military coup d’état” (United Nations, 1996:10). Since then “social life became subject to quotas established according to **ethnic proportions**”(United Nations, 1996:202). The quotas were used to “determine the jobs and resources allocated to the country’s various ethnic groups; the Tutsi minority was allotted ten per cent” (United Nations, 1996:10-11).

On the evening of 6th April 1994, the President of Rwanda was killed in a plane crash. It is from this point in time that, “almost immediately, the systematic killing of Tutsi and Hutu members of the political opposition began. The killings were indisputably acts of genocide” (United Nations, 1996:4).

The conflicts among the Hutu and Tutsi especially in the 1994 genocide had serious economic, political and socio- developmental impacts on Rwanda. The Rwandan economy predominantly depends on agriculture. It is a subsistence agricultural economy using traditional materials and methods. It exports tea and coffee and imports all manufactured goods. Rwanda imports more than it exports. The Rwandan budget is funded largely by foreign donors. They provide substantial assistance and some funds on credits. So far, when there has been a war or a political crisis, some donors have reduced or suspended financial aid or assistance, and the population is destabilized. The Rwandan population then does not practise agricultural and other activities for economic development (primary, secondary and tertiary sector activities). The disunity that arose from the war disrupted and adversely affected the population of Rwanda. Many families in Rwanda are as a result not able to meet their basic needs like the education of their children, food, health care, safe drinking water and clothes. Also a large part of the population is illiterate, malnourished and has a problem of housing.

Repetitive wars and political instability in Rwanda also had direct effects on its development. The Rwandan political regime was dictatorial, nepotistic, bureaucratic and centralised. The regime did not welcome people’s participation.

The Rwandan people were not allowed to express their opinions, feelings and needs, i.e. they were denied freedom of expression. Hanks (1985:5) posits that “African countries are full of examples of development plans that have failed because they were done for the people rather than with the people. The plans overlooked the felt needs and aspirations of the recipients and placed very little emphasis on the importance of identifying cultural and social norms, sensitivities and perceptions of the communities concerned”. Hanks (1985:5-6) further notes that “it is widely accepted that development cannot succeed

without the support of the people it intends to help, because people are both the basis and the objective of development planning”.

Sustainable development also requires a “political system that secures effective citizen participation in decision-making” (Fitzgerald, Lennan and Munslow, 1997:5).

This means “moving beyond a narrow, albeit important, concern with economic growth per se to considerations relating to the quality of that growth. This ensures that people’s basic needs are being met, that the resource base is conserved, that there is a sustainable population level, that environment and cross-sectoral concerns are integrated into decision-making processes” (Fitzgerald, Lennan and Munslow, 1997:1).

The disunity in Rwanda caused many deaths. It destroyed human resources and the economy. It also devastated the infrastructure and resulted in the internal displacement of people, and this in turn destroyed the environment e.g. forests. To avoid the destruction of Rwanda in all sectors i.e. socio-economic, demographic, political and the environmental, national unity of Rwandans is a vital prerequisite. For this purpose, the present government of national unity has struggled for seven years to bring unity among the Rwandans. This seems to be a solution for achieving Rwandan’s security and peace as well as sustainable development.

Thus, the researcher’s questions are:

- Is national unity present in Rwanda?
- What are the basic factors, which promoted national unity in Rwanda?
- Does the Rwandan administrative system accommodate sustainable development?
- What factors encouraged sustainable development in Rwanda?
- What was the impact of national unity on sustainable development in Rwanda?
- Is unity the only factor that leads to sustainable development in Rwanda?

All the above questions need to be adequately answered in order to point the way for a secure future for Rwanda.

1.3 MOTIVATIONS AND REASONS FOR STUDY.

It would be erroneous to think that unity for development is a recent notion. Many authors have written on peace, unity and sustainable development. In Rwanda, studies have been carried out in the social sciences domain such as anthropology, ethnology, political sciences and sociology, but little has been done in development sociology. Knowledge on unity and disunity in Rwanda has been based on:

- The government's realisation activities;
- The grassroots of Rwandan division or conflicts between Hutu and Tutsi ethnic groups;
- The way of bringing back national unity among Rwandans;
- Conflict and peace in general around the world;
- The role that the media played in dividing Rwandans; and
- The poverty in Rwanda and its economic growth.

The literature is therefore limited, in that it fails to:

- Point out or to explain what impact national unity has had on sustainable development in Rwanda.

So, the researcher did a research in this domain, because it is clear that there is a lack of information on the impact of national unity on sustainable development in Rwanda. This is the only research on the impact of national unity factors in Rwanda on sustainable development, and there are no other studies like this, in conformity with those problems. Besides academic edification, this research is of importance both scientifically and sociologically. Scientifically because the study has used scientific methods and constitutes a reference for other researchers in social cohesion and sustainable development. The social reason is that this research is vital for the future of Rwanda's economic development, and its social and political rehabilitation. It will help the Rwandan authorities to continue the effort to reconcile the divided Hutu, Tutsi and Twa people, to encourage sustainable development and to create a stable society, based on the rule of law, in which all groups live in safety and equality and are able to participate in sustainable development.

1.4 AIM

This study aims to identify and clarify the impact of national unity on sustainable development in Rwanda after the genocide of 1994.

1.5 OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this study are to:

- * Verify if there is national unity in Rwanda;
- * Identify the different factors that influence national unity in Rwanda;
- * Verify if the Rwandan administrative system allows for sustainable development;
- * Identify the factors that influence sustainable development in Rwanda;
- * Identify the impact that national unity has on sustainable development in Rwanda;
- *Propose recommendations.

1.6 HYPOTHESES

In light of the above aims and objectives the following hypotheses are advanced:

- *There is unity among Rwandans.
- * The Rwandan national unity is influenced by political, social, economic and demographic factors.
- * The Rwandan administrative system allows for sustainable development.
- * The democratic state, the state based on the rule of law, media freedom and the people's participation in national planning are factors that influence sustainable development;

* The impact of national unity on sustainable development in Rwanda is measured by the improvement or positive social, economic and political change that was noticed in Rwanda after the genocide of 1994.

* National security, peace, good governance, popular education are the other ingredients for sustainable development in Rwanda.

After this brief introduction, the next part of this study will focus on the methodology adopted by the study.

CHAPTER TWO

2. METHODOLOGY

Methodology is composed of methods and techniques that need to be considered. The following methods and techniques were used:

2.1 METHODS OF ANALYSIS

The historico-comparative, the structuro-functionalist, the systemic and the dialectic methods are utilised in this study.

2.1.1 Historico-comparative method

This method is used for understanding certain social phenomena, which occurred in the past. Historical data is analysed and comparisons are made with the present empirical data.

2.1.2 Structuro-functionalist method

This method is used because the Rwandan society is studied in its entirety and each element that composes that entity has a purpose, mission or a function.

2.1.3 Systemic method

The systemic method is used in order to analyse the interdependence or relationship between different structures of Rwandan society on the one hand and between those structures and Rwandan unity on the other hand.

2.1.4 Dialectic method

This method is used, because in the research, there is the thesis and the antithesis, which make the synthesis. The thesis clearly highlights the disunity between the Rwandan ethnic groups in general, more specifically between the Hutu and the Tutsi. The antithesis is that this division is arbitrary and not a real division because the Hutu and the Tutsi speak the same language, intermarriages are common, and the two communities live together in the same areas, share land and other resources.

The synthesis is that there is an interaction between Rwandan ethnic groups, especially, between Hutu and Tutsi. Thus, by using this method the researcher seeks to investigate in Rwandan economic, demographic, socio-culture, political, administrative, historic, structures; the complementarities, mutual implication, ambiguity, symmetry and polarization elements or phenomena which lead to unity or disunity.

2.2 THE TECHNIQUES

2.2.1 Sampling procedure

2.2.1.1 Inquiry universe

Every Rwandan is supposed to be concerned with national unity, so as to achieve sustainable development. Thus, it was complicated and impossible to study the whole population of 7,568,207 Rwandan people. The researcher decided to sample five provinces out of twelve, which totalled 2,688,899 people. This represented the **inquiry universe** i.e. 35.5% of the whole population of Rwanda. The **purposive sampling** technique has been used for this purpose. For Silemane (1998:26) purposive samples are frequently called

neutral and deal either with the politicians or with the ordinary population and finally the ordinary population who are observers.

The ideal universe of our inquiry population is the actual Rwandan politicians and the ordinary population of the sampled provinces. As noted above it would be impossible to utilise the ideal universe, therefore an **operational universe** had to be used instead. The sampling techniques, described below define the **operational universe**.

2.2.1.2 Sampling:

Before describing the sampling technique, it is important to point out that, the inquiry population is divided into three major subpopulations, which allow the researcher to use two sampling techniques.

The present Rwandan politicians, from the high levels to the lower levels, constitute the first subpopulation. The second is composed of the civil, public societies, military and journalists. The third is composed of the ordinary Rwandan population, which is grouped into different social categories. The reason why the inquiry population is subdivided into three subpopulations is because the politicians constitute a group of actors, whereas the civil, public societies and ordinary population are like observers who supply supplementary information.

Indeed, the politicians know each other, i.e. are intellectuals, educated, often meet to discuss issues, and plan national policies in different sectors such as, social, economical, political, administrative bodies and development; whereas the ordinary population, civil and public societies are observers in the sense that they approve, or apply, or enact the national policies made by the politicians.

For determining each type of subpopulation, the following sampling techniques have been applied:

a. Sampling for the politicians:

To make the sample as representative as possible, the researcher used the **stratified random sampling** technique. The researcher used this technique because the population is divided into different strata based on certain attributes.

These strata are:

- The political parties;
- The parliamentarians;
- The present members of government;
- The local authorities (prefects of provinces, burgomasters of communes, councillors of sectors and cells representatives).

Thus, to constitute the sample, the researcher decided to take a larger number of politicians, because they are the first target of sampling. The researcher chose to take 60 politicians, i.e. 36.1%, in a sample size of 166. For the political parties' stratum, the researcher selected all political parties (8), which are participants in the present government i.e. allowed to work in the territory of Rwanda. For the parliamentarians, all presidents of different commissions were selected. For the members of government, eight ministries, which have in their mission, the social program, were selected. Lastly for the local authorities, the researcher decided to choose five prefects of the sampled provinces; two burgomasters in each sampled province; one of the developed and another one of the underdeveloped communes, i.e. ten burgomasters in five provinces; two councillors; one of the developed, and another one of the underdeveloped sectors, in each sampled province, i.e. ten councillors in five provinces; and ten cell representatives in five provinces.

b. Sampling of the civil, public societies, military and journalists.

For this category, the researcher used the **purposive sampling** technique.

Here, the researcher has decided to sample civil, public and military people that he judged to be in a position to give sufficient information.

For **the civil society**, the researcher decided to survey one Roman Catholic, Protestant, Muslim chief in 5 sampling provinces, which totals 15. He decided to also survey the national and international Non Government Organisations (NGO's) only on national level. These NGO's must have as their mission unity, reconciliation, human rights or sustainable development. Accordingly, Association des Veuves du Genocide (AVEGA), Ibuka, Promotion de la Femme (PROFEMME), Association Rwandaise pour la Defense des Droits de l'Homme (ARHDO), Rwandan Initiative for Sustainable Development (R.I.S) were chosen as local NGO's and World Vision, and United Nations Development Program (UNDP) were chosen as international N.G.O's. As such, the researcher surveyed 22 persons from civil society within a sample of 166, i.e. 13.2%.

For **the public society**, the researcher decided to survey all 3 public societies: Fond d'Assistance aux Rescape du Genocide (F.A.R.G); National commission of Reconciliation (N.C.R) and National Commission of Human Rights (N.C.H.R) which constitute 2% of the sample.

For **the military**, the researcher decided to survey one chief of staff in each sampling province, i.e. 5 chiefs of staffs, which constitute 3% of the sample.

For **the journalists**, the researcher decided to survey two representatives of journalists, one for the public and other for the private media, which represent 1.2% of the sample.

c. Sampling of the ordinary people.

To make the sample more representative, the researcher used the stratified random sampling, quotas and snowball techniques.

c. 1.stratified random sampling:

This technique has been applied for determining different social categories for each strata.

These strata are:

- Survivors,
- Prisoners,
- Old people,
- Old refugees, i.e. who were not in Rwanda during the genocide of 1994,
- Recent refugees, i.e. who were in Rwanda during the genocide of 1994,
- Youth,
- Agriculturalists,
- Businessmen.

c. 2. Quotas

The researcher has used this technique to determine the number of people to be surveyed from each province. Thus, 74 people out of 166 i.e. 44.5% of the sample, have been selected and they constitute the sample of the ordinary people. Each province was allocated the number of people to be interviewed. This sample has been done according to the number and percentage of people in each sampled province.

Thus, in Butare 18 people were chosen, which represents 24.5% in this sample as indicated by the general sample. In Byumba 19 persons were selected, and they represent 26% in this sample, as indicated by the general sample.

In Kibuye 12 persons were selected, and they represent 16% in this sample, as indicated by the general sample. In Kibungo 17 persons were selected, and they represents 23.5% in this sample, as indicated by the general sample. In Kigali town 8 persons chosen, and they represent 10% in this sample as indicated by the general sample.

The following table provides a summary and categories of persons surveyed in each province:

Table 1 List of people surveyed.

Provinces	Categories	Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Butare	Survivors	1	1	2
	Prisoners	1	1	2
	Old people	1	1	2
	Old refugees	1	1	2
	Recent refugees	1	1	2
	Youth	1	1	2
	Agriculturalists	2	2	4
	Businessmen	1	1	2
Byumba	Survivors	1	1	2
	Prisoners	1	1	2
	Old people	1	1	2
	Old refugees	1	1	2
	Recent refugees	1	1	2
	Youth	1	2	3
	Agriculturalists	2	2	4
	Businessmen	1	1	2
Kibuye	Survivors	0	1	1
	Prisoners	1	0	1
	Old people	1	0	1
	Old refugees	1	1	2
	Recent refugees	0	1	1
	Youth	1	1	2
	Agriculturalists	1	2	3
	Businessmen	0	1	1
Kibungo	Survivors	1	1	2
	Prisoners	1	1	2

	Old people	1	1	2
	Old refugees	1	1	2
	Recent refugees	1	1	2
	Youth	1	1	2
	Agriculturalists	2	1	3
	Businessmen	1	1	2
Kigali Town	Survivors	0	1	1
	Prisoners	1	0	1
	Old people	0	1	1
	Old refugees	0	1	1
	Recent refugees	1	0	1
	Youth	1	0	1
	Agriculturalists	0	1	1
	Businessmen	1	0	1
Total		36	38	74

c. 3 Snowball technique.

This technique was used during the distribution of the questionnaires and conducting interviews. After the interview with the first person, that person had to suggest another interviewee. Consequently the interviewer managed to follow that trend until they finished interviewing the entire sample.

2.2.2 Sample size and its determination

Four principal factors were used as an aid to determine the sample size:

- *Nature of universe;*
- *Nature of study (resultants precision);*
- *Type of sampling and*
- *Availability of money and time (Khanzode, 1995:82).*

Referring to the table in appendices (see appendix No3), "*Taille de l'échantillon requis pour estimer avec précision donnée en pourcentage par la technique aléatoire simple, dans la situation la plus défavorable p=1/2*" (Bouchard, 1989&1990); it means (sample size required for estimate with precision in percentage with a random technique, in unfavourable situation p=1/2) a sample of 166 persons has been drawn.

Indeed, we have an infinite population of 2.688.899 people (the present total population of sampled provinces). In this case, if we consider 10% of error margin and 99% as an interval of confidence, we have a sample of 166 people.

This sample size is obtained by using this formula:

$$n.c = \frac{n}{1 + n/N};$$

$$n.c = \frac{166}{1 + 166 / 2.688.899} = \frac{166}{2.688.899 + 166} = \frac{166}{2.689.065} = \frac{166}{1,0...} = 166$$

- n.c: Crib (correct version) sample size
- n: Sample size for infinite population
- N: Size of population (universe)

2.2.3 Data collection

The following techniques of collecting data were considered: Documentation, direct observation and interview.

2.2.3.1 Documentation observation

2.2.3.1.1 written documentation

In this phase, the researcher read documents on unity, disunity, war, and peace and on sustainable development in general and Rwanda in particular. The researcher used the National Unity and Reconciliation library in Rwanda.

2.2.3.1.2 Non written documentation

Here, the researcher listened to some Rwandan radio programmes, especially the broadcasting of the Commission of National Unity and Reconciliation every Tuesday at 19h 30', music and songs about unity in Rwanda.

2.2.3.2 Direct observation

While the researcher was conducting his field research, he observed at the same time the relationships between the member of these three ethnic groups at work, or in other social activities.

2.2.3.3 Interview

Face-to-face interviews were conducted with the interviewees especially the high ranking politicians and some illiterate people.

Thus, with the researcher's interview guide and a tape recorder, information about the subject was recorded and written.

2.2.3.4 Questionnaire

a. Elaboration of questionnaire

The questionnaire was formulated as follows:

Each hypothesis was divided into dependent and independent variables; then from these variables, the indicators were clarified within which, the questions were formulated. (See appendix No 4). The questionnaire is composed of open-ended, focused, structured or unstructured questions. (See appendix No 5).

b. The pilot study

Before sending the final questionnaire to the sampled population, a pilot study was carried out. This involved drafting a questionnaire of 30 questions and distributing them to different people, from different social classes for evaluation. They criticised, commented on the draft and made some corrections. A pre-test of six people (two politicians, two from civil and public societies and two from the ordinary population) were selected in order to determine whether the questionnaire contained ambiguous questions, was difficult to understand or unclear in any way. The questionnaire was then amended for clarity. Thus, from a list of 30 questions, only 23 questions were judged as reasonable.

2.2.3.5 Field investigation

Among the people that the researcher asked to go through the questionnaire, he selected five of them (one from each province) to help him to distribute and collect the questionnaire and to conduct interviews (see the list in appendix No 6).

These research assistants have experience in conducting research, because four of them have honours degree, which means that they have carried out research during the course of their studies. The fifth person works for a NGO in the division of research. The researcher explained to his research assistants the nature of his study, the questionnaire and what was expected of them during the interviews. Bearing in mind that the researcher had to select a sample of five provinces, he allocated one research assistant per province. The researcher's role was to make inquiries to high politicians (presidents of political parties, of parliamentary commissions and ministers) and supervise the research assistant.

The questionnaires were administered to the members of the sample population.

The investigation lasted 45 weekdays, from the 20th of February till the 14th of April 2001.¹

Questionnaires were hand delivered to surveyed people by the investigators.

The interviewees completed the questionnaire unless the interviewee himself/herself asked the investigator to complete the questionnaire for him/her. In most cases the investigators were asked to complete the questionnaires by interviewees. That was a sort of interview. The researcher used a tape recorder during the interview, but some of the interviewees preferred not to be recorded.

2.2.3.6. Response rate

Some of the questionnaires were not completed and were thus treated as null and void. Out of 166 distributed questionnaires, a total of 162 completed questionnaires were collected, i.e. 97.5%. For more information and to complete the research, the researcher also interviewed some lecturers (two from the department of History and two of the department of Social Sciences) and students (four from the department of History and Social Sciences) of National University of Rwanda.²

The following table shows the breakdown of respondents.

¹ The questionnaire was printed in Kinyarwanda (home language and common to every Rwandan).

² The people gave supplementary information, they are not included in the table because they do not constitute the operational universe.

Table 2 The breakdown of respondents.

CATEGORIES	TOTAL POPULATION	RESPONDENTS	OBSERVATIONS
1. Politicians:	60,	59	The president of P.S.D is also the President of Parliament. The president of P.L is Deputy-speaker and the presidents of others parties are Parliamentarians.
<i>*Political parties</i>	8	7 President of: P.L;P.S.D;P.D.C; P.D.I; P.S.R; U.D.P.R; and Executive Secretary of R.P.F	
<i>*Parliamentarians</i>	9	9 President of the Commission of: Political; Security, Territorial and Integrity; Economic and Finance; Social; Education, Culture and Youth; Budget and patrimonies of State; Human Right; Agriculture and Pastor Foreign affairs and Cooperation.	

It was not an easy task to conduct this research. Especially, to get appointments for interviews with the high ranking politicians because of their time constraints.

<p><i>*Members of government</i></p>	8	<p>8</p> <p>Secretary of State of:</p> <p>MINEDUC, MINECOFIN and MINALOC.</p> <p>General secretary of:</p> <p>MINERENA, MINISANTE and MINITRACO.</p> <p>Particular secretary of MINITERE Charged with Farm Planning in MINAGRI.</p>	
<p><i>*Local authorities</i></p>	35	<p>35</p> <p>Prefect of province and major of Kigali City.</p> <p>Burgomasters, Councillors responsible of Poorness or richness Districts, sector and Cells.</p>	
<p>2.Military, Journalists, Civil and</p>	32	29	

Public Societies.			
	5	5	
<i>*Military</i>		Chiefs of staff	
	22	19	Kibuye province
<i>* Civil societies</i>		Representatives of	Does not have a
		Religious,	Bishop.
		National and inter-	
		national N.G.O s	
	3	3	
<i>* Public societies</i>	2	2	
<i>* Journalists</i>			
3. Ordinary population	74	74	For more details see Table n0 1.
TOTAL	166	162	

2.2.3.7 Technique of analysis and interpretation of data

The data is presented in tabulated form using analysed statistics by way of calculating frequency and percentage.

2.3. SUBJECT LIMITATION

Time and means (non - availability of money) constraints forced the researcher to limit the research in time and space.

As far as time is concerned, the researcher limited his study to the impact of national unity on sustainable development in Rwanda after the genocide of 1994, with a reference to the past, since the Belgian colonisation (1918), because this was the beginning of the division in Rwanda. The Rwandan Patriotic Front's army stopped the genocide on the

CHAPTER THREE

3. DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS AND LITERATURE REVIEW.

3.1. INTRODUCTION

“Ahari abantu hanuka urunturuntu ” kandi ngo n’ “Izotana zikomana amahembe”. These are Rwandan proverbs, which mean, “wherever you find people one will smell something wrong like tension, disputes, quarrel or violence”. The second means that it is “inevitable for the cattle to keep warm together around the fire, and to beat each other with the horns”. That supposes that conflict, violence, disputes or quarrels are inevitable in society when people live together. Thus, in every day life, in our own lives, in our families and society, disputes, quarrels, conflicts or violence always occur. We struggle with our internal consciousness; whereas on the one hand our heart tells us to do something wrong, on the other hand, the other side of our nature decides to abandon or not to participate. In families there are tensions, quarrels, disputes and misunderstandings between the members. Conversely in society there are quarrels, conflicts, violence between members (ethnic groups, race, political conflict...) of society. It is very difficult to eradicate or eliminate that kind of tension or conflict. So, what we should do is to prevent, control and reduce these conflicts for a safe, unified and good society for the future, which should promote the varieties of an open, democratic society based on unity, equality and freedom as a basis of stable development.

Indeed, due to the disadvantages and consequences of quarrels, disputes, conflicts or violence, which lead to disunity among the members of society, regaining that unity is the only hope for surviving.

In this research, disunity is assumed, discussed and regarded as leading to conflict and violence in society, while unity is existing in a peaceful society. Disunity is a consequence of violence, conflict and vice versa whereas unity is a result of peace and vice versa. Thus, to achieve unity in a disunited (conflict and violence filled) society, it is imperative that everybody must bring his or her own contribution, and all stakeholders make a contribution towards unity.

National unity can be exemplified by using a football team as a clear example. In a football team members usually have the same objectives, which is to win the game. Every member of the team has the obligation to play his/her role and cooperate with the others so that the team can win. Likewise members of a society must work together without segregation or discrimination in order to built their nation. They should be united, nationalist, patriotic and join their forces and intelligence for nation building. They must know that no one from outside will build their country for them and contribute toward achieving national development.

This chapter is sub-divided into three sections. The first defines different concepts and key words that will be used in this research. The second is focused on conflict, violence and peace described here as disunity for the first two and unity for the last. The third section is related to the theory on sustainable development in general.

3.2 DEFINITIONS OF THE KEY CONCEPTS

This section defines the key concepts that will be used in this research in order to clarify their meaning as used in this study.

3.2.1 Conciliation (conciliate): is to reach an agreement with someone after an argument or disagreement (Dictionary of English, 1991:152). The word means winning over an opposition by making friendly overtures (Burton, 1996:21).

3.2.2 Conflict: is a serious disagreement between different people or principles. War or fighting (Dictionary of English, 1991:154). It is the tension, hostility or competitiveness

that exists among groups in society as they struggle to obtain social resources and improve their positions in the social system (Burton, 1996 : 27)

3.2.3 Disunity: is the absence of unity; lack of peace.

3.2.4 Ethnic: is a general term that covers various forms of identity groups: racial, cultural, religious, or some combination of these (Burton, 1996:27).

3.2.5 Ethnic group: refers to individuals who share a common historical tradition based on language or religious characteristics (Elliott and Merrill, 1961: 468).

3.2.6 Genocide: is the killing of a whole race or nation (English dictionary, 1991:295).

Genocide has been defined in part as the international killing by a government of its people because of their race, religion, ethnicity, or other indelible group membership (Rummel, 1995:3).

3.2.7 Minority group: is a group that occupies an inferior or subordinate position of power, prestige and privilege (Elliott and Merrill, 1961:473).

3.2.8 Peace: is a quiet and restful condition with nothing to worry about, or a condition or period in which there is no war; or a state of freedom from disorder within a country, with the citizens living according to the law (Dictionary of English, 1991: 492).

According to Burton traditionally peace has had the limited meaning of the absence of war. It does not necessarily mean a harmonious relationship. It is a term usually avoided in conflict resolution thinking, though still widely used by people and organizations interested in promoting harmonious relationships (Burton, 1996:36).

3.2.9 Reconciliation: is the bringing back of friendly relations after a quarrel

(Dictionary of English, 1991:561).

3.2.10 Sustainable development: “ To sustain” can be defined as “ to keep going” and“ without interruption” (Hunter,1997:234). “Sustainable development is the development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED, 1987, cited by Hunter, 1997:235).

3.2.11 Unity: According to the dictionary, unity is the joining together to make one whole (Active Study Dictionary of English, 1991:726)

3.2.12 Violence: is a very great force of feeling or action (Dictionary of English, 1991:741). It means doing harm to others in the pursuit of one’s own preferences (Kent, 1993:378).

3.2.13 War: is a period of armed fighting between nations or countries or a struggle against something bad, or a strong competition between groups (Dictionary of English, 1991: 747).

3.3 UNDERSTANDING THE CONCEPTS OF UNITY, CONFLICT, VIOLENCE AND PEACE

3.3.1 Defining national unity

According to the dictionary (1991:726) unity “is to join together to make one whole”. Unity is seen also as a “relationship which brings people together, so that they feel that they are moving together, sharing everything, sharing the country, all have the same rights (one not being in a position to chase the other from it) and feeling that anything disturbing in one part of that country is disturbing the entire country, that people must fight against it together (national cohesion)” (Republic of Rwanda, office of the president of the republic, 1999:16). A peaceful and non-violent society is favourable for and leads to national unity whereas a conflict filled and violent society constitutes a disturbance of national unity.

The following discussion focuses on the concepts of conflict, violence and peace. Indeed conflict and violence are the marks of disunity whereas peace is a mark of unity. As defined above, according to the dictionary meaning unity is to join together to make one whole, and this is not possible for people who are in conflict and who live in violent conditions. But if there is peace it becomes easy to be united. Thus, in this study disunity is associated with and viewed as conflict and violence while unity is associated with peace.

3.3.2 Conflict

3.3.2.1 Understanding conflict

Elliott and Merrill (1961:30) said that, “Max Weber defined conflict as action, orientated intentionally to carrying out the actor’s own will against the resistance of the other party or parties”. They continue to say that, “conflict is an everyday thing, normal, ongoing, for the most part institutionalised process that is a natural part of social reality” (Elliott and Merrill, 1961:30). Again Elliott and Merrill (1961:30) refer to Coser who defines conflict as a “struggle over values or claims to status, power and scarce resources, in which the aims of the conflict groups are not only to gain the desired values, but also to neutralize, injure, or eliminate rivals”.

Indeed, Coser’s definition is more in line with the everyday use of the word “conflict” than Weber’s definition.

Nevertheless, a “theory of conflict ought also to encompass a situation in which divergent interests and disagreements over the values can be resolved without necessarily intending or bringing injury and harm to one’s opponents. The aims of the conflict groups are to gain the desired values, and the consequence of struggle is frequently the neutralization, injury, or elimination of the rival group” (Elliott and Merrill, 1961:30). This is the theory of loser/winner. But, if we look at the theory of “win-win” perspective; the theory should also deal with situations involving “conflicts of interests-struggles over scarce

resources, values, status and the like in which both parties can gain by coming to terms, and not only with those situations where one party must gain at the expense of the other” (Elliott and Merrill, 1961: 31).

Thus, for King (1981:13) “conflict is in our everyday life and it has advantages and disadvantages”. He continues that, “in life, conflict is inevitable and often continual” (King, 1981:13). Many writings on conflict according to the same author “are laced with words such as ‘stress’, ‘strain’, ‘tension’, ‘strategy’, ‘win/lose’, ‘energy drain’, and ‘fight’. It is generally seen as negative. But, conflict can also have positive points” (King,1981:13). The following points are the good points of conflict in society as perceived by Dennis King.

- “Conflict can establish and maintain individual, group, and individual intra-group identity;
- Conflict can serve as a “safety valve” to hold a group together;
- Conflict can remove dissociating elements within a pair, group, or bound antagonists;
- Conflict with an external force can serve to increase cohesion;
- Conflict is a test of strength and power;
- Conflict can be a major cause of change;
- Conflict can serve to bring to the surface and to clarify issues and goals;
- Conflict can mobilize and introduce energy into a system and frequently sustain it;
- Conflict can trigger innovation and creativity;
- Conflict can lead to faster relationship of a dysfunctional situation;
- Conflict resulting in competition can improve performance;
- Conflict can be developmental-for a manager, for an employee;
- Conflict can lead to the end of an unproductive relationship;
- Conflict can enhance communication;
- The binding of antagonists by conflict may eventually result in positive associations of coalitions” (King, 1981:13-20).

3.3.2.2 *Sources of Conflict.*

There are many sources of conflict: social, economic and political. Elliott and Merrill maintain that, “social conflict arises from the structured arrangement of individuals and groups in a social system, from the social organization” (Elliott and Merrill, 1961: 30). Walan (1997:9) sees the structure of authority as a source of conflict. For him “in every social organisation, some positions are entrusted with authority through coercion” (Walan, 1997:9). In other words, “there exists a division of authority such that there are individuals and groups who are subject to authority rather than participants in its exercise. The persistence in time of authority structures give rise to relations of dominance and subordination and thus provides the occasion for exploitation” (Walan,1997:9). At the same time, “social organization rests on social differentiation and division of labor through which the satisfaction of individual wants and the provision of collective goods are pursued. The division of labour creates complex relationships of exchange between different social positions. The combination of the division of labor with super-and subordination makes up the basic configuration of social position, strata, and classes in the social system” (Walan, 1997:10). Walan writes that,

“there is no complete solution to the problem of distributing scare resources among the members of a society thus constituted. At any given moment, there exists a certain distribution of share resources and of rewards- the good things desired and sought after by most, such as wealth, power and class in a society. Some are better off and others are worse off. Those who are favoured have a vested interest in conserving and consolidating their existing share. Those who are negatively privileged seek to increase their existence, individually or collectively”(Walan, 1997:10).

Walan describes “misunderstanding, disagreement, greed, various manifestations of injustice, domination and aggressions as sources of conflicts” (Walan, 1997:10).

Duverger, expresses it in the words “...reduced to its greatest simplicity... political conflict opposes those who are more or less satisfied with the existing social order; who want to conserve it, and those for whom this order is unsuitable, who want to change it...”(Elliott and Merrill, 1961:30).

3.3.2.3 *Typology of conflict.*

According to Kent there are two basic kinds of conflict: dilemmas and dispute.

- “A dilemma is a case in which one party has difficulty making a choice. The difficulty in choosing might be because clear preferences have not yet been formed or because they are different, incompatible preferences contending with one other.
- A dispute occurs where there are two (or more) parties, whose preferences are incompatible” (Kent, October 1993: 376-377).

In other words, says Kent a dilemma is “an internal conflict with a single party whereas a dispute is a conflict between different parties. In fact dilemmas are psychological conflicts and disputes are social conflicts (Kent, October 1993: 377). Thus, in this thesis the term conflict will be understood as equivalent to dispute, because the focus is more on the groups of people i.e. the social and political aspect rather than the psychological.

3.3.2.4 *Forms of Conflicts.*

Kent writes that, “...there are many different kinds of conflict and thus many different ways of categorising conflicts.

- Conflicts might be distinguished according to the number of parties involved.
- Conflicts might also be distinguished according to the type of parties involved. For this point Elliott and Merrill agree with Kent. They write that there is:
 - * “Interpersonal conflict, which is micro conflict between small groups.
e.g. Conflict between a husband and wife or small groups.
 - * Intragroup conflict, which is competition between cliques in neighbourhoods or college dormitories, class, race, ethnics groups, religion.
 - * International conflict is basically “war” between states.

- * Institutionalised conflict such as the competition of political parties in democratic policy, routine collective bargaining between employees, the competition between firms and organisation for a greater share of the market” (Elliott and Merrill, 1961:31).
- Conflicts can also be categorised according to the type of issues involved e.g. land, environment, money, and so on.
- Conflict can be categorised as either direct or structural.
 - * Direct conflict is “eyeball to eyeball”.
 - * Whereas structural conflict is indirect, working through the social system.
- Conflict can also be categorised by the nature of violence associated with them” (Kent, 1993: 381).

3.3.2.5 *Forms of Reaction of Groups in Conflict.*

Elliott and Merrill state that, “...the elements of action and reaction consist of a series of episodes of collective behaviour during which groups of people express grievances, voice demands, stage meetings, marches, demonstrations, and sit-in, occupy property belonging to others, erect barricades, draft petitions, prevent the execution of unpopular orders and laws, interfere with tax collection and the draft, destroy property, assault other individuals or groups, and in turn get dispersed, beaten, gassed, shot at, killed, detained, arrested, imprisoned and so on” (Elliott and Merrill, 1961: 32-32).

Violence is also one of the reactions of the groups or persons in conflict, which also ought to be addressed.

3.3.3. Violence

3.3.3.1 *Understanding violence*

Kent (1993:381) states that Galtung defines violence, which result from conflicts, as a consequence of a culture that can be used to legitimise violence in its direct or structured form. By “culture violence”, he means “those aspects of culture, the symbolic sphere of our existence, exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art, empirical science and formal science (logic, mathematics), that can be used to justify or legitimise direct or structural violence” (Kent, 1993:381).

Kent states that:

- **“Direct or physical violence** is violence that injures and kills people, as in wars, torture, and certain kinds of crime. It involves direct injury to the human body.
- **Indirect or structural violence** is harm imposed by people on others indirectly, through the social system, as they pursue their own preferences. Thus, economic, political, and cultural violence are forms of structural or indirect violence.

* *There is economic violence* that leads to deprivation, malnutrition, and diseases (as in exploitation). Economic violence is based on the use of material incentives, usually money, but sometimes other kinds of goods, such as food.

* *There is political violence*, which uses repression and deprives people of their freedom and their human rights in general. Thus political violence is based on deprivation of non-material goods, which include essentials like food, shelter as a result of displacement brought about by instabilities.

* *There is cultural violence*, which result to alienation that reduces the meaning, value, and quality of life. Cultural violence refers to the manipulation of meaningful

frameworks within which individuals and communities live. With direct violence there is a specific event, an identifiable victim, and perpetrator. In contrast, structural violence is not visible in specific events. Its effects are most clearly observable at the societal level, as systematic short-falls in the quality of life of certain groups of people. In direct violence there is physical damage to the human body occurring in a distinct time, bound event, and individual victims.

In structural violence, however, people suffer harm indirectly, often through a slow and steady process, with no clearly identifiable perpetrators. Structural violence cannot be photographed; only if it's patterned effects show it. Most victims of homelessness or chronic malnutrition, for example, are victims of structural violence" (Kent, 1993:381-382).

3.3.3.2 *Typology of direct and structural violence.*

Galtung's table illustrates the typology of violence.

Table 3 Typology of violence

	Survival needs	Well-being Needs	Identity Needs	Freedom Needs
Direct Violence	Killing	Maiming Siege, Sanctions Misery	Desocialization Resocialisation Secondary Citizen	Repression Detention Expulsion
Structural Violence	Exploitation A	Exploitation B	Penetration Segmentation	Marginalisation Fragmentation

Source: Galtung, 1990:92.

The table above shows the combination between direct and structural violence with four classes of basic needs, which are:

- Survival needs (death, mortality)
- Well-being needs (misery, morbidity)
- Identity, meaning needs (alienation)
- And freedom needs (repression) (Galtung, 1990: 92).

Eight types of violence, and some subtypes can be identified from the table.

Direct violence is easier to identify than structural violence, which is more complex.

Galtung (1990:93) says that, “a fifth column for ‘ecological balance’ could be added to the table for the rest of nature, for human existence. This is because if this need is not met, it results to ecological degradation, breakdown and imbalance”.

For him “ecobalance corresponds to survival + well-being + freedom + identity for human basic maintenance. If not satisfied, the result is human degradation. Thus, for “killing” read extermination, holocaust, genocide. For “misery” read silent holocaust. For “alienation” read spiritual death. For “repression” read gulag. For “ecological degradation” read ecocide. For all the above together read omnicide. In short, violence may be a horror cabinet; but like pathology it reflects a reality to be known and understood” (Galtung, 1990:93).

One of the elements of direct violence results is war, which needs to be addressed.

3.3.3.3 War

3.3.3.3.1 War and its impact

Elliott and Merrill (1961: 733) say that, “war is social disorganization in its most violent form. War is the formal disruption of relationships that bind nations together in (uneasy) peacetime harmony”. They write again that, “war disturbs world harmony, international trade, the free exchange of ideas, and the communication between people, that is vital to effective human relationship. The forces of democracy, Christianity, and science which

serve, each in its own way, to unite people in a common and reciprocal bond are devastated by war as by no other human catastrophe” (Elliott and Merrill, 1961: 733).

Nevertheless, according to the same authors

“war destroys whatever stability previously existed between the nations in conflict. War and its attendant hatred constitute the strongest barrier against the eventual appearance of a peaceful grouping of the people of the world. War not only disorganizes international relations; it also demoralizes individuals, destroys families, and disrupts communities. The destruction of property, the devastation of land, and the loss of human life are all so great that they are literally beyond comprehension” (Elliott and Merrill, 1961:735).

They also added that,

“in social change, war speeds up the rate of social change and consequently intensifies the disorganization of group relationships. Through migration, new cultural traits are rapidly being introduced into society in “normal” times. The wartime emergency increased the emphasis upon technological innovation. Economic institutions change along with technology as the entire industrial resources of the warring nations are converted to war production. Millions of civilian workers move to new cities and new regions. Communities double and triple in size, with all the difficulties entailed in crowded living and mobile populations” (Elliott and Merrill, 1961: 735-736).

Again they write that

“in the sociological frame of reference, wartime social change represents population migrations; social mobility; the evolution of new technologies and new industries; the rush of population to the congested centres of war industry; the unprecedented increase in the labour force from tapping new strata of population; the imposition of new social controls upon industry and the consumer; the increased number of broken families, some broken permanently by death or desertion, others temporarily by absence in the armed forces; housing problems, as thousands of families move from farm to trailer or tenement in a war boom town; family tensions, as the wage-earning wife for the first time asserts her

independence; ill advised war marriages, as boys and girls marry during a ten-day furlough; juvenile delinquency in the war centres; prostitutions and sexual promiscuity as thousands of adolescent girls follow the glamour of the uniform to the camp town and embarkation centres; racial tensions in population centres where races come together under the frustrating circumstances of total war; religious and cultural conflict as accumulated tensions are directed toward the alien group at hand instead of the distant enemy-these are some of the aspects of social change as intensified by total war” (Elliott and Merrill, 1961: 736).

3.3.3.3.2 *Causes of War:*

There are many causes of war, and sometimes one cause might not result in war.

Some of those causes according to Elliott and Merrill are:

- **“Nationalism:** Exaggerated and chauvinistic nationalism leads to war. This pattern of attitudes and values is a part of the ethnocentrism of national groups, which causes them to regard their culture as superior to that of all other nations. In addition, they often wish to impose their culture upon other nations by force. Failure to appreciate the culture of other peoples and the tendency to ridicule this culture contribute to international hostilities.
- **Economic factors:** The struggle to secure an adequate share of economic goods, the search for markets, the competition for raw materials, and the conflict for colonies are among the economic factors that contribute to war.
- **Population pressure:** Nations, which are stifled by a rapidly increasing population, feel the urge to expand to other nations expense. Density of population alone, however, is not in itself a cause of war. Density of population plus a warlike culture affords an excuse for aggression. Dictators encourage the increase of population to create a war machine and at the same time deplore the limited resources of their nations.
- **Technology:** New technology has advanced nationalism and helped to organize the modern world for destruction and war. The diversion of technological

resources into the production of nuclear weapons is the most spectacular case in point.

- **Propaganda:** Without the popular will to fight, none of the other factors by themselves could induce war. Mercenaries no longer fight wars, and citizen soldier must be taught to fight. Some people maintain that, the tendency to go into war is instinctive. This is erroneous. Men would never go to war if they had not been conditioned to do so. The individual would never risk his life, liberty, and property if it were not for the attitudes inculcated by those in power. In order to get men to fight they must be indoctrinated by propaganda, which is directed both towards the citizens at home and towards those of other nations. The real reasons for the war are obscured by emotional appeals.
- **Ideologies:** The most dynamic ideologies are nationalism, democracy, communism and capitalism. People have accepted these ideologies and go to war by supporting them. The masses on both sides may not understand the implications of their ideological beliefs, but they are willing to die for them. Like religion wars of earlier days, ideological war takes on a bitterness that can arise only from a sense of being right.
- **Internal tensions:** Serious internal tensions constitute another cause of war. They may reflect such factors as a low scale of living, satisfaction of sexual impulses and inability to achieve emotional. Totalitarian tensions may also be directed against as exists in democratic societies, where they constitute explosive forces that may be found out in agitation for war.
- **War:** Each nation defines the cause of war in terms of its own national or ideological interests. These interests persist even after destructive and exhausting wars. Nations naturally do not regard each other as friends after they have engaged in destructive war.

There is a major impact of war upon human lives, both military and civilian. The economic costs of war are inevitable. War is the most voracious consumer of goods and services the world has ever seen. War destroys the spiritual values of nations and has a disintegrating effect upon the mores. Family disorganization is multiplied many fold, in terms of separation, death, and divorce. Finally, war

disrupts and disorganizes the basic institutions such as schools, churches, and the state. Ordinary social life is based on an intricate and intangible wedding of functioning relationships, many of which are disorganised by total war” (Elliott and Merrill, 1961: 737-740).

3.3.3.3 Major armed conflicts in the world from 1989-1998.

This section relates to major armed conflicts that took place in the world in general and in Africa in particular.

As such we note the following table:

Table 4 Regional distribution of locations with at least one major armed conflict 1989-1998.

Region	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Africa	9	10	10	7	7	6	6	5	8	11
Asia	11	10	8	11	9	9	9	10	9	8
Central and South America	5	5	4	3	3	3	3	3	2	2
Europe	1	1	2	4	5	4	3	2	1	1
Middle East	5	5	5	4	4	5	4	4	4	4
Total	31	31	29	29	28	27	25	24	24	26

Source: Sollenberg et al, 1998: 18

For Margareta, Wallenstein and Jato (1999:15) “the number of major armed conflicts in Europe was not as high as in Africa and Asia. The only active armed conflict in Europe in 1998 was the Kosovo conflict in Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). This was the first new conflict in Europe since the conflict in Russia (Chechnya) began in late 1994”. They

write again that, “in Azerbaijan and Russia even though they have agreed on cease fire there is little progress towards comprehensive peace agreements. The ceasefire in Russia (Chechnya) and Georgia (Abkhazia) looked increasingly unstable during 1998, and in 1999 wars started again in Chechnya and Abkhazia. These states experienced several incidents of violence between forces of the self- proclaimed Republic of Abkhazia and pro-Georgian militias” (Maregareta, Wallenstein and Jato, 1999:15).

For the same authors “major armed conflicts in the Middle East region show little variation in the number. The conflict continued between the Kurdish workers’ Party (PKK) and Turkey who made large-scale offensives into Iraq to strike at PKK bases.

The relationship between Turkey and Syria was also affected by the Turkish conflict because Syria is one of the PKK’ s most loyal supporters through the years. This conflict contributed to a high level of tension between the Syrian and Turkish people” (Maregareta, Wallenstein and Jato, 1999: 16).

“In Asia, there were few conflicts (conflicts declined) in 1998 as compared to the period 1989-1997 where the conflicts were many. Conflicts in Asia were fought on a comparatively low level of intensity, with the exception of Afghanistan, India (Kashmir) and Sri Lanka. In Afghanistan, Iran was on the brink of becoming a warring party after the execution of Iranian diplomats captured in northern Afghanistan, mainly of Shi’ite Hazaras and this exacerbated the tension with Iran. In Sri Lanka, the government’s series of offensive acts continued unbolted, leading to very high casualty figures. The crisis in Indonesia might for the first time provide an opportunity to settle the conflict in East Timor. The UN-led negotiations are being held between Indonesia and Portugal” (Maregareta, Wallenstein and Jato, 1999: 16).

They also say that, “in Central and South America, one-armed conflict was active in 1998 as well as in 1997. In Colombia, a high number of guerrillas were actively participating in the entire conflict. However, Andres Pastrana (new President) initiated talks with the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Columbia (FARC) in 1998, leading to a meeting in early 1998, which was the first direct talk ever between a Colombian president and the leaders of FARC. The armed conflict between Peru and Sendero Luminoso saw only isolated incidents of violence in 1998” (Margareta, Wallenstein and Jato, 1999: 17).

For them “Africa is the most conflict-ridden region of the world and the only region in which the number of armed conflicts is on the highest pace. There were, eleven armed conflicts on the continent in 1998 and ten in Sub-Saharan Africa. In 1998 Ethiopia and Eritrea were at war. In Sudan, the NDA (National Democratic Alliance) which is fighting the Islamist regime brings together several Southern and Northern opposition organisations of which the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement (SPLM), led by John Garang, is the largest. In Congo (ex-Zaire), at least six states have been directly involved in the DRC conflict: Angola, Chad, Namibia and Zimbabwe have sided with the president Kabila, while Rwanda and Uganda are fighting alongside the rebels. In Rwanda and Burundi, the deep-rooted conflict between Hutu and Tutsi continued to claim victims on a large scale. The Hutu rebels from Burundi and Rwanda coordinated their activities during the year 1995. In Angola, the Angola peace process initiated at Lusaka in 1994 broke down. The intense armed conflict broke out between government and Jonas Savimbi’s UNITA.

In Uganda, the conflict continues between the government and the main rebel movements. The Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA), led by Joseph Kony, and the Allied Democratic Front (ADF); compared to the level of conflict in 1997, the fighting has intensified. Sierra Leone suffered from the armed conflict involving the coalition of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) and the Revolutionary United Front (RUF). Senegal saw a continuation of the conflict in Casamance, which had begun in the early 1980s. The conflict in Algeria between the government and Islamists continued with massive violence organized as well as unorganised groups that claimed thousands of lives, as in the previous years” (Margareta, Wallensteen and Jato, 1999: 18-22).

The conflict in Africa becomes more complex.

In “sub-Saharan Africa, the conflicts increasingly become regionalized. Many conflicts in the sub region are connected through cross-border interests and actors, and there is an

increase of various types of external military involvement in the internal conflicts” (Margareta, Wallensteen and Jato, 1999: 18).

For example, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, are involved in the DRC conflict on the government’s side, whereas Rwanda and Uganda were involved on the side of the rebels. Sudan’s support of the LRA and ADF in Uganda is in the form of arms and logistical assistance. “There is a clear connection between the war in the DRC and the domestic situation in Burundi and Rwanda” (Margareta, Wallensteen and Jato, 1999:18). The problem goes back to 1994 when president Mobutu Sese Seko supported the Rwandan rebels (Interahamwe) to attack Rwanda. The same authors write that, “in 1996 the rebels supported by Rwanda and Uganda overthrew Mobutu, and Laurent Desire Kabila took over power. But, a new insurrection started in DRC in August 1998. Kabila actively supports the Rwandan and Burundian rebels again as Mobutu did. The anti-Tutsi sentiments in the capital Kinshasa put pressure on president Kabila to send home Rwandan soldiers who had helped bring him to power between 1996-1997, which in turn provoked a military intervention from Rwanda” (Margareta, Wallensteen and Jato, 1999:19).

The volatile situation in the DRC poses a threat to several actors in the region. At present at least six states: Angola, Chad, Namibia, Rwanda, Uganda and Zimbabwe, are directly involved in military conflict.

They continue that, “conflicts in West Africa also have a strong sub regional dimension, involving Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Nigeria, Senegal and Sierra Leone.

In Sierra Leone, Liberian soldiers have been operating alongside the RUF/ARFC rebels. The armed rebellion in Guinea-Bissau was related to the armed conflict in the neighbouring Senegal. Senegalese and Guinea troops supported the Guinea-Bissau government. While the Casamance movement of the Democratic Forces (MFDC), who were the against Senegalese’s government, supported the rebellion in Guinea-Bissau” (Margareta, Wallensteen and Jato, 1999:23-25).

This discussion on conflict shows that conflict is predominant in Africa and Asia. This being the case the next section focuses on peace.

3.3.4. Peace.

3.3.4.1 *Understanding peace*

Writing about peace, Swam (1997:4) writes that, "...like conflict, peace is also a product of individuals, groups, and state interaction at the many levels of social, political, and economic life". It is the other side of conflict, the side that represents harmony, unity and reflects mutually satisfying relationships.

However, according to Swam the concept of peace suffers a crisis of identity. He says that, "...it is widely constructed in political, geopolitical, social and economic terms, while in recent years the concept has acquired psychosocial and ecological connotations as well" (Swam, 1997:4). Peace is widely regarded as a goal, which the appropriate set of strategies, circumstances and effort should surely help to attain. Swam says that, "to the majority, the concept of peace remains a veritable jigsaw puzzle, large sections of which are still untouched in the box, unfamiliar, and for this reason disdained" (Swam, 1997:5).

For Rabie (1994:13) peace is defined as "...absence of war. It has always been perceived as the opposite of war and the negative of violence. But it is also the presence of justice. Broadly defined, peace is the least application of violence and coercion to the individual human being and to the freedom of access of individual to cherished values". According to Rabie (1994: 13) peace is a "situation generally characterised by the absence of war and violence in which human interactions are conducted in an orderly manner and disputes arising from such interactions are settled peacefully. Individuals, groups and nations are free to pursue their legitimate goals without coercion". He continues that, peace is "both a state of mind that reflects attitudes against violence and toward dialogue, and states of socio-economic and political affairs that are more conducive to peaceful coexistence, justice, and cooperation (Rabie, 1994: 13).

However, all situations have a life of their own, and states of mind and political and economic affairs continue to evolve and change, causing power and wealth in society to be continually redistributed. Therefore, Rabie writes that, "peace must also be viewed as

a process to facilitate societal transformation without violence and undue injustice” (Rabie, 1994: 13).

To be real and human “peace must be understood and employed as a continuous process to lessen social tension, resolve political conflict, and create conditions for freedom and justice through a gradual evolution of human perceptions and socio-political institutions (Rabie, 1994: 15). He continues with saying that, “it must lay the foundation for transforming existing group relationships, state and the civil society, with a view to creating new more dynamic ones committed to promoting compatible visions and values with developing shared interests” (Rabie, 1994: 15).

This brings us to the question of whether positive and negative peace exists?

3.3.4.2 Negative peace and Positive peace.

Smoker, Davies and Munske (1990:13) say that “as violence has two sides (personal and structural violence) so does peace; peace also has two sides: absence of personal violence and absence of structural violence. We shall refer to them as “negative peace” and “positive peace” respectively”. For these authors, the positions of absence of violence as negative and social justice as positive peace are preferred.

The absence of personal violence does not lead to a positively defined condition, whereas the absence of structural violence is what we have referred to as social justice, which is a positively defined condition, i.e. the egalitarian distribution of power and resources” (Smoker, Davies and Munske, 1990:13).

Galtung (1996:2), reinforces this definition by saying that, “life is capable of suffering (dukkha) violence done to the body and to the mind, referred to as physical and mental violence respectively. But life is also capable of experiencing bliss (sukha), the pleasure that comes to the body and the mind. Some might reserve the term “positive peace” for that experience”. So if that is a “positive peace”, the rest is a “negative peace”. Talking about roads to peace, Galtung (1996:3) found eight combinations for peace policies. These combinations comprise of negative and positive peace and four types of violence: political, military, economic and cultural. Thus, he posits “there is no place to start and certainly no place to end policies for peace. The best advice is to work on all eight cells at

the same time” (Galtung, 1996:3). It is better to move on having a single thrust, hoping that the others will take care of themselves or can be easily handled afterwards.

The following table shows that combination

Table 5 Peace policies for the 21st Century.

	Negative Peace	Positive Peace
Political	<i>Democratise states</i> Human rights all over, but the-Westernization initiative, referendum, direct democracy Decentralisation	<i>Democratize the UN</i> One country, one vote No big-power veto Second UN Assembly Direct elections (1 seat/ 1 million) Confederations
Military	Defensive defence Delegitimize arms Non-military defence	Peace-keeping forces Non-military skills International peace brigades
Economic	<i>Self-reliance I</i> Internalise externalities Use own factors Also locally	<i>Self-reliance II</i> Share externalities Horizontal exchange South-south cooperation
Cultural	<i>Challenge</i> Singularism Universalism Chosen people ideas Violence, war <i>Dialogue</i> Between hard and soft	<i>Global civilisation</i> A centre everywhere Relaxed time Holistic, global nature Partnership equality, Justice life enhancement

Source: Galtung, 1996: 3.

However, before completing this aspect on peace, it is important to define the terms: “peacekeeping” and “peacemaking”. For Burton, “peacekeeping” and “peacemaking” are terms introduced by the United Nations to describe activities that separate parties in conflicts (peacemaking) and in maintaining an absence of violence (peacekeeping)” (Burton, 1996: 36). Throughout the world, according to Burton “peace is surely the most elusive goal in social and political life. The problems of building peaceful relationship between and within nations, religions, communities, and individuals remain extremely complex and difficult. Many countries today face persistent social and political conflicts caused by contests over ethnic, religious and territorial autonomy. Rwanda, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Algeria, Sierra Leone, Eritrea, and Ethiopia are the best example” (Burton, 1996: 36).

To conclude this section, conflict, violence and peace must be seen in their totality, at all levels of organization of life. But here, the researcher’s interest is limited to human life. Conflict, violence and peace are inter-connected and are integral ingredients of unity and disunity. Violence and conflict create disunity while peace creates unity.

Even if peace is not always a sign of unity, as violence and conflict are of disunity, peace is a condition *sine quo non*-for making unity, as we shall see in chapter six.

The following section describes the concept of sustainable development.

3.4 SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

The concept of sustainable development allows one, within the practical framework, to ascertain the impact of Rwandan national unity on sustainable development. The first part of this section focuses on defining the meaning of development, the issues in development and some of the terms that are related to development. The second part describes sustainable development in general.

3.4.1. Finding a definition of development

Many authors have attempted to define the term 'development'. The term has different meanings depending on the context in which is used.

For example Rist (1997:8) says that, when psychologists, mathematicians or photographers use the term development they mean intelligence, an equation, a film respectively. The situation differs when the term comes to denote either a state or concepts such as material well -being, progress, social justice, economic growth, personal blossoming, or even ecological equilibrium.

For this research, Stewart's (1997:1) definition of development as a positive social, economic and political change in a country or a community will be used.

It is concerned with positive change in the Rwandan society, and the success of development efforts is measured by the results seen in Rwandan society.

Moreover, for Stewart

“ development in any country requires very specific skills, institution, local knowledge and experience. The felt needs and self-understanding of people are crucial in determining the meaning of development for them. Therefore there must be consultation, discussion and debate among and with the people who are affected by development initiative. Democracy is the mechanism by which diverse social needs and wants can be integrated and particular needs can be prioritised. Development as positive change is, in this way, largely the freely chosen project or strategy of a group of people or a nation, in which everyone takes responsibility for making the change or development effort successful. Development in all instances must relate closely to popular aspirations” (Stewart, 1997:124).

Gilbert gives some examples of the definition of development:

- “Development is defined in the Petit Robert Dictionary (1987) as growth, blossoming, progress, extension and expansion.
Developing country or region, whose economy has not yet reached the level,

Of North America, Western Europe.

- It is defined as “ a process, which enables human beings to realize their potential, build self-confidence, and lead lives of dignity and fulfilment.

It is a process, which frees people from the fear of want and exploitation. It is a movement away from political, economic, or social oppression. Through development, political independence acquires its true significance.

And it is a process of growth, a movement essentially springing from within the society that is developing” (Gilbert, 1997:1).

The United Nations report of 1991 on human development, stated that,

“ the basic objective of human development is to enlarge the range of people’s choices to make development more democratic and participatory. These choices should include access to income and employment opportunities, education and health, and clean and safe physical environment. Each individual should also have the opportunity to participate fully in community decisions and to enjoy human, economic and political freedom” (UNDP, Human Development Report, 199:1).

Moreover, “development is a term with many different albeit related, meanings, both in the academic discourse and in every day speech. At the simplest level, development may be used as a synonym for any of the following concepts: growth, evolution, progress, transformation, improvement, modernization and industrialization” (Frank, 2001:2).

However, it is more complex than all these words for the concept provokes questions about values, techniques and choices. To develop originally meant to “unfold, to lay open, unveil or unroll” (Frank, 2001:2). It accepts that development “is both a complex and multi-faceted process, which involves changes in individuals, social, economic and political institutions, and in the physical and material aspects of life. The conception encompasses not only growth, but capacity, equity and empowerment. Empowerment here means the capacity of people to influence their futures. It involves social justice as well as meeting basic needs and includes social learning and appropriate adaptations to new and challenging conditions in a world of limited resources” (Frank, 2001:5).

3.4.2. Issues in development.

If development is a process, which brings about change in the social, economic, political and material world, then the issues that impact on this change need to be consciously addressed in the process.

Some of these issues take into account the vulnerable groupings, class structures and elites' power, the rural imbalance, and the levels of violence.

3.4.2.1 Vulnerable groups in development.

Frank says that "in all societies there are certain groups that are more at risk of being left out of the development process either through their natural physical capabilities such as age and/or disability or through their social status in the community determined by cultural norms and custom. These grouping are the first to suffer in underdevelopment and natural or man made disasters such as famine or war. They are often the last to benefit from development programmes and remain on the periphery" (Frank, 2001:5).

3.4.2.2 Class structures, elites and power.

According to Frank "societies are structured in a way that some groups have more political or economic power than others. This influences the manner in which development takes place in some developing countries whereby emerging bureaucratic elites influence the development process. The power they hold may be in accessing and controlling resources, ability to influence policies in their own interests and maintaining other groupings subservience to them" (Frank, 2001:5).

3.4.2.3 The rural versus urban imbalance.

Frank again says that, "in many third world countries, as a result of colonialism, administration was from the capital city and all development was focused on the capital with infrastructures such as transport (roads, rail, air), concentrated around the capital or regional capitals. The urban areas are the centre of economic growth and offer

employment opportunities not found in the rural areas. At the same time the rural areas are usually poorly serviced and supported” (Frank, 2001:6).

3.4.2.4 *Levels of violence.*

Frank confirms that, “in communities experiencing high levels of violence, development cannot take place. Besides loss of life, unsettling of home life, disturbances in schooling and economic activity, there may be destruction of the physical material environment. Wars and civil strife are all factors that determine whether development can commence. Without development there can be no peace and without peace there can be no development. That is the paradox, which all development practioners face” (Frank, 2001:7).

The discussions that follow are definitions of concepts that are related to development as described by Cole (1992).

3.4.3 Concepts related to development.

3.4.3.1. *Rich and poor countries.*

Cole defines rich and poor countries in reference to G.N.P (Gross National Production), regardless of how uneven the U.S. dollar equivalents are distributed among the population, since the world average is only \$ 2760. Any country, which is below this average, is qualified as underdeveloped, whereas the country, which has above this average, is considered as a developed country (Cole, 1992:4).

However, this is “the measure of the ‘formal sector’ activity. It doesn’t consider the ‘informal sector’ like the productive activities of the household, because many of these are undertaken by women and children, and are unpaid subsistence. Some production is produced for the population’s own consumption, and is also not represented in the G.N.P figures” (Redclift, 1992:15).

3.4.3.2 Gross Domestic Product (G.D.P) and Gross National Product (G.N.P).

G.N.P is “defined as the total final output of goods and services produced by an economy, that is, by residents and non-residents” (Cole, 1992:17).

G.D.P differs because it “counts only that output produced by residents, but adds income from abroad” (Cole, 1992 : 7).

3.4.3.3 Industrialised and non-industrialised countries.

Every country has some industry except the poorest countries. The term here refers to the rich countries, which have developed industries. Poor countries, which have the small or non-developed industries, are referred to as non-industrialised countries.

3.4.3.4 Third World

The term ‘Third World’ suggests that there is a First and a Second World. Cole says that, “the original First and Second worlds were based on political or ideological aspects. The Western democracies were the First world and the Eastern socialist countries were the Second world. The Third world consisted of ‘ neutral’ countries in the political sense. There has been a transfer of meaning. The term ‘Third World’ now popularly implies the poorer countries” (Cole, 1992:15).

3.4.3.5 Developed and underdeveloped countries.

The term ‘underdeveloped’ was regarded as disparaging, while ‘developing’ sounds more respectable and seems to hold out the expectation or hope that positive change will take place (Cole, 1992:7).

3.4.4 Sustainable development

3.4.4.1 *Understanding the concept*

“Sustainable development” is usually defined principally in relation to the environmental and economic aspects. Many books written about sustainable development concentrate on preservation of the natural resource base, (Kotze 1997: xi) says that, “too often it is confused with ‘sustained’ development and with the ‘sustainability’ of a project, where reference is simply made to the ability of the project to stay alive over a prolonged period”.

In this research, the concept ‘sustainable development’ will be understood and used to mean development that can be sustained for an indefinite period of time. It is related to social development more than to an ecological system. Indeed, “the concept ‘ sustainable development’ itself is subject to various criticisms. Chief amongst them is the fact that the concept means different things to different people” (Jacobs, 1994: 241).

Sachs says that, the fact that sustainable development “is open to multiple interpretations results from the looseness of the operational definition, and, as a result, the concept lacks sufficient meta-theoretical grounding. Furthermore, it is open to political manipulation from the South to the North” (Sachs, 1993:8).

The concept of sustainable development may be used as a “rationalization and political convenience by the North because its realization lies far in the future” (Fitzgerald, Lennan, Munslow, 1997:256). However, for Fitzgerald, Lennan and Munslow making development sustainable means “moving beyond narrow, albeit important, concerns with economic growth per se to considerations relating to the quality of growth. That is, ensuring that peoples’ basic needs are being met, that the resource base is conserved, that there is a sustainable population level that environment and cross-sect oral concerns are integrated into decision-making processes, and that communities are empowered” (Fitzgerald , Lennan, Munslow, 1997:3). Sustainable development is “concerned with improving the overall quality of life as well as satisfying human needs. Sustainable development implies self-reliant and cost-effective development, facilitating access to

health, shelter, clean water, and food. Finally, it implies the need for people centred initiatives” (Fitzgerald, Lennan, Munslow, 1997:3-4). In fact sustainable development is “not something that can happen easily. It requires, amongst other things, a massive educational effort so that citizens are made aware of the need to manage resources wisely to achieve the maximum benefits at the minimum cost, not only to fulfil their own needs today, but those of their children tomorrow and of future generations” (Fitzgerald, Lennan, Munslow, 1997:4). Thus, sustainable development “requires an institutional framework that will be able to promote a strong development. In this sense, decentralisation and devolution of power are essential for the implementation of sustainable development” (Albrow, 1970:43 cited by Mentz et al, 1997:18).

Let now look at bureaucracy and decentralisation, as administrative organizations and determine which one can promote sustainable development.

3.4.4.2. *The bureaucracy.*

Bureaucracy is pre-eminently an “institution that functions on the basis of hierarchies. Albrow cited by Mentz et al (1997: 18) says that, “decisions are taken on a centralised basis and are then put into effect by a hierarchy of officials who are politically neutral persons. These officials adopt an objective stance vis-à-vis both on the government of the day and the execution of their duties”. He continues that, “the concept of power and authority are inherent in any bureaucracy. It performs its tasks on the basis and authority vested in it and this authority is backed by the power of the state. The bureaucracy does not formulate policy, but implements and executes policy decisions” (Albrow, 1970: 43-44 cited by Mentz et al, 1997:18).

The question that remains is whether this system of institution is favourable to sustainable development. According to Mentz et al (1997:18) “this system cannot satisfy the needs or exigencies of sustainable development because it is a centralized system. So far, it acts in the interests of a small elite political and bureaucratic group, instead of in the interests of the broad population. The elite groups are very remote from the interests and circumstances of the rural people. Politics increasingly become urban politics, and

rural neglect inevitably follows. A top-down approach characterized as policy formulation, planning, decision-making and implementation are perpetuated by the concentration of power in the hands of elite groups”.

3.4.4.3 Decentralization

The concept ‘decentralization’ is characterised by top-down planning. Kotze (1997:25) says that, “decentralization is not clearly defined, so the meaning of can be characterised by words like: devolution, deconcentration, delegation and privatization”. Thus, within the context of development issues, decentralization is usually an “inclusive reference to deconcentration, devolution and delegation; but not necessarily excluding privatization. However, decentralization policies are often reduced to centrally controlled deconcentration” (Kotze, 1997:25).

As Kotze (1997:25-26) states:

- “Deconcentration consists of handing over some administrative authority and responsibility to lower levels within the hierarchy of central government. This transference of power is accompanied by a shift of workload to the offices of central government, mostly outside the administrative capital. However, the placing of numerous government offices throughout the country does not necessarily imply decentralization. It is the degree to which responsibility and discretion are deconcentrated to those offices that determines the extent to which the administrative system is decentralised.
- Devolution refers to the transference of decision-making power to a subordinate authority operating within its own area of jurisdiction, such as a local government institution, and only indirectly subject to the control of central, state or provincial government.
- Delegation consists in the transference of authority required to perform certain tasks, either to officials within the same organization, or to other institutions. Deconcentration may therefore also include delegation of the authority required to perform certain tasks. The ultimate responsibility for the performance of the tasks concerned remains with the delegating authority.

- Privatisation refers to the transference of responsibility for performance of certain tasks to organisations in the private sector, cases in point being professional bodies that regulate admission to an occupation and cooperatives that handle the marketing of specific products. It also includes the employment of the services of private consultants and firms who provide specialised services, such as planning, management and construction”
(Kotze, 1997:25-26).

However decentralization offers certain advantages for development. Cheema and Rondinelli (1983: 14-16) cited by Kotze (1997:27) has listed several advantages of decentralization for development, these include:

- “Decentralisation can become an effective way of overcoming the serious limitations of centrally controlled national planning. The most important factor in this regard would be to delegate some control and authority in national development planning and government to officials who are directly concerned with the field or local situation and are as such closest to the development problems. Decentralisation to regional and local levels will, therefore, permit these officials to design and promote development which would be appropriate to the specific needs of the various and heterogeneous groups.
- Decentralisation can eliminate an enormous amount of the bureaucratic red tape usually associated with strictly centralised planning and management in Third World countries as a direct result of the over concentration of power, authority and resources in the central government.
- Decentralising the functions of central government and linking central to local and regional levels will necessarily give rise to an increase in the grasp of knowledge by officials concerning local problems and needs.
- Decentralisation makes it possible to achieve better political and administrative ‘penetration’ by applying the policy of the national government in remote rural areas.

- Decentralisation can give rise to greater representation of a diversity of political, religious, ethnic and tribal groups in development decision making which, in turn, can promote the principles of equality in the allocation and utilisation of government resources.
- Decentralisation can have a stimulating effect on the development of more effective administrative resources among local government and private institutions. This means that these institutions will be able to take over functions, which are often poorly performed by the central government. Moreover, this may give local officials the opportunity to develop their own managerial and technical skills.
- The efficiency of the central government may increase, since it will be relieved of routine tasks, which can be effectively performed, by field staff and local officials.
- Decentralisation can also provides valuable structure whereby the activities of a variety of central government ministries can more effectively link up and reach an accommodation with one another, as well as with the activities of local officials and non-government organizations in the various regions.
- A decentralized structure is also needed to institutionalize mass participation. Such a structure would be capable of facilitating the exchange of information and channelling local needs and political demands from the local communities to the national government.
- Decentralization can, therefore, assist in neutralizing the influence on and exclusive control over development by the local elite- a form of control, which is often unsympathetic towards the objectives of a national development policy and the needs of the poverty-stricken masses.
- Decentralization can give rise to a more flexible, innovative and creative administrative system. Local administrative units can accordingly have more freedom to test innovative action and experiment with it in selected areas, without jeopardizing national objectives. Should these experimental phases fail, the failure would be limited to small areas and need not necessarily be reflected at national level.

- It is generally accepted that decentralization can also promote political stability and national unity, in that groups in different areas of a single national state are afforded the opportunity to participate more directly in development decision-making” (Kotze, 1997:27).

3.4.4.3.1 Factors that affect decentralization.

According to Kotze, the main factors that influence decentralization are:

- “Administrative tradition
- Administrative capacity
- Political culture
- Central support for decentralization
- The design and execution of policies
- The resources made available for the support of decentralization”

(Kotze, 1997: 28).

Thus, “when decentralisation is not understood and does not correspond with the interests of those who have to apply it, it is not implemented effectively. The inverse is also true; decentralisation will succeed where it reinforces existing power relationships and where its objectives correspond with these power structures” (Kotze, 1997:29).

This means that, “decentralization, like all other approaches in development, cannot always be a panacea for development problems. Decentralization, to be successful, needs to be coordinated with the higher level and with one another. The coordination must be horizontal i.e. must be achieved among institutions and officials at the same level, and vertical, i.e. at the different levels.

- Horizontal coordination is achieved through cooperation, phasing of activities in a pre-arranged sequence and, in some instances, even through integration of activities.
- Vertical coordination is usually effected by means of control and aid links, which are incorporated in financial arrangements, regulation and monitoring, technical assistance of personnel, provision of services, and the facilitation of formal and informal participation at all levels” (Kotze, 1997:31).

However, Kotze says that, coordination itself causes these problems:

* “It brings about indirect costs. The numerous meetings that officials have to attend entail direct costs (such as travelling and subsistence), as well as indirect costs in lost time.

* Coordination could also break down where a single organisation dominates operations, such as the field office of Department of Agriculture in a rural area.

* As in the case of decentralisation, coordination should be optimised rather than maximised. It should be applied where it is necessary; it should not be wasteful of resources; and it should contribute to normal work processes rather than interfere with them” (Kotze, 1997:31).

Thus, decentralisation is important since it leads to sustainable development rather than bureaucracy. Within sustainable development the people are the centre of development i.e. the subject of development and they participate in development.

3.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter the researcher has attempted to:

- Make explicit key concepts for the purpose of this particular study;
- Engage and analyse various concepts on unity, conflict, violence and peace as they relate to development, and sustainable development theories.

However, the researcher does not discuss the theory on internal or personal conflict or violence because it is related directly to psychological problems. This aspect falls outside the scope of this study, which is about political, social, economic conflict.

Following the chapter on conflict, violence and peace in general, it will be pertinent at this juncture to look at the problems of development and unity among the Rwandans.

Thus the following chapter narrows down to issues of Rwandan unity and development and forms the backdrop to this research.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. THE ISSUES OF UNITY AND DEVELOPMENT IN RWANDA.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Throughout this chapter, an attempt will be made to give a definition of Rwanda's unity, to explain how it is recognized, to analyse the problem of Rwanda's unity or lack of it at times through the historic review and to explain what should be done to re-establish the unity among the Rwandan people. The historical background of development in Rwanda will also be reviewed. This chapter includes details about developmental activities, which were altered due to the genocide of 1994.

4.2 ISSUES OF NATIONAL UNITY

4.2.1 The definition of Rwanda's Unity.

Rwanda's unity has been described as "the relationship among the Rwandan people, which must bring them together. They must feel like they are close friends, moving together, sharing everything (life and death), sharing the country, all having the same rights to it (one not being in position to chase the other from it) and feeling that anything disturbing to one part of that country is disturbing the whole country, that Rwandans must fight against that disturbance together (national cohesion). They must look to the same positive direction of the country, towards developing their own country" (Republic of Rwanda, office of the president of the Republic, 1999:16).

Indeed, in order to recognize Rwanda's unity, many things can be done.

All these things can be available at the same time or not.

Among these things, the main elements are the following:

1. "Citizens must understand that they all share the country, everybody feeling that the country is his, feeling and accepting that the country is also for other citizens, that no one has more rights to it than other persons do.
2. Citizens must understand that they should together defend their country, so that nobody else can disturb it. In the event that one part of it is disturbed, citizens from other parts of that country should feel that it is necessary to go and help those from the disturbed part and protect the integrity of the whole country;
3. Citizens must have elements in common through which they all perceive themselves (National symbols). In the past, those symbols were the King and the Drum. Nowadays, one can promote symbols such as the National Flag, the National anthem, the seal, the Head of state, and so on" (Republic of Rwanda; Office of the President of the Republic, 1999:16).

However, if we have a look at the above elements and symbols and analyse the Rwandan culture, we might find some element, which could help to reinforce Rwandans' unity. But without these elements a country can still have unity i.e. they are not the only conditions towards achieving unity, they are other things that must be considered as well. These elements are language, culture, religion and housing.

1. **Language:** The fact that nationals are sharing the same language creates and reinforces unity;
2. **Culture:** When citizens share the same culture, it means that they are close to each other in term of their history, and can foster unity amongst them. Culture cements unity.
3. **Religion:** When nationals share the same religion, it helps them to build unity and to protect their religion so that it cannot be destroyed;
4. **Housing:** When people live in a country where they have rights to live wherever they want within their country, and this rights is accepted by each citizen, unity

can be perceived and reinforced” (Republic of Rwanda; Office of the President of the Republic, 1999:16-17).

The historical review of Rwanda reveals that the pre-colonial period was characterised by national unity whereas the divisions and conflicts between Hutu and Tutsi started with the colonial era.

4.2.2. The problems of Rwanda’s unity through an historical review

Before describing Rwanda’s story, it must be noted from the researcher’s perspective that the story of Rwanda as written by the colonialist, the church and Rwandan politicians during the colonial era seemed to be incorrect or inaccurate. The present central government and Rwanda’s historians accuse them of writing and teaching Rwandans, a history characterised by divisions, segregations and discrimination. The correct Rwandan story is still not told. Research is still being carried out in this area, and there are limited books that have been written with regard to all the events that characterise Rwandan history. The Rwandans still await a more balanced and unbiased reflection of their history.

For the purpose of this study, we note that Rwandan history is divided into three periods:

1. The pre-colonial;
2. The colonial and
3. The post-colonial era.

These three periods will be discussed below.

4.2.2.1 *The pre-colonial era.*

The pre-colonial era was characterised by the inhabitation of Rwanda and the social cohesion of Rwandans. The way in which Rwanda was populated still seems to be confusing; especially the provenance of the three ethnic groups namely the Batwa, Bahutu and the Batutsi who always lived in the same country.

Waller writes that, "the Twa (pygmoids) who are related to the forest negroes of the Congo, are the oldest inhabitants and have been in Rwanda since time immemorial. They were mainly hunters, metal workers, potters, dancers and buffoons.

They now form less than one per cent of the total population of Rwanda. Both the Hutu and the Tutsi scorned the Twa and regarded them as outcasts. The Hutu came from the north-west of Africa (Chad and Cameroon). They came later than the Twa, at least 500 years later. They were agriculturalists by occupation, and now form almost 90 per cent of the Rwandan population" (Waller, 1993: 4).

Waller writes again that, "the last ethnic group, which entered Rwanda, were the Tutsi from the north-east of Africa (Ethiopia). The Tutsi were pastoral, and were assumed to have invaded Rwanda around or before the fifteenth century. They now form almost 9 per cent of the population. The penetration of Tutsi in Rwanda was slow and peaceful. They at first occupied the east of Rwanda, then gradually extended their dominance toward the west. The Tutsi found that the society controlled by the Hutu was organized in small monarchies based on clans of related families. Gradually the Tutsi gained control of administration over the society because they were militarily and economically stronger" (Waller, 1993:4). It was the possession of cattle, which made them economically powerful.

According to Roger Louis (1963:110) "socially and economically the Tutsi dominated the Hutu. Cattle were wealth, the key to political and social standing; and the cattle were owned almost exclusively by the Tutsi. The Hutu desire to own cattle was the fundamental reason for their subjugation. The Hutu wanted cattle, the Tutsi wanted servants and labour for their crops. To acquire cattle the Hutu obliged themselves to perform services for the Tutsi". African Rights then says, "the Tutsi initiated the system of "ubuhake", which means a patron gives a cow to his client. Thereafter, the client performed various services for the patron, in return for protection. A seemingly moderate reciprocal relationship became highly exploitative in the sense the patron could demand repayment of all his client's cattle not just the single one loaned. This system identified

the patrons as Tutsi and the client as Hutu, and made the Tutsi always superior to the Hutu (African Right, 1995: 4). Fundi (1999:2-3) writes that, "for important decisions the king was required to consult the council or guardians of traditions (abiru). For the administrative hierarchy, there was a council of ministers (abatware b'intebe) and below them were the chiefs who governed the provinces, and beneath them the sub-chiefs who were below the king. There were three different chiefs in the same province. Through the sub-chief, the chief of land (umutware w'ubutaka) held responsibilities and obligation to the king to collect and provide food for the king. The chief of cattle (umutware w'umukenke) held responsibilities and obligation to the king to collect and provide him with milk and cows. Whereas, the chief of military (umutware w'ingabo) provided the trained military. The supreme judicial authority was however, vested in the king, who delegated authority to courts composed of great chiefs, who in turn delegated authority to more local courts. The monarchy was mainly run by the Tutsi, a fraction of whom became more privileged, at times becoming exploitative of ordinary Rwandans just like most monarchies in other parts of the world. This system of governance was not stagnant, and changed with time due to domestic and external modernising influences. What was striking in Rwanda however was the fact that all these three castes (ethnic divisions) lived together in harmony for centuries. There was no particular history of violence between them. If anything, conflicts were more evident amongst the Tutsi, particularly with certain clans that were much closer to the ruling Tutsi families in certain periods during power struggles".

The ethnicity problems in this era were not accentuated. Some authors do not even agree with the term of ethnicity in Rwanda. They prefer to use the term 'castes' or 'classes'. Fundi (1999:2) for example states, " the country had three castes, mistakenly, but commonly called ethnic groups, namely Hutu, Tutsi and Twa. These castes spoke the same language, had the same culture, and lived communally in the same locations, with no particular group living separately from the rest of the population. These so-called ethnic groups were in fact more like social classes, with the rich and more privileged Tutsi associated with cattle keeping, and the Hutu with cultivation and the Twa with hunting and pottery. Social mobility often saw richer Hutu persons becoming Tutsi,

while the Tutsi that became impoverished became Hutu". For Newbury (1988:2), the term Tutsi often refers not to origin (descent) but to social condition, or wealth, especially as regards cattle: "whoever is a chief, or who is a rich will often be referred to as Tutsi".

However, "before the Europeans' arrival, Rwandans understood each other. The country was characterized by unity. If we start with existing documents, many of which are written by foreigners, and specifically with Rwandan culture and what our ancestors tell, we find that there was only one Rwanda. The war between Rwandan ethnics groups is not mentioned anywhere before the Europeans' arrival" (Republic of Rwanda; Office of the President of the Republic, 1999:11).

It is clear from the above that the Twa, Hutu and Tutsi identities were defined partly by politics, occupational status, and ancestry. They were not pure ethnic, let alone racial-types. African Rights writes that, "the ethnic problem in Rwanda especially that between the Hutu and the Tutsi has been greatly exaggerated, both by European colonialists and missionaries, and later by some Rwandan politicians and the western media" (African Right, 1995: 5).

4.2.2.2. The colonial period.

Rwanda, like many other African countries did not escape the vogue of European colonialism. First Germany, then Belgium colonized Rwanda from the eighteenth century.

Roger Louis writes that, " at the Berlin conference in 1885, Rwanda was placed under the protectorate of Germany. However, at the end of the First World War, Germany lost Rwanda as well as many of its others colonies. From that date Rwanda had been placed under Belgium control" (Roger Louis, 1963:92).

Within the Belgium colonization, around 1931, Rwanda's ethnic segregation started. Ethnization was exploited, and the position of the Tutsi as the ruling elite was gradually institutionalised by giving them educational advantages and administrative positions. The

Rwandan administrative system changed. Waller (1993:11) states, “the district became territory, and the chefferie, sub-chefferie appeared in the administrative structure of territory”. He continues by saying that, “the Tutsi were positioned at many different levels of administration. Consequently, the Hutu were ignored and excluded from all levels of power, and were often pressed into forced labour (*uburetwa*), a kind of slavery that was legally abolished in 1927 by king Mutara III Charles Rudahigwa. In 1960, the so-called *sous-chefferies* joined together and became the Commune. In 1961 the territory became a Prefecture” (Waller, 1993:11).

Newbury writes that, “before the colonial era, except for the king and the chief of cattle who were historically always Tutsi, the other chiefs could be either Hutu or Tutsi. The fact that all the government-imposed chiefs were Tutsi and empowered to exploit and abuse the Hutu meant that the Tutsi came to be equated with arbitrary administrative power, and Hutu with powerlessness” (Newbury, 1988: 178-179).

The colonialist introduced a new element as a scientific proof, for dividing the Hutu and the Tutsi. They differentiated the Hutu from the Tutsi by their physical characteristics. Waller confirms that, by saying “they measured the height, nose and forehead. They concluded that the Tutsi are tall and slim with straight noses and long fingers ‘more like us’, while the Hutu are more ‘Bantu’ in appearance, being shorter with broad noses and stubby fingers” (Waller, 1993: 2). Roger Louis (1963:112) adds that, “the Tutsi were tall, handsome, slender, and well proportioned, sometimes over seven feet. The Twa, in contrast, were grotesque little creatures and were referred to as dwarfs by the Germans. Between the two stood the stocky aboriginal Bantus, the Hutu”. The colonialists could not believe that the Hutu were of the same tribe as the Tutsi, or even that the Tutsi were Africans. African Rights writes that, “within the missionaries, the colonisers developed a theory that Tutsi were Hamitic people. Making them more open to evangelisation and genetically and intellectually superior to the Hutu. The Hutu were the Negroid or Bantu race. The Twa were relegated to the status of pygmies, an offensive categorization that has reverberated up to this day” (African Right, 1995:7). The term ‘Hamitic’ developed by the explorer missionary, John Hanning Speke, originally derived from the equally ridiculous hypothesis that the black people are descendants of the Biblical Ham, son of Noah (African Right, 1995:7). Fundi says that, “this false racial classification put the

Tutsi in the position of foreign invaders in their own country and exposed them to an eventual ethnic and nationalist backlash from Hutu who were pejoratively classified as the aboriginal population of Rwanda. Many Hutu were left with a feeling of frustration and anger at the way they were treated” (Fundi, 1999:3).

Moreover, in 1933 the Belgium colonial administration instituted a system of identity cards which listed the bearer’s ethnic group: Hutu, Tutsi or Twa. Fundi (1999:6) writes that, “they measured the height and nose of people before distributing cards”. He pursues that, “they were also obliged to use economic criteria. Those who had ten or more cows were Tutsi and their descendants in the male line were also classified as Tutsi. Those who had less than ten cows were regarded as Hutu, along with all their descendants in the male line. The Twa were classified according to their occupation as potters and hunters. From that date ethnic identity became hereditary, passing from the father to his children, unchangeable, creating an irreparable cleavage in the Rwandan society” (Fundi, 1999:6).

Unfortunately, this racial theory come to be accepted and disseminated by a number of educated Rwandans, particularly those who were politically ambitious.

With the creation of the United Nations in 1945, Rwanda became a Belgian Trustee Territory and received the mission for moving the country towards self-administration and independence. According to Fundi (1999:9), “after many years of favouring the Tutsi, in 1950s the Belgian administration and the Catholic Church abruptly switched their allegiance from them to the Hutu, and tried to push through reforms. The main reason for the radical changes was that, ‘winds of change’ began to sweep throughout Africa. The Tutsi were perceived to be supporting ideas of radical panafricanism that were seen as a threat to Western interests. Belgium’s policy made it very clear to the Hutu that in order to achieve independence they would have to first get rid of the Tutsi. In 1959 the Tutsi leaders resisted the Hutu leaders who were supported by Belgium, and insisted on fundamental change. There was tension and then violence, aimed initially against the Batutsi chiefs and then progressively at the wider Tutsi population”. However, Waller says that, “the Tutsi leaders associated with the royalist party, the National Rwadese Union (U.N.A.R) sought to emphasize a story of harmonious, integrated pre-colonial Rwanda and agreed that the designations of Hutu and Tutsi were

alien impositions. The Hutu were joined in Parmehutu (Party for the emancipation of the Hutu People) a party for the Hutu causes, the first major political expression of Kayibanda Gregoire who became the first president of Rwanda” (Waller,1993:5).

Consequently, the violence of 1959 brought many changes. Waller says, the “Hutu replaced more than half of the Tutsi chiefs and sub-chiefs. Between 1960-1962; 10,000 Tutsi were killed and another 120,000 fled to neighbouring countries as refugees. Many cows were killed, houses burnt and other materials damaged. In 1961, the monarchy was abolished by a constitutional coup d’etat mounted by the newly empowered Hutu elite, with the support of the Belgian authorities. The population voted for independence, which was granted on 1 July 1962. It was in this climate of ethnic violence that Rwanda achieved its independence” (Waller, 1993:6).

4.2.2.3. *The post-colonial era.*

On July 1st 1962 Rwanda became a Republic and independent country. It was during the bloody conflict between the Hutu and the Tutsi that the Hutu leaders, helped by the colonialists and the church, achieved independence. It was in that climate that the first Republic was born. The era was characterised by Hutu supremacy and the institutionalisation of ethnic segregation. It was the Hutism era.

The first Republic (1962-1973) presided over by Grégoire Kayibanda accentuated the tension and division between Hutu and Tutsi. The killing of the Tutsi started again triggered by the attack of inyenzi.³ They attacked Rwanda hoping to return by force. Unfortunately the attacks were not successful because the Belgian paratroopers came to help Rwandan soldiers. This attack by the inyenzi was viewed as aggression by the Tutsi against the Hutu. Therefore, the Hutu thought that the Tutsi who lived inside the country should be killed. The Parmehutu leaders continued to promote the old racial theories, using them against the Tutsi in exactly the way that the Tutsi had feared. After 1967 when the attacks of the inyenzi receded, the regional tension between North and South and between Hutu and Tutsi people also increased. In 1972, the ethnic killing of Hutu in

³ The Tutsi in exile in the neighboring countries formed guerrilla bands, known as the inyenzi (cockroaches).

Burundi, a neighbouring country, resulted in violent reprisals in Rwanda. In many Rwandan schools, many Tutsi were killed, or barred from continuing their education. Many Tutsi lost their jobs. Throughout the country many Tutsi and their cows were killed, property destroyed and many again escaped as refugees to neighbouring countries. The identity cards were retained, and used as the basis for systematic discrimination against Tutsi in different levels, like education, administration, civil services and armed forces. During this situation, the army chief of staff, Major General Juvenal Habyarimana, mounted a coup d'état in July 1973 and took over power. That event marked the beginning of the second Republic.

At the beginning of Habyarimana's regime, he proclaimed and preached the programme of national unity. His policies appeared more vigorous than those of his predecessor. He focused on national unity and the need for economic development. Fundi (1999:8) explains that, "he preached the ideology of development, undertook a good neighbour policy with the bordering states and called for all the sons and daughters of Rwanda to bring their own small stone to help in the construction of the nation". Waller (1993:9) says that, "Rwanda had been rewarded by an influx of aid money (averaging more than \$200 million per year). The money had been visibly put to use: the road network had been transformed, so that asphalted roads linked all prefectures except Kibuye. Water systems had been put in place, so that almost seventy per cent of the rural population had access to safe drinking water. Offices had been built at national, provincial, and communal levels. The house of the average peasant had been improved; a peasant's bank had been created, with over a hundred branches on the hills. The electricity and telephone networks had been extended, and a fleet of buses provided to link all the prefectures and sub-prefectures on a daily basis; and the government civil service had been enlarged, trained, and equipped, with officials who were better paid than any others in the region". The system of 'umuganda' (system of community labour), initiated by the regime, allowed Rwanda to build many houses, schools, maintain roads, plant trees and to embark upon anti-erosion activities. Politically like the first republic, the second republic till 1990 was mono-party, ruled by only one party M.R.N.D (National Revolutionary Movement for Development).

After a few years the second republic followed in the footsteps of the first one by introducing politics of division and discrimination. To ethnic discrimination, it added regional discrimination. The regime adopted the ethnic and regional equilibrium politics. As a means of defence this sort of discrimination was established in order to distribute resources equitably between groups and regions. But it was used to exclude Tutsi as well the Hutu from East, Central and Southern Rwanda from important positions, schools and army; because they were seen as being too closely associated with the Tutsi. To escape from this discrimination and obstacles placed in their path, some of the marginalized Tutsi and Hutu created private secondary schools (for eg. CEFOTEC, APACOPE and Rugunga secondary school), later they created private scholarships for their children to attend the national university. A majority of Tutsi who were unable to get jobs or attend schools were involved in commerce or became taxi drivers. Meanwhile, many refugees (around two millions who were in neighbouring countries) were refused their rights to return to Rwanda. The common answer that they received from the government was that Rwanda is small and as full as water in a glass. Thus it could not accommodate anymore people. The refugees seeking to return to Rwanda formed an army called RPF (Rwandan Patriotic Front), and attacked Rwanda on 01/10/1990 from Uganda. From the date of the attack, life for the Tutsi became very hard. Many of them were arrested, tortured, or killed. The tension was increased by the launch of political parties and the RPF's progressive attacks. Meanwhile, in August 1993, at Arusha in Tanzania, after two years of peace negotiation, the former government of Habyarimana signed a peace accord with the internal opposition parties and the armed opposition, represented by RPF. There was hope for peace; but the agreement was not implemented. Those in power resisted the idea of sharing power with the minority Tutsi group.

The government of President Habyarimana within his MRND political party, CDR (coalition for Republic defence) and MDR (power) political parties planned the genocide for exterminating Tutsi and the opposition Hutu. They trained strong militias namely 'interahamwe' for MRND and 'impuzamugambi' for CDR political parties and controlled the army. They created the Hutu extremist journals: Kangura, Interahamwe,

Echo des Milles Collines and la Medaille Nyiramacibili. All these journals wrote and preached the division between Hutu and Tutsi. For example, on December 10, 1990 Kangura published the 'Hutu ten commandments'.

(See appendix No 7).

For the uneducated Hutu, the propagandist decided to set up a private broadcasting station named Radio television des milles collines. It openly preached the division and discrimination of the Hutu against the Tutsi. To test the possibility of genocide, they organised the massacres of Bahima a group of Tutsi in 1990, in 1991 they organised the massacres of Bagogwe (a group also of Tutsi) and in 1992 they organised a massacre of the Tutsi in Bugesera region.

On April 6th 1994, President Habyarimana, was killed in an airplane crash while travelling from Dar-es-salam. The death of Habyarimana was the beginning of a planned and highly organised genocide by the Bahutu against the Batutsi and Hutu politician opponents of Habyarimana's regime. Between April and July 1994, women and children, the sick and elderly, as well as young and old men were killed. Around one million Tutsi were killed during the genocide. The killers were the young soldiers, militiamen and many Hutu civilians. They used farming implements such as machetes, as well as guns and grenades, hammers, stones, arrows, and Rwandan traditional weapon. During the genocide of Tutsi, the U.N troops in the country withdrew and abandoned the Tutsi to the killers. Only the RPF army were able to stop the genocide on July/3/1994.

The genocide resulted in a flight of refugees. As the former government and its militiamen fled, they encouraged Hutu civilians to flee with them, and about two millions Rwandese fled to the neighbouring countries: Tanzania, Burundi, Uganda and Democratic Republic of Congo. The genocide also occasioned an unknown number of internal displaced people.

The RPF took power and proclaimed a government of national unity on July 19th 1994. The government was formed by the Hutu and the Tutsi from four political parties, who were not implicated in the genocide. The government tried its best to bring peace and

consolidate national unity. For example, they effaced the ethnicity element in the identity card, encouraged the refugees to come back to Rwanda and established a national reconciliation commission. The government at the time had voluntarily succeeded in bringing about national unity, contrary to the two preceding regimes. The first two regimes were characterised by division and the impunity system for those who killed the Tutsi. There is hope now that the killers will be punished, according to the law.

From the beginning of the conflict among the Rwandan people, the consequences were many in different domains (social, economic, politico-administrative, justice). Various conflicts within the main conflict of war, especially the 1994 genocide, had adverse consequences that characterised the Rwandan society. These constitute a handicap to Rwandan sustainable development.

4.3 ISSUES OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN RWANDA.

4.3.1 General data

4.3.1.1. Geography.

- **Size and location.**

With an area of 26,338 square kilometres, Rwanda is among the smallest countries in the World. Rwanda is situated in the centre of Africa, typically in the region called the "Great Lake Region". It is a landlocked country surrounded by in the North, Uganda, in the South Burundi, in the East Tanzania, in the West the Democratic Republic of Congo (D.R.C).

- **Natural resources.**

Rwanda is a fertile country, but also poor. Waller writes that, "Rwanda is a country with extremely fertile soils. It is therefore difficult to imagine that people could go hungry and

be malnourished or that communities could live in abject poverty from which there is no obvious means of escape. A large part of the country is more than 1,500 meters above sea level. It has tropical rainforest at the higher and wetter altitudes in the West, which gradually changes to lower and thinner scrub in the South and East” (Waller, 1993:3).

It has many hills, and is the so-called “country of thousand hills”; two national parks, the Akagera for various wild animals located in the East and the Virunga national park for the mountain gorillas in the North-West; and three natural forest, Nyungwe, Gishwati and Mukura forest.

Concerning mineral deposits, Waller (1993:3) cites that, “as far as mineral deposits are concerned, Rwanda has a small quantity of gold and crystallite. In fact one can say it has no other mineral deposit, since it does not export diamonds, gold, copper, or nickel”. He continues that, “Rwanda has a good climate. Although it is just one degree south of the equator, its high altitude produces an average annual temperatures of 19°C and regular rainfall (averaging 85mm each month)” (Waller, 1993:3). It has three seasons, with two major seasons, summer and winter. Summer is hot and dry, while winter is moderate to cold.

As a result of the above climate Rwanda’s vegetation is green. In the final analysis, it can be stated that although Rwanda is not rich in mineral resources, it is nevertheless rich in climate and vegetation.

4.3.1.2. Social sector

The Rwandan social indicators are summarised in the following table.

Table 6 Rwanda's social indicators.

Population size (2000)	7,568.899
Urban	4%
Rural	96%
Population growth (1991)	6%
Population density (1997)	303/Km2
Total fertility rate (1996)	6.5
Active population (1996)	
Agriculture Sector	91.1%
Industry Sector	1.7%
Services Sector	7.2%
Literacy rate (%), aged 15 and over (2000)	48.3%
Male	52%
Female	48%
Gross enrollment ratio % of relevant age group	
Primary	87%
Secondary	7%
Tertiary	1%
Life expectancy (2000)	49
Male	48
Female	50
Infant mortality rate per 1,000 births (2000)	124
Under five mortality rate per 1,000 (2000)	205
Access to safe water (% of population 2000)	44
Sources of water supply (% of population 1996):	
	43.7
	22.4
	15.4
	5.2
	2.2

Protected wells	
Surface water	
Stand pipe	
Purchased tap water	
Utility company	
Common causes of death (1996)	
Malaria	36%
Respiratory disease	20%
Skin ailments	5%
Diarrhea	4%
Trauma	2%
Eye diseases	1%
Sexually transmitted diseases	1%
Measles	1%
Dysentery	1%
Others	27%
Population getting energy from (1996)	
Electricity	2%
Wood	97%
Other	1%
Number of families living in (2000):	
Plastic tents	150.082
House destroyed during the war	62.123
Houses illegally occupied	92.881
Total families need to be resettled	305.086
Percentage of population below poverty line (U.S \$ 1a day 1999)	
Rural	69.3
Urban	23.1
Human development index (HDI) value (2000)	0.382

Human poverty index value (%) 2000	51.4%
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Source: Republic of Rwanda, Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, 2000:129

4.3.1.3 Economic sector

The basic Rwandan economic activity is agriculture. It employs 91.1% of the population; people are also engaged in commerce, are artisans, and engage in other diverse activities. In this section the focus is mainly on agricultural and commercial activities.

- **Agriculture.**

Although agriculture is important in Rwanda, it is still underdeveloped with many problems. Rwanda is amongst the most overpopulated countries in the world. Waller writes that, “excluding the lakes, national parks and forest reserves, the agricultural land is 17,758 square kilometres, and it has to support an average of 303 people per square kilometres over the whole country” (Waller, 1993:18). The land is passed down by inheritance from the father to his sons; this has the effect of making the land portions small. Many families have less than one hectare of land, thereby leading to an over use of the land hence a reduction in soil fertility. The land is also exploited by the poor methods of farming, failure of the farmers to use fertilisers and further error of over cultivation so causing soil erosion, which accelerates the lower rate of production resulting in insufficient production of food for home consumption. The above mentioned problems are primary factors underlying the poverty of peasant farmers, which may be attributed to their involvement in subsistence economy. They cultivate export crops (coffee and tea) and food crops (beans, sweet potatoes, potatoes, sorghum, vegetables...) Farmers’ financial incapability limits them from investing in such things as fertilisers, pesticides or improved seeds, and they are not able to risk trying new techniques that might help them to break out of the poverty trap they are in. Another general problem in Rwanda is the under-developed technology. Rwandan agriculture suffers as a result. Rwandan farmers still use traditional methods and agricultural equipments, like hoes for

digging and machetes for cutting. Also seed is not selected and suitable to particular regions. Hence farmers are victims in and of their work. The little they invest comes to nothing.

As a solution, development experts or planners must learn to respect the farmers' expertise and draw lessons from it. Officials must devise means for economic and political structures that benefit local farmers, rather than the urban elite.

The 1994 genocide occasioned the death, internal displacement, or flight for many people. Many domestic animals were killed. The consequences were the poverty of many Rwandans and the reduction of the Rwandan economy.

- **Exportation and importation.**

Rwanda is a landlocked country. Her imports and exports have to pass through Mombasa, Kenya's port or Dar es Salaam, Tanzania's port. Transport for goods is a major problem for Rwanda; goods imports and exports are always at high cost, therefore. Rwanda's internal market is too small to support many industries. As a result, Waller cites that, "the people and industries that constitute the country's tax base are few, and it is difficult for the government to raise enough capital to cover its costs and for industry to work at a high enough capacity to be able to sell at internationally competitive prices" (Waller, 1993:31).

Due to the low level of production of its industries, Rwanda imports more than it exports. It imports petrol and industrial products and exports coffee and tea. According to Waller, "almost 90% of Rwanda's exports come from crops that are grown on just 7% of the country's agricultural land. So, the prospect to increase the areas used to cultivate export crops is immense. For example, in 1987 coffee exports constituted 79% of Rwanda's total export earnings. In 1988 Rwanda's tea export crops generated about 15% of export receipts" (Waller, 1993:27-28).

Economically, Rwanda is poor and the national budget is obtained from taxes on imports and exports, from making a profit on the sale of coffee bought from the farmers at a fixed price and sold on the international market at a higher price and from the taxes paid by workers, and taxes imposed from ownership of domestic animals like cows. Other sources of finance are loans from I M F and World Bank and foreign aid.

The events in 1994 destabilised Rwanda's economy; especially in agriculture. Hundreds of thousands of refugees fled to neighbouring countries and around one million were killed. The cultivation of coffee, tea and foodstuffs were totally neglected as huge areas of formerly intensively cultivated land were deserted. Thus, Mukama writes that, "Rwanda claims 52% GNP was lost during 1990-1994 era of war. In 1994, it lost 49% of its value and gained 25% of its value in 1995. In the year 1994, the government's total expenditure is more than twice of its proper entry; and triple in 1996. The aid did not meet the total expenses of the government. The G.D.P deficit became 12% in 1995 and 13% in 1996 (Mukama, 1998:48).

For more information compare the 1994 data to the other years in table No. 9.

4.3.1.4. *Administrative and political system*

Rwandan political organisation is an achievement of a historically long process, which initially emanated from the kingdom of Rwanda. Its administration hierarchy had the king on the top, followed by a council of ministers and below them were the following chiefs: chief of land, cattle and army who governed the provinces, and the sub-chiefs.

When the colonialists arrived, they were surprised that Rwanda was administratively better organised than those of the neighbouring countries. They automatically concluded that the people who held power (Tutsi) came from overseas. They assumed that the origin of Batutsi was Ethiopia, and some of them did not hesitate to say that the Tutsi were Hamites.

Within the colonial system, the colonialists transformed the Rwandan system of administration. They introduced the chiefery and sub-chiefery at the local level and

abolished the chief of land, cattle and army. The indirect administration politics that characterised the colonial era ended and gave way to the democratic republic in 1962.

But the MDR Parmehutu's political party gradually became the state-party (1962-1973). The second Republic did not change anything. After a coup d'état, Habyarimana took power, but as Kayibanda, the first republic, his party MRND became a mono-party, which did not allow free participation of individuals in other optional parties. This unique party reigned in Rwanda from 1975-1990.

However within the postcolonial period, Rwanda is structured in prefecture, commune, sector and cell levels. The cell is the smallest entity and consists of between 50 to 100 families. Members of the cell elected a leader who was helped by five other members to administer the affairs of the cell. One counsellor headed the sector, a burgomaster headed the commune and a prefect on the prefecture level. By that time the president of the country was elected by the whole population that was eligible to vote.

Rwandan administration was centralised, and bureaucratic. The top down approach was applied. The population received and executed the instructions from the top authorities. Thus, the decisions taken at the national echelon (by the government for example) were transmitted as an order for execution to the prefect, from the prefect to the burgomaster, from the burgomaster to the counsellor, from the counsellor to those responsible for the cellule and to the members of cell whose duty is to give orders for enactment to the population. Sometimes sanctions were reserved for those who did not execute the order. The sanction, which was made or imposed, was for instance paying money, physical violence, brutal treatment, imprisonment and sometimes capital punishments.

This administrative structure still exists, but the present regime modified the system of administration. Now the country is divided into 12 provinces, 154 communes, 1,545 sectors and 9,016 cells. Cells, sectors, communes and provincially elected representatives. (Republic of Rwanda, Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, 2000:282". They pursue that,

“... each cell has an administration made up of a chairman, secretary, and officers responsible for the following areas: security, development, education and culture, social affairs, finance, gender and youth. The community development committee (CDC) was made up of the development, education, and culture, social affairs, finance, gender and youth officers. There are similar representatives at sector level. The CDC at the commune level comprises development officers from each sector, a representative of the councilors, the burgomaster (who acts as chairman) and development agent or assistant burgomaster who is in charge of economic affairs. At the cell level there are sub-committees dealing with political and administrative issues, and technical and economic issues. At sector level the advisory committee consists of the sector *njyanama* committee members, two male elected advisors, two female elected advisors, two youth elected advisors and all the leaders or responsible persons. At the communal level, all the councilors are from the communal advisory committee” (Republic of Rwanda, Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, 2000:282).

The cell committee must organise a meeting with the people every month, while the sector committee must meet the people every two months. While the researcher was running his field research in April 2001, the commune’s election took place throughout the country. Only the population of Kigali city elected the mayor of Kigali city. So this is not in conformity with the order of administration.

This system of administration seems to be much more decentralised than the previous administration system. It applies the system of administration within the top-down and bottom-up approach, which allows the population’s opinions, feelings and ideas to be taken into consideration at the superior echelons. They can resolve some of their problems. There is at least a common link between population and authorities; the population does not only execute the decisions taken by the authorities but they modify, give their opinions and advice on decisions from the top level and therefore this leads to a better and more organised administration.

The two previous regimes were characterised by a centralised administrative system, which ignored the population's opinions, as opposed to the present regime, which tries to establish the administrative system that considers the population's opinions and gives freedom to make comments expression and furnish advices to the administration for better progress.

4.3.1.5 Judicial sector

In order to build national unity in Rwanda, justice plays an important role, especially to those who were involved in the genocide. The administration of justice must be efficient and create an environment conducive to social cohesion and social development.

For quite a long time, Rwandan's justice was characterized by the impunity system. From the first violence in 1959 up to the genocide of 1994, no criminal was arrested and judged. No one was punished as a killer or for being involved in a crime against humanity. On the contrary, many of them were promoted to higher levels of government posts.

According to the International Crisis Group (ICG) the Rwanda justice administration is organized as follows:

* "The courts are organized as a pyramid system. There are 146 local courts (tribune de canton) at the level of communes, 12 district courts (tribune de premiere instance) at the level of provinces, 4 appeal courts (cours d'appel) and of final appeal (cour de cassation).

* The Public Prosecutor's office or Public Ministry (Parquet ou Ministère Public) is in charge of the service dealing with investigations and legal proceedings. It also operates within a structure, which parallels that of the courts" (International crisis group, 1999: 2-3).

When the RPF seized power in July 1994, it started to challenge the impunity system. According to I.C.G (1999: 4), “there are now about 125 000 detainees charged with genocide in Rwanda waiting to be put on trial and about 50 detainees in Arusha by the International Tribunal of Rwanda”. The government tried to establish an appropriate judicial system based on equity and equality for the country in regard to the administration of ordinary justice in tandem with the prosecution of the genocide cases. It “adopted the system of categorization. Although the genocide was planned and led by a relatively small group, it was perpetrated by a large number of people who were transformed into killers overnight. So it was inconceivable that the tens of thousands directly involved in the atrocities could be allowed to escape unpunished. A new system had to be devised to encourage the truth and reconciliation to emerge and responsibility to be acknowledged” (ICG, 1999: 4-5).

Thus, depending on the gravity of charges against them, the accused fell into one or four categories fixed by the law:

- * *Category one covers those chiefly responsible for the genocide and massacres;*
- * *The second category covers “ordinary killers”;*
- * *The third group covers those who wounded their victims without killing them;*
- * *The final category is reserved for those who vandalized and looted properties;*

Each category has a corresponding range of penalties (ICG, 1999:5).

Moreover, to speed up the system in regard to the huge number of detainees, the government adopted a system in which citizens could actively participate. This system is similar to the Rwandan traditional justice called “gacaca” (the literal meaning is ‘turf grass root justice’). The main suggestion was to release all detainees, except those held under category one. Those released would then be interrogated in public about their crimes.

In summary, the Rwandan justice system was previously characterized by impunity for a long time. Now, it has started to create a stable society based on the rule of law.

Within the system of categorization and 'gacaca' adopted by the present regime, there is hope that Rwanda can achieve unity, which will lead Rwanda to sustainable development.

4.3.2 Comparison of sustainable development in Rwanda before and after the war.

In this section the researcher compares the activities in the social, economic and political domain before and after the war in Rwanda. He opted for Stewart's (1994:1) definition of development, which is "a positive social, economic and political change in a country or community".

4.3.2.1 Social domain.

The social domain will focus on demography, education, health and on economic infrastructures.

4.3.2.1.1 Demographic review.

According to the last three findings of 1978, 1991 and 1999 census, the Rwandan population was 4.83 million in 1978, 7.15 million in 1991 and 7.57 million in 1999 (Mukama, 1998:39 and République Rwandaise; Service du Premier Ministre, 2000 :12). Due to the 1994 genocide, which caused death, migration and internal displacements of population and the return of the old refugees, Rwanda's demography has been transformed.

Thus according to the ONAPO's socio-demographic inquiry in 1996, cited in Mukama, Rwandan population is estimated from 1996 to 2012 as follows:

Table 7 Estimation of Rwandan population from 1996 to 2012.

Year	1996	1997	2007	2012
Population	6,167,479	7,666,000	10,017,000	11,284,000

Source: Mukama (1998 :39).

Rwandan population is made up of young and energetic people, with a high percentage of young people. Mukama (1998:40) cites that, “47.6% of the population are between 0 and 14 years old; 48.9% are between 15-65 years old and 3.5% are over 65 years; 54% are female whereas 46% are male”.

The following table gives more details:

Table 8 Distribution of population per age group in 1978, 1991 and 1996.

Group age	1978	1991	1996
0-14 years old	45.7%	45.5%	47.6%
15-65 years old	51.5%	49.3%	48.9%
65 years and over	2.8%	3.2%	3.5%

Source: Mukama (1998 :40).

Rwanda’s population density is 303 people per square kilometres and the population growth rate is 3.7% per year (Mukama, 1998:37). The “life expectancy at birth is 48 years for men and 51 years for women. The infant mortality rate is 198 per 1.000 births, the number of doctors is 1 per 26.135 inhabitants and average number of pregnancies is 6.2 per woman” (Waller, 1993: 62).

Thus, in reference to the above, Rwanda is classified amongst the overpopulated countries of the world. As a consequence of 1994's genocide, it occasioned many deaths (about 1 million) and movement of refugees. In turn this occasioned poverty in Rwanda. The proportion of households below the poverty line estimated at "45% in 1985 rose to 53% in 1993, 78% in 1994 and dropped to 65% in 1999" (Republic of Rwanda; Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, 2000: 4).

4.3.2.1.2 Education and health.

A well-educated and healthy population is indispensable for creating social infrastructure without which there can be no economic progress in the long run. This section discusses the resources and requirements of Rwanda's health and educational system i.e. whether the present system has succeeded in providing a trained labour force for the country's increasing needs, such as character building and a sense of responsibility, changed outlooks on, for example, agriculture and way of life, moral ethics, and motivation.

4.3.2.1.2.1 Education.

The missionaries introduced formal education in Rwanda in 1900. Initially, Rwanda ignored the general importance of education, and it was aimed instead at providing catechists for the Catholic Church and administrators for the colonial government. After independence, the need for education was great among the vast majority of the population. The number of pupils and students increased. Sonkosi writes that, "according to the World Bank report, it is estimated that in 1970, 68% of primary school age Rwandans were in school; as compared to 70% in 1992 (Sonkosi, 1998:19). The school teaching is Kinyarwanda at the lower level and French at the higher level. After the genocide of 1994, English has been introduced as a language of instruction in order to accommodate refugee students that came back from Uganda.

However, according to Waller, "approximately 70% of the population in Rwanda is illiterate. -The disproportional level in literacy among sex is visible. In general for

example in 1993, 37% women were educated against 64% for men” (Waller, 1993:62). The “overall literacy rates is at 48%, with 52% for men and 45% for women” (Republic of Rwanda; Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, 2000:253). The summary of the information brought from the same book attest that, in primary schools, the number of girls and boys is almost equal. Rwanda’s gross primary school enrolment rate in 1998 was 89% (96% for boys and 82% for girls). The number of girls decline as the years go by, and consequently the number of girls in secondary schools and university becomes far smaller than that for boys. This could be attributed to the Rwandan culture. A woman’s value is largely defined in terms of her eventual marriage, rather than education. Rwandan education is selective; among 60% of children who attend primary school, just 6% go on to secondary school, and less than 1% to the national university. Until 1987, the duration of primary schools was six years. It is now increased to eight years. The reason was that, the two extra years would be utilised to teach practical farming skills. The Centre for Integrated Rural and Technical Training (CERAI: Centre d’Enseignement Rural et Artisanal Intégré), and professional training was created for those who did not have a chance to continue to secondary schools. Unfortunately, the results of this education system were disappointing. The small number who managed to complete their secondary education also experienced problems. The education provided by the secondary schools did not equip students with skills that were useful outside public service.

The quality of education was poor. In primary education, only 45% of teachers are qualified, the teaching materials were inadequate and there is a high dropout rate of more than 50% (between 1st to 6th grades). The enrolment in secondary education is very low at 7% in 1998. Only 31% of first cycle teachers were qualified in 1998.

The genocide in 1994 cost Rwanda heavily in terms of the human resource capacity and its destruction of social capital. It is estimated that 600 primary schools (32% off the total) were destroyed and 3000 primary school teachers were killed. Secondary and higher educational institutions also were severely damaged and depleted of their human resources. Primary school completion rate is estimated to be 21% in 1998 and is considerably lower than the 1990 figure of 36%. One of the factors is the post-genocide

trauma, with deeply affected children who were unable to cope, and eventually they dropped out of school (Republic of Rwanda; Ministry of Finance and economic planning, 2000:253).

The discussion of some of the most important problems of education in Rwanda can be summarized as follows:

- The number of pupils in primary, secondary and university schools represents small percentage of the population of school going age children.
- A small portion of pupils who complete primary schools are admitted to secondary schools; and those who complete secondary school only a small number is admitted to the national university (the only university).
- The vast majority of primary and secondary schools are situated quite a distance away from the communities; and transport facilities are not offered; so it is virtually impossible for children to attend school.
- Due to the genocide in 1994, many teachers were killed, many school equipments were destroyed as consequence of that, the number of pupils have not kept pace in all respects with the increase in school facilities and teaching personnel. Classes are overcrowded with pupils making the few teachers available to give attention to individual learners.
- The majority of the school buildings are not suitable for educational purposes and besides they are poorly equipped.
- A large number of teachers in school and colleges were untrained. In primary schools many teachers have had a basic education of only three years of post-primary schools; whereas, in secondary school many teachers have had a basic education of only six years of secondary school.
- Due to the long and exhausting distances that children have to walk to school each day, poor home conditions for studying and parents who in many cases are incapable of assisting with homework, the number of failures is high.
- Uniform and school fees constitute a big problem for the poor families. Many children stay at home because parents cannot afford to buy uniform or pay school fees.

- After the genocide, Ikigo Gihugura Abaturage (IGA) i.e. Centre for Adult Literacy did not open. Actually, it seems that there is no programme for the adult illiterate population.

Rwandan radio broadcaster is the only network used for educating the illiterate population” (Republic of Rwanda, Ministry of finance and economic planning, 2000:256-257).

4.3.2.1.2.2 Health.

Waller writes (1993:51) that, “Rwanda’s health problems reflect to a large extent the country’s early stage of social and economic development. Dietary imbalances, ignorance of the value of modern practices, low standards of communal hygiene and the neglect of medical service have characterised Rwanda’s health. Malnutrition and under-feeding remains a basic problem. Staple food produced in Rwanda is not sufficient for the population and this food has to be imported or donated when there is famine. Sometimes there are deaths because of famine. The most pressing disease is: malaria, respiratory diseases, intestinal disease and AIDS/HIV”.

Since the genocide, trauma has increased by 1,000% as reported by the Ministry of Health (Sonkosi, 1998:20). However, according to Waller “malaria and AIDS are the main common causes of death in Rwanda. The HIV infected patients were 33 per cent in urban areas and 5 per cent in rural areas in 1992, and eight people out of ten people live within five kilometres of some sort of health facilities. Due to the insufficient number of beds, in some hospitals two patients share one bed” (Waller, 1993:51).

For medical facilities and services, Sonkosi writes that, “there were 34 hospitals, 230 health centres and around 70 dispensaries before the genocide. A total of 60% of the previous personnel are missing, either dead, in jail or abroad” (Sonkosi, 1998:20), and much of the medical equipments and infrastructures were lost or destroyed during the genocide. Almost half of these health centres and dispensaries are run by church organizations, most of them by the Catholic Church. The government aid includes providing staff and laying down policies to be followed by these centres.

In Rwanda the “life expectancy in 1998 was 48 years for men and 50 years for women. Infant mortality rate was 124 per 1,000 live births. The number of doctors was 1.5 and 9.5 paramedics or medical helpers per 100,000 inhabitants” (Republic of Rwanda; Ministry of Finance and economic planning, 2000:228).

According to the above discussions, education and health institutions as a social condition in Rwanda were neglected, and damaged by the 1994 genocide and need to be reviewed as an imperative for sustainable development.

4.3.2.1.3 Economic infrastructure

In this section the following areas are discussed:

Condition of transport system (land, water traffic and air traffic);

Telecommunication (telephone, mass media and post);

Energy provision

Housing and market.

4.3.2.1.3.1 Transport

4.3.2.1.3.1.1 Roads:

From the North to the South and from the East to the West, the asphalted roads are in good condition. These roads link Rwanda to the neighbouring counties. It must be noted that Rwanda does not have any railway network.

“The roads network covers a total of 12,000km, including 5,350 km of main and secondary roads under the care of the central administration, a proportion of 3,177Km asphalted roads, serving international traffic, while the other 2,173 Km unpaved are for local traffic. Local authorities in communes through Umuganda (community labour) maintain the remaining tertiary network, which covers 6,650 km. The entire road network has greatly suffered from lack of maintenance; the

unpaved main roads are vulnerable to damage from heavy rain” (Republic of Rwanda; Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, 2000: 103).

The public transport is owned largely by private transporters. Private transporters operate only where roads are in good condition, which means that people living in areas where roads are bad have transport problems. The public bus transport might use these roads in bad conditions for transporting those people. However, transport is expensive and most of the time people prefer to walk or cycle. In spite of the lack of statistical data of roads damaged by the war in 1994, one can see when driving in Rwanda on asphalted roads how much the roads were damaged by the war, and the need for rehabilitation of all infrastructures.

4.3.2.1.3.1.2 Air transport.

The main airport is Gregoire Kayibanda international airport, situated in the Eastern part of Kigali capital’s city. The airport was damaged during the genocide but has been repaired and is functioning now. However, there are domestic airports like: Gisenyi, Cyangugu, and Butare.

After the failure of the national aircraft (air Rwanda), Alliance Rwanda is operating now and flies to Kampala, Johannesburg, Bujumbura, Bruxelle and Dar es Salaam. The Belgium airways Sabena, Air France, Ethiopian Airlines, Cameroon Air, Kenya Airways, Air Burundi operate on flight to Kigali.

4.3.2.1.3.1.3. Water transport.

Water transport, though poorly organized, allows some transportation of certain commodities and raw materials to a number of production units situated at the lake shores (Republic of Rwanda; Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, 2000:104).

4.3.2.1.3.2 Telecommunication.

Normally telecommunication plays an important role in the development of a country. In Rwanda, the years before and during the genocide, it played a role of destruction, because it exposed the masses to bad propagandas at the time; and was used to exacerbate and increase the country's political instability through publications. Media communication hence encouraged terror, brutality, torture, and mistreatment and motivated the young and energetic people to participate in killing, bloodshed and in other activities to harm the innocent majority of the people.

4.3.2.1.3.2.1 *Telephones.*

In Rwanda there are two telephone companies: Rwandatel and Rwandacel. Rwandatel is a parastatal telecommunication, which is short of money and qualified personnel and a candidate for privatisation (Sonkosi, 1998:22). It operates on old machines and most of its equipments were destroyed during the genocide. Rwandatel cannot satisfy its customers because the demand exceeds the supply. There are a few "public" phones and all of them are in private hands, which makes the service expensive. A large number of telephones are in Kigali. Sonkosi posits, "before the genocide they were 12,600 telephones and over 90% were in Kigali" (Sonkosi, 1998:22).

Rwandacel is a new telecommunication company for cell-phones services, and it started after the genocide, in 1997.

4.3.2.1.3.2.2 *Mass media.*

Radio Rwanda is the only broadcaster. Sonkosi (1998:22) posits , "it is a vital and popular medium for the dissemination of information in Rwanda and is state controlled. However, before the genocide and during the genocide, there was radio Muhabura, a station of Rwandan Patriotic Front propaganda and Radio Television des Mises Collines (RTL), used by the extremist Hutu for ethnic division. This Radio station played a great role-during the genocide to encourage the Hutu to kill the Tutsi. Radio MINUAR

(for United Nations troops in Rwanda), which started after the genocide, stopped after the deportation of troops. Radio Burundi and BBC can be picked up on FM in Rwanda. Much of radio Rwanda's equipments were looted during the genocide and some of the personnel who operated them were killed.

Rwandan television was started in 1992. It has the same problems of lack of adequate equipments and trained personnel as the radio station.

The written press is free and largely confined to Kigali. There are nowadays around 18 newspapers. The majority of them are written in "Kinyarwanda" except the Rwanda Times, which publishes in English. Most of them report on politics and none of them publishes on popular education like self-development. On the eve of the genocide many journals instigated the Hutu to kill Tutsi rather than to help develop them.

The Rwandan media preached the politics of division when it instigated one ethnic group to kill the other. It did not fulfil its role of a popular educator. In that case, the media did not operate in the interest of people who, epitomised the rate of underdevelopment, and hence the country's media facilitated the bad practices of the time rather than educating people towards better policies, encouraging the well being of the people at large.

4.3.2.1.3.2.3 Postal service.

The postal service like other telecommunication services in Rwanda is still poor and is generally used by the educated people. It plays an important role in administration, the military and education. Each prefecture and sub-prefecture has its own postal office; but at other smaller levels, an example being the Catholic Church, they have also their own postal services. The postal service like any other development activities was damaged by the genocide.

4.3.2.1.3.3 Energy provision and water.

Sonkosi (1998:23) writes that, the main source of energy consumed in Rwanda comes from wood (over 90% of energy). It is used for domestic fuel, mainly for cooking. About 9% of Rwanda's surface is covered by forest. Many people need wood for cooking and heating water that consequently this leads to the degradation of the forest. Since the start of the war (1990) up until the genocide (1994), many people were displaced from their homes and forced to live in temporary shelters. This did huge damage to forest resources. Moreover, after the genocide, the refugees damaged the forest again, in the sense that, they were forced to shelter in the Akagera national park. Those seeking pasture for their cattle destroyed Gishwati natural forest in order to build shelter for their cattle.

The electric power accounts for about 1% and petrol products make up 8% of energy consumption. Before the war, fewer than 2% of all homes were electrified, and the figure is now lower, because of the destruction of private property.

Electricity distribution and consumption is now at 70% of pre-war levels. Domestic use constituted 55% of consumption, industry 28%, and the service sector 17%. Rwanda's power stations produced 50mw of electricity before the war. A number of power stations were destroyed, either partly or completely. However, they now produce 24mw, after Germany's assistance. The government is seeking international aid for establishing a power link with Uganda; and privatising the state electricity enterprise (ELECTROGAZ). The important reserves of 50,000,000,000Nm³ of natural gas methane are still unexploited.

Rwanda is located in the Great Lake Region and has many lakes. However it has a problem of providing safe water for its population (42% have a safe water). Even in Kigali, the capital town, the population does not have enough water and water is expensive. In the rural areas, many people do not have safe water (an average of 298 peoples use one pump for safe water) and they walk a long distance to get water (an average of 520 meters to the safe water pump). However, during the genocide water equipments were destroyed (République Rwandaise; Ministère de l'Energie, de l'Eau, et des Ressources Naturelles, 1999:2).

4.3.2.1.3.4 Housing.

Rwanda is overpopulated and can be classified as predominantly rural and it is experiencing serious housing problems. In Rwanda 93% of the population live in the countryside, and 7% in the towns. The urbanisation process has been rapid and most of the towns, especially Kigali are facing a large problem due to insufficient planning of housing.

The rural population does not live in villages. People live on their own plots of land, which are scattered across the hills. The present regime encourages the population to adopt the programme of villagization called 'imidugudu', because the ancient system of inhabitancy discourages agricultural economic activity, because it causes plot sizes to be small.

Due to the war and genocide, the destruction of houses of the Tutsi was particularly systematic. The rehabilitation of only "1748 survivors' houses cost 1.110.504.249 Frw to the government" (République Rwandaise, Service du Premier Ministre, 2000:37). The government offices, parliament, the courts, warehouses, shops, farms and private residencies have all been damaged. After the genocide, the government, through the procurement of aid, rebuilt important infrastructure at all levels, which was very costly.

4.3.2.2 Economic domain

The following data present comparison of economic loss between the years preceding and following the genocide of 1994.

Table 9 Comparison of economic loss between the years preceding and following the Genocide of 1994.

Main economic indicators	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
In comparison to 1990					
constant price GDP level	102,8	94,5	47,7	65,2	73,0
GDP growth rate (in %)	6,7	-8,1	-49,5	36,6	12,1
Gross domestic investment as % of GDP	16,8	18,1	11,8	14,6	15,7
Export as % of GDP	5,6	5,2	5,9	5,6	6,0
Gross domestic savings as % of GDP	4,2	2,9	-46,7	-7,8	-4,5
Gross national savings as % of GDP	4,6	3,5	-43,3	-7,0	-3,7
Total debt as % of GDP	59,7	62,5	158,8	101,3	86,4
Total debt as % of export of goods & services	933	1156	2337	1335	1363
Debt service due as % of exports of G& S	26,6	42,1	69,2	36,3	35,1
Structure of the economy					
GDP nominal (in million of Frw)	271765	284366	165058	347677	426984
Agriculture as % of GDP	32,1	33,6	40,1	36,5	37,2
Industry as % of GDP	21,4	20,8	21,0	21,8	23,2
Private consumption as % of GDP	82,9	85,5	138,4	98,9	94,5
Government consumption as % of GDP	12,9	11,6	8,3	8,9	10,3
Imports as % of GDP	18,2	20,3	64,3	28,0	26,2

Agriculture, growth rates (in %)	6,7	-14,7	-44,0	36,5	12,1
Industry, growth rates (in %)	12,6	-13,7	-46,8	19,6	16,0
Private consumption, growth rates (in %)	2,2	-3,1	-18,5	0,0	4,9
Government consumption, growth rates: %	17,3	-13,9	-70,4	51,5	30,4
Gross domestic investment growth rates: %	31,0	1,6	-69,2	38,7	27,8
Imports, growth rates (in %)	6,8	15,2	18,0	-39,8	5,0
Total domestic revenue (% of GDP)	9,7	6,5	3,5	5,0	7,1
Foreign Trade (Million of US\$)					
Total exports	69,0	67,7	32,2	50,4	62,0
Coffee	35,1	37,6	17,4	38,2	43,0
Tea	20,8	18,6	5,8	3,7	9,3
Total imports	319,2	345,5	458,7	238,2	257,1
Balance of payments (million of US\$)					
Exports of Goods& no factor services	113,7	102,0	44,1	66,6	83,5
Imports of Goods& no factor services	372,3	400,1	482,5	335,1	365,0
Resource balance	-298,1	-298,1	-438,4	-268,5	-281,1

Source: Republic of Rwanda Ministry of finance and economic planning (2000: 133).

From the above table, it is clear that Rwanda, which was an underdeveloped country, remains underdeveloped because of its repetitive wars and the lack of national unity.

Nevertheless, after the genocide it is beginning to recover in terms of sustainable development overcoming the losses that accumulated during the genocide.

4.3.2.3 Political domain

As seen before, during the pre-colonial period, Rwanda had a monarchic type of administration with the king at the top. For the administrative hierarchy, there was a council of ministers, below them in the same province, were the chiefs of land, cattle and military who governed the provinces. Below them there were the sub-chiefs.

The supreme judicial authority was vested in the king, who delegated authority to courts composed of great chiefs, who in turn delegated authority to more local courts. For the important decisions the king was required to consult the council or guardians of traditions. There were no political parties.

Administratively Rwanda was well organized. At that time there were no activities that show sustainable development. It was a traditional society according to Rostow's definition of the stages of evolution of society (Frank, 2001:5).

With one colonial period, the rulers started a few developmental activities like formal education, introduction of currency, new food crops and export crops, medicine.

Administratively, they changed the Rwandan administrative system. The district became territory, and the chefferie and sub-chefferie appeared in the administrative structure of territory. In 1960, the so-called sub-chefferie joined with and became commune. In 1961 the territory became prefecture. The post-colonial period was characterized by independence, achieved after a war between Hutu and Tutsi people. This war which occurred in 1959-60, occasioned many deaths, and public, private socio-economic infrastructures and investments were destroyed.

Thus, the first Republic started the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the country, but the major activities in term of development were undertaken by the Second Republic presided over by Habyarimana from 1973 to 1994. During his reign, Habyarimana's

regime focused his politics on national unity and on the need for economic development. Except for the Kibuye prefecture, other prefectures were linked by asphalted roads. Waller, posits that, “water systems had been put in place, so that almost seventy per cent of the rural population had access to safe drinking water. Offices were built at national, prefect oral, and communal levels. The housing of the average peasant had been improved; a peasant’s bank had been created, with over a hundred branches on the hills. Electricity and telephone networks were extended, and a fleet of buses was provided to link all the prefectures and sub-prefectures on a daily basis; and the government civil service were enlarged, trained, and equipped, with officials who were better paid than any others in the region” (Waller, 1993:9).

The system of ‘umuganda’ (system of community labour), initiated by the regime, allowed Rwanda to build many houses, schools, maintain roads, plant trees and to embark upon anti-erosion activities. Politically as the First Republic; the Second Republic till 1990 was mono-party, that is ruled by only one party M.R.N.D (National Revolutionary Movement for Development). The system of multi-party started in 1991 after the attack of R.P.F The Second as well as the First Republic were centralised administrative systems, with a mono-party system. They claimed to be a regime of national unity, but did nothing to improve and preach national unity. They preached and reinforced national conflict with the system of regionalism instead of national unity. This system constituted a handicap to sustainable development of the country. Whatever development activities had been put in place were destroyed by the war of 1990 to the genocide of 1994, because of the lack of unity among Rwandans.

4.3.2.4 Conclusion

This chapter attempted to clarify the problems of Rwanda’s unity through three sections. The first section defined Rwanda’s unity as a relationship among the Rwandan people. The second section clarified the problems of Rwanda’s unity through historical review. Thus the researcher attempted to show the origin of Rwanda’s conflict through Rwandan history, i.e. since the pre-colonial, the colonial and post-colonial eras. The third

attempted to summarise the consequences of the genocide of 1994 for the social, political and economical sectors.

This chapter therefore, described Rwandan history, demography, economy, social, administration, politics and justice. Rwanda is characterised by a history of conflict, social division and violence (different wars and genocide). The economy of Rwanda is weak and based on agricultural activity. Socially, in the sense of education, health, housing and economic infrastructure, Rwanda has many problems, due to the recurring ethnic conflicts and wars that took place in Rwanda. Moreover, Rwanda is overpopulated and struggles to house its people adequately.

The policy of impunity as regards its justice system added to the negative situation that Rwanda found itself in and was aggravated by its repeated ethnic conflicts, which led to violence (wars and genocide). Rwanda's ethnic conflicts might involve social injustices, economic, demographic or political issues.

Different conflicts, which occurred in 1959-62-63-67-73 and the 1994's genocide led to the loss of lives, migration of thousands of people and many children became orphaned. It destroyed property (houses, forests, land and many others economic infrastructures), dislocated and affected Hutu and Tutsi relationships, and this destroyed Rwandans social cohesion. It also broke up families either by death or desertion of some its members. Some conflicts resulted in some positive changes, i.e., politically, administratively, socially and judicially. Conflicts in Rwanda have caused more negative consequences than positive consequences however. In the following chapter various theories shall be discussed which will eventually be used in the analysis of the empirical data.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. THEORETICAL APPROACHES

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Many authors have defined the term theory, but there is no simple or universally accepted definition of theory. For the purpose of this study the researcher preferred to use Hauss's definition, which states that, "a theory is an attempt to reach general conclusion about a broad body of material" (Hauss, 2001:14).

According to Hauss (2001:14) there are two main types of theories: empirical and normative theories. The empirical theories seek to explain why certain phenomena occur and, therefore, focus on cause and effect relationships. Normative theories are designed to prescribe what we should do in dealing with those phenomena.

This chapter attempts to describe the theories of conflict, cohesion, and democratic peace theory. However, as this study deals with development, it will also discuss a theory on development. Using empirical theories of conflict resolution (to reach unity), the researcher will analyse why, at some times, we can settle out disputes peacefully, while, at other times, we turn to violence and war. Whereas for Hauss (2001:14) normative theory would lay out options to be used in trying to reach a certain goal, such as a non-violent outcome that satisfies all parties in the conflict. Thus the study discusses various theories of conflict, cohesion, peace and development that form the backdrop to this study.

5.2 THEORIES OF CONFLICT

Conflict in a society has various sources. Ho-Won Jeong says that, "for the social psychologists the source of violent human behaviour is in the inner psychological environment. War and violence are seen as inherent to human nature. Some believe that aggressive behaviour is genetically fixed and biologically functional. For Freud, cited by Ho-Won Jeong, a desire for destruction results from a death instinct" (Ho-

Won Jeong, 1999:511-512). This theory is not relevant for this research because there is no evidence, which has proved that this inner psychological desire for destruction allowed mass killing as witnessed in Rwanda.

The existence of conflict for Ho-Won Jeong, can be ascribed to “relative deprivation, dissatisfaction of basic needs, failure of organizational functions, asymmetric power relations, and dominant social structure” (Ho-Won Jeong, 1999:511).

5.2.1 Relative deprivation and basic needs.

Mass violence can be caused by feelings of relative deprivation and dissatisfaction with basic human needs. There are basic requirements for the survival and development of human beings in both physical and psychological terms.

Ho-Won Jeong cites that, “Food, shelter, and other basic material necessities are needed for physical survival. Love, affection, security, and self-esteem satisfy psychological needs” (Ho-Won Jeong, 1999:513). Uswee and Juta (1997:98) view basic needs as the most obvious factors affecting quality of life. They define basic needs as “access to things such as food, shelter, health care, water, education, etc” (Uswee and Juta, 1997:98). However, they say that “self-esteem is the general attitude people hold about themselves. This is sometimes described as identity, dignity or respect: ‘to be a person’. An essential element of self-esteem is that people should value themselves and recognise the contribution they can make in the world” (Uswee and Juta, 1997:98).

Ho-Won Jeong writes that,

“...there is a certain level of expectations for social and economic conditions to which people believe they are rightfully entitled. Relative deprivation exists when people feel that their expectations of conditions for life have not been satisfied. An intolerable gap between expected social conditions and actual achievement of these conditions can be a precondition for widespread unrest and political violence. Poor economic performance, along with rapid social change, strengthens the belief that unfair economic and political conditions have been imposed on those who suffer loss. A lack of opportunity as well as unequal distribution of gains, leads to increased perception of discrepancy

between what people have and they feel they are entitled to enjoy” (Ho-Won Jeong, 1999:511-513).

5.2.2 Rationality and social order.

According to Ho-Won Jeong “social relationships are based on mutual consent between groups of people” (Ho-Won Jeong, 1999:513).

However, he pursues that,

“...society is not monolithic, and a specific interaction may have a different meaning to those who are engaged in it. People fight for control over advantages and opportunities. Actions may be taken intentionally to press the resistance of others. Conflict is considered as a type of social relationship in which one party undertakes action against the other. Social action is affected by accepted norms and, in many societies; laws are used as a major means to contain conflict. Social tensions are regulated by agreed values and mechanism. Thus, the acceptance and rationalization of conflict are made in terms of established sets of institutional procedures. While this approach legitimises certain types of conflict, it gives power to a particular group of people who are in a position to make and enforce rules. The rational management of conflict legitimises the status quo and represents efforts to contain conflict within an existing political structure. In order to engage in conflict, parties have to agree on certain formal rules of the game that provide the framework of their relations” (Ho-Won Jeong, 1999:513).

5.2.3 Class conflict.

Ho-Won Jeong who developed this theory was inspired by Marxist theory. He says that, “in the Marxist paradigm conflict between classes arises out of differing material interest (Ho-Won Jeong, 1999:514).

He continues with saying that, “a basic assumption of Marxism is that social and political structure is determined by the mode of production. The economic structure determines forms of social consciousness as well as types of legal and political institutions” (Ho-Won Jeong, 1999:514).

Ho-Won Jeong says again that,

“...conflict is rooted in class antagonism, which results from the historical conditions of production. In a capitalist society, two main classes can be identified. A few people monopolize the means of production such as land and factories; the bourgeois class owns the capital and the material resources needed for mass production. The workers provide labour in exchange for the wages that are essential for the subsistence of their physical survival. The exploitation of one class by another is the main source of conflict. The ultimate cause of all crises in a capitalist system is poverty and restricted consumption of the masses. The emancipation of the working class results from the elimination of private properties. Class struggle is a vehicle for structural change. Class conflict is characterised by the absence of mobility and the concentration of power and property among a few elites as well as the superimposition of economic and political interests on the masses. The intensity of conflict in a capitalist society is linked to the concentration of political and economic power in one class” (Ho-Won Jeong, 1999:514-515).

At the first instance, this theory seems not to be applicable to the Rwandan situation, because it is dealing with class conflict and, the Rwanda’s conflict is not a class conflict but ethnic conflict. However, this theory can be applicable to the Rwandan context. According to this theory, the exploitation of one class by another is the main source of conflict. Looking back at Rwandan history, during the monarchic regime and colonial period the Hutu were exploited by the Tutsi, through forced labour (corvee) and clientship.

5.2.4. Structure of authority.

About structure of authority Ho-Won Jeong says that,

“power characterizes asymmetric relations. The unequal distribution of decision-making power is a source of latent conflict. The structural origins of group conflicts can be related to the arrangement of social roles attached to domination and subjection. The two distinctive sets of groups are produced by authority relations. One group has a position of domination with the other in a position of subjection. Opposing interests derive from power differences. Identical authority positions develop common group interests. Conflict groups are organized either to defend or to challenge the legitimacy of the existing

structure. The creation of conflicting parties can be prevented by the lack of freedom of speech and association. The dominant group wants stability while the dominated group pursues change. The dominant group is interested in the preservation of a social structure that legitimises their authority. The party benefiting from the structure resists change. Those on top interpret conflict in terms of law and order. For the subjugated group, the existing situation is perceived as unjust and exploitative. Those in a disprivileged position look for opportunities to establish a new set of relations” (Ho-Won Jeong, 1999:515-516).

He continues that, “since conflict arises out of tensions between subordinate and dominant groups, solutions on individual issues do not eliminate the possibility of recurrent conflicts. Conflict regulation mechanisms may prevent violence but do not deal with sources of conflict. As far as asymmetric patterns of interaction exist, conflict cannot be avoided. Conflict resolution needs to be based on structural changes that lead to egalitarian relations” (Ho-Won Jeong, 1999:516).

5.3 THEORIES OF COHESION

The theory of cohesion includes three models of control.

- The first is incompatibility theory or the plural-society approach;
- The second is the theory of consociationalism; finally
- The theory of hegemonic exchange.

5.3.1 The plural-society approach.

In their book, Raymond, Tara and Rajat write that, “Duke and John Stuart Mill developed this theory, but the first systemic version was developed by J. S. Furnivall and later modified by Smith M.G. The central thesis of the plural-society approach is that in an ethnically plural society, where different ethnic groups live in close proximity to, but separately from, each other, intercommunal relations are characterized by unchecked economic competition” (Raymond, Tara and Rajat, Ganguly, 1998:15).

Indeed, where the relation between the various groups remain confined to the marketplace, these societies fail to develop a sense of common loyalty that would overcome the cultural and ethnic differences between the various groups. Unrestrained competition and competing nationalisms between different cultural groups that follow cause society to fragment.

However, in the same book Raymond, Tara and Rajat (1998:16) write again that, M.G. Smith argued that a plural society could be created by incorporating members of different ethnic groups into a multi-ethnic state in one of three ways. First, a multiethnic state may be created through the uniform incorporation of individuals' equal citizens with equal civic and political status, irrespective of ethnic or cultural affiliation. Second, it could be created through the equivalent incorporation of different collectivities with equal or complimentary public rights and status, thus leading to a consociational democracy model. Finally, it could be created through differential incorporation whereby a dominant group comes to exercise and maintain power and superior position by excluding other groups from power.

They continue by saying that,

“although, Smith put forward this theory, he doubted also the stability and durability of such multi-ethnic states. For example, uniform incorporation, could result in assimilative policies leading to resentment. Differential incorporation, on the other hand, was bound to create a dominant-subordinate relationship among the groups and exclude some groups from real power; therefore it could not lead to a stable and democratic multi-ethnic state. Finally, even equivalent incorporation, which seemed to hold the most hope, could not in practice produce stable and democratic multi-ethnic states because often the components of a consociation are unequal in numbers, territory, and economic potential. Consequently, real or perceived grievances could cause ethnic unrest and undermine the stability of the state” (Raymond, Tara and Rajat, Ganguly, 1998:16).

5.3.2 The theory of consociationalism.

Talking about the Consociationalism theory, Raymond, Tara and Rajat (1998:16) say that, the pioneer of the theory is Arend Lijphart. For him a “consociational framework

involves executive power sharing and grand coalitions, formal and informal separation of powers, balanced bicameralism and special minority representation in the upper chamber, a multiparty system, proportional representation, territorial as well as no territorial federalism and decentralization, and a written constitution protecting minority rights through difficult procedures for amendment” (Raymond, Taras and Rajat Ganguly, 1998:16).

Although these criteria were important, the same authors say that “Lijphart placed particular emphasis on the formation of grand coalitions of leaders representing all the communities, the provision of veto power to all communities on legislation affecting their vital interests, a system of proportional representation in parliament, and a high degree of autonomy for each community to run its own affairs as the key to building a stable and democratic multiethnic state” (Raymond, Taras and Rajat Ganguly, 1998:16).

They also suggested a list of conditions that could promote elite cooperation in multi-ethnic states. These included a “power balance between the various groups so that none could form a majority by itself, a multiparty system, feelings of patriotism or a common religion, and a tradition of cooperation among group elites” (Raymond, Taras and Rajat Ganguly, 1998:16).

5.3.3 The theory of hegemonic exchange.

According to Raymond, Tara and Rajat (1998:18) this theory was advanced and applied by Donald Rothchild to African states. They pursue by saying that, “he found that although a number of African states were able to impose a limited amount of hegemony over ethnic groups within their borders and thus prevent open ethnic conflict, these states were ‘soft’ states because they lacked the capacity to impose solutions on all ethnic groups. So these states had to engage in a process of exchange with them” (Raymond, Taras and Rajat Ganguly, 1998:18). The theory itself posits that ethnic groups have overt, tangible interests that can be pursued in a rational, utility maximizing manner tradeoffs and bargaining are possible. They cite that “ethnic violence can be ended by changes in policies of allocation of power and wealth. The role of the state in this scheme is not that of an oppressor, but as a

mediator and facilitator; and in order to play this role it must reject an exclusivist approach to access power in favour of an inclusive strategy based on ethnic balancing” (Raymond, Taras and Rajat Ganguly, 1998:18).

5.4 DEMOCRATIC PEACE THEORY

This theory is from Ziegler’s book. For him, this theory was developed by Mueller and Kaysen. It is based on the fact that the number of democratic states is growing and democracies do not fight each other. The idea is quite simple.

Ziegler says

“...the historical record shows that democracies are just as likely to get involved in wars as other types of states but they almost never get involved in wars with other democracies. From 1815 to 1980, there were 71 major conflicts identified as inter-state wars. In none of these wars was a democratic state at war with another democratic state. Even President Clinton of United States in his State of the Union Message, January 25, 1994, argued that ultimately the best strategy to insure our security and to build a durable peace is to support the advance of democracy elsewhere. Democracies don’t attack each other” (Ziegler, 2000:139).

He continues that,

“this theory has been criticised by academicians. While war between democracies is rare, it is not clear that it never occurs. World War I, and the 1812 war between Britain and United States might appear to be a case where democracies fought each other. Moreover, historically there have not been many democratic states and so democracies did not have much opportunity to fight each other. Often they did not border each other and had little occasion to make war on each other(Ziegler, 2000:140).

But this is not to say that the theory of democratic peace is wrong. Defenders of democratic peace theory have offered several different explanations of why democracy prevents war. Ziegler (2000:140) says that, this is because ordinary people and not government leaders generally do the fighting, giving the vote to ordinary people will reduce fighting, because people will not vote to send themselves into combat.

Historically, according to Ziegler “democracies are as likely to be involved in war as any other kind of state. If voters saw their self-interest in staying out of war, presumably they would be less involved in all wars, not just wars against other democracies. Another causal explanation is that citizens in democracies are well disposed toward citizens of other democracies and hence less willing to go to war” (Ziegler, 2000:140).

Indeed, the studies of the democratic peace may provide only limited guidance, because the future may differ from the past. So, Ziegler (2000:140) again says that, with the growth of population and development of new technologies, the nature of democracy is changing, and these changes might have important effects on war. With millions of people getting information almost at the same instant from electronic sources, with an emphasis on vivid images and dramatic personal interest stories, popular emotion can be quickly aroused. Emotions might lead to war, not peace. Toleration and compromise may not characterize states where politics is dominated by the mass media.

But, according to Ziegler “whatever the future holds, the proponents of the theory recognize that democracies have fought wars; they claim only that they do not fight with each other. As long as no democratic states remain, or democracies can revert to no democracies, then presumably democratic states will fight again” (Ziegler, 2000:140).

5.5 THEORIES ON DEVELOPMENT.

5.5.1 Modernisation theory.

The principle of modernisation according to Frank was that “economic development would lead to development of other sectors of society” (Frank, 2001:2).

Economic growth occurs through a sequence of stages. All societies are destined to participate in this beneficial evolution, but it can be accelerated by wise policy.

Frank (2001:3) writes that, one of the most influential Modernisation theorists was W.W Rostow. In the early 1960’s has developed a model for the stages of economic growth needed for development. He continues that, “Rostow argued that all societies

had to go through five stages of growth in order to reach true development” (Frank, 2001:3).

“The first stage was traditional society, where the technological level of the society was pre-scientific and although this level of technology is not entirely static it is at a low enough level to place a ceiling on per capital production.

The second stage is reached when preconditions for take-off are achieved and obstacles to growth are removed, e.g. technological advancement. It is now that a society obtains the scientific insights necessary to expand its agricultural output and manufacturing. A new entrepreneurial class comes to the fore.

The third stage is the crucial one and is seen as a take-off to sustained growth, a transformed society, which has steady growth. This stage lasts for twenty to thirty years and is marked by growth in investments. One or more manufacturing or industrial sectors assume a leading role in society, and the political and social framework is modified to accommodate this growth.

The fourth stage is the drive to maturity. Modern technology is now disseminated from the leading industrial sectors. The economic structure shows continuous changes as older industries stagnate and make way for new ventures. Investment continues to grow and output continues to expand.

Finally comes the age of high mass-consumption. Members of the society can now satisfy more than their basic needs and consumption moves towards services and durable consumer goods.

The theory assumes that all societies start from a baseline of underdevelopment and experience the patterns of change” (Frank, 2001:3-4).

5.5.2 The structural-functionalist theory.

It became increasingly evident that neither economic growth nor modernisation of institutions could be considered part of unilinear or historically inevitable processes. So according to Frank,

“the 1960’s and early 1970’s saw the influence of the political economists who maintained that the political questions of resource distribution, ownership and power have an influence on development. They distinguished between growth and development. Growth related to the increase in output whereas development related to the capacity for production. The significance of this

distinction is that capacity depends on the structure of the society. Structural change was therefore important for expanding capacity. The position that growth is distinct from development has taken on added conviction with time” (Frank, 2001:4).

However, Frank (2001:4) again says that, it became increasingly evident that neither economic growth nor the modernisation of institutions could be considered part of unilinear or historically inevitable processes. Economic stagnation and institutional decay were equally possible even where economies benefited from this. Similar confidence in the benevolent role of the state and the competence of bureaucracy was shaken.

5.5.3 Dependency theory.

Frank (2001:4) views the dependency theory, part of the structuralist school of thought, developed out of the Latin America lack of development. This was because these countries exported primary products to the industrialised nations of the world who thus increased their wealth through manufacture. He writes that, “these theorists viewed countries as being underdeveloped due to external factors such as the adverse trade conditions between countries. Andre Gunter Frank was one of leading theorists in this school and introduced the concept of metropolis-satellite (core-periphery) relations between countries and within countries (Frank, 2001:4).

He continues that, “the two are interdependent but the metropolis always draws from the satellite and keeps the satellite thus underdeveloped. The nature of this system is that surplus is continuously appropriated and expropriated upwards and outwards, at all levels from the bottom to the top. This occurs because each metropolis has a monopoly of economic power in its part of the system. The focus for many dependency theorists is on exploitation and equality, or rather lack of equality, and their theories are intimately related to Marxist theories” (Frank, 2001:4).

5.5.4 Basic needs approach.

Frank (2001:4) writes that, in the mid 1970's a group of social scientists and economists began to look at a new development framework based on need-orientation, growth from within the society itself, self-reliant, and based largely upon transformation of the rural sector of society. He says that, "what they were proposing was the direct attack on the social and economic evils of mass poverty. They argued that a progressive reduction in, and the eventual elimination of malnutrition, disease, illiteracy, squalor, unemployment and inequality ought to be regarded as integral to the development process" (Frank:2001:4).

Frank again writes that, "the 1974 declaration of Cocoyoc stated that the purpose of development was not to develop things, but to develop people. It also included structural changes that may need to be made to enhance the development of people. Most of those that support the basic needs approaches advocate participation in that a majority of people should decide what their basic needs are and how they should be met" (Frank, 2001:4).

5.5.5 Humanist theory.

There are other theorists who focus on the human and ethical dimensions of development and see liberation from poverty as being paramount in development. They question development for material benefits and consumption only. They do not necessarily enhance human life.

For Michael Todaro, development implies three different core values:

- Life sustenance; the ability to provide basic necessities;
- Self-esteem; the ability to be a person;
- Freedom from servitude; the ability to choose (Frank, 2001; 4).

5.5.6 People centred development.

Recent writings on development show that the term people 'centred development' is increasingly being used. People-centred development shifts the emphasis in

development action to people, rather than to objects and production, and to the enhancement of their capacity to participate in the development process. The creative initiative of people is regarded as a primary development resource, and the mental and material welfare of people is seen as the final objective of development. Attempts by the poor to address their own needs are therefore encouraged. "In a people-centred approach government policy will encourage and support people's attempts to help themselves, as well as the decentralised production of goods with local ownership and control" (Kotze, Mentz, and Kellerman, 1997:26).

Frank writes that, writers such as David Kotern view people centred development as:

- "Seeking to return control over resources to the people and their communities to be used in meeting their own needs which, he views as creating incentives for responsible stewardship of resources, that is essential for sustainability;
- Seeking to broaden political participation, building from base of strong local government;
- Building from the culture of people;
- Seeking opportunity for people to obtain and secure a livelihood based on sustainable and renewable resources;
- Mutual aid amongst people" (Frank, 2001:5)

5.6. CONCLUSION.

This chapter discussed the theories that will be used in the empirical analysis of this research.

Thus, the theory of conflict is based on relative deprivation and basic needs, rationality and social order, class conflict and structure of authority. The theory of cohesion included three models of control, i.e. plural-society, consociationalism and hegemonic exchange theories. The democratic peace theory claims that democracy prevents war. The theories on development emphasise modernisation, structural, dependency, basic needs, humanist and people centred development.

After, this description of the theories, the empirical data will be presented and analysed.

CHAPTER SIX

6. PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

6.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the analysis of data collected for this study. Qualitative and quantitative research methods were used for this study. Interviews were used to collect qualitative data whereas questionnaires were employed for the quantitative data. The interviews provided more direct information than the questionnaires, because they were conducted face to face with the interviewees, thus there was no limit to the responses. It is important to clarify at this stage that statistical test of significance were not utilised in the presentation, analysis and interpretation of data. Therefore only the frequency distributions and percentages were utilised in the analysis and interpretation of data; and are presented and summarised in tables, which have two entries.

The first entry shows the answers or responses ranged in column, and given by the respondents. Those responses are this type: Yes or No and suggested responses.

The second entry specifies the respondents by provinces, and ranged in rows. So, the first row shows the province, the following rows show the different respondents (politicians, militaries, journalists, public and civil societies and ordinary population).

In front of each respondent there is frequency, and percentage.

At the end of the table there is a summary of the responses given by the respondents.

It shows the total frequency and percentage by respondents.

Moreover, the chapter is structured in four sections as follows:

- The first determines the profile of the respondents;
- • The second study presents different factors for national unity in Rwanda;
- The third gives the characteristics of sustainable development in Rwanda;

- The fourth studies the impact of national unity on sustainable development in Rwanda.

These four sections will now be discussed in detail.

6.2 RESPONDENTS' PROFILE

The following table contains the characteristics of profile of the respondents.

Table 10 Respondents' Characteristics

Respondents Characteristics	Politicians		Military, journalists, Civil and Public Societies		Ordinary People	
	Numbers	%	Numbers	%	Numbers	%
Ages						
-20	0	0	0	0	4	5.4
+20						
+30	3	5	1	3.1	11	14.9
+40	24	40	15	46.8	18	24.3
+50						
	17	28.3	7	21.9	24	32.4
	15	25	6	18.7	17	23
Total	59/ 60	98.3	29/32	90.6	74/74	100
Martial Status						
Single	2	88.3	5	15.6	22	29.7
Married	57	10	24	75	52	70.3
Total	59/60	98.3	29/32	90.6	74/74	100
Gender						
Male	53	88.3	24	75	36	48.6
Female	6	10	5	15.6	38	51.4
Total	59/60	98.3	29/32	90.6	74/74	100

Education						
Illiterate	0	0	0	0	23	31.1
Primary level	18	30	0	0	18	24.3
Post primary	7	11.7	0	0	9	12.2
Secondary	11	18.3	10	31.2	23	31.1
Tertiary	23	38.3	19	59.4	1	1.3
Total	59/60	98.3	29/32	90.6	74/74	100
Religions						
Catholics	44	73.3	17	53.1	48	64.9
Protestants	14	23.3	7	21.9	20	27
Muslims	1	1.7	5	15.6	6	8.1
Others	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	59/60	98.3	29/32	90.6	74/74	100
Background						
Rwanda	43	71.7	15	46.8	41	55.4
Burundi	10	16.7	3	9.4	10	13.5
D.R.C	0	0	4	12.5	8	10.8
Uganda	4	6.6	4	12.5	12	16.2
Tanzania	0	0	0	0	3	4.1
Others	2	3.3	3	9.4	0	0
Total	59/60	98.3	29/32	90.6	74/74	100

The above table summarizes the profile of the respondents. Thus, characteristics such as age, marital status, gender, education, religions and background of the respondents become clear.

From the above table it is noted that, the majority of the Rwandan politicians are between 31-40 years old (40%), at the local level: cells, sectors and commune, the authorities are young; but at the high level, they are old, between 41-50: 28.3%); are married (95%), males (88.3%), catholic (73.3%), have tertiary education (38.3%) and have grown up in Rwanda (71%).

The table also reveals that, the representatives of Rwandan militaries, journalists, civil and public societies are also between 31-40 years old (46.8%). Many of them are married, males (75%), catholic (53.1%), have a university degree (59.4%) and have been grown up in Rwanda (46.8%).

However, the majority of the ordinary people, are old, i.e. between 41-50 years, married (70.3%), females (51.6%), illiterate (31.1%) but some have secondary school certificates, are catholic (64.9%) and have grown up in Rwanda (55.4%).

The table shows clearly that, the majority of politicians, militaries, civil and public societies and ordinary people are over 40 years. The table reveals the fact that many of them are married. A comparison of politicians and militaries, civil and public societies, the majority of ordinary people are females (51.4%), most of whom are illiterate (31.1%) whereas the majority of other parties are males and graduates. In fact, underline that these percentages are the effect of pure hazard. Yet, according to the hazard random character, the researcher should assume that, this random repartition is close to the repartition of gender and study in the universe population. This can be applicable to religion and background. It seems that the majority of catholic's and Rwandans' background in the random reflects also their majority in the universe population.

6.3 DIFFERENT FACTORS FOR NATIONAL UNITY IN RWANDA.

In an attempt to analyze the factors for national unity in Rwanda, the researcher asked interviewees four questions that needed to be addressed.

These are:

- Are there ethnic problems in Rwanda?
- What is the source or the fundamental reason for Rwandan conflict?
- Is there unity among Rwandans? Why? Why not?
- What are the factors or basic conditions for national unity in Rwanda?

6.3.1 Ethnic problems in Rwanda.

Data collected to the first question show that there are no ethnical problems in Rwanda.

Table 11 Are there ethnic problems in Rwanda?

Answers		YES	NO	UNDECIDED	TOTAL
Respondents/Provinces					
BUTARE					
Politicians	Fr.	2	5	0	7
	%	28.6	71.4	0	100
MJC PS	Fr.	1	3	0	4
	%	25	75	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	0	18	0	18
	%	0	100	0	100
BYUMBA					
Politicians	Fr.	1	6		7
	%	14.3	85.7	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	2	2	0	4
	%	50	50	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	1	18	0	19
	%	5.3	94.7	0	100
KIBUNGO					
Politicians	Fr.	3	4	0	7
	%	42.9	57.1	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	0	4	0	4
	%	0	100	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	0	17	0	17
	%	0	100	0	100
KIBUYE					
	Fr.	4	3	0	7

	%	57.1	42.9	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	0	4	0	4
	%	0	100	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	0	12	0	12
	%	0	100	0	100
KIGALI TOWN					
Politicians	Fr.	1	28	2	31
	%	3.2	90.3	6.5	100
MJCPS	Fr.	0	12	1	13
	%	0	92.3	7.7	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	1	7	0	8
	%	12.5	87.5	0	100
SUMMARY					
Politicians	Fr.	11	46	2	59
	%	18.6	78	3.4	100
MJCPS	Fr.	3	25	1	29
	%	10.3	86.2	3.5	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	2	72	0	74
	%	2.7	97.3	0	100

N.B: Fr. means frequency

% means percentage

MJCPS means militaries, journalists, civil and public societies.

From the table above, it is clear from the responses given by the respondents in each province, that there is no perceived ethnic problem in Rwanda. Only 57.1% of politicians in Kibuye's province confirmed that there is an ethnic problem present in Rwanda. Otherwise, other respondents from all provinces said that there is no ethnic problem present in Rwanda. However, it must be remembered that Kibuye province was a victim of social injustice for a long time. It has no asphalted roads, and was a turquoise zone during the genocide. Thus, the researcher assumes that, these factors influence the responses of the respondents in that province.

From the above table, in the summary column, all respondents; politicians (78%), militaries, journalists, civil and public societies (86.2%), and ordinary population (97.3%) confirm that there is no ethnic problem in Rwanda. Only few of politicians (18.6%), of militaries, journalists, civil and public societies (10.3%) and 2.7% of ordinary population confirmed that there is an ethnic problem in Rwanda now.

As a comment to this issue, those who said that there is no ethnic problem in Rwanda agree that there were ethnic problems in Rwanda which culminated in the genocide of 1994, however that is over now. Those who confirmed that there is still an ethnic problem in Rwanda make reference to the colonial period. At that time, Rwanda was characterized by conflict and division among ethnics groups. That conflict resulted in the genocide. After a short period (seven years after genocide) that conflict cannot be eliminated completely. They added that, but the conflict among Rwandans is not an accentuated one. It is not easy to identify it overtly. It is a latent conflict that can only be understood after a long period of sustained observation.

From the theoretical framework, one assumes that conflict is prevalent in our everyday life, is inevitable and continuous in society. What is bad is the type of conflict, which leads to violence and wars. Regarding the Rwandan society as a whole, conflict is also inevitable. But by now that conflict comes from diversity and differences among the people i.e. it can arise between Hutu and Tutsi or Hutu and Twa or Tutsi and Twa, as it can arise between Tutsi, Twa, or Hutu themselves as well. As the respondents said, there is no visible or accentuated ethnic problem, which can lead to disunity and genocide in Rwanda. Even those who confirmed that, contradicted themselves elsewhere, by saying that, there is no ethnic problem and move to say "it is not an accentuated one; it is not easy to see. It is a latent conflict and needs to be understood after a long period of observation". It was confirmed that there was an ethnical problem in Rwanda, but what was the source of that conflict?

6.3.2 The source of Rwanda's conflicts.

The following table presents a clear answer to the question.

Table 12 What is the fundamental reason for Rwanda's conflict?

Answers		Colonialism	Political reasons	Economic reasons	Social reasons	Demographic reasons	TOTAL
Respondents/Provinces							
BUTARE							
Politicians	Fr.	3	1	1	1	1	7
	%	42.8	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	100
MJC PS	Fr.	2	1	0	0	1	4
	%	50	25	0	0	25	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	5	3	4	6	0	18
	%	27.8	16.7	22.2	33.3	0	100
BYUMBA							
Politicians	Fr.	4	2	1	0	0	7
	%	57.1	28.6	14.3	0	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	2	1	1	0	0	4
	%	50	25	25	0	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	7	8	3	1	0	19
	%	36.8	42.1	15.8	5.3	0	100
KIBUNGO							
Politicians	Fr.	5	1	1	0	0	7
	%	71.4	14.3	14.3	0	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	1	1	2	0	0	4
	%	25	25	50	0	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	6	6	4	1	0	17

	%	35.3	35.3	23.5	5.9	0	100
KIBUYE							
Politicians	Fr.	3	2	1	1	0	7
	%	42.9	28.5	14.3	14.3	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	2	1	0	1	0	4
	%	50	25	0	25	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	4	3	4	1	0	12
	%	33.3	25	33.3	8.4	0	100
KIGALI TOWN							
Politicians	Fr.	6	8	10	6	1	31
	%	19.4	25.8	32.3	19.3	3.2	100
MJCPS	Fr.	4	4	3	2	0	13
	%	30.8	30.8	23.1	15.3	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	3	3	1	1	0	8
	%	37.5	37.5	12.5	12.5	0	100
SUMMARY							
Politicians	Fr.	21	14	12	10	2	59
	%	53.6	23.7	20.3	17	3.4	100
MJCPS	Fr.	11	8	6	3	1	29
	%	37.9	27.6	20.7	10.3	3.5	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	25	23	16	10	0	74
	%	33.8	31.1	21.6	13.5	0	100

Referring to discussions in previous chapters, there are many sources of conflict. Social, economic and political organizations are described by Elliot and Merrill (1961:30) as sources of conflict in society. For Walan (1997:37), misunderstanding,

disagreement, greed, various manifestations of injustice, domination and aggressions are sources of conflicts. Some theories of conflict attribute the existence of conflict to relative deprivation, dissatisfaction of basic needs, failure of organizational functions, asymmetric power relations, and dominant social structure (Ho-Won Jeong, 1999:511). According to the theory of cohesion, in the plural-society, multi-ethnic societies could not remain both stable and democratic (Raymond, C. Taras and Rajat Ganguly, 1998:15). A cursory examination of the summary in table No12, reveals that all the respondents, politicians (53.6%), militaries, journalists, civil and public societies (37.9%) and ordinary population (33.8%) agreed that the major source of conflict in Rwanda is colonialism, i.e. results from the colonial period.

But the results from each province are different. For example in the province of Byumba, Kibungo and Kigali Town respectively 42.1%, 35.3%, and 37.5% of ordinary population and 50%, 30.8% of militaries, journalists, civil and public societies, in Kibungo and Kigali town respectively, attribute in the first instance the source of Rwandan conflict to the political problems. Whereas in Kibuye and Kigali Town provinces, 33.3% and 32.3% respectively see the Rwandan economy as the source of conflict. The respondents argue that, one factor alone cannot constitute a sufficient reason for the destruction of a country i.e. source of conflict. There must be an interaction or a synergy between different factors in bringing about conflict. Thus, colonialism as well as political, economic, social factors worked hand in hand to bring conflict or division among Rwandan people. This is justified by the small gap, which indicates low differences that were found between different percentages in tabulated form.

Answering the question, and which confused most of the respondents was deciding, which division among Rwandans most contributed to the conflict. Some of them concluded that, all the above factors together played a major role in the destruction of Rwanda.

On further explanation of the sub question How? The respondents said:

- **Colonialism:**

Colonialism has been cited in the first instance by all respondents, as the main factor that led to the initial disunity among the Rwandan people. They also added that the colonials used religion as an instrument to facilitate division among Rwandans. This was done by the missionaries giving privileges to certain groups of people at the expense of others. As mentioned in chapter four, before the colonialists arrived in Rwanda, Rwandans lived in good relationship, harmony as brothers and sisters. There were no wars between Rwandan ethnic groups. They were all united and worked together for the development of their country, in which they were together. The army was composed of Hutu, Tutsi and Twa. All struggled for the security and stability of their country. They felt that they all had the same rights to live in Rwanda together. For instance at the beginning of colonialism, they went fighting together against white people (Europeans) at Cyangugu province when they invaded Rwanda for colonialism.

Thus, the respondents cited colonialism as the first element that divided Rwandans, because, conflicts, especially the ethnic ideology in Rwanda started with their arrival. To begin division among Rwandans, the colonialists preached social inequality. They wrote and preached that Tutsi were more superior to other Rwandans, were intelligent and created to govern, that the Hutu were less intelligent and could only be governed.

This resulted in the fact that some Tutsi, especially those from families with governing members, feeling superior to Hutu and Twa, and they felt they were different. This created a superiority complex. Hutu and Twa also started feeling inferior.

The system of clientelism and the forced labour instituted by colonizers also played a great role in destroying Rwandan unity. To reinforce such inequality, the colonizers put only one ethnic group (Tutsi) in schools and the administration. Thereafter as a form of sympathy, the colonizers started to offer favors to Hutu by giving them formal education. Nevertheless, the Twa until now have not gotten a chance to acquire formal education. Indeed, the ethnic division, which was started by the colonizers, slowly had been accentuated and reinforced by the Rwandan politicians. Colonialists used a more logical and systematic process to achieve their goal.

- **Political reasons.**

Those who cited political reasons as among the major cause of Rwandan conflicts, said that the power struggle between Hutu and Tutsi elites is the most important cause of conflict in Rwanda. Thus, as seen, before the colonial era, Rwanda was a kingdom governed by a king who was a Tutsi. The power was transmitted from father (king) to son by the system of inheritance. There were no reasons to fight for taking the power, because you cannot be recognized by the population, if you were not supposed to govern. Within the colonial period, things changed slowly.

The colonialists influenced the elite Hutu that, they are majority and for that, they must struggle for governance, according to the rule of democratic system. In extreme violence from 1959 to 1961, the Hutu finally took over power and many Tutsi including the king fled the country as refugees to the neighboring countries. The Tutsi refugees tried several times to come back to Rwanda by force. The Hutu regime refused them permission to come back to Rwanda though peacefully. So, in 1990, they decided to attack Rwanda as rebels, and took power in 1994, after a genocide committed by the present government at that time. Many Hutu fled the country as refugees to the neighboring countries. By now the present regime, which stopped the genocide, is accused of taking power by force, and of being a Tutsi regime by some extremist Hutu, whereas they are in the minority. This constitute the reasons why some of the Hutu did not come back to Rwanda from the refugees camps, and are fighting for the cause of the Hutu from R.D.C as rebels with the system of infiltration. So, we have to recognize that the major Rwandan cause of conflict is first and foremost one of political power struggle between Hutu and Tutsi elite.

However, originally, Rwanda “was characterized by bad-governance. It is from this governance that, Rwanda’s disunion emanates. Since the colonial period, all successive Rwandan regimes were based on auto-elevation, nepotism, and opportunism” (Republic of Rwanda; Office of the President of the Republic, 1999:16).

Since their creation, political parties in Rwanda were based on ethnic divisions i.e. PARMEHUTU was for the Hutu, UNAR for the Tutsi and AREDETWA for the Twa. In terms of justice, since time immemorial, Rwanda was characterized by the impunity system and corruption in different sectors. For the First Republic, the division among Rwandans was emphasized on ethnic groups, while the second republic emphasized the division among Rwandans, through ethnical groups and regions. It restored the system of equilibrium. Both the First and the Second Republic refused several times to return refugees to their homes. The reason was that Rwanda is too small and cannot accommodate all Rwandans. They also preached the ideology of exclusion against Tutsi, especially on the eve of the 1994 genocide throughout the country by authorities, through speeches, in meetings and media communications, which encouraged inequality, favoritism, instabilities all based on divisions. This eventually led to the country's instabilities and hence the end result being unjust and unfair treatment of people without reasonable and justifiable reasons but rather because of the political parties they belonged to, which directly affected people's freedom of association for good and developmental acts.

- **Socio-economic:**

The majority of Rwandans are agriculturalist (92%); and most of them are poor. There is not enough land for traditional agricultural methods. For this reason, the politicians used the Hutu majority to kill the Tutsi minority because they promised them that after killing the Tutsi, they would take their property and land. This fact played a great role in 1959 and during that time the Hutu killed the Tutsi, destroyed their property so that many of them ran away to other countries. From that date up to now many Hutu occupied the Tutsi's properties. That was due also to the ignorance and illiteracy of many Rwandans who could not claim back their land and property.

However, some expressions were utilized for dividing Rwandan people. For a long time the Tutsi were nicknamed by the Hutu "snake or cockroach" to show them that they were seen as evil, bad ethnic group and clever. If Rwandans are not careful, some new negative expressions that are used can one day result in division and conflict among Rwandans again. Use of these expressions makes one feel a sense of belonging to a group and makes it easier to distance oneself from a different group. So, besides

the ethnic group that one belongs to, there is also the group you belong to, according to the country in which you were living before the 1994 genocide.

These expressions are:

- “Interahamwe, ibipinga, tingitingi” to name the Hutu;
- “Abasajya” to name the people who came from Uganda after the genocide;
- “Abajepe” to name the people who were in Burundi as refugees before genocide;
- “Abadubayi” to name the people who were in R.D.C before genocide;
- “Abasopecya” a nickname given to the people who were born and stayed in Rwanda during the genocide.

From the results the respondents accepted that the Rwandan population is large and that this constitutes a problem. But they rejected the fact that the Rwandan demography is or was among the things that divided or created conflict among Rwandans. Only a few of them (3,4% of politicians and 3,5% of militaries, public and civil societies) confirmed that Rwandan demography is among the reasons, which led to conflict. Therefore, all respondents agreed that one issue or fact cannot itself be a reason for division among the whole population. Many reasons have seen to interact and cooperated to reach or to constitute a reason for conflict.

There is interdependence between different factors. Colonialism, internal politics, socioeconomic factors and demography worked together and were in interaction for bringing Rwandan division, conflict and disunity. Colonialism was ranked top on the list of factors that led to disunity in Rwanda, internal politics the second and socioeconomic issues the third.

However, the explanations given by the respondents are similar to the theory of conflict. Thus, the existence of Rwandan conflict can be ascribed to “relative deprivation, dissatisfaction of basics needs, failure of organizational functions and asymmetric power relations” (Ho-Won Jeong, 1999:511). Those explanations agree with Elliot and Merrill (1996:30) ideas that, social, economic and political organizations are source of conflict. They also correspond to Walan (1997:9-10) idea, where he cites various manifestations of injustice and domination as sources of

conflict. But they do not satisfy the theory of plural-society, because Rwandan society is not a plural society as described by plural society.

Allowing for the fact that Rwanda has been experiencing ethnic problems, let us now examine whether there is unity in Rwanda after the genocide and within the government of national unity.

6.3.3 Unity in Rwanda.

The following table summarizes respondents' opinions and perceptions on unity in Rwanda.

Table13 Is there unity in Rwanda?

Answers		YES	NO	UNDECIDED	TOTAL
Respondents/Provinces					
BUTARE					
Politicians	Fr.	4	2	1	7
	%	57.1	28.6	14.3	100
MJC PS	Fr.	3	1	0	4
	%	75	25	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	10	6	2	18
	%	55.6	33.3	11.1	100
BYUMBA					
Politicians	Fr.	5	2	0	7
	%	71.4	28.6	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	2	2	0	4
	%	50	50	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	9	10	0	19
	%	47.4	52.6	0	100
KIBUNGO					
Politicians	Fr.	7	0	0	7

	%	100	0	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	3	1	0	4
	%	75	25	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	11	5	1	17
	%	64.7	29.4	5.9	100
KIBUYE					
Politicians	Fr.	3	2	2	7
	%	42.8	28.6	28.6	100
MJCPS	Fr.	1	2	1	4
	%	25	50	25	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	7	5	0	12
	%	58.3	41.7	0	100
KIGALI TOWN					
Politicians	Fr.	13	18	0	31
	%	41.9	58.1	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	7	6	0	13
	%	53.8	46.2	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	2	6	0	8
	%	25	75	0	100
SUMMARY					
Politicians	Fr.	32	24	3	59
	%	54.2	40.7	5.1	100
MJCPS	Fr.	16	12	1	29
	%	55.2	41.3	3.5	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	39	32	3	74
	%	52.7	43.2	4.1	100

From the table above, especially the summary, it is clear that unity is perceived among Rwandan people today. This was confirmed by 54.2% of the politicians, 55.2% of militaries, journalist, civil and public societies and 52.7% of ordinary populations. However, comparing the results from each province, there is a divergence between the respondents. For example, the groups of militaries,

journalists, civil and public societies in Byumba (50%) and Kibuye (50%) provinces claimed that there is no unity in Rwanda. In Byumba's province 52.6% of ordinary population and in Kigali town's province 58.1% of politicians said that there is no unity in Rwanda. Looking at the summary in the table above, the difference in terms of percentage, between those who said Yes and those who said No, indicates that the difference is not large or great. But they added, that unity is still in a growth stage i.e. that unity is not strong enough because Rwandans were divided and were in conflict for a long time. The genocide of 1994 is the proof. But after that bad experience and due to the lesson about the advantage and necessity of being united taught by the present governors, Rwandans have put behind whatever made them disunited and have started to live together in harmony, peace and nonviolence. Thus, for the politicians and some militaries, representatives of public organizations and others who have answered yes to the question, there is unity among Rwandan people because of these following reasons:

1. After the genocide many old and new refugees returned to the country. They presently form one population and one ethnic group of Banyarwanda.
2. There is a good relationship among Rwandans characterized by:
 - The interethnic marriage;
 - Work i.e. they work together in the same offices, form mixed associations or cooperatives, study together, have the same institutions, universities and attend public meetings together.
 - Travel: they travel together from province-to-province, work to home, school to home, market to home, church to home in the same bus or taxi etc.
 - Living: they live close together around the same hills all over the country. There is no province or locality for this or that ethnic group.
 - Helping: they are helping each other during the different ceremonies like marriage or funeral.
 - Meetings: they participate in all local meetings.
3. They shared a bad experience, so they learned from the past (the genocide's consequences touched everybody in Rwanda).

4. The government of national unity, which is composed of both Hutu and Tutsi ethnic groups made an effort to bring unity to Rwandans. It formed a commission of national unity and reconciliation. It destroyed the system of impunity and installed the privilege of justice for all. So far it has created a commission of human rights. The people are now treated as equal citizens with equal civic rights and political status.

5. They shared many elements which, brought them together rather than those which separated them:

- The clans (abega, abasinga, abanyiginya, abasindi, abagesera);
- The same language (they speak Kinyarwanda all over the country);
- The same culture (customs, rites, ancestral customs, taboos, arts, crafts, music, dance, human and veterinary medicine);
- The same traditional religions;
- The same organizations (of government, social, economic, housing);
- The institutions.

6. The present army is composed of all the three ethnic groups: Hutu, Tutsi and Twa. It also integrated the ex-Rwandan army members who were not involved in the genocide. Now the army and the population work together to fight the rebels from the D.R.C, in order to bring about national unity and reconciliation in the country.

These ideas agree with the theory of consociationalism, which was discussed in chapter five. According to the theory, a “consociationalism framework involves executive power sharing and grand coalitions, formal and informal powers, balanced bicameralism and minority representation in the upper chamber, a multiparty system, proportional representation, decentralization and a written constitution protecting minority rights through difficult procedures for amendment” (Raymond, Taras and Rajat, 1998:16).

Some of politicians, military, journalists, representatives of civil and public societies and the ordinary people did not agree that there is unity in Rwanda, for the following reasons:

1. Seven years after the Rwandan's genocide are not enough to show that there is unity among the Rwandan population. Social relationships are not strong among Rwandans, because the Hutu have been separate from the Tutsi for quite a long time.
2. Division in Rwanda has been there for quite a long time (almost 32 years) and has been taught by the politicians; so it becomes difficult to remove that kind of poison that has been received by the Rwandan children for such a long time. Rwanda has been characterized by a long history of division.
3. Justice up to now does not work efficiently.
 - Many of interahamwe militia are not yet arrested. Those who are arrested have been waiting for justice for the past seven years. Among these prisoners, there are obviously those who are presumed to be innocent.
4. There are some rebels, so-called abacengezi (infiltrators), who attack Rwanda. When these rebels succeed in their attack, some of Rwanda's Hutu extremists, inside the country celebrated the abacengezi's action of attacking Rwanda and killing innocent Tutsi civilians.
5. Some Rwandans are still refugees and others fled to other countries as a result of political or economic problems, as explained in the paragraphs above.
6. If there is unity in Rwanda, what is the reason for Rwandan National Unity and Reconciliation Commission? Why are the Rwandan authorities preaching or teaching national unity and reconciliation?
7. Because of the use of these expressions (ibipinga as surname of Hutu, survivor as to surname Tutsi who were in Rwanda during the genocide) there is still a division in Rwanda.
8. The present government is accused of promoting ethnic division in Rwanda. It appoints some people for certain posts according to the ethnic group, they belong to, and not according to merit.
9. To conclude their opinions they say that what is in Rwanda is not unity, but something like "cohabitation" among Rwandan ethnic groups.

Thus, after listing these responses from the respondents, it would be safe to conclude that, there is some form of unity in Rwanda, some explain it as good cohabitation, which will lead to strong and full unity in the long term.

However the main question here is the following, because it can verify the first hypothesis:

What are the factors for national unity in Rwanda?

6.3.4 Different factors for national unity in Rwanda

The following constitute a summary of responses provided by the respondents about the different factors for national unity in Rwanda.

Table 14 What are the factors for national unity in Rwanda?

Answers		Political	Socio-economic	Juridical	Others: - geopolitics - history
Respondents/Provinces					
BUTARE					
Politicians	Fr.	59	59	59	0
	%	100	100	100	0
MJC PS	Fr.	29	29	29	0
	%	100	100	100	0
Ordinary Population	Fr.	74	74	74	0
	%	100	100	100	0
BYUMBA					
Politicians	Fr.	59	59	59	0
	%	100	100	100	0
MJCPS	Fr.	29	29	29	0
	%	100	100	100	0
Ordinary Population	Fr.	74	74	74	0
	%	100	100	100	0
KIBUNGO					
Politicians	Fr.	59	59	59	0
	%	100	100	100	0
MJCPS	Fr.	29	29	29	0

	%	100	100	100	0
Ordinary People	Fr.	74	74	74	0
	%	100	100	100	0
KIBUYE					
Politicians	Fr.	59	59	59	0
	%	100	100	100	0
MJCPS	Fr.	29	29	29	0
	%	100	100	100	0
Ordinary Population	Fr.	74	74	74	0
	%	100	100	100	0
KIGALI TOWN					
Politicians	Fr.	59	58	59	1
	%	100	98.3	100	1.7
MJCPS	Fr.	29	29	29	0
	%	100	100	100	0
Ordinary Population	Fr.	74	70	73	5
	%	100	94.6	98.6	6.7
SUMMARY					
Politicians	Fr.	59	58	59	1
	%	100	98.3	100	1.7
MJCPS	Fr.	29	29	29	0
	%	100	100	100	0
Ordinary Population	Fr.	74	70	73	5
	%	100	94.6	98.6	6.7

It is clear from the above table that political, socio-economic and judicial systems are the main factors for national unity. That geopolitics and Rwandan history come to reinforce the factors for national unity.

These factors are grouped in three categories: Political, socio-economic and judicial factors.

- **Political factors.**

There can be no unity among Rwandan people without a just organization of power in Rwanda. Thus, the present Rwandan executive, legislative and judicial power is characterized by a good redistribution of power, with equity between Hutu and Tutsi. The multiparty system at present can exemplify the situation. These agree with the theory of consociationalism, which means that “power balance between various groups, multiparty system, feelings of patriotism, and a tradition of cooperation among group elites can bring separate ethnic groups together” (Raymond, Taras and Rajat, 1998:16). The Rwandan unity at present is an achievement of the Rwandan authorities. They initiated a system of “**good governance**” at all administrative levels in Rwanda. People themselves elected their governors from the cell level to the district level; except Kigali town province, where they elected up to the provincial level. Good governance means here; a democratic state, rule of law, a state with good governors or leadership, i.e. a leaders who are not divided among themselves, but work hand in hand for the better organization of Rwanda and for the better life of the future generations. This confirms the theory of democratic peace, which claims that ordinary people and not government leaders generally do the fighting, giving them the vote will reduce fighting, because people will not vote to send themselves into combat.

Rwandan leaders are preparing Rwandans people to accept that:

- * They must participate in governance i.e. they should know how to handle their own social, economic, political, administrative, judicial problems.
- * They must create institutions that help them to resolve their problems.
- * This must be added to the fact that their representatives will have no authority to oppress them (to dictate). There should rather be a way of controlling and supervising them (control and accountability). This should be indicated by control and supervision of the administrators. At present, a political mandate is not used as a personal business

(for example, the army is for all Rwandans not for the regime in power). A politician must not monopolize power for a long time, with no changeover especially when he governs badly. He cannot exclude some Rwandan citizens from sharing the national resources (equity based on equal opportunities before the law), and he must give to all Rwandan citizens equal chances in getting jobs, going to school, having basic needs and socio-economic infrastructures. Rwandans are treated in the same way and no one is discriminated against on any grounds. That is they have rights to education, press freedom culture and to participate in the choice of any religion irrespective of their status.

- **Socio-economic factors:**

- * *Economic factors.*

Within the good governance system in Rwanda, the governors are trying to promote and focus their attention on labour and encourage people, especially the youth to develop their own income and generate economic activities; to love work and create a spirit of working in associations or cooperatives. Labour practices are encouraged by promoting and allowing people to expose their talents in different fields, which develop the economy of Rwanda as a whole. This is done every year during the general sell-exposition throughout the country. They are trying to modernize cultivation methods, using animals and machines in agriculture, to set out to reduce poverty throughout the commission of poverty reduction and excessive inequalities. They are also trying to discourage, to stop or reduce the corruption system, implement a system of creating jobs, encourage privatization and economic liberalization.

They are finally promoting the economy d'echelle i.e. they are looking at the way that the Rwandan economy must be articulated. They are consolidating the disarticulation that exists between first, second and third activities sectors and are trying to create industrialized activities.

- * *Social factors.*

Here, social factors basically look at culture and education.

Culturally, there are many concrete elements, positive values in Rwanda. Rwandans are reminded by the governors throughout popular education which constitutes the basis to recover national unity (social interaction, kindness, sages, solidarity, honesty, courtesy, patience, respect and obedience, love of work, faith, language, customs and

rights, truth and patriotism). Thus, to show respect and obedience for example, young people give up their seats to elders when there is no spare seat, without considering his ethnic group. To show solidarity, Rwandan manifest solidarity to assist the needy. To support one another, they do not look at their own interest, and try to be honest and kind.

Educationally, one of the ways to help Rwandans live together peacefully is political education. Political education is given to the Rwandan people with no distinction, i.e. from the politicians to the ordinary people. They have to benefit from the popular education, the so-called “ingando”. The Rwandan popular education (ingando) focus its interest on the issues which divided Rwandan people, to the correct or right Rwandan history, democracy, justice, respect for human rights, refugees’ issues, good governance, unity and reconciliation. Popular education goes hand in hand with putting right people’s morals, conscience and ignorance, and for all people to study and to teach them how to develop themselves (self development), and patriotism.

- **Juridical factors.**

In justice, the leadership with the collaboration of the population established a state of law. Meaning that all people are equal before the law, that their rights must be respected, but without prejudice to other people’s rights. In this sense every Rwandan is equal to others. One respondent says that “*ntamuntu mwiza ubaho, ahubwo ikintu kiza kibaho ni amategeko arenganura bose kimwe mu gihugu*”, meaning that “*The perfect person does not exist; what exists in a country is good law or rules which are applicable at all people of a nation*”.

Thus, the genociders must be condemned and punished as an example according to the law and the death sentence must be passed quickly. Those who are innocent but are still in jail will be free and victims will know that the genociders were condemned. The gacaca traditional jurisdiction system must be established soon as it will bring people together to tell the truth about genociders. A mechanism should be established to clamp down on enemies of unity and justice. There should be asking for forgiveness by the genociders from the survivors. There is need for amnesty for the killers so as to achieve democracy as it is wished.

To summarize this section, the different factors for national unity are: political, juridical, social and economic. Thus with these areas, it becomes easy for Rwanda's authorities to work together with the population and collect from them different opinions and ideas for building the country. However, if the population has peace and is united, will work towards the achievement of the same goals, share the good things and same pain, look in the same direction, unite their forces, ideas, intelligence for constructing their country and protecting it and what they have built for them and the future generations.

6.4 FACTORS AFFECTING SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN RWANDA

6.4.1 Generalities

Factors for sustainable development are predominantly, a democratic state, state based on the rule of law, media freedom and most importantly the participation of the population in the management of the country. The researcher here would like to examine also what other factors lead to sustainable development especially in Rwanda.

Thus, it is the view of the researcher that the data presented here on the factors of sustainable development in Rwanda were based upon the diversity of respondent's answers and it will be used for verifying the fourth hypothesis that " the democratic state, the state based on the rule of law, media freedom and the people's participation in national planning are the factors for sustainable development in Rwanda."

This hypothesis is a compromising and complex one to verify.

Thus, after a centralized and bureaucratic regime, the present regime of national unity is struggling to build a decentralized administration system, but the process is still carrying on and has not yet completed.

The fact that the previous regimes were bureaucratic, centralized and did not promote sustainable development are the responses given to the sixth question.

Table15 Did the previous Rwandan administration system allow for sustainable development?

Answers		YES	NO	UNDECIDED	TOTAL
Respondents/Provinces					
BUTARE					
Politicians	Fr.	1	6	0	7
	%	14.3	85.7	0	100
MJC PS	Fr.	0	4	0	4
	%	0	100	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	1	16	1	18
	%	5.6	88.8	5.6	100
BYUMBA					
Politicians	Fr.	3	4	0	7
	%	42.9	57.1	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	0	4	0	4
	%	0	100	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	4	14	1	19
	%	21.1	73.7	5.2	100
KIBUNGO					
Politicians	Fr.	0	7	0	7
	%	0	100	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	0	2	2	4
	%	0	50	50	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	2	10	5	17
	%	11.8	58.8	29.4	100
KIBUYE					
Politicians	Fr.	0	7	0	7
	%	0	100	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	0	3	1	4
	%	0	75	25	100
Ordinary	Fr.	1	9	2	12

	%	8.3	75	16.7	100
KIGALI TOWN					
Politicians	Fr.	2	29	0	31
	%	6.5	93.5	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	2	9	2	13
	%	15.4	69.2	15.4	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	2	4	2	8
	%	25	50	25	100
SUMMARY					
Politicians	Fr.	6	53	0	59
	%	10.2	89.8	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	2	22	5	29
	%	6.9	75.9	17.2	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	10	53	11	74
	%	13.5	71.6	14.9	100

The results from the table above show that 53 (89,8%) of politicians, 22 (75,9%) of representatives of militaries, civil and public societies and 53 (71,6%) of ordinary population said that the Rwandan administration allows for sustainable development. The same responses were given a high level of percentage, by all respondents from all provinces. Those who responded positively to the question agreed that the ancient regime especially the Second Republic has done well in terms of developing the country. They have made asphalted roads, built administrative offices and socio-economic infrastructures (health, educational, telecommunications infrastructures).

The reasons advanced by those who responded negatively to the question are:

* There was no peace and therefore no unity. As Rabie said, peace is not only the absence of war, but also the presence of justice (Rabie, 1994:13).

Thus, as we have seen before, Rwanda was a mono-party state, and for a long time was characterized by the impunity system, ethnic segregation, regionalism, which at the end of the day generated war and genocide. Rwanda was not a democratic state, a state based on the rule of law and it had no media freedom.

* It was a bureaucratic regime and centralized. The government was the most important source of expertise and finance for socio-economic development projects.

Community and interest groups remained dependent on the government for a variety of input and services.

The population did not play any role in planning, implementing and evaluating any developmental projects. The population was passive: the government decided for them the appropriate developmental projects.

* As proof, in 1994 the people themselves destroyed many public projects imposed on them (schools, water, roads, public administrative offices).

This does not constitute sustainable development.

Thus, the system was a top-down administrative one. At a higher level of central government, decisions regarding population projects were made and transmitted to the population for execution. The communication between central government and the population was one way, not reciprocal. The information from the top to reach the population passed along a hierarchic administration line. That hierarchic line was as follows: central government to prefect of prefecture to burgomasters of communes to counselors of sectors to cells responsible and to the population for execution.

to criticize that decision even if it was unfavorable to them. That is why from the beginning the population did not consider the developmental projects done by the high level of authorities as being their own project.

With the killing of the Tutsi even if it does not make sense and has to be condemned, many people are still asking why after killing Tutsi, the killers destroyed and burnt the socio-economic public infrastructures? Is it not because those projects at the beginning were imposed on them and they did not participate in their planning, elaboration, implementation and execution? Is it not because they did consider those projects as their own projects where it was in their interest to take care of them and protect them?

Even from the beginning, they did not protect, maintain or take care of those projects. However, if the ancient administrative system did not allow for sustainable development, what about the present government?

Table 16 Does the present Rwandan administrative system allow for sustainable development?

Answers		YES	NO	UNDECIDED	TOTAL
Respondents/Provinces					
BUTARE					
Politicians	Fr.	6	1	0	7
	%	85.7	14.3	0	100
MJC PS	Fr.	4	0	0	4
	%	100	0	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	9	6	3	18
	%	50	33.3	16.7	100
BYUMBA					
Politicians	Fr.	7	0	0	7
	%	100	0	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	4	0	0	4
	%	100	0	0	100

Ordinary	Fr.	14	3	2	19
Population	%	73.7	15.8	10.5	100
KIBUNGO					
Politicians	Fr.	7	0	0	7
	%	100	0	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	3	0	1	4
	%	75	0	25	100
Ordinary	Fr.	13	3	1	17
Population	%	76.5	17.6	5.9	100
KIBUYE					
Politicians	Fr.	5	2	0	7
	%	71.4	28.6	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	4	0	0	4
	%	100	0	0	100
Ordinary	Fr.	8	3	1	12
Population	%	66.7	25	8.3	100
KIGALI TOWN					
Politicians	Fr.	6	14	11	31
	%	19.3	45.2	35.5	100
MJCPS	Fr.	5	6	2	13
	%	38.5	46.1	15.4	100
Ordinary	Fr.	2	1	5	8
Population	%	25	12.5	62.5	100
SUMMARY					
Politicians	Fr.	31	17	11	59
	%	52.5	28.8	18.7	100
MJCPS	Fr.	20	6	3	29
	%	69	20.7	10.3	100
Ordinary	Fr.	46	16	12	74
Population	%	62.6	21.6	16.2	100

Thus, it appears that the present government has learned from the mistakes of the previous regimes. Indeed, the present government is a transitional government. After

the genocide, the previous regime left the country and, the present government took power. Thus, the present government prefers to change slowly the previous administration system, which was centralized. That means the present government is using dual administrative systems: centralized (at the high level) as inherited from the ancient regimes and decentralized (at the local level).

However, from the responses compiled in summary column of table 16, 52,5% of politicians, 69% of representatives of militaries, public and civil societies and 62,2% of ordinary population confirm that the present administration system allows for sustainable development. Another majority of the same respondents in the following table no.15 said that the population of Rwanda is allowed to give their opinions and participate in national planning (89,8% of politicians, 86,2 % of representative of militaries, civil and public societies and 73% of ordinary population).

Whereas the majority of respondents in four provinces answered positively to the question, in Kigali town province, the responses were different. The majority of politicians (45.2%), militaries, journalists, civil and public societies (46.1%) said that, the present administration system does not allow for sustainable development. In the same province, 35.5% of politicians and 62.5% of ordinary population were undecided about the question.

However all respondents recognize the effort made by the present government. The present government is trying to implement an administrative system based on the participation of the population. It is a decentralized system (with a sort of local government), the system has already been implemented at local administrative levels, but still carries on in a centralized way at high levels (provinces). This system of governance is still new in Rwanda. The population does not yet understand it; so they do not participate as it was supposed to be. Their participation, contribution in the management of their region; and country is still developing. There is a hope that slowly they will understand the system and participate actively to their maximum in the management of the country, 'slowly by slowly, the bird builds its nest' as the saying in Rwanda has it. The structural functionalist theory can be applied here i.e. the political questions of "resource distribution, ownership and power have an influence on development" (Frank, 2001:3).

Table 17 Are the people allowed to give their opinions?

Answers		YES	NO	UNDECIDED	TOTAL
Respondents/Provinces					
BUTARE					
Politicians	Fr.	7	0	0	7
	%	100	0	0	100
MJC PS	Fr.	4	0	0	4
	%	100	0	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	11	5	2	18
	%	61.1	27.8	11.1	100
BYUMBA					
Politicians	Fr.	6	1	0	7
	%	85.7	14.3	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	4	0	0	4
	%	100	0	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	14	5	0	19
	%	73.7	26.3	0	100
KIBUNGO					
Politicians	Fr.	7	0	0	7
	%	100	0	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	3	1	0	4
	%	75	25	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	15	2	0	17
	%	88.2	11.8	0	100
KIBUYE					
Politicians	Fr.	6	1	0	7
	%	85.7	14.3	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	4	0	0	4
	%	100	0	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	8	4	0	12
	%	66.7	33.3	0	100

KIGALI TOWN					
Politicians	Fr.	27	4	0	31
	%	87.1	12.9	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	10	3	0	13
	%	76.9	23.1	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	6	1	1	8
	%	75	12.5	12.5	100
SUMMARY					
Politicians	Fr.	53	6	0	59
	%	89.8	10.2	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	25	4	0	29
	%	86.2	13.8	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	54	17	3	74
	%	73	23	4	100

Respondents said that, in the past, the population did not play any role in the socio-economic national planning, i.e., they did not have any chance to participate in the management of their country. Presently, they do participate through administrative organizations at the local level, elected by them, especially through C.D.C (Communauté de Développement Communal or the Communal Development Community). Indeed, the committee of eight people elected by the population at the cell level must meet with the population every fifteen days to collect populations' ideas and opinions and make a plan together for socio-economic development projects. Meanwhile, at the sector level, a similar committee has to meet the population once every month, while at the commune level the committee meets the population after every three months to study, plan and elaborate together what they can do for a socio-economic developmental project. The population is invited to give their ideas, opinions, feelings and criticisms at their maximum that they can do.

Indeed, at the higher level of national planning, like national budget, the ministry of Finance and Economic Planning is in charge of that work. The Minister does it with the collaboration of all different ministries. Then after finishing the plan, he sends the draft to the national assembly for approbation or disapprobation. Once the plan is laid out the final draft is presented to the public and national assembly. Thus, each Ministry is responsible for the projects that it presents in the national budget. Each Minister is supposed to collect the ideas from the population before presenting his budget. But according to the respondents sometimes they do not consult the people for some socio-economic activities.

Table 18 Do planners consult the population before they make an important socio-economic decision?

Answers		YES	NO	UNDECIDED	TOTAL
Respondents/Provinces					
BUTARE					
Politicians	Fr.	5	2	0	7
	%	71.4	28.6	0	100
MJC PS	Fr.	2	2	0	4
	%	50	50	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	10	7	1	18
	%	55.5	38.9	5.6	100
BYUMBA					
Politicians	Fr.	4	3	0	7
	%	57.1	42.9	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	4	0	0	4
	%	100	0	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	16	3	0	19
	%	84.2	15.8	0	100
KIBUNGO					
Politicians	Fr.	5	2	0	7

	%	71.4	28.6	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	3	1	0	4
	%	75	25	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	14	3	0	17
	%	82.4	17.6	0	100
KIBUYE					
Politicians	Fr.	5	2	0	7
	%	71.4	28.6	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	3	1	0	4
	%	75	25	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	12	0	0	12
	%	100	0	0	100
KIGALI TOWN					
Politicians	Fr.	18	13	0	31
	%	58.1	41.9	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	9	4	0	13
	%	69.2	30.8	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	7	1	0	8
	%	87.5	12.5	0	100
SUMMARY					
Politicians	Fr.	37	22	0	59
	%	62.7	37.3	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	21	8	0	29
	%	72.4	27.6	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	59	14	1	74
	%	79.7	18.9	1.4	100

According to the summary in the table above, the respondents confirmed that most of the time people are consulted; 62,7% of politicians, 72,4% of militaries, journalists, civil and public societies and 79,1% of ordinary population confirmed that. This was confirmed in the different provinces as well. This meets the criteria for a people centered development approach, which was discussed in the theoretical framework. They also added that in some instances people are not consulted for some

development projects. The reasons why the planners do not consult the population is because they underestimate them, it is expensive and takes long time. They think the population is illiterate, uneducated, ignorant and there is no short cut or channel to reach them to collect their ideas, feelings and opinions directly. To illustrate the above fact, the new system of habitation so-called "Imidugudu" a sort of village habitation, Gacaca (traditional judicial system) in which the people did not participate at all.

However, the ability of the population to express its feelings is still limited. During the public meetings they suggest and propose many socio-economic developmental projects, but nothing has been done yet. Indeed, some projects are imposed on them without their participation in planning and implementation. For that, the reaction of the population is bad, this is confirmed by 55,9% of politicians, 51,7% of the representatives of militaries, public and civil societies and 54,1% of ordinary population, who refuse the project, destroy the infrastructure or refuse the maintenance of the project. The following table gives more details on the issue.

Table 19 What are the people's reactions when they are not consulted?

Answers		Good	Bad	Indifferent	TOTAL
Respondents/Provinces					
BUTARE					
Politicians	Fr.	3	4	0	7
	%	42.9	57.1	0	100
MJC PS	Fr.	0	2	2	4
	%	0	50	50	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	2	7	9	18
	%	11.1	38.9	50	100
BYUMBA					
Politicians	Fr.	0	6	1	7
	%	0	85.7	14.3	100
MJCPS	Fr.	2	2	0	4
	%	50	50	0	100

Ordinary Population	Fr.	3	8	8	19
	%	15.8	42.1	42.1	100
KIBUNGO					
Politicians	Fr.	1	6	0	7
	%	14.3	85.7	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	1	1	2	4
	%	25	25	50	
Ordinary Population	Fr.	3	10	4	17
	%	17.6	58.8	23.6	100
KIBUYE					
Politicians	Fr.	1	4	2	7
	%	14.3	57.1	28.6	100
MJCPS	Fr.	1	3	0	4
	%	25	75	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	3	8	1	12
	%	25	66.7	8.3	100
KIGALI TOWN					
Politicians	Fr.	2	13	16	31
	%	6.5	41.9	51.6	100
MJCPS	Fr.	0	7	6	13
	%	0	53.8	46.2	
Ordinary Population	Fr.	1	7	0	8
	%	12.5	87.5	0	100
SUMMARY					
Politicians	Fr.	7	33	19	59
	%	11.9	55.9	32.2	100
MJCPS	Fr.	4	15	10	29
	%	13.8	51.7	34.5	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	12	40	22	74
	%	16.2	54.1	29.7	100

Concerning the well being of the Rwandans, all respondents from all provinces confirmed, that the basic needs of Rwandans are not satisfied i.e. 100% of politicians, 100% of militaries, journalists, public and civil societies representatives and 100% of ordinary population. The table following clarifies the situation.

Table 20 Are the basic needs of people sufficient?

Answers		YES	NO	UNDECIDED	TOTAL
Respondents/Provinces					
BUTARE					
Politicians	Fr.	0	7	0	7
	%	0	100	0	100
MJC PS	Fr.	0	4	0	4
	%	0	100	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	0	18	0	18
	%	0	100	0	100
BYUMBA					
Politicians	Fr.	0	7	0	7
	%	0	100	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	0	4	0	4
	%	0	100	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	0	19	0	19
	%	0	100	0	100
KIBUNGO					
Politicians	Fr.	0	7	0	7
	%	0	100	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	0	4	0	4
	%	0	100	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	0	17	0	17
	%	0	100	0	100
KIBUYE					

Politicians	Fr.				
	%	0	100	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	0	4	0	4
	%	0	100	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	0	12	0	12
	%	0	100	0	100
KIGALI TOWN					
Politicians	Fr.	0	31	0	31
	%	0	100	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	0	13	0	13
	%	0	100	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	0	8	0	8
	%	0	100	0	100
SUMMARY					
Politicians	Fr.	0	59	0	59
	%	0	100	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	0	29	0	29
	%	0	100	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	0	74	0	74
	%	0	100	0	100

Thus, 94,9% of politicians, 93,1% of representatives of militaries, public and civil societies and 87,8% of ordinary population declared that the present governors are not proud of the Rwandans' socio-economic situation i.e. the governors take note of the population's basic needs. This shows how much the present government prides itself on taking care of the population's basic needs.

The answer is in the following table.

Table 21 Are the governors proud of the population's basic need?

Answers	YES	NO	UNDECIDED	TOTAL
Respondents/Provinces				
BUTARE				

Politicians	Fr.				
	%	0	85.7	14.3	100
MJC PS	Fr.	0	4	0	4
	%	0	100	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	0	18	0	18
	%	0	100	0	100
BYUMBA					
Politicians	Fr.	0	7	0	7
	%	0	100	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	0	4	0	4
	%	0	100	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	0	16	3	19
	%	0	84.2	15.8	100
KIBUNGO					
Politicians	Fr.	0	7	0	7
	%	0	100	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	0	3	1	4
	%	0	75	25	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	0	13	4	17
	%	0	76.5	23.5	100
KIBUYE					
Politicians	Fr.	0	7	0	7
	%	0	100	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	0	4	0	4
	%	0	100	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	0	10	2	12
	%	0	83.3	16.7	100
KIGALI TOWN					
Politicians	Fr.	0	29	2	31
	%	0	93.5	6.5	100
MJCPS	Fr.	0	12	1	13

	%	0	92.3	7.7	100
Ordinary	Fr.	0	8	0	8
Population	%	0	100	0	100
SUMMARY					
	Fr.	0	56	3	59
Politicians	%	0	94.9	5.1	100
MJCPS	Fr.	0	27	2	29
	%	0	93.1	6.9	100
Ordinary	Fr.	0	65	9	74
Population	%	0	87.8	12.2	100

Moreover, different respondents from different provinces, 98,3% of politicians, 100% of militaries, public and civil societies and 97,3% of ordinary population confirmed that the basic socioeconomic infrastructures are not enough because of the 1990 war and 1994 genocide. That war and genocide destroyed and damaged what little socioeconomic infrastructure and developmental projects Rwanda had.

Table 22 Are the basic socioeconomic infrastructures sufficient?

Answers		YES	NO	UNDECIDED	TOTAL
Respondents/Provinces					
BUTARE					
Politicians	Fr.	0	7	0	7
	%	0	100	0	100
MJC PS	Fr.	0	4	0	4
	%	0	100	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	0	18	0	18
	%	0	100	0	100
BYUMBA					
Politicians	Fr.	0	7	0	7
	%	0	100	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	0	4	0	4

	%	0	100	0	100
Ordinary	Fr.	0	19	0	19
Population	%	0	100	0	100
KIBUNGO					
Politicians	Fr.	0	7	0	7
	%	0	100	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	0	4	0	4
	%	0	100	0	100
Ordinary	Fr.	0	17	0	17
Population	%	0	100	0	100
KIBUYE					
Politicians	Fr.	0	7	0	7
	%	0	100	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	0	4	0	4
	%	0	100	0	100
Ordinary	Fr.	0	10	2	12
Population	%	0	83.3	16.7	100
KIGALI TOWN					
Politicians	Fr.	0	30	1	31
	%	0	96.8	3.2	100
MJCPS	Fr.	0	13	0	13
	%	0	100	0	100
Ordinary	Fr.	0	8	0	8
Population	%	0	100	0	100
SUMMARY					
Politicians	Fr.	0	58	1	59
	%	0	98.3	1.7	100
MJCPS	Fr.	0	29	0	29
	%	0	100	0	100
Ordinary	Fr.	0	72	2	74
Population	%	0	97.3	2.7	100

The above results show the negative impact that Rwandan's conflict had on its population; which survived due to external donation, aid and debts. Unfortunately, the heavy debts, that Rwanda has incurred were contracted by the former government and have been used in buying guns and other weapons to kill the population, and to destroy the socio-economic infrastructures.

For a durable and sustained development, the respondents agreed that the socio-economic project plan elaborated within people's participation would be durable and look towards the future generation. Thus, 100% of politician respondents, 100% of military, public and civil societies and 94,6% of ordinary population were in agreement.

Table 23 Which plans take into consideration or look towards the future generation?

Answers		A	B	UNDECIDED	TOTAL
Respondents/Provinces					
BUTARE					
Politicians	Fr.	0	7	0	7
	%	0	100	0	100
MJC PS	Fr.	0	4	0	4
	%	0	100	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	0	18	0	18
	%	0	100	0	100
BYUMBA					
Politicians	Fr.	0	7	0	7
	%	0	100	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	0	4	0	4
	%	0	100	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	0	19	0	19
	%	0	100	0	100
KIBUNGO					
Politicians	Fr.	0	7	0	7

	%	0	100	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	0	4	0	4
	%	0	100	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	0	17	0	17
	%	0	100	0	100
KIBUYE					
Politicians	Fr.	0	7	0	7
	%	0	100	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	0	4	0	4
	%	0	100	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	0	12	0	12
	%	0	100	0	100
KIGALI TOWN					
Politicians	Fr.	0	31	0	31
	%	0	100	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	0	13	0	13
	%	0	100	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	0	8	0	8
	%	0	100	0	100
SUMMARY					
Politicians	Fr.	0	59	0	59
	%	0	100	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	0	29	0	29
	%	0	100	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	4	70	0	74
	%	5.4	94.6	0	100

Looking at why people's participation is most important for durable development, the respondents said that development issues affect people. They know what they want most according to their feelings and they have a vested interest in determining how to solve developmental issues around them. If many projects often do not impact

positively on the population, it is because those who make decisions about the implementation of the projects are not the ones they are meant for.

Responding to the main question, on factors for sustainable development in Rwanda, the respondents provided the responses, which are depicted in the following table.

6.4.2 Factors for sustainable development in Rwanda.

Table 24 The factors for sustainable development in Rwanda.

Answers		YES	NO	UNDECIDED	TOTAL
Respondents/Provinces					
BUTARE					
Politicians	Fr.	5	2	0	7
	%	71.4	28.6	0	100
MJC PS	Fr.	3	1	0	4
	%	75	25	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	13	5	0	18
	%	72.2	27.8	0	100
BYUMBA					
Politicians	Fr.	3	4	0	7
	%	42.9	57.1	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	3	1	0	4
	%	75	25	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	10	9	0	19
	%	52.6	47.4	0	100
KIBUNGO					
Politicians	Fr.	4	3	0	7
	%	57.1	42.9	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	2	2	0	4
	%	50	50	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	11	6	0	17
	%	64.7	35.3	0	100
KIBUYE					

Politicians	Fr.				
	%	28.6	71.4	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	2	2	0	4
	%	50	50	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	5	7	0	12
	%	41.6	58.4	0	100
KIGALI TOWN					
Politicians	Fr.	24	6	1	31
	%	77.4	19.4	3.2	100
MJCPS	Fr.	11	2	0	13
	%	84.6	15.4	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	8	0	0	8
	%	100	0	0	100
SUMMARY					
Politicians	Fr.	38	20	1	59
	%	64.4	33.9	1.7	100
MJCPS	Fr.	21	8	0	29
	%	72.4	27.6	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	47	27	0	74
	%	63.5	36.5	0	100

As shown in table 24, the democratic state, the state based on the rule of law, media freedom and people's participation, are factors for sustainable development that are present in Rwanda. This was confirmed by 64,4% of politicians, 72,4% representatives of militaries, public and civil societies and 63,5% of ordinary population in the summary column.

But considering the responses from different provinces, some of the respondents see things in a different way. For example, 57.1% of politicians in Byumba's province, 50% of militaries, journalists, civil and public societies in Kibungo province and 71.4% of politicians, 50% of militaries, journalist, civil and public societies and 58.4% of ordinary people said that those factors are not present in Rwanda.

To motivate their point of view, the respondents who answered positively to the question, said that before the genocide, Rwanda was not a democratic state, was not based on the rule of law and did not have media freedom. The people were not involved in the management of the country; in fact there was no people's participation in the country's management. But today, Rwanda is becoming a democratic state, a state based on the rule of law with media freedom. They recognized that Rwanda has not yet successfully achieved people's participation; the struggle continues and the present Rwandan authorities and the people are determined to achieve it.

Focusing on democracy in Rwanda, the researcher quotes statements made by different people (most of them politicians), who participated in reflection meetings held in the office of the president of the republic of Rwanda (1999:44-45), from May 1998 to March 1999. These statements support the 'people-centered development' approach, which is described in the previous chapter. These statements include the needs, wants and wishes that the Rwandan administrators or leaders wished to have in Rwanda for its prosperity, success and development.

"...the meeting supported in general the explanation given on the word democracy (government of the people, by the people and for the people).

In this explanation, it is clear that democracy is government favoring the people and their interests. No government would say that it is based on democracy if the people do not participate in it or if it does not protect their interests.

"...democracy is the relationship between the citizen and government. It is the way of feeling, of working and how government is, when we consider it politically".

Regarding democracy, which is suitable to Rwanda, and the actions to be carried out for democracy to be established, they said:

"To give the floor and freedom to the people, so that they can talk about their problem and how they can be solved. A Rwandan citizen has never been given the floor, he has always been waiting for instructions from his superiors and he has always been guided by them. It is necessary, therefore, to look for "mechanisms" of giving the floor to the people.

- There must also be training for the people in order to raise their awareness of talking about their problems and looking for the solutions to them.

- Because “leaders” have much responsibility for the people, training for those leaders must be prepared (cadreship, political school).
- To find how the people can elect their leaders for basic structures
- To examine the existing political parties and the role they should play” (Republic of Rwanda office of the president of the Republic, 1999; 46)

Talking about political parties in Rwanda, they said that, “ as it happens in many African countries in which political parties are often based on tribes, regions, religious confessions etc...” you find that in Rwanda, “ the existing political parties have the ethnical problem. Our political parties seem not to be interested by the people’s daily needs and problems” (Republic of Rwanda, office of the president of the Republic, 1999; 46).

They concluded that, democracy which is suitable for Rwanda is “ the one which makes Rwandans really participate in the way they are governed and in deciding the actions regarding them, which was then called “ participatory democracy” in fact that democracy must be based on Rwandans’ problems and finding solutions to them. To enable the people to participate in nation building there is the need for political leaders to be elected from the grass root levels.

(Republic of Rwanda, office of the president of the Republic, 1999; 47).

Indeed most of these ideas, which seem to be the recommendations from that meeting are well implemented and applied in Rwanda.

6.4.3 Others factors affecting sustainable development in Rwanda.

About the eighth question, which concerns the other ingredients for Rwandan’s sustainable development, the respondents cited:

- **Good governance;**
- **Popular education;**
- **Total security;**
- **National unity and**
- **Peace.**

These factors are quite important for bringing about sustainable development in Rwanda. These factors can be grouped in two categories.

The first category includes administrative issues and is composed of good governance and popular education. The second category includes total security, national unity and peace and is viewed as social issues.

6.4.3.1. Administrative issues.

This point which, is composed of good governance and popular education as a factor of sustainable development means that, the governors through administrative institutions allow people to participate in governance and in determining activities which concern them. The governors will promote and facilitate the people to create freely the administrative institutions, which allow and help them to achieve and reach a better social life i.e. having socio-economic health, education, living houses, telecommunication, water, electricity infrastructures and the means to protect those infrastructures.

However, in Rwanda the decentralized administrative system, which characterizes good governance, is still new. But Rwandan leaders are trying to bring education to the mass of people through popular education “ingando”; and are initiating the people into the new system of good governance. Now people are participating actively in the way they are being governed and they can determine activities, which concern them. With government’s help, they have rehabilitated and built new houses, educational, health, telecommunication facilities. They feel owners of those infrastructures, so they protect them.

6.4.3.2. Social issues.

Factors falling under the social category, especially national unity are imperative for sustainable development. A country can achieve its internal and external security and people live peacefully. But without unity among people, they do not have a common goal or objectives and do not work together for national interests for building their nation for the future generation. So unity is a crucial point or element for the construction and protection of the country and for its sustainable development.

A country that wants development to be sustainable must first seek to unify its people, then, control its internal and external security for people and their interests and this will bring peace in the country.

Indeed, focusing on the Rwanda's case, the achievement of its internal and external security brought peace, social cohesion and unity among Rwandan people. So far people have worked together in terms of the achievement of sustainable development. For instance, after the 1994 genocide, many ordinary people, genociders and ex-former military army (F.A.R) fled the country to the neighboring countries. In the refugees' camps, they were taught the hatred policy of exterminating people who were living in Rwanda and destroying completely their properties. Based in the D.R.C they started the system of infiltration. The infiltrators were disturbing Rwandan security. In 1996 the Rwandan government decided to destroy these refugee camps and brought back some of the refugees to Rwanda; however some of them disappeared in the D.R.C's forests. In reality, infiltrators started organizing their forces together at the end of 1996 and at the beginning of 1997. Again the infiltrators started attacking the country and the people who supported them from inside the country started:

- setting fire to communal offices, schools, and the like,
- killing their colleagues,
- destroying roads and bridges, and
- setting fire to vehicles after killing passengers on public roads.

The infiltrators disturbed and terrified people especially in the North-West of Rwanda. The consequences of these actions were great i.e. economically, the people did not cultivate as they used to do, which led to shortage of food.

Socially, relationships among people decreased, since many lives and materials were lost. The Rwandan people lived without hope, security, peace and unity.

However, with the collaboration of the people, the Rwandan government stopped the actions of infiltration and established national security. So, now Rwandans who are living in the country enjoy peace and security. They are engaging in their activities as they used to do before the infiltrator's arrived. According to the responses collected from the respondents, Rwanda is a democratic state, based on the rule of law and has

media freedom. However the people's participation in country's life, national planning is at the low level and the process continues.

Other factors that facilitate sustainable development, which the respondents added are good governance, popular education, security, peace and unity.

The hypothesis that the democratic state, a state based on the rule of law, media freedom, people's participation in national planning (even if this is still at the low level in Rwanda), good governance, popular education, security, peace and unity are imperative for sustainable development in Rwanda was confirmed by the respondents. However, national unity has been cited by the respondents among the different factors, which have an impact on sustainable development in Rwanda.

The following constitutes an examination of the crucial hypothesis about the impact of national unity on sustainable development in Rwanda.

6.5 THE IMPACT OF RWANDAN NATIONAL UNITY ON SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

This section constitutes a verification of the fifth objective 'identifying the impact that national unity has on sustainable development in Rwanda' and the hypothesis 'the democratic state, based on the rule of law, media freedom and people's participation in national planning are the factors that influence sustainable development' as well. Before measuring the impact of national unity, let us start by surveying the consequences of Rwandan conflict on socio-economic development.

6.5.1 The consequences of Rwandan conflict on socio-economic and developmental well being.

As was discussed in the Third chapter, conflicts have positive as well as negative consequences. In Rwanda, negative consequences exceed the positive ones. None of the positive consequences of conflict can fit the Rwandan situation. It does not either serve as a "safety valve" to bring together Rwandan tribes, establish and maintain Rwandan group identity or serve to increase intra-group cohesion.

Negative consequences of Rwandan conflicts are many. But before looking at them, let us look at the typology and form of Rwandan conflicts.

6.5.1.1 Typology of Rwandan conflicts.

As was seen previously, dilemmas and disputes are two basic elements in the typology of conflict. The Rwandan conflict is categorized as a dispute conflict. It is a social conflict between Rwandan ethnic groups, and not a psychological conflict.

6.5.1.2 Form of Rwandan conflict.

From the previous discussion on conflict in chapter Three, the Rwandan conflict might be categorized as “intra-group conflict”, because it is a competition amongst ethnic groups. According to direct or structural conflict, the Rwandan conflict, which was a structural conflict at the end of the day, became direct conflict. Thus, the Rwandan conflict was working through the social system and harmed some people indirectly. Education seems to play a big role in a family’s economic well being. The more you study, the more you increase or maximize your chance of improving the standard of your family. The political system of equilibrium (system by which ethnic groups and regions receive jobs, socio-economic infrastructure, go to secondary and tertiary schools, participate in the army, according to the percentage that they have in the general population, and not according to their capacity) as established by the second regime, denied some people their rights to continue or pursue studies. That had a serious negative economic impact on the families of those people who were denied the chance to pursue their studies. As a result, many families in Rwanda died of malnutrition, hunger or are poor and illiterate. By that time, they were also victims of political violence, because of repression and deprivation of freedom and violation of human rights in general. Especially the Tutsi suffered this.

However it is the kind of structural conflict, which took place in Rwanda that leads to direct conflict. This is characterized by the different Rwandan wars culminating in the 1994 genocide during which people were killed, injured, tortured in general and their rights were violated. It was a sort of close physical violence, eyeball to eyeball between the killers and victims.

The negative consequences of this type and form of Rwandan conflict on socioeconomic structures and development are many. When asked what are the

consequences of Rwanda's conflict on the socio-economic well-being and development of Rwandans, the respondents mentioned the following:

- **Social consequences.**

The most valuable and great resource, that a country can have is its own population. So investing in its human resources should be the first aim.

The first thing that the Rwandan conflict damaged and destroyed was her people. Since the beginning of the Rwandan conflict during its repeated wars, Rwanda has lost many people. Many of them were killed and others fled the country. The biggest loss that Rwanda has experienced was the killing of about one million Tutsi and some Hutu close to Tutsi during the genocide of 1994.

The most significant consequences of Rwandan conflict are the different wars, the genocide and lost of human.

However, the other consequences, which are directly related to the Rwandan conflict, especially to the genocide are:

- * Many prisoners were presumed guilty of genocide (about 114,000.00)
- * Many refugees were created and displaced with the destruction of natural resources.
- * Broken relationships, friendships, misunderstandings and repeated conflicts between Hutu and Tutsi ethnic groups.
- * Destruction and disturbance of Rwandan society in general and Rwandan families in particular. Thus, due to the Rwandan conflict, especially during the wars and genocide, many Rwandan families were destroyed. Some of the families were divorced (Tutsi and Hutu's couples in general), others lost each other on the way to and from the refugee camps, whereas others died and left behind many orphans and widows or widowers.
- * Traumatization of survivors after the genocide
- * Poverty, disability (handicap) among people.
- * Students stopped going to school.
- * Tourism and other activities related to tourism stopped also.
- * Many private and public offices did not reopen after the genocide: judiciaries, hospitals, schools, commune's offices.

*Destruction of public socio-economic infrastructures like roads, bridges, hospitals, schools, electrical and water infrastructures, public offices, telecommunication infrastructures and market infrastructures.

* Destruction of Rwandan culture; some of Rwanda's positive values were not respected.

- **Economic consequences are:**

* Referring to table No 9 in chapter Four (which indicates the Rwandan economic loss due to the genocide of 1994), the Rwandan conflicts especially the 1994 genocide caused a serious decline in the Rwandan economy.

* Decline of Rwandan production, consumption and reserve.

* Decline of cash crops, which resulted in declining export products.

* Famine and poverty of people because of disturbance due to the war. They do not work, so do not produce.

* Lack of internal and external investments. The investors are not interested in investing in Rwanda because Rwanda's future is not certain. The impact of this is that, there are no new jobs, no foreign currency exchange, no production and the country survives on importing everything. The country's economy is turned towards to the external.

* The effect of war and genocide always necessitates the reconstruction of the country. The country spends a lot of money and energy in reconstruction to the detriment of new socio-economic developmental activities.

* The people are desperate, they are disappointed and do not work at their maximum or do not plan for the long term (future), because they are not sure if what they plan to build will not be destroyed anytime by another war.

- **The political consequences are:**

* Destruction of Rwandan political institutions: legislative, administrative and judicial powers.

* Destruction of Rwandan political parties. Some of Rwandan political parties were broken up, and others refused to work in the Rwandan territory.

* Rwandan people do not have any confidence in the governors, because those who came before them disappointed them, because they encouraged and led them in the genocide; thus they do not know who amongst them is preaching the true political program.

- ❖ The problem of power. If for instance the president is a Hutu then, the government is seen as a Hutu regime. The Hutu or Tutsi and Twa complain and claim that the government is not favoring their side, so that is unjust.
- ❖ The problem of Hutu and Tutsi land in the region of the great lakes. The region is divided into two parts. One part supports the Hutu because they feel that they look like the Hutu and share a common origin and the other part supports the Tutsi for the same reasons.

Indeed, all these socio-economic and political consequences play a great role in the durability of Rwanda's developmental project. Because of Rwanda's conflict, many developmental projects were destroyed; others have not been revived and those that have are not successful. The population does not have common goals or objectives and does not plan together for any durable societal projects that their future generations should benefit from. It is difficult to ascertain their feelings, ideas, and opinions when they are divided.

This is confirmed by the following responses:

Table 25 To what extent does the conflict hinder the collection of people's opinions and ideas?

Answers		YES	NO	UNDECIDED	TOTAL
Respondents/Provinces					
BUTARE					
Politicians	Fr.	0	7	0	7
	%	0	100	0	100
MJC PS	Fr.	2	2	0	4
	%	50	50	0	100
Ordinary population	Fr.	0	18	0	18

	%	0	100	0	100
BYUMBA					
Politicians	Fr.	0	7	0	7
	%	0	100	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	0	4	0	4
	%	0	100	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	1	18	0	19
	%	5.3	94.7	0	100
KIBUNGO					
Politicians	Fr.	3	4	0	7
	%	42.9	57.1	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	0	4	0	4
	%	0	100	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	0	17	0	17
	%	0	100	0	100
KIBUYE					
Politicians	Fr.	2	5	0	7
	%	28.6	71.4	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	0	4	0	4
	%	0	100	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	3	9	0	12
	%	25	75	0	100
KIGALI TOWN					
Politicians	Fr.	1	29	1	31
	%	3.2	93.6	3.2	100
MJCPS	Fr.	0	13	0	13
	%	0	100	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	0	8	0	8
	%	0	100	0	100
SUMMARY		6	52	1	59
Politicians	Fr.				

	%	10.2	88.1	1.7	100
MJCPS	Fr.	2	27	0	29
	%	6.9	93.1	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	4	70	0	74
	%	5.4	94.6	0	100

From the table above 88,1% of politicians, 93,1% of representatives of militaries, public and civil societies and 94,6% of the ordinary population investigated stated that it is not possible to collect people's opinions, ideas while they are in conflict, i.e. while they are disunited. This was also confirmed by respondents in each province. The reasons advanced by all respondents are that "when you are in an open conflict, you cannot sit down together and discuss a common problem or societal project and come up with a solution for it". One group will always have a tendency to reject or refuse what the other group proposes as a solution or as a developmental project. The groups will always be in opposition. The person who is in charge of elaborating or collecting those ideas, feelings and opinions has also a problem because of his being a member of one of those groups. He is seen as if he has sympathy or he is favoring his group. In other words who is impartial enough and will be in charge of collecting these ideas?

Moreover, the population does not tell the truth, they have a tendency to say or to propose what they judge is good and convenient to themselves and ignore the ideas of the opposite group. The dominant group always tends to impose their ideas even if they are wrong.

However, after this review of the consequences of Rwandan conflict on socio-economic well being, the following lines describe the impact that national unity has on sustainable development in Rwanda.

6.5.2 The impact of national unity on sustainable development in Rwanda.

The preceding discussion described the consequences of Rwandan conflict (considered as national disunity) on the socio-economic well-being of its people. The

impact of national unity on sustainable development should be taken as the positive side of these consequences of national disunity.

Thus to start with the impact, the first and most important thing confirmed by the respondents with regard to national unity, is that Rwandan national unity leads to sustainable development.

That statement was given by 100% of all respondents investigated and is clarified in the following table.

Table 26 Is Rwanda's unity leading to sustainable development?

Answers		YES	NO	UNDECIDED	TOTAL
Respondents/Provinces					
BUTARE					
Politicians	Fr.	7	0	0	7
	%	100	0	0	100
MJC PS	Fr.	4	0	0	4
	%	100	0	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	18	0	0	18
	%	100	0	0	100
BYUMBA					
Politicians	Fr.	7	0	0	7
	%	100	0	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	4	0	0	4
	%	100	0	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	19	0	0	19
	%	100	0	0	100
KIBUNGO					
Politicians	Fr.	7	0	0	7
	%	100	0	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	4	0	0	4
	%	100	0	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	17	0	0	17
	%	100	0	0	100

	%	100	0	0	100
KIBUYE					
Politicians	Fr.	7	0	0	7
	%	100	0	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	4	0	0	4
	%	100	0	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	12	0	0	12
	%	100	0	0	100
KIGALI TOWN					
Politicians	Fr.	31	0	0	31
	%	100	0	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	13	0	0	13
	%	100	0	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	8	0	0	8
	%	100	0	0	100
SUMMARY					
Politicians	Fr.	59	0	0	59
	%	100	0	0	100
MJCPS	Fr.	29	0	0	29
	%	100	0	0	100
Ordinary Population	Fr.	74	0	0	74
	%	100	0	0	100

Respondents cited the following as the impact of national unity on sustainable development in Rwanda. For Rwanda's national unity to be strong and complete it will have to be as a result of a long process, which cannot be achieved in a short period of seven years. However there are some minimal signs of unity among Rwandans like a sense of security, peace and cohabitation. From the above table, the researcher assumes that national cohabitation is a good sign and an element for national unity, which is still at the growing stage, but will become stronger with time.

Indeed as Stewart (1997:1) defined development as a positive social, economic and political change in a country or community, the researcher views the impact of

national unity on sustainable development in Rwanda as the improvement of the social, economic and political sectors due to the improvement of national unity. The researcher presumes that, the improvement of Rwanda in social, economic and political sector is durable and will benefit the future generations because of national unity.

Thus, the following discusses the impact of national unity on sustainable development as regards the social, economic and political domains.

- **Social domain.**

Rwanda's population has a common goal and objectives, and shares every thing (country, life and death). The people have social cohesion, feel like they have an obligation to protect their country against enemies (internal and external) and against those who destroy their properties. They protect whatever they have built for themselves and for the future generations. An example is when the northern people collaborated with the present military to fight the infiltrators (abacengezi) from the D.R.C. They worked together, hand in hand to rebuild their "nation state". Each person brought his contribution (material or good ideas, ideology or knowledge), and joined together with others to reconstruct the nation. So far the people understand why they must protect these projects because they know how much pain, difficulty and cost in terms of energy and money it takes to build a country. They therefore protect the developmental projects that they build against the enemies whose intention is to destroy them.

The population is the most important factor for the development of the country. As the Secretary of State of Local Government and Social Affairs minister said during the interview and as has been seen in literature review, after loosing one million of its people during the genocide of 1994, Rwandan demography has been raised. i.e. increased from 7.15 millions to 7.56 millions. This was due to the fact that many refugees came back home after a long time in exile. They now form one population, the family of Banyarwanda. According to the interview with the Secretary of State of the minister of National Education, national education after the genocide, due to the unity of Rwandan has been considerably improved. In formal education, for example,

in primary school the ministry has rehabilitated 98% of primary schools and built 22 new ones. The number of teachers and pupils has increased i.e. 1,171 teachers and 87,920 pupils. The rate of qualified teachers also increased. It passed from 50% to 50.8%. Didactic material equivalent of \$ 150 millions was distributed equitably to the needy primary schools. The education in secondary school has also improved.

The number of students has increased by 10%, due to the opening of eight new secondary schools. The number of qualified teachers, which was 26% has increased to 46%. Many others have received workshop training.

In tertiary education, there was one public university (National University of Rwanda), and now there are five new public institutes (ISP, ISAE, KIST, KHI, ISFP). There were also, three private institutes (University of Adventist of Mudende, Grand Seminary of Nyakibanda and Faculty of Theology of Butare), and there are now two new private universities (ULK, UNILAK), and one new institute (ISPG).

In informal education, according to the interview with the Secretary of State of the ministry of Local Government and Social Affairs, the illiterate population has receive popular education through C.C.D.F.P (Centre Communal de Développement et de Formation Permanente) and C.F.D.F.P (Centre Préfectoral de Développement et de formation Permanente). The rate of illiteracy which, was 70%, is now 52%. For the development of human resources, seminars, workshops, training schools in different sectors for different workers were organized, to enhance their quality of work. The rate of unemployment has declined by -10%.

In the health sector 21 new sanitary infrastructures were built and another 16 were reconstructed. Many medical workers have received training in schools, and workshops and others were sent outside the country for studies. The rate of HIV/AIDS has decreased because the authorities enhanced the campaign against HIV/AIDS through their speeches and the anti-AIDS program.

In tourism, the national park of Akagera and Nyungwe forest were given delimitation (new boards), and many trees were planted during the day of tree planting.

In the transport sector, the asphalted road which links Gitarama to Kibuye's provinces was constructed, whereas the roads from Kigali to Gatuna and from Kigali to Gitarama were reconstructed. There was also the maintenance of 1800km of non-

asphalted roads and the reconstruction of bridges in Kigali, Gitarama, Byumba and Ruhengeri's provinces.

In the communication sector, the telecommunication, which was initially in the hands of the public service only, is now open to the private sector. The new company of telecommunication (M.T.N-RWANDACEL) opened its business. A new post office has been built, and offers services such as the distribution of mail, public phones, fax and internet. Almost 5000 houses have been built, and another 450 have been reconstructed for the survivors of genocide. Many families especially those who live in imidugudu (new system of inhabitation in village) have received cleaner water as well as electricity. Actually 42% of Rwandans use cleaner water, and electricity distribution and consumption are now at 70% at pre-war levels.

- **Economic domain.**

Rwanda now has a good standing internationally, so that it attracts the external market and motivates the internal investors. They are guaranteed that whatever they build in Rwandan will not be suddenly destroyed. Due to this guarantee, M.T.N-RWANDACEL telecommunication's company launched its activities and it is succeeding. Many public institutions owned by the state were sold to local or international companies or individuals through the privatization politics (from the interview with the Secretary of State of Finance and Economic Planning, 25 out of 54 i.e. 46.3% public institutions were privatized). People are busy engaging in their own activities, so that they can increase their production, consumption and reserves, i.e. stocks. For example as said by the Secretary of State of Finance and Economic Planning in the interview, the gross domestic product (G.D.P) increased at the rate of 11%, inflation is 4% and the economy in general has reached the stage of 94% compared with the period before genocide. He added that the economy reached 97% of its 1990 level. Also it was the first time since the 1994 genocide that the economy experienced positive domestic savings of 4.6% of G.D.P, and for the second consecutive year a positive real interest rate. The households below the poverty line were estimated at 53% in 1993, 78% in 1994, dropped down to 65% in 1999. The main sources of growth were agriculture at 8.4% and construction at 11.8%. The government revenue as a percentage of GDP rose from 6.9% in 1995 to 10.5% in

1998 and 10.3% in 1999. Regarding public expenditure, in 1999 the budget allocations to the social sector increased significantly to about 4.6% of GDP from only 2.0% in 1996. The government is committed to safeguarding social spending and closely monitoring social sector performance.

For more information on the improvement of Rwandan economy due to national unity, and how it improved in only two years after genocide see the results presented in the table No 9 on 'economic loss dues to the genocide of 1994' in the previous chapter of the literature review.

- **Political domain.**

Rwanda's political system, which was for a long time a mono-party system became multi-party (there are now eight recognized political parties and there is power sharing). The administrative organization, which was centralized and bureaucratic, became decentralized. Now, cells, sectors, communes and prefectures elect representatives as was discussed in the previous chapters. In the sphere of justice, Rwanda was characterized by the impunity system and now is a stable society based on the rule of law. Rwanda's population hold power in various domains because they are now united. That power allows the people to give their ideas, opinions, criticisms freely. Rwandans elect the person, that they feel will collaborate freely with them, understand their feelings, problems and ideas and put them into practice. Rwandans in collaboration with authorities build the national institutions (legislative, administrative and executive), and they feel that are in conformity with their feelings. They also feel that they have the right to destroy or to change these institutions if they do not accomplish their goals in the right time and in interests of the whole nation. The Rwandan population is not facing the problem of politicians who want only to be in power. This is because previously in Rwanda the major cause of Rwandan divisions or conflicts was the hunger for power among politicians.

The politicians to gain power used the fact of ethnic groups. Many of them did not even have a societal project or program. If it was a Hutu politician who wanted to be in power or a Tutsi, the first thing that he did was to motivate the members of his

unity for sustainable development.

Contradictory to the previous regimes, the present regime makes an effort to bring together Rwandans and promote national unity. They know and are convinced that it is the master key, the only hope for sustainable development in Rwanda.

National unity as well as sustainable development is not something that one can achieve overnight. It is a long process and needs time, legislation and popular determination and the will to achieve it. Referring to the previous discussion, there is a “**national cohabitation**” in Rwanda besides the determined efforts made by the present government, to promote and to bring back unity among Rwandans. In this struggle to guide Rwandans to the achievement of national unity and to sustainable development as well, the present regime has done a lot of positive things as was confirmed by all respondents to the question about the effort made by the present government for initiating national unity as well as for sustainable development. To achieve the challenge of national unity among Rwandan people for sustainable development, the present government:

- Decided to work in transparency to avoid the system of favouritism, which depended on relationships not on the merit. To have a job now one must pass a test for evaluating ones knowledge. The government created the Commission of anti-corruption. To help this Commission, it established also different secretaries to limit those who are involved in corruption. There are then, privatisation (in charge of privatising state’s institutions), tender board (in charge of giving state’s market) secretaries, Rwanda Revenue Authority (in charge of national revenue) and National Educational commission (in charge of evaluating pupils and scholars).
- Created different commissions with the intention of preserving national unity. These commission are:
 - * Commission of National Unity and Reconciliation;
 - * Commission of Human Rights;
 - * Commission of Poverty Reduction.

- Created a mechanism of popular education, through seminars, conferences, debates on national Rwandan broadcasting radio and television, journals, political schools (ingando), different meetings with the population, specially the one, which was held in the President's office from July 1999 to March 2000. Talking about ingando, the respondents said that the philosophy of ingando is to give every Rwandan the chance of knowing the Rwandan social, economic, political, administrative and developmental problems and how to solve them themselves as Rwandans. So, the program taught in ingando concerns Rwandan national unity, the causes of Rwandan division, the value of sustainable development and good governance.
- Made an effort to bring back internal national security so that peace and unity might prevail.
- Reintegrated the former soldiers (ex-army: Rwandan Army forces), who were not involved in genocide into the national army (Rwandan Army Patriotic Front).
- Created a mechanism for bringing back all refugees who wanted to come back to Rwanda.
- Formed a government of national unity and a national assembly that is composed of both Hutu and Tutsi.
- Omitted in the new identity documents any reference to the ethnic group of person concerned.
- Eradicated the system of impunity by rebuilding after the genocide the judicial institutions and held firm to the intention of punishing those who were involved in the genocide.
- Created social policy:

- * Fond d'Aide aux rescapés du génocide i.e. (Genocide's Survivors Aid).
 - * Gacaca as juridical system aimed at those who are in jail and are suspected of being involved in genocide, then are found guilty.
-
- Started the system of good governance, by giving to the population the right to participate in the management of their country by the system of decentralization. The government proved also that Rwanda is a democratic state by giving Rwandans the rights of electing their representatives in total freedom.
 - Invested in human resources by providing popular education.

*** Impacts:**

- Leads to S.D
- Created and initiated the following imperative factors for S.D:
 - * State of law
 - * State based on the rule of law and journalistic freedom
 - * Peace and security
 - * Good governance (decentralized administrative institutions which, give power to the governed people with their participation in national planning from the base).
 - * Social cohesion
 - * Self confidence among the people themselves and for their government through popular education (ingando).
- Facilitated the reconstruction and protection by the people of
 - * Public and private socio-economic infrastructures (roads, bridges, hospitals, schools, electrical and water infrastructures, public offices, telecommunications and market infrastructures).
- Attracted
 - * Socio-economic external and internal investors.
- Ameliorated, improved and stabilized the Rwandan national economy.

As a comment on the synthetic schema, the processes of national unity and sustainable development in Rwanda are related to her socio-cultural environment, especially when they are placed in their geographic, historic and demographic frame. Moreover they operate in a field of attractive forces and constraints administrative, political and economic sectors.

6.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented an analysis of data collected from the field. It addressed two important areas. Firstly, it determined the profile of the respondents, which is composed of mature people. Secondly, it presented the case study of the research. Thus, it started with the description of the different factors of national unity in

Rwanda, continued to describe the characteristics of sustainable development in Rwanda and finished by measuring the impact of national unity on sustainable development in Rwanda.

The following chapter provides the general conclusion of the study and presents the recommendations.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7. GENERAL CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter attempts to set out a general conclusion and recommendations arising from the study. The general conclusion tries to give a summary of the findings and to relate the findings to the theories. The section of recommendations gives more details about what every category of Rwandan society should do in terms of consolidating national unity for sustainable development.

7.2 GENERAL CONCLUSION

This study aimed at answering six questions, which constitute the problematic element of the research. These questions are related to the hypotheses and the objectives of the research. Trying to answer to these questions, throughout the research, the hypothesis was confirmed, accepted and objectives attained.

The first question was seeking to verify if there is national unity in Rwanda.

According to the findings, there is perceived unity amongst the Rwandan people. This was confirmed by, 54.2% of politicians, 55.2% of military, journalists, public and civil society, and 52.7% of ordinary populations.

However, the results from different provinces show a certain divergence between respondents. For example, in Byumba and Kibuye's provinces, 50% of the military, journalists, civil and public societies claimed that there is no unity among Rwanda's populations. Then, 52.6% of ordinary populations in Byumba and 58.1% in Kigali Town's provinces said that there is no unity in Rwanda too.

However, according to the general findings, there is a perceived unity among Rwanda's people and this is characterized by a good cohabitation among Rwandans. Thus, through the answers received to the first question, it is possible to say that the

first hypothesis was accepted i.e. confirmed and the first objective attained i.e. reached. The second question that was addressed looked at the basic factors that promote national unity in Rwanda. The results from the findings show that 100% of all respondents from all provinces cited good politics as a major factor for national unity, and 98.3% of politicians, 100% of military, journalists, public and civil societies and ordinary populations cited socio-economic system as a factor for national unity. In its totality politicians and military, journalists, civil and public societies and 98.6% of ordinary populations cited juridical system as a factor for national unity too. Thus, political, socio-economic and juridical system, are the perceived factors for national unity in Rwanda. This confirms the second hypothesis and the second objective attained too.

The third question sought to ascertain whether Rwanda's administrative system allows for sustainable development. Except in Kigali Town's province where the respondents i.e. 45.2% of politicians, and 46.1% of military, journalists and civil and public societies responded negatively to the question, while 35.5% of politicians and 62.5% of ordinary populations in the same province were undecided; the results from the general findings show that 52.5% of politicians, 69% of military, journalists, civil and public societies and 62.2% of ordinary populations confirmed that the present administrative system allows for sustainable development. These responses confirm the third hypothesis and the third objective was attained. The fourth question to be addressed was to verify the factors that encourage sustainable development in Rwanda. According to the results from the findings, 64.4% of politicians, 72.4% of military, journalists, civil and public societies and 63.5% of ordinary populations confirmed that the democratic state, i.e. the state based on the rule of law, media freedom and people's participation are the factors for sustainable development in Rwanda. But the results from the respondents in different provinces show that, the respondents see things differently. For example, 57.1% of politicians in Byumba's province, 50% of military, journalists, civil and public societies in Kibungo's province and 71.4% of politicians, 50% of military, journalists, civil and public societies and 58.45% of ordinary populations said that the above factors of sustainable development are not applicable in Rwanda. However, the main idea is that, the democratic state, state based on the rule of law, media freedom and people's participation in the management of the country are the factors needed for sustainable

development in Rwanda was confirmed by many of the respondents. Thus, the fourth hypothesis was accepted and objective attained too.

The fifth question sought to clarify the impact that national unity has on sustainable development in Rwanda. The results from the findings show that 100% of all respondents, in all different provinces, confirmed that national unity leads to sustainable development in Rwanda. Thus there has been an improvement and a positive social, economic and political change in Rwanda after the genocide of 1994 (for more information see the figure No.4). The responses received to this fifth qualify the fifth hypothesis and the fifth objective is confirmed too.

The responses to the last question namely the other factors for sustainable development in Rwanda confirm the sixth hypothesis. Thus, good governance, popular education, total security and peace in Rwanda, are cited by all respondents as other ingredients for sustainable development.

Relating the findings to the theories, i.e. theories of conflict, cohesion, democratic peace and of development, the researcher found that the findings correlate with the following ideas:

- **The structure of authority in the theory of conflict.**

Ho-Won Jeong (1999:515) in this theory, says that “the unequal distribution of decision-making power is a source of latent conflict. The structural origins of group conflicts can be related to the arrangement of social roles attached to domination and subjection. The two distinctive sets of groups are produced by authority relations. One group has a position of domination over the other which is in a position of subjection. Opposing interests derive from power differences. Identical authority position develops common group interests. Conflict groups are organized either to defend or to challenge the legitimacy of the existing structure. The dominant group wants stability while the dominated group pursues change”. To support this idea, according to the findings, the source of Rwanda’s conflict is mainly political. Since the monarchic, colonialist and pre-colonialism period, Rwanda’s ethnic groups have struggled to control power, in order to dominate one another.

Conflict arises then, when one ethnic group fails to control power, and also when those in power use their power to dominate another group and adopts asymmetric relations.

This is related to the class conflict theory too; where, there is one group at the top, which is privileged, controls other groups by using wealth, and the other group, which is at the bottom, is disadvantaged and exploited.

- **The consociationalism theory in the theory of cohesion.**

In this theory, a “consociational framework involves executive power sharing and grand coalitions, formal and informal separation of powers, balanced bicameralism and special minority representation in the upper chamber, a multiparty system, proportional representation, territorial as well as no territorial federalism and decentralization, and a written constitution protecting minority rights through difficult procedures for amendment. The power balance between the various groups, a multiparty system, feelings of patriotism and a tradition of cooperation among group elites are the conditions that could promote elite cooperation in multiethnic states” (Raymond, Taras and Rajat Ganguly, 1998:16).

Thus, to sustain the theory, according to the findings, the executive power, even judicial and constitutional power are shared by all Rwandan ethnic groups. There is a separation of power, coalition of political parties (political parties forum), the Tutsi and Twa minority groups are represented in the upper chamber.

Rwanda is a democratic state, i.e. state based on the rule of law, with media freedom, with people’s participation, and with a multiparty and decentralization system.

- **People-centered development in the theory of development.**

According to the theory, people-centred development “shifts the emphasis in development action to people, rather than to objects and productions, and emphasizes the enhancement of their capacity to participate in the development process. The creative initiative of people is regarded as a primary development resource, and the mental and material welfare of people is seen as the final objective of development. In a people-centred approach government policy will encourage and support people’s

attempts to help themselves, as well as the decentralized production of goods with local ownership and control” (Kotze and Kellerman 1997:26).

Thus, from the findings it became evident that the present government of national unity, through the decentralization system gives opportunities to the people to participate freely in their regional development projects. The role of the government is to support them in terms of teaching them, training them, and giving them the basic socio-economic infrastructure.

However, the modernization theory and the dependency theory are also correlated to the findings. The finding is related to the dependency theory in the sense that, Rwanda, an underdeveloped poor country, depends economically on the rich countries. Its economic growth occurred in stages, i.e. through five stages of growth in order to reach true development, hence it is correlated to the theory of modernization.

This section attempts to give a summary of the results in the findings and tries to relate the findings to the previous theories of conflict, cohesion and development.

The following section gives the recommendations.

7.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations of this research proposes prophylactic strategies to be put in place for the preservation and consolidation of national unity in Rwanda. That unity will allow for sustainable development. From the results presented in previous chapters, there have been large improvements in the social, economic and political sectors in Rwanda since the genocide of 1994. Those improvements constitute a sign of sustainable development due to national unity. But, there are many other things that need to be done and strategies to be implemented for maintaining and improving national unity in order to promote sustainable development. Many of those strategies concern more the consolidation of national unity and sustainable development.

These strategies and ideas could serve and contribute to the solution of the major problems. Moreover, they are not the only ones possible. Others can be put forward.

At the first instance the researcher addresses the strategies, that the Rwandan leaders, politicians should put in practice to form a strong and durable national unity among Rwandans in order to achieve sustainable development. Secondly, the strategies will focus on the representatives of militaries, journalists, civil and public societies' activities for consolidating national unity. Lastly the researcher proposes the strategies that the ordinary population could put in place or practice for promoting national unity and sustainable development as well. These suggestions could be implemented at different levels such as political, economic, judicial and social level.

7.3.1 Strategies and measures that Rwandan authorities should put into practice to promote national unity and thereby sustainable development:

7.3.1.1 *Political level*

Rwandan authorities and politicians must:

- Continue the effort to make national unity more strong by teaching the Rwandans the importance of being united, which will benefit both the present and the future generation of Rwandan.
- Approach the people and help them to solve the problems that they are facing in political, socioeconomic and judicial domains or sectors. The people must be trained, educated in dealing with their own problems in social, economic, judicial, political and developmental activities. They must understand that developmental activities and projects are not only provided by the government or N.G.O's. They must be taught that durable developmental activities and projects are those in which they participate fully in the planning, implementation and evaluation phases.
- Identify and promote factors in favor of unity. Rwandans share common things, which can unite them like clans, they have the same language, same culture (dance, poetry, songs, foods), houses (they live on the same hill, in the same regions) and religion. These factors should be emphasized rather than those which differentiate them like the ethnic factors.
- Promote good governance. The leaders must continue their efforts to establish good governance, in promoting:

- * a democratic state, state based on the rule of law, i.e. Rwandans' rights must be observed, and all of them should be equal before the law; and nobody should be denied what he is entitled to and is capable of. The people should be taught about their rights and the rights of others, and nobody should infringe the rights of others.
- * the fight against corruption, favouritism and nepotism. The leaders must be elected by the people and must be responsible and care about the people and must work hard in the interests of the people
- * equal chances for all Rwandans without distinction and without considering ethnic groups, religion, regions in terms of getting jobs, access to education, distributing socio-economic infrastructure and developmental projects.
- Establish strong governance, which is opposed to anything that would destroy the unity of Rwandans. There should be a mechanism to clamp down on enemies of unity and justice.
- Put mechanisms in place for controlling political parties especially those who are preaching division among Rwandans. The parties' nature and functioning should be reviewed, so that they do not become a source of destroying the unity of Rwandans.
- Reinforce the efforts of enabling the people to fully participate in ways they are governed through the system of decentralization, which brings people close to decision-making institutions in which they actively participate. Seek ways of managing the structures in which people give their ideas about how problems should be solved and make Rwandans understand that it is them who are affected by problems and their solutions.
- Improve the development of human resources;
- Review the constitution as soon as possible.

7.3.1.2 *Judicial level*

The Rwandan leaders must continue the effort to:

- Improve Rwandan justice for all citizens, which will prevent people from committing crimes, starting with those who committed genocide;

- Establish strong mechanism to control and punish people who hamper unity, justice and those who preach sectarianism;
- Establish a law governing politicians and magistrates, obliging them to publish their resources before taking office within government, and show every year how those resources have been increasing;
- Set up a strong means of controlling the courts' activities and of punishing judges and magistrates who do not work properly or are corrupt;
- Set up a government or independent service, in charge of explaining to the people their rights;
- Implement the system of "gacaca" (literally the turf grass root justice) quickly.

7.3.1.3 Economic level

The Rwandan leaders must continue their effort to:

- develop the private sector by using the system of liberalism and privatisation of institutions;
- set up adequate infrastructures and develop human resources for attracting internal and external investors;
- divorce the country from the economic dependence system;
- promote and modernise Rwandan agricultural methods;
- promote employment and encourage people, especially the youth to develop income generating activities; develop a culture of hard work;
- offset the disadvantage of being landlocked with the system of regional integration and look for a way to gain access to the sea by rail for example;
- enhance the work in poverty reduction and reduction of excessive inequalities.

7.3.1.4 Social level

The Rwandan authorities must continue the effort to:

- work hand in hand with the people for satisfying all citizens with their basic -needs, socio-economic infrastructure (schools, hospital, roads, clean water,

electricity, transport) and make sure that they are equitably distributed and people benefit from them equally;

- promote popular education through solidarity camps (ingando). Give people an opportunity of analysing what leaders tell them and freedom to either accept or disapprove of them. People should also be given the capacity to participate, conceive, implement and manage socio-economic developmental projects for themselves and for future generations;
- educate Rwandans on the importance of being united, patriotic, working hard and protecting their projects for their betterment and for the betterment of future generations;
- maintain good relationships (politically, socio-economically etc.) with other countries especially neighbouring countries for the benefit of the countries;
- help vulnerable groups;
- end the problem of refugees, by facilitating their return to Rwanda.

7.3.2 Strategies that the representatives of military, journalists, civil and public services should put in practice.

- The Rwandan military must work hand in hand with the people and the government to maintain internal and external security.
- The Rwandan soldiers must know that they are the army of the nation (for all people) not the army of specific ethnic groups or political parties.
- The Rwandan journalists must concentrate their articles on sustainable development, the unity of Rwandans, and its importance for the future of Rwanda;
- The international and national NGO's must be a channel, which links Rwandan authority to the ordinary people and must work hand in hand with both parties in order to promote Rwandan unity and sustainable development. They must help the Rwandan authorities in popular education and bring them to the level of universal and general participation in everyday life of the country;

7.3.3 Strategies that the ordinary population should take into consideration to promote national unity and sustainable development.

The ordinary Rwandan population must continue to:

- collaborate with the Rwandan authorities to consolidate national unity and promote sustainable development;
- manifest their effort, courage and need for education, unity and development;
- manifest a strong desire for participating in the management of the country. They must participate in all phases of socio-economic developmental projects; participate in the improvement of Rwandan justice and politics;
- support one another. One should not look only to his own interest i.e. not put one's interest first; but the interest of all Rwandan first;
- observe and support national culture, especially national positive values like obedience, truth, courtesy, respect of human rights etc.
- work hard to improve Rwandan economy and their self-development.

Lastly, all Rwandans be they inside or outside the country, whether they are politicians, military, journalists, civilised or illiterate, ordinary people, all must work hand in hand in order to maintain, promote or improve national unity. That national unity will eventually lead to sustainable development. They must protect it for the betterment of their lives and for the betterment of the lives of future generations.

This research opens the door for other research to be done in this area. Therefore the researcher proposes that, the following topics will be most relevant:

- The impact of Rwandan genocide of 1994 on the socio-economic sector of the country;
- The impact of Rwandan disunity on socio-economic sector for the last two republic;
- Comparative study of the socio-economic impacts of Rwandan disunity and unity.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1 : Rwanda's provinces and their populations

Provinces	Male	Female	Population
Kigali-Town	128,559	140,711	269,270
Kigali- rural	383,623	463,069	846,692
Gitarama	380,866	495,813	876,679
Butare	281,782	373,527	655,309
Gikongoro	223,182	253,814	476,996
Cyangugu	259,895	297,866	557,761
Kibuye	202,709	225,332	428,041
Gisenyi	356,497	460,114	815,611
Ruhengeri	414,624	485,295	899,919
Byumba	327,237	376,732	703,969
Umutara	192,663	211,987	404,650
Kibungo	295,962	336,348	632,310
Total	3,447.599	4,120.608	7,568.207
Percentage	46%	54%	100%

Source : Republic of Rwanda, Service du Premier Ministre, 2000 :12.

APPENDIX N0 3

TABLE DE DETERMINATION DE LA TAILLE DE L'ECHANTILLON.

Taille de l'échantillon requise pour estimer avec précision donnée, un pourcentage par la technique aléatoire simple, dans la situation la plus défavorable ($p=1/2$)

Taille de la population	Précision								
	90 fois sur 100			95 fois sur 100			99 fois sur 100		
	± 10%	± 5%	± 1%	± 10%	± 5%	± 1%	± 10%	± 5%	± 1%
Infini	68	271	6765	96	384	9601	166	664	16589
1 000 000	68	271	6720	96	384	9513	166	663	16319
100 000	68	270	6336	96	383	8763	166	659	14229
50 000	68	269	5959	96	381	8057	165	655	12457
10 000	67	263	4035	95	370	4899	163	622	6239
5 000	67	257	2875	94	357	3288	161	586	3842
1 000	63	313	871	88	278	906	142	399	943
500	60	176	466	81	217	475	125	285	485
100	41	73	99	49	80	99	63	87	99
50	29	42	50	33	44	50	39	47	50

Source : Alain Bouchard : Cours de méthodologie de recherche, note de cours, U.N.R., 1989-1990.

APPENDIX 4 : Questionnaire Elaboration Guide.

Hypothesis	Variables	Indicators	Questions
1. Rwandan's national unity is influenced by economical, social, political, judicial, and demographical factors.	<p>*V. dependant: Rwandan's National unity</p> <p>*V. independent: Economical, social, judicial, political and demographical factors.</p>	<p>*cohabitation, good relationships, collaboration etc... among Rwandan's ethnics groups.</p> <p>*Killing of Tutsi because of economic, social and political inequality.</p> <p>*Conflict between Hutu and Tutsi come from the historic review.</p> <p>*Conflict is generated by the overpopulated condition.</p>	<p>1. Are there ethnic problems in Rwanda? Yes or No How does one handle it?</p> <p>2. What is the fundamental reason for Rwanda's conflict? Why?</p> <p>3. Did the Hutu killed the Tutsi</p> <p>a. for appropriating their property?</p> <p>b. because they were social superior to the Hutu?</p> <p>c. because the politicians asked them to do so?</p> <p>d. because of historical reason i. in the past the Tutsi treated the Hutu as inferior through the system of clienteles?</p> <p>e. because of overpopulation of Rwanda?</p> <p>f. because of others reasons?</p> <p>4. Is there unity in Rwanda?</p>

			Yes or No Give more details
			5. What are the factors for national unity in Rwanda?
2. The Rwandan's administrative system allows to sustainable development.	<p>*V. dependent: Sustainable development.</p> <p>*V. independent: Rwandan's administrative system</p>	<p>*Presence for long time of top-down approach in Rwandan system of administration.</p> <p>*Absence of basic economic infrastructures.</p> <p>*Presence for the moment of organ established by the population from the bottom. And good collaboration between people and authorities with the top-down and bottom-up system of collaboration.</p>	<p>6. Did the former Rwandan's administrative system allow for S.D? Yes or No Why? Why not?</p> <p>7. Does the present Rwandan's administrative system allow for S.D? Yes or No Why? and Why not?</p> <p>8. What role does the population play in this planning?</p> <p>9. Are they allowed to give their opinions? Yes or No Give more details</p> <p>10. Do planers consult the population before important economic decision are made? Why? Why not?</p> <p>11. What are the reaction of people? Good, Bad, others.</p> <p>12. Are the basic socio- economic infrastructures sufficient? Why? Why not?</p>

<p>3. The democratic state, the state based on the rule of law, the media freedom and the people's participation in national planning are the factors that influence sustainable</p>	<p>*V. dependent: Democratic state, based on the rule of law, the media freedom and the people's participation in giving their opinions, ideas, feelings in national planning.</p>	<p>*Last election *Existence of national commission of Human rights *Existence of journalists association and the increasing in number of journals and news paper.</p>	<p>13. Are the basic needs of people satisfied? Yes or No</p> <p>14. Are the Governors proud of what the people have as their basic needs?</p> <p>15. To what extent should the people be considered in developing the country?</p> <p>16. Which plans take into consideration the future generation: a. The plan elaborated by the government's planners only. b. The plan elaborated after consulting the people. Why? Why not?</p> <p>17. The democratic state, i.e. state based on the rule of law, media freedom and people's participation are common factors of S.D. Are these factors applied in Rwanda? Yes or No</p>
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<p>development.</p> <p>4. National security, peace, good governance, popular education are the others ingredients for sustainable development in Rwanda.</p>	<p>*V. independent: Sustainable development</p> <p>*V. dependent: sustainable development</p> <p>*V. independent: national security, peace, good governance, popular education</p>	<p>*national security, peace, popular education through ingando and well organised administrative instances.</p>	<p>18. What the other ingredients for sustainable development in Rwanda?</p>
<p>5. The impact of national unity on sustainable development in Rwanda is measured by the improvement or positive social, economic, political change that noticed in Rwanda after the genocide of 1994.</p>	<p>*V. dependant: Sustainable development.</p> <p>*V. independent:</p>	<p>*Destruction of socio-economic infrastructures because of disunity among Rwandans</p> <p>* Reconstruction and rehabilitation of the country in different areas like socio-economic infrastructures after genocide.</p>	<p>19. What are the consequences of Rwanda's conflicts for socio-economic well-being and development of Rwandans?</p> <p>20. Can the Rwandan conflict facilitate the collection of people opinions? Why? Why not?</p> <p>21. Does Rwanda's unity leads to S.D? How?</p> <p>22. What impact of national unity have on S.D in Rwanda?</p>

	<p>improvement or positive social, economic, political change in Rwanda.</p>	<p>*Good relationships, cohabitation, collaboration among Rwandans people after genocide.</p> <p>*Conflicts, wars, violence, genocide because of disunity among Rwandan people.</p>	<p>23. What efforts does the present government make for initiating national unity as well as for S.D?</p>
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APPENDIX 5: QUESTIONNAIRE.

A. IDENTIFYING INFORMATION

1. Name of Province: -----
2. Name of Commune: -----
3. Name of Sector: -----
4. Name of cell: -----
5. Age: -----
6. Martial status: -----
7. Education level: -----
8. Profession: -----
9. Religion: -----
10. Actual place of residence before genocide: -----

B. KINDLY ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS

1. Are there ethnic problems in Rwanda?
 Yes No
 How does one handle it?

2. What is the fundamental reason for Rwandan's conflict?
 Why? Why not?

3. To answer this question start by the one, which you judge the more important.
Did the Hutu killed the Tutsi
- for appropriating their property?
 - because they were socially superior to the Hutu, and for that they were jealous ?
 - because the politicians asked them to do so?
 - because of historical reason i.e. in the past the Tutsi treated the Hutu as inferior through the system of clientele?
 - because of overpopulation of Rwanda?
 - others
4. Is there unity in Rwanda?
Yes No
Give more details.
5. What are the factors for national unity in Rwanda?
6. Did the previous Rwandan's administration system allow for sustainable development ?
Yes No Why? Why not?
7. Does the present Rwandan's administration allow for sustainable development?
Yes No Why? Why not?
8. What role does the population play in this planning?
9. Are the people allowed to give their opinions?
Yes No
If Yes how?
If No give more details.

10. Do planners consult the populations before important economic decisions are made?
Yes No Why? Why not?

11. What are the people's reactions when they are not consulted?
a. Good
b. Bad, because they did not participate.
c. Others.

12. Are the basic economic infrastructures sufficient?
Yes No Why? Why not?

13. Are the basic needs of people sufficient?
Yes No

14. Are the governments proud of population's basic need?
Yes No

15. To what extent should the people be considered in developing the country?
a. First place
b. Last place
c. None

16. Which plans take into consideration the future generation:
a. The plan elaborated by the government's planners only.
b. The plan elaborated after consulting the people; within people's participation or involvement.

Why? Why not?-

17. The democratic state, i.e. state based on the rule of law, media freedom and people's participation are common factors of sustainable development. Are these factors applied in Rwanda?
18. What are the other ingredients for sustainable development in Rwanda?
19. What are the consequences of Rwandan's conflict for the socio-economic well-being and development of Rwandans ?
20. Can the Rwandan conflict facilitate the collection of people's opinions and ideas?
Yes No Why? Why not?
21. Does Rwanda's unity lead to sustainable development?
Yes No How?
22. What impact does national unity have on sustainable development?
23. What efforts does the present government make for initiating national unity as well as for sustainable development?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION IN THIS RESEARCH

APPENDIX6: IFISHI Y'IBIBAZO

A. UMWIRONDORO W'UBAZWA.

Intara: _____
Akagali: _____
Umurenge: _____
Imyaka: _____
Urubatse: _____
Amashuri wize: _____
Umurimo ukora cyangwa usanzwe ukora: _____
Idini: _____
Aho wabaga mbere y'itsemba bwoko n'itsembatsemba: _____

B. IBIBAZO ABAZWA.

Mu gusubiza mujye mubanza mutekereze neza, maze mushyire akamenyetso ka (v) ku gisubizo mwumvako gihuje n'igitekerezo cyanyu. Hari aho ariko musabwa ibitekerezo byanyu, icyo gihe mutange muri make icyo mubitekerezaho mu mwanya wabigenewe. Ndabashimiye.

1. Ese ikibazo cy'amoko kirahari mu Rwanda?

Yego Oya

Cyakemuka gite?

2. Ni izihe mpamvu shingiro z'amacakubiri yo mu Rwanda?

3. Ni iyihe mpamvu abahutu bishe abatutsi ?

- a. Kugirango babatware umutungo wabo
- b. Kubera ishyari
- c. Kuko bari babisabwe n'abanyapolitiki
- d. Kuko kera abatutsi babahatse
- e. Ibindi

4. Ese hari ubumwe buriho mu Rwanda?

Yego

Oya

Sobanura.

5. Ni ibihe bintu by'ingenzi (by'ibanze) ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda bushobora gushingiraho?

6. Ese ubutegetsi bw'u Rwanda bwa kera bworoherezaga cy se bwaganishaga ku majyambere arambye?

Yego

Oya

Kuki?

7. Ubuyobozi bw'ubu bw'u Rwanda bworohereza cy se buganisha ku majyambere arambye?

Yego Oya Kuki ?

8. Ni uruhe ruhare rw'abaturage mu kugena gahunda y'iterambere ry'igihugu ?

9. Bemereye gutanga ibitekerezo byabo ?

Yego

Oya

10. Ese abashinzwe gutegura iterambere bajya babanza kubaza abaturage mbere yo gushyira igikorwa cy'iterambere mu karere aka n'aka?

Yego

Oya

Kuki?

11. Abaturage se babifata bate?

a) Babyakira neza ?

- b) Babanza kubyanga kuko nta ruhare ba bigizemo .
c) Ibindi

12. Ese ibikorwa by'amajyambere
y'ibanze(amashuri, amavuriro, imihanda,...) birahagije?
Yego Oya
Kuki?

13. Ese ibikenerwa by'ibanze(ibiribwa, imyambaro...) ku baturage birahagije?
Yego Oya

14. Ese abayobozi banejewe n'ibikenerwa by'ibanze abaturage bafite?
Yego Oya

15. Ni uwuhe mwanya uhabwa abaturage mu majyambere y'igihugu?
a. Umwanya wa mbere
b. Umwanya wa nyuma
c. Ntawo.

16. Ni iyihe gahunda y'amajyambere muri izi iteguye ku buryo iteganyiriza u Rwanda?
a) Iteguwe gusa n'impuguke za Leta muri ibyo.
b) Iyateguwe (ariko babanje kubaza) mu bufatanye bw'abaturage.
Kuki?

17. Uhereye kuri ibi biranga amajyambere arambye (ibyifuzo by'abaturage bigomba kwitabwaho mu igenamigambi ry'amajyambere arambye), wavuga ko mu Rwanda hari gahunda y'iterambere rirambye?

18.Ni ibihe bintu bindi byatuma habaho amajyambere arambye mu Rwanda?

19.Ni izihe ngaruka amacakubiri yagize ku iterambere mu Rwanda?

20.Ese byoroheye abashinzwe kugena gahunda y'igihugu mu iterambere gukusanya ibitekerezo n'ibyifuzo by'abaturage mu gihe barangwa n'amacakubiri?

Yego

Oya

Sobanura?

21.Ese ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda bwatugejeje ku majyambere arambye?

Yego

Oya

Gute?

22.Ni akahe kamaro k'ubumwe ku majyambere arambye?

23.Ni ibiki Leta(gouvernement) y'ubu ikora ngo igeze abanyarwanda ku bumwe no ku majyambere arambye?

MURAKOZE.

9APPENDIX 7: LIST OF INVESTIGATORS

- MUKAMURENZI Béata : Honours in Social Sciences and Assistant lecturer at
The National university of Rwanda,
Department of Social Sciences.
- MUREMANGINGO Didace : Coordinator of A.M.I (N.G.O) at Butare Province.
- NYILIGIRA Eric : Honours in Pharmacy and Assistant lecturer at the
University of Rwanda.
Department of Pharmacy.
- UWUKUNDA Laenilde : Honours in Public Health.
- UWURUKUNDO Aimable : Honours in Social Sciences and Assistant lecturer at
the National University of Rwanda.
Department of Social Sciences.

APPENDIX 8: THE HUTU TEN COMMANDEMENTS.

1. Every Muhutu should know that a Mututsi woman, wherever she is, works for the interest of her Tutsi ethnic group. As a result, we shall consider a traitor any Muhutu who :

- maries a Tutsi woman ;
- befriends a Tutsi woman ;
- employs a Tutsi woman as a secretary or a concubine.

2. Every Muhutu should know that our daughters are more suitable and conscientious in their role as woman, wife and mother of the family. Are they not beautiful, good secretaries and more honest ?

3. Bahutu women, be vigilant and try to bring your husbands, brothers and sons back to reason.

4. Every Muhutu should know that every Mututsi is dishonest in business. His only aim is the supremacy of ethnic group. As a result, any Muhutu who does the following is a traitor:

- makes a partnership with Batutsi in business;
- invests his money or the government's money in a Tutsi enterprise;
- lends or borrows money from a Mututsi;
- gives favours to Batutsi in business (obtaining import licences, bank loans, constructions sites, public markets).

5. All strategic positions, political, administrative, economic, military and security should be entrusted to Bahutu.

6. The education sector (school pupils, students, teachers) must be majority Hutu.

7. The Rwandese armed forces should be exclusively Hutu. The experience of the October war has taught us a lesson. No member of the military shall marry a Tutsi.

8. The Bahutu should stop having mercy on the Batutsi.

9. The Bahutu, wherever they are, must have unity and solidarity, and be concerned about the fate of their Hutu brother:

- the Bahutu inside and outside must constantly look for friends and allies for the Hutu cause, starting with their Bantu brothers;
- they must constantly counteract the Tutsi propaganda;

- the Bahutu must be firm and vigilant against their common Tutsi enemy.

10. The social Revolution of 1959, the Referendum of 1961 and the Hutu Ideology must be taught to every Muhutu at every level. Hutu must spread this ideology widely. Any Muhutu who persecutes his brother Muhutu for having read, spread and taught this ideology is a traitor.

December 10, 1990

Source: Hugu, MC C, 1994:114