

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

**ESTABLISHING A CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND
MEDIATION CENTRE IN KIGALI, RWANDA**

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**A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
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“The place we need really imaginative new ideas is in conflict theory. That’s true with respect to war and peace, but also it’s true domestically. The real weakness throughout the country is lack of conflict resolution methods other than litigation and guns”.

(Alvin TOFFLER)

DECLARATION

IJ B Kayiranga.....declare that

- (i) The research reported in this dissertation/thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original research.
- (ii) This dissertation/thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.
- (iii) This dissertation/thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.
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ABSTRACT

Conflict is an inevitable part of our daily lives, resulting from complex and often litigious society. In urban area like Kigali, where people struggle for the fulfilment of their basic interests conflicts are likely to erupt. Effective alternative are highly needed to deal with conflicts. This study was designed to seek how to establish a conflict resolution and mediation centre in Kigali with the aim of contributing to the search of peaceful and durable solutions to conflicts occurring between individual and community members in Kigali. The study examined the nature, causes, extent and consequences of conflicts in Kigali and the ways to deal with them.

The research approach taken in this study was qualitative relying on structured interview, reviewing literature and documentary analysis around the subject. The researcher spent one month in Rwanda and got opportunity to engage a sample of participants to get their views. Twenty participants were selected in Kigali city and a 'purposive sampling' was adopted when recruiting them. Through interviews, participants responded to the objectives of the study. Informal discussions were also conducted with key informants to assess the relevance and the contribution of a conflict resolution and mediation centre.

The findings revealed that there are a growing number of conflicts in Kigali with the pressures of urban expansion, their consequences are severe and their extent is considerable. The study showed a strong support of the initiative to establish a conflict resolution and mediation centre as way of handling conflicts in constructive manner.

Finally the study suggested a variety of recommendations towards the Rwandan governments, to NGOs and Churches, globally requesting them to invest in the field of conflict resolution and especially to support the setting up of a conflict resolution centre as an office that can play a role of settling conflicts peacefully and effectively.

DEDICATION

- ✚ To the Almighty God for your infinite love, your help when I was helpless;
- ✚ To my late beloved parents for your affection, sacrifice, education and love you gave me to make my life better and worthy;
- ✚ To my sisters and brothers for your patience, encouragement and prayers devoted to me when pursuing my postgraduate studies far away in South Africa;
- ✚ To all victims of injustice of this world;

This work is dedicated.

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Chapter 1: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

Conflict is an inescapable part of our daily lives, an inevitable result of our highly complex, competitive and often litigious society. It consumes an enormous amount of time, energy, and money in our modern life. Isenhardt and Spangle (2000) assert that conflict is intrinsic to organizations, families and modern city life. In Kigali as a principal and growing rapidly city in Rwanda, the increase of community and interpersonal conflicts is very perceptible. It is not surprising to hear a husband and wife accusing each other from betrayal; it is no longer a secret to hear a child insulting his parents or a parent mistreating his kids, it becomes more and more normal to see an employee searching for a court trial against his employer from allegedly illegal dismissal or other similar complaints and so forth. In such situation the need for an effective way of resolving conflict should be taken into account. These concerns and other similar have pushed me to undertake this research.

This study is designed to search how to establish a conflict resolution and mediation centre in Kigali with the main desire to contribute to the search of equitable and lasting solutions to conflicts occurring between individuals and community members in our society. This study will examine the nature, causes, extent and consequences of the conflicts in Kigali city and ways to deal with them. The study will then formulate a plan to establish a conflict resolution and mediation centre in Kigali as a potentially effective way of dealing with conflicts among its population.

1.2. Background to the topic

Kigali is the capital and largest city of Rwanda. It is geographically located at the heart of Rwanda with a latitude of 1° 58'S and a longitude of 30° 07' E. It is situated in the centre of the country and became the capital at independence in 1962. It is presently inhabited by approximately 1 million inhabitants on the area of 730 sq km. However, when Rwanda gained its independence on July 1st, 1962, Kigali remained a small village with primarily

administrative functions. The population was 5,000 to 6,000 people. Kigali was chosen to become capital of the country because of its more central location. Since then the city has grown very quickly and is now the major political, economic, transportation and cultural centre of Rwanda. It is a strategic place where people from different sectors of life interact through schools, churches, commerce, health centres, politics, transport, workplaces, and so forth.

In such urban area where participants must struggle to satisfy their basic needs conflicts are likely to happen. Due probably to quick urbanization of Kigali and more people in a small area, there is a growth of conflict. We should however know that almost all societies have their traditional ways of resolving conflicts and these ways/approaches differ depending on the social setup, values and social organization. Before colonialism, African societies had their ways of resolving conflict which helped them to maintain peace and security within and between communities. With the influence of colonialism, African traditional approaches to conflicts were despised or neglected because they were doomed to be considered as primitive and non-effective. The inception of criminal and civil courts replaced the traditional approaches that African societies had used for centuries. The Rwandan society also suffered this influence. There are no longer traditional authorities to turn to and almost all tradition of interpersonal resolution of conflict ceased to exist. Thus, when conflicts arise disputants choose to go to courts for a trial rather than to resolve their disputes by traditional approaches or methods of conflict resolution.

But this western way of resolving conflict does not consider the future relationships of parties. The need to reconcile seems less important. Its main objective is to identify who is wrong and who is right rather than to restore their relationships as before the conflict. Therefore, a practice of effective ways of resolving these conflicts, which ensure that the root causes of the conflict are eliminated and which involve the participation of the conflicting parties, is highly needed in order to search for a fair and durable solution for all parties. This behaviour must be learnt and practiced within the conflict resolution and mediation centre.

1.3. The overall objective and the specific aims

The overall objective of this study is to propose a conflict resolution and mediation centre in Kigali and to examine effectiveness of some ways used in dealing with conflicts.

The specific aims of this study will be the following:

- a) To examine the nature, extent, causes and consequences of community and interpersonal conflicts in Kigali.
- b) To analyse some effective ways used in dealing with conflicts.
- c) To formulate a strategic plan for establishment of a conflict and mediation centre in Kigali with particular emphasis on its mission, vision, principles and methods, required staff and finance.

1.4. Study rationale

The major reason for me to undertake this study is related to the desire to provide a contribution to the search for a lasting solution to conflicts occurring among individuals and communities in Kigali city in particular, and in Rwandan society in general. In fact, many cases between conflicting parties are mainly reported to courts or government administration. However, litigation has been found by several scholars as a method making conflict more bitter given its win/lose solution. For instance Ury et al. (1988) assert that determining who is right or who is powerful as in litigation focuses on winning or losing and this makes the relationship more adversarial and strained. Because this way leaves at least one party perceiving itself as the loser. And, the loser frequently does not abandon but appeals to a higher court or prepares revenge. Moreover, Braithwaite (2003) asserts that in practice, criminal justice fails to correct or deter, just as it often makes things worse. Reconciling interests thus seems to generate a higher level of mutual satisfaction with outcomes than determining rights or power. Therefore, an initiative to put into place a conflict resolution and mediation centre seems to my opinion vital to play a role of helping people to resolve their conflicts effectively.

Thus, this study will focus on the establishment of the conflict resolution and mediation centre in Kigali. This centre is aimed to facilitate people to learn methods, approaches and tools used to deal with conflicts. The centre will dealing with individual training in negotiation and mediation. It will play a preventive and curative role. As a preventive role, the centre will train people in alternative ways of resolving conflicts and therefore avoid material, time and psychological costs they cause. The curative role will be played by the centre through offering mediation services. Globally, the centre will have a larger impact on the individual and

communities inhabiting Kigali by teaching them those ways that can allow settling themselves any conflict arising between them.

1.5. The scope of the study

The study will be conducted in Rwanda particularly in Kigali city within those institutions mainly dealing or encountering most of the time with people complaints or primarily advocate for human rights. The study will involve government institutions, decentralized administrations and centralized institutions, especially the Ministry in charge of work (MIFOTRA) and KIMIHURURA Sector. The study will also cover the private sector where civil societies will be approached namely, HAGURUKA A.S.B.L., a NGO defending child and woman rights, CESTRAR: the Federation of Rwandese workers associations, AJPRODHO-JIJUKIRWA (a youth association that advocates for human rights development) and BENEVOLENCIA, a NGO managing interpersonal and community conflicts especially through mass media. It will include interviews with their leaders as well as the subordinate (employees). Then, this study intends to cover the period of 2007-2008.

1.6. Significance of the study

In most settings, when humans live and work together conflict is likely to erupt. Levine quoted by Isenhardt and Spangle (2000) argues that the growth of conflict in our present life results from many factors including the breakdown in the covenant of trust among people who are the members of the same community, the lack of communication, people focusing on themselves, and concerns about rights and entitlements without thinking about responsibilities toward others. In Kigali city, the growth of conflict may be related to urbanization where people live in a small area, the long term result of the alienation that occurs when people lose a sense of community or family and the breakdown of moral values and dissolution of families.

The increase in community violence, family break-ups, work grievances, and court cases suggests that we are not doing very well in dealing with our conflicts. Therefore, this study will seek possible ways and means of reducing cases which are referred to courts, government administration or police given that litigation and arbitration are expensive both in time and

money; and not effective if compared to alternative ways of resolving conflicts such negotiation and mediation. The establishment of a conflict resolution and mediation centre in Kigali will have the primarily role of promoting peace among individuals and communities. In fact, the centre will be an alternative means of dealing with conflicts. This study will provide alternative ways of resolving conflicts by nonviolent processes. The conflict resolution and mediation centre will be a space for debate and a place where people could learn to leave in peaceful coexistence. It will also be a place where people can learn about conflict resolution.

Finally this study will be worthy because it will contribute to peace and unity in a country characterized by history of inter-ethnic conflicts. This study intends to enhance the capacity of individuals and communities to be instruments of peace. The centre is aimed to be in a position to advice government and people in the field of conflict resolution.

1.7. Research methods

The study will adopt a qualitative method involving the use of both primary and secondary data source of information. Basically, the research will be based on conducted interviews with participants from private and public sector primarily dealing with interpersonal and community disputes, therefore will be essential to gathering this information; and the analysis of available documents. The literature review will also be undertaken in order to develop an understanding of the subject matter (conflict resolution and mediation).

1.8. The structure of the dissertation

This dissertation will have six chapters. Chapter one will examine the context of the study, the study rationale, the overall and specific aims, the scope of the study and its significance. Chapter two will cover the relevant literature for a better understanding of conflict while the chapter three will point out the research methodology. Chapter four will present the results of the interviews and the results obtained after data analysis. Chapter five will propose a plan to establish a conflict resolution and mediation centre. The last chapter will formulate some recommendations and conclusion.

Chapter 2: KEY CONCEPTS IN UNDERSTANDING CONFLICT

2.1. Introduction

The history of humanity is full of conflicts. The most severe problems are crimes, oppression, and destruction, which stem from spiritual and moral crises. Kent (1993) states that “Conflict arises whenever there is a difference between people’s goals, objectives or interests. It may occur in different forms and can be violent or non violent” (p. 390). In the face of such inevitable conflicts, different reactions escalate into violence. Violence is often the end of unresolved conflicts.

In fact, from our daily experiences, it appears that conflict is inevitable because it is everywhere. In conflict situations, the basic thing to do is to talk about it and to deal with it properly. The best way to deal with conflicts is to initiate dialogue and to create space for debate between conflicting parties. In this regard, the conflict resolution and mediation centre would be the best place where people could learn to live in peaceful coexistence and resolve their existing conflicts.

That’s why the proposed study will focus on the establishment of a conflict resolution and mediation centre in Kigali. It is therefore important to be clear on the meanings of some key concepts related to conflict such as conflict management, conflict resolution, conflict transformation, conflict and violence, negotiation, and mediation.

2.2. Definitions of key concepts

As mentioned above, conflict is inevitable and often continual. But if its eradication is almost impossible, let at least expand our understanding about it through some key concepts.

2.2.1. Conflict management

Conflict management means keeping a conflict within limits or boundaries for instance by separating people. The emphasis is on mitigating or controlling the destructive consequences that emanate from a given conflict than of finding solutions to the underlying issues causing it (Assefa, 2001). In fact, when conflicts occur some of them cannot be solved and therefore need to be carefully managed so that direct violence is minimized. Keeping two antagonistic parties away from each other, temporarily or permanently is one way of doing this. However, in a managed conflict, the later is not dealt with; the parties can still hate each other so that conflict resolution would be necessary.

2.2.2. Conflict resolution

The process of conflict resolution focuses on peacemaking. The conflict resolution brings the parties together in the hope that they can find solutions which leave them all satisfied. It is seen, in most cases, as a result of conflict management. It aims to move away all inequalities, injustices and somehow all causes which have been the sources of tension. It goes beyond mitigation of consequences and attempt to resolve the substantive and relational root causes so that the conflict comes to an end. Resolution may appear because the parties feel better off as a result of some agreement reached than before, i.e. for pragmatic reasons. Nevertheless, even if a conflict is resolved, there is no requirement to like the other party. Suspicion, fear and hatred may still exist between the parties. Therefore, conflict transformation is required.

2.2.3. Conflict transformation

Conflict transformation focuses on the relationship between the parties. It aims to replace suspicion, hate and fear with forgiveness, love and reconciliation. Conflict transformation goes beyond conflict management and conflict resolution. It is likely to be all activities done by the nation, individuals, international communities to states, or states towards another, individual to another one, helping him to recover from a conflict and maintaining a sustainable peace by peaceful means between parties. 'The task is to transform the conflict, upwards, positively, finding positive goals for all parties, imaginative ways of combining them, and all of this without violence. Because it is the failure to transform conflicts that lead to violence' (TRANSCEND, 2004, p. 3). In short, conflict transformation aims to reconcile former enemies. This is its major focus. The following table (from Lederach, 2003, p. 33) shows a

brief comparison of perspective between conflict resolution and conflict transformation (*see table 1*).

Table 1: Brief comparison of perspective of conflict resolution and conflict transformation.

	Conflict resolution perspective	Conflict transformation perspective
<i>The key question</i>	How do we end something not desired?	How do we end something destructive and build something desired?
<i>The focus</i>	It is content-centered.	It is relationship-centered.
<i>The purpose</i>	To achieve an agreement and solution to the presenting problem creating the crisis.	To promote constructive change processes, inclusive of, but not limited to, immediate solutions.
<i>The development of the process</i>	It is embedded and built around the immediacy of the relationship where the symptoms of disruptions appear.	It envisions the presenting problem as an opportunity for response to symptoms and engagement of systems within which relationships are embedded.
<i>Time frame</i>	The horizon is short-term relief to pain, anxiety, and difficulties.	The horizon for change is mid- to long-range and is intentionally crisis-responsive rather than crisis-driven.
<i>View of conflict</i>	It envisions the need to de-escalate conflict processes.	It envisions conflict as an ecology that is relationally dynamic with ebb (conflict de-escalation to pursue constructive change) and flow (conflict escalation to pursue constructive change).

Source: Lederach, 2003, p. 33

2.2.4. Conflict and violence

Because of its overlapping dynamics and processes, conflict is often difficult to define. If conflict involved only a decision between two choices, its definition would be easy. But often, according to Isenhardt and Spangle (2000), conflict involves a struggle for power, the way decisions are made, the way we talk to each other, or unresolved problem from past interactions. Many of these factors may occur at the same time, so that we are not sure what the real definition is. Thus, defining conflict in a specific way may become a difficult task.

Because conflict is complex, its definitions tend to focus on a combination of many factors, such as the circumstances that lead up to a conflict or the behaviours of disputants that produce perceptions of disagreement. Therefore, several scholars view conflict from different factors. Isenhardt and Spangle (2000, p.3), provide examples from the many definitions of conflict (*see box 1 below*).

Box 1

Definitions of conflict

A conflict exists because of real or apparent incompatibility of parties' needs or interests (Bush and Folger, 1994, p.56).

Conflict occurs when two people cannot agree on the actions that one person takes or that he or she doesn't want the other to take (Edelman and Crain, 1993, p.18).

Conflict means perceived divergence of interests, or a belief that the parties' current aspirations cannot be achieved simultaneously (Rubin, Pruitt and Kim, 1994, p. 5).

Conflict involves a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources in which the aim of opponents is to neutralize, injure, or eliminate rivals (Coser, 1967, p.8).

Conflict is an intermediate stage of a spectrum of struggle that escalates and becomes more destructive: differences, disagreement, dispute (conflict), campaign, litigation, and fight or war (Keltner, 1987, pp. 1-2).

Conflict is an expressed struggle between at least two interdependent parties who perceive incompatible goals, scarce resources and interference from the other party in achieving their goals (Hocker and Wilmot, 1991, p. 23).

Source: Isenhardt and Spangle, 2000, p. 3

Considering these various above definitions, conflict is the consequence of diversity and the different needs we all have. For instance, we need food, jobs, housing, education, security, welfare, healthcare, freedom, land, etc. When conflicts are not well addressed, parties begin to see each other as enemies so that their disagreements may escalate into violence.

Concerning violence, there are various types of violence namely direct physical violence, structural violence and cultural violence. While they all aim to causing harm to others in pursuing of one's interests, they are however different from each other as far as its concepts is concerned.

The direct physical violence is that which injures and kills people, as in wars, torture, and certain kinds of crimes (Kent, 1993, p. 381). Physical violence involves direct injury to the human body. A direct violence entails a physical damage to the human body. Some examples can illustrate just a few of many cases of physical violence. It is a direct violence when a child is hurt by his father with a stick. The concentration camps and the use of gas at the time of the extermination of Jews by the Nazi constitute a typical of extreme physical violence. During the genocide of Tutsi in Rwanda in 1994, defencelessly, most of victims were killed in churches, schools, and hospitals where they were hidden. Pitilessly, the killers threw grenades into the crowds. This constitutes a case of horrible physical violence.

While physical violence aims to cause an injury to the human body, structural violence is harm imposed by some people on others indirectly, through the social system, as they pursue their own preferences (Kent, 1993). Structural violence is often accomplished by political repression, through which authorities with power gain benefits for themselves at the expense of others who have less political power. When government leaders decide to put more efforts in purchasing armaments rather than building hospitals or equipping education sector, this constitutes a case of structural violence. Most victims of homelessness or chronic malnutrition, for example, are victims of structural violence. It is also structural violence when ruling power refuses political posts to a certain ethnic group or refuses applying gender balance measures. At the practical level, Harris and Lewis (1999), state that for those groups left at the periphery, structural violence can mean low wages, landlessness, illiteracy, poor health, limited or non-existent political representation or legal rights and in general, limited control over much of their lives. If those who suffer from structural violence try to resist or to change it, they are often likely to encounter direct violence. At this level, community organizations may be harassed and suppressed, their members threatened, jailed or killed. Comparing with direct violence, the exploitation, neglect and repression of structural violence kill slowly but kill many more.

It is important to identify the difference between direct violence and structural violence. With the earlier there is a specific event, an identifiable victim, and an identifiable perpetrator. In contrast, structural violence is not visible in specific events. Its effects are most clearly visible at the societal level, as systematic shortfalls in the quality of life of certain groups of people. For Kent (1993), the direct violence presents a physical damage to the human body, and individual victims and perpetrators can be identified; while in structural violence, people suffer harm indirectly through a constant and slow process with no clearly identifiable perpetrators. Structural violence cannot be photographed.

As far as cultural violence is concerned, this refers to the justification or excuse used for physical or structural violence towards a group of people. For example, a broad view stating that black people deserve to be slaves because of their race would be cultural violence. A prevailing view that women are less worthy and thus deserve less pay or other advantages would be a manifestation of cultural violence. While direct violence is an event and structural violence is a process, cultural violence is ‘an invariant, a permanence, remaining essentially the same for long periods, given the slow transformation of basic culture’ (Harris and Lewis, 1993, p. 20).

Although most religions preach love, tolerance and non aggression, some individuals choose the use of violence. In this regard, Francis (2004) underlines that Jesus Christ preached love, humility and the power of powerlessness. However, wars have been fought, soldiers blessed and ships ‘christened’ in his name. In the name of religion people have tortured, murdered and conquered. Religion has been used to justify and support much cruelty and violence. They have oppressed women, taught hatred and blown themselves and others to pieces. Supreme heroes like Mahatma Gandhi or Martin Luther King, who risked their lives in order to communicate with who disagreed with them, taught us to treat our enemies with empathy and love, to use assertive power nonviolently but people often prefer the use of violence. Actually, violence destroys human values of love and denies the respect for life. Therefore, why do people choose violence in resolving conflict? Why do they choose to kill their fellow?

Clearly, some forms of violence are physical and thus manifest or visible. But others are just potential and not easily observable. Whether visible or just potential, violence is bad. Then, where do acts of violence come from? Is violence innate to human nature? Can violence be avoided? The following point will deal with these questions.

2.2.5. Conflict as inevitable, violence as a choice.

Conflict is inherent in almost all aspects of life. A conflict is a situation of difference in preferences between two or more parties. This situation can be between two individuals, tribes, nations, and due to those differences it becomes difficult for the conflicting parties to work together for a common goal. As described by Kent (1993), “Conflict is an incompatibility of preferences in a situation with several different possible outcomes” (p. 376). Thus, a situation of conflict arises when parties in question fail to compromise on an issue and none is willing to give up for the other because each holds on to its position.

Clearly, conflict is inevitable common place and ubiquitous in all societies that comprise diverse groups. Whether ethnicity, religion, ideology or class defines the groups, they have different interests, needs and values. Most importantly, they have different access to power and resources. However, “these differences necessarily give rise to competition and conflict without leading to inexorably to violence” (Nathan, 2001, 189). It is normal and healthy for societies to have conflicts. Conflicts seem essential for normal living. Without conflicts, there can be stagnation in society, since fewer new ideas would be developed. Moreover, “conflict can serve to bring to the surface and to clarify issues and goals” (King, 1981, p. 20). In general, conflict aims to bring to the surface and make explicit the points at the heart of the antagonism. Thus, conflicts are sometimes positive because they can lead to innovative thinking which is essential for development. Let us consider some examples of the positive aspects of conflict from Chetkow-Yanoov (1997):

1. In one-party government, or when (in a multiparty system) there is no opposition, democratic elections lose their significance.
2. Conflict may lead to a redistribution of economic, political, or social resources.
3. Like a catalyst, conflict produces results quickly as when marital discord hastens a couple’s movement toward divorce or reconciliation.

4. Confrontation and conflict can lead to an increased effort to solve problems or to achieve advances in technology.

The problem of conflict is a matter which concerns every human being. The coexistence between people and nations often remains a situation of conflict. Even if it is inevitable, conflict is not necessarily destructive and in itself it is not negative. It becomes negative when it is not well addressed; and when there are no measures taken to transform, resolve or manage it, a conflict can erupt into violence. So, any conflict has the potential of escalating into violence, especially if the parties concerned are not able to use for positive purposes. But when addressed positively, it generates energy for progress. Although we consider conflict as the root cause of violence, when we make an effort to deal with conflict carefully and in a constructive way, violence can easily be avoided.

Actually, violence is not innate to human nature. As Francis (2004, p. 61) points out “We have the moral resources inherent in our humanity: altruism, respect, compassion, and the desire to be seen - by ourselves and others – to have done right”. Thus, we are capable of love, courage and dedication. These human resources can provide the basis for curbing and transforming our destructive capacities. To illustrate this let take an example of Tutsi and Hutu in Rwanda, two groups considered as enemies. Despite of the genocide occurred in Rwanda, these two ethnic groups have been living together, before and after genocide. They marry each other and give gifts to one another. A number of Tutsi survivors are witnesses of the compassion of some Hutu which during the genocide helped the victims to escape this mass killing by hiding them or simply by helping them to escape the killers. During the genocide many houses of Tutsi were burned or destroyed, after the genocide most of Hutu helped the Tutsi to rebuild new houses or repair the destroyed ones. These are also signs of compassion and love. In the same line of idea the preamble of UNESCO charter (1986) states that, “Since wars begin in the minds of men and women, it is in the minds of men and women that we have to create the ramparts of peace”. This opinion is shared with Francis (2004) who asserts that wars start in the mind of people. The choices we make about violence are not determined by our biological and psychological predispositions. Violence is not the human genome. The meeting of scientists of 1986 in Seville concluded that “biology does not condemn humanity to war, and that humanity can be freed from the bondage of biological pessimism... Just as ‘wars begin in

the minds of men', so does peace settle there. The same species who invented war is capable of inventing peace. The responsibility lies with each one of us" (Seville statement on violence, 1986). Furthermore, The *Seville statement on violence* points out five arguments which show that, scientifically violence is not human genes:

It is scientifically incorrect to say that we have inherited from our animal ancestors a tendency to make war. It is scientifically incorrect to say that war or any violent behavior is genetically programmed into human nature. It is scientifically incorrect to say in the course of human evolution there has been a selection for aggressive behavior more than other kinds of behavior. It is scientifically incorrect to say that humans have a 'violent brain'. It is scientifically incorrect to say that war is caused by 'instinct' or any single motivation (UNESCO, 1986).

According to these above views, it is obvious that war and violence are always the invention of human being. Therefore, we can assume that many wars and mass killing occurred in different areas in the world have been carried out voluntarily and knowingly by men. For instance, Milosevic and his militias planned and put into action the project of killing his fellow Croats. Likewise, Hitler and the Nazis deliberately and voluntarily chose to exterminate the Jews. In the similar way, the 'Interahamwe' militias in Rwanda decided in 1994, to exterminate the Tutsi through a planned genocide. In all these cases, the choices made were not determined by their biological or psychological predispositions. They were made by men using their own intelligence. Nevertheless, in these instances, some individuals who had compassion, love and courage decided to save victims. Thus, violence is a choice; it is only an invention of men and not a biological necessity. It can therefore be avoided. Actually, the root of violence lies in human needs like the needs for survival, prosperity, power, honour or retain exclusive control over something scarce and valuable. In this regards, Mead (1940, p. 1) says, "Warfare is the inevitable concomitant of the development of the state, the struggle for land and natural resources of class societies springing not from the nature of man, but from the nature of history". More clearly, Mead (1940, p. 3) contends that "Warfare is just an invention known to the majority of human societies by which they permit their young men either to accumulate prestige or avenge their honour or acquire loot or wives...or sago lands or cattle or appease... the restless souls of the recently dead. It is just an invention, older and more widespread than the jury system..." Therefore, if we change our social system and outlaw classes, the struggle for power, and possessions, violence would disappear as a symptom vanishes when the disease is cured. If the power is viewed as the root of violence, this means that every one looks for

victory or glory. However, in the win-lose path, there is a danger that the losers suffer and the winners live in constant danger of retribution or reversal (Francis, 2004). This is the case of war between US and Iraq or largely with Arabic countries. US citizens live in fear of reprisals, just as others live in fear of attack by US.

It has argued before that conflict is natural and inevitable in human beings life. Unless we change our social system of struggling for power, conflict is not avoidable. Nevertheless, one can avoid its harmful consequences. Conflicts can be resolved peacefully. This can be achieved if we make efforts to deal with issues carefully and in constructive ways, enabling us to live harmoniously with others. The best choice of dealing with conflict is nonviolence. People can be educated to deal with conflicts in non violent ways. They can learn effective non violent ways of conflict resolution. According to Harris (2004), a lot of people choose violence because of the widespread belief that there is no alternative (TINA). But as Harris (2004) asserts, there are always other alternatives (TAAA). Throughout history, in a multitude of conflicts one has fought not by violence, but by psychological, social, economical or political methods and success has occurred. The effectiveness of resolving conflict non-violently is demonstrated by several historical examples from different researchers. Let consider some of them: the non violent campaign for Indian independence led by Gandhi, 1920-1924, has succeeded (Gregg, 1960, and Sharp, 2003); the nonviolence worked with the campaign for civil rights for blacks in USA, led by Martin Luther King (Gregg, 1960, and Harris, 2003); nonviolence has succeeded in March 1957, after ten years of campaign led by Nkrumah against the former British colony of the Gold Coast which became independent as Republic of Ghana (Gregg, 1960), a successful nonviolence worked with the anti-Vietnam war movement in US and elsewhere (Harris, 2003). If these and many others have succeeded why shouldn't we? Truly, conflict is inevitable but violence is a choice.

Since violence is not inherent to human nature as some would argue, each one can easily the path of nonviolence. In fact, Hinde and Rotblat (2003) argue that human aggressiveness is not an important cause of wars, though aggressiveness behaviour may be instigated by the war situation. For instance, during the genocide of Jews, under training, soldiers were instructed to imagine that the sack was an enemy soldier whom they both feared and hated, and thereby their aggressiveness was aroused. The training also involved learning to manipulate one's own

motivation to harm others. The soldiers were encouraged to see themselves as members of an elite, so that cruelty to Jews, seen as inferior beings or non-persons, became part of their code of values and helped them to confirm their social identity. Their actions of killing were seen as excusable and justifiable by believing that they were doing their duty for the Reich. The violence was legitimized by the institution of war. However, after such mass killing none could imagine that Germans will live and work together with Jews, considered in the past as inferior beings that do not deserve to live. Another instance is the racism and brutality characterized white people against black people during Apartheid in South Africa. None could imagine the life where black and white people would intertwine without violence: work together, study together, buy in the same shops, play together, etc. These examples support the Francis' opinion which states that "Just as people can learn to think and act brutally, so they can learn to think and act with care and respect. They can be brought up to fight and compete, or to play and cooperate" (2004, p. 77). That is we can choose to move away from our emphasis on difference and antagonism towards a concerted focus on a search for common ground and mutually ways of working. People must recognize the defects of the old invention (war). According to Mead (1940) propaganda against warfare or violence, documentation of its terrible cost in human suffering and social waste prepare the ground by teaching people to feel that violence is a defective social institution. Thus, if social invention is possible, then the invention of new methods which will render violence out of date is also possible. A form of behaviour becomes out of date when something else takes its place. It is therefore, very important to search for ways and means that will make violence obsolete. Some of the methods used in nonviolence are negotiation and mediation.

2.2.6. Negotiation

Negotiation is a fundamental life skill that we use every day in several ways. We use it in making family decisions, business arrangements, in solving issues at workplaces, in commercial transactions and plans with friends. When we work out special arrangements about bedtimes and chores with our children, we are negotiating. When we are discussing about a division of work with our colleagues, we are also negotiating. Negotiation shapes the way that enables people to live and work together harmoniously. It refers to the way people connect with one another, the way they work together in a mutually beneficial manner. Isenhardt and Spangle (2000, p. 45) state that "negotiation is the process that creates and fuels collaboration".

It is the process of negotiation that shaped United Nations agreements between states, that helped Israel and Egypt at Camp David to reach a peace accord agreement and ended a centuries old conflict.

Negotiation is a strategic choice for solving problems between conflicting parties. Negotiation involves parties' discussion for a possible solution. In this regard, negotiation can be viewed as "an interaction in which people try to meet their needs or accomplish their goals by reaching an agreement with others who are trying to get their own needs met" (Mayer, 2000. p. 142). In all these processes, the intention is to achieve a genuine solution realized by both parties as illustrated by Wilmot and Hocker (1998) when they refer to negotiation as a way of management of conflict through effective listening and assertion skills by conflicting parties indicating that they understand their mutual concerns and working toward a resolution built on the ideas of both parties, which addresses all concerns. However, it doesn't matter whether negotiation is called problem solving, bargaining, cooperative decision making, or communicating, simply when two or more people try to reach a voluntary and common agreement about an issue, they are negotiating, whatever the way used, either communicating directly or writing. Furthermore, the effectiveness of a negotiation is mainly determined by how well people handle its two major dimensions, namely integrative negotiation and distributive negotiation. Here are the main differences between these two types of negotiation.

Isenhardt and Spangle (2000) and Mayer (2000) describe integrative negotiation as constructive and problem-solving process in which people are oriented to enlarging and to maximizing interests of both parties for distribution among them while protecting the relationship. With integrative negotiation parties see what it is in their interests to help each other to achieve their goals. Mayer (2000) and Wilmot and Hocker (1998) assert that integrative negotiation can have two approaches; on one hand that parties have both common or similar interests that they can pursue; and on the other hand interests are diverse or different. Therefore, on one hand integrative solution can be attained when people have common interests; for instance both parents are concerned about the well-being of their children and this common interest can form an integrative negotiation. On the other side also different interests can be the basis of integrative solution if interests of parties are not directly opposite to each other. For instance both parents can obtain an integrative solution if one wants to have a particular influence over

the educational decisions of a child and the other wants to guide child's religious behaviour. Integrative negotiation typically emphasizes on a 'win/win' solution. It aims to foster trust and good working relationships, and leave all parties feeling good, not just one. The instance of the peace agreement between Israel and Egypt is a typical integrative negotiation, where Israel agreed to cede Sinai to Egypt and in return from Egypt, Israel acquired the right of free passage by its ships through the Gulf of Suez.

As far as distributive negotiation is concerned, Mayer (2000) describe it as a process of negotiation in which negotiators are focusing on how to get the most of what is available for themselves or for the people they represent. In distributive negotiation a negotiator uses tactics like threats, coercive strategies to convince other parties to agree to allocate him the interests that he wants. The parties' interests are often opposed and usually good feelings are not plentiful when the negotiation is over. In this regard Wilmot and Hocker (1998, p. 194) point out that "Competitive or distributive negotiations assume that what one person wins the other loses". Distributive negotiation focuses on what is called 'win/lose' solution. In contrast, integrative or collaborative bargaining assumes that the parties have both diverse interests and common interests and that the negotiation process can result in both parties gaining something. Nevertheless, Mayer (2000) underlines that distributive negotiations are not necessarily adversarial. People can work together in a friendly and open manner to decide how to share a limited resource. For instance, most of purchase and sales negotiations are friendly, collaborative but distributive.

Concerning major differences between integrative and distribution negotiation, while the competitive system assumes that someone loses and someone wins, integrative negotiation assumes that creativity and flexibility can help to achieve mutually beneficial trade-offs and transcend win/lose aspect of competitive negotiations (Wilmot and Hocker, 1998). In addition, integrative negotiation differs from distributive negotiation by the impact each has on disputants. In distributive negotiation a party seeks to achieve goals at the expense of the other in order to gain an advantage and often through use of demands or threats whereas in integrative negotiation a negotiator seeks to achieve a mutual solution compatible with the solution of others, and rarely resorts to threats or demands (Isenhardt and Spangle, 2000). In competitive negotiation, the approach is positional, rigid and insensitive to the interests of

others. The table 2 summarizes the main differences between integrative and distributive negotiation.

Table 2: Comparison between integrative and distributive negotiation

<i>Integrative negotiation</i>	<i>Distributive negotiation</i>
Collaborative	Competitive
Interest-focused discussion	Positional discussion
Problem solving	Forcing
Arguments based on merit	Bluff and intimidation
Valuing others	Devaluing others
Win-win attitude	Win-lose attitudes
Information sharing	Information hiding
Joint gains	Personal gains
Empathy and understanding	Self-focused
Joint interests	Self-interests
Power shared	Power over others

Source: Isenhardt and Spangle, 2000, p.47

Even though negotiations often lead to mutually acceptable and more sustainable outcome, we must be however be aware of some major factors that may hinder effective negotiation. One of the factors that hinder effective negotiation is the way negotiators frame or describe a problem. Isenhardt and Spangle (2000) say ‘To negotiate rationally, you must remember that the way in which a problem is framed or presented can dramatically alter how you perceive the value or acceptability of your alternatives’ (p. 54). In fact, the way that a problem is described frequently influences the willingness of parties to engage in integrated negotiation. Because, if for instance, the problem appears too complex or too overwhelming, disputants may decide not to continue to be disturbed. If disputants are allowed to use blaming expressions and present the problem as a person, the motivation to engage in concessions or compromise is reduced. Actually, Isenhardt and Spangle (2000) urge the parties in the discussion to separate the people from the problem, because blaming diverts energy from problem solving and focusing on

people fuels behaviours to resort to the fight of equalizing power. Therefore, as people feel attacked they use defensive means that resist to cooperation.

Another factor that inhibits effective negotiation is selective perception. Isenhardt and Spangle (2000) state that negotiations are prone to bias in perceptions of the situation, the set of possible solutions and the likelihood of achieving the results. In negotiation, people often see in the data what they want to see or hear in the words what they want to hear because it meets their prior bias. They strongly advise negotiators to reduce inaccurate perceptions or incorrect assumptions. It is not the actual differences in needs or interests, but people's perceptions of them, which largely determine the course of the negotiation. To overcome this phenomenon, disputants are encouraged to be involved in sharing information so that they can develop trust; get as much information as possible in order to create new possibilities and discover trade-offs for mutual solution.

The third factor that hinders effective negotiation is a phenomenon called entrapment. Rubin quoted by Isenhardt and Spangle (2000) describes entrapment as a situation in which disputants in negotiation become overcommitted to stay firmly in a position despite negative effects. Rubin says that in this situation parties are devoted to precedents, investment of time or money, irrational evaluation of value, rigid aspirations that can lead disputants to refuse cooperation in spite of the losses they will incur. Thus, the outcome is a destructive practice neither party gains something.

The fourth factors that inhibit effective negotiation are inaction and withdrawal. Pruitt and Carnevale (1997) assert that inaction and withdrawal do not move negotiation toward agreement. Withdrawal means the breaking off negotiation which does not achieve the agreement. And the success is for parties who are advantaged by the status quo. Inaction can take various forms such as not having the will for discussion or talking around the issues. People who are advantaged by the status quo tend to choose for inaction.

The last factor which is not less important in altering effective negotiation is communication. Mayer (2000, p.156) emphasizes, "What usually needs to occur for a negotiation to be successful is for people to learn to communicate effectively. If people really listen to each

other and try to understand what is at stake for all participants in a negotiation, they will naturally focus on each other's needs". If messages are not well understood, negotiation may not succeed. It is the same when message is believed without checking its truthfulness, negotiation becomes erroneous. Thus, negotiators should check the real information by giving feedback of their understanding. Not only words are communication. The tone of voice, facial expressions and body positions are also part of the message. In negotiation, parties should go beyond the message to see clearly the whole message. Good communication restores confidence and trust between disputants. Misunderstandings, rumours, gossip, and assumptions are often factors that hinder effective negotiation. Negotiations often fail because communication has not enough been clear. Good communication and good listening create good relationships, respect, and trust. The contrary creates mistrust. In order to succeed, negotiators should feel free to express their thoughts, their problems, their opinions, their feelings, and their needs.

2.2.7. Mediation

Although collaborative problem solving or negotiation between the participants in a conflict is the ideal, it is often neither the reality nor a realistic possibility; some conflict resolution requires, or is facilitated by, the involvement of the third party and this is usually called 'mediation.' The term mediation is used in different countries and in different contexts to mean slightly same things, such as the term 'conciliation' and 'facilitation' which are also variously used. However, the major principle underlying its usage is that of an independent, impartial third party whose intervention is concerned essentially with helping the process of resolution, and who is not primarily with the content of the conflict. In concrete terms, Isenhardt and Spangle (2000) describe mediation as a process in which a third neutral party – the mediator – who is not primarily concerned with the content of the conflict, impartial and has no power to impose a decision, guides disputing parties through a nonadversarial discussion process that aims to settle their disputes. For instance, when Moses went to the top of Mount Sinai in the earlier age, to intercede between the early Israelites and God, that was mediation.

Mediators aim to facilitate information exchange, promote understanding among parties, and encourage the exploration of creative solutions. According to Isenhardt and Spangle (2000), "Success of the mediation depends on the disputants' willingness to accept the mediator's role as a process expert for resolving differences, as well as disputants' willingness to share

information that might lead to a mutually beneficial agreement” (p. 72). In other methods of disputes resolution like litigation and arbitration, the conflicting parties rely on a third party to make a binding decision determining who is right or wrong. By contrast, mediation invites the parties to engage in a creative and collaborative method of problem solving, without forcing any decision on either party. Therefore, mediation is a flexible process and offers a number of potential advantages.

First, the mediation setting serves as a safe context for sharing information that might not otherwise be shared. In fact, disputants feel protected as the mediator for instance minimizes threatening behaviour, regulates the length of time people to talk, and specifies the manner in which disputants treat each other. Those who are uncomfortable discussing personal matters in an open courtroom may be more relaxed in a private setting. Second, the mediation context changes the focus of discussion from positional statements to interest statements that express needs, concerns, and fears. In mediation, discussions are based on merits of choices and thus have a greater potential for creating durable and long lasting solutions than do discussions characterized by defensive positions and blaming. Third, the mediation process provides a setting in which a neutral party who is emotionally uninvolved with the dispute is able to identify and clarify the central or the underlying issues of a complex situation. The thinking of quarrelling parties often becomes distorted by their emotional involvement, and this prevents them from seeing ways out of a stalemate. A fourth advantage is the absence of a leader who might impose a solution on the disputants. The parties are the final decision makers, while in adjudication, arbitration, or administrative hearing, a third party takes a decision for them. In mediation, the disputants have an opportunity to assume greater responsibility for finding ways to resolve differences. Because disputants make significant contributions to potential solutions, there is greater possibility that they will suspend hostilities or implement an agreement to which they contributed.

Before deciding to start the process of mediation, there is a set of conditions that should be taken into consideration. If these factors are considered, mediation has a high potential for success. Tillett (1999) says that resorting on mediation means that the parties have reached a stalemate or a crisis, or a previous failure to resolve through collaboration, or that there is a perception that the parties cannot settle their differences alone. In addition, all disputants must

show their willingness to allow a third party to help them to resolve the dispute. Parties must also agree on a particular process of agreement and a particular mediator acceptable to all parties. To illustrate this, we can take an example of Zimbabwe, where the government and the opposition party MDC (Movement for Democratic Change) reached a failure to resolve their dispute through negotiation. They decided to be mediated by a third party and agreed to a particular mediator (Thabo Mbeki, former president of South Africa). The mediator will ensure that parties have the willingness to discuss about the problem. In fact, Isenhardt and Spangle (2000) assert that in mediation the parties should manifest the willingness to engage in collaborative discussion about the issues. The mediator should likewise consider that the participation of disputants is voluntary and parties have the power to create a mutually agreeable settlement. According to Isenhardt and Spangle (2000) it is also important for the mediator to consider that parties are willing to suspend hostilities, threats and intimidation during the mediation process. The mediator should therefore check if parties are likely to abandon all kinds of intimidation or threats. Then, in mediation, for a high potential of success all parties who contributed to the dynamics of conflict should be included in the discussions.

There are a number of qualities that guide successful mediators. Actually, the mediator must possess or be able to demonstrate a number of qualities. One of the most important is empathy—that is, being able to understand how someone else is feeling, and to show this by reflecting the other's feelings. In this regard, Isenhardt and Spangle (2000, p. 76) assert that “The best mediators display empathy at appropriate points to let parties know that their concerns matter. When parties feel heard, there is a greater chance that they will be candid with their contributions and more confident about the process”. A quality called impartiality is also important. A mediator should be always impartial. He should never take side. Actually, Pruitt and Carnevale (1997) state that in mediation there is always a danger that one or both parties come to believe that the mediator is hostile or biased against them. To keep the neutrality line, a mediator should be non-judgmental, respond to disputants warmly and caringly without criticism or argument in favour or against one or another party. Disputants will demonstrate more guarded communication with mediators whom they regard with suspicion. The mediator is equally required to have a quality of confidentiality. “A mediator serves as a safe listener and one with whom parties can share information that they would not otherwise share publicly” (Isenhardt and Spangle, 2000, p. 77). Therefore, the ability to function effectively

heavily relies on the ability of the mediator to honour the confidentiality of information shared by disputants. Effectiveness in questioning should also characterize the mediator. Successful mediators are adept at asking probing and clarifying questions. They ask insightful questions that uncover concerns and interests that underlie positional statements. A successful mediator should also possess other characteristics: an appropriate sense of humour, the ability to act unobtrusively in conflict, persistence and patience, and specific knowledge about the subject area in which they are mediating.

Negotiation and mediation are some of the methods used in resolving conflict nonviolently. For the sake of a peaceful cohabitation, our way of life should be characterized by nonviolence. Thus, an important question might be asked: can education and training people in nonviolence practice be effective? Let us consider this question in the following section.

2.3. The effectiveness of education and training in dealing with conflict

Parents have a great responsibility to educate their children in the way of peace. Theorists contend that children's attitudes about peace and violence are influenced more by what they learn at home than what they learn at school (Harris, 2004, p. 127). Actually, the experience shows that a child often acts in the way he or she was educated by his or her parents. For instance, people laugh when little boys fight and say that 'boys will be boys' meaning that to be properly male is to be aggressive. By contrast, girls are expected to be gentle and caring; fighting is seen as an aberration in little girls. Parents play a lamentable role in this inconsistency. Parents must be careful for instance when they choose toys for their children. The types of toys our children use contribute to the way they behave. A boy who is given a toy-gun learns to shoot. Eventually, it becomes easier for him to develop aggressive behaviour or to yearn for military career. The kind of media our children are watching also has an important impact to their education. Children who watch violent programmes may easily become conditioned to accept and perpetrate violence. In connection with these instances, the scientists of Seville are right when they underline that "How we act is shaped by how we have been conditioned and socialized" (UNESCO, 1986). If we act with love and peace in our families, we educate by good examples. Both father and mother have the responsibility to inculcate the culture of peace from the infancy. Parents should teach by example.

Peace studies should equally be introduced in the curriculum from pre-schools to universities. Harris (2004, p. 127) acknowledges that “Schools are often the only institution that society can formally, intentionally and extensively use to achieve this [peace education] mission”. The role of education as tool of general development playing a significant role in building peace has been recognized. A reduction in levels of aggression and violence was observed where peace education matters were introduced in curricula of school and universities, such as in Japan, Australia, Northern Ireland, the UK, the USA and South America (Harris, 2004).

Nevo and Brem (2002) carried out a study to assess the effectiveness of peace education programmes across all levels of education and criteria. The study revealed that between 1981 and 2000, almost 300 studies described a peace education programme and 79 specifically analysed the effectiveness of the programme. Of these 79 programmes, 51 were assigned to be effective, 18 were partially effective and 10 were classified as non-effective. These results were described by the authors as presenting ‘a very encouraging picture’.

Eckhardt, quoted by Kaman and Harris (2000) conducted a study at Washington University, St. Louis in 1983 to assess the impact of studying peace. Specifically, the research was designed to measure changes in values or compassion that occurred as a result of studying peace or related areas. The questionnaire was applied before and after the course of study was undertaken. The study revealed evidence of attitude changes in the compassionate direction.

Another study (Kaman and Harris, 2000) examined students at the University of Papua New Guinea to assess changes effectiveness of peace education. A same questionnaire was given to two different groups of students: Politics students and Peace Studies students. The students were tested before and after their different courses were undertaken. The study found that after their study Peace Studies students had significant and higher scores on critical thinking and values. That is, Peace Studies students had become more positive, generous and more optimistic that a more peaceful and just society is possible. Such changes did not occur for the Politics students.

However, teaching about peace is not enough. “Education for peace should permeate all aspects of school life, with implications for learners, teachers and administrators” (Harris, 2004, p. 126). Teaching methods, methods of discipline, decision-making processes in classroom and school, and all aspects of the school environment should be part of educating for peace as the curriculum itself.

Nevertheless, schools and universities are not the only contexts in which peace education is possible, as argued above. In this regard, Harris (2004) asserts peace education can be undertaken throughout society via the mass media, through religious organizations, through community structures and publicity campaigns. Those examples and others are good channels that can be used to teach about the non-violent resolution of conflict. I concur with the statements of Seville’s scientists (UNESCO, 1986) when they urge us to make peace a possibility in the minds of our educators at all levels and in those who will be the beneficiaries. Different actors in education, such as parents, teachers, students, church leaders, and politicians should therefore stand up and put together their contribution so that violence can be eradicated. Educating and training in nonviolence should be our choice if we want to build peaceful societies. Even though education is a slow process of changing people’s attitudes as asserted by Harris (2004), but it is a thorough and potentially effective way to build sustainable peace.

2.4 Conclusion

It is important to note that there is no academic literature on conflict in Rwanda other than that related to the genocide. A search was made using the Academic Search Complete database, whose website describes itself as 'the world's most valuable and comprehensive scholarly, multi-disciplinary full-text database, with more than 7,100 full-text periodicals, including more than 6,100 peer-reviewed journals'. The keywords used were conflict AND Rwanda (136 academic journal articles, 1991-2009), conflict resolution AND Rwanda (23 articles, 1996-2008), conflict management AND Rwanda (33 articles, 1996-2009) mediation AND Rwanda (21 articles, 1994-2008). Only *one* article of all these was relevant to the present study (McNairn, 2004) and while that described the benefits of training in conflict management, this was done in poor rural communities. As scholars, we know nothing about the nature, extent, causes and consequences of conflict in Kigali. Chapter 4 will therefore fill a major gap in the literature by reporting the views of a sample of Kigali residents about conflict in their city.

Chapter 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter explores the research methodology used in this study. It discusses the main method used in this research, namely qualitative research. It also briefly relates other methods used in this study such as documentary analysis and informal discussion for gathering data. Then, the chapter discusses limitations and ethical considerations faced in this inquiry.

3.2. Qualitative research and procedure

As mentioned above, this study is primarily relied on qualitative research method using interviews with 20 participants (see section 3.2.2.) To scrutinize the data, thematic analysis was used. According to Bouma and Rod (2004) qualitative research sets out to provide an impression: to tell what kinds of ‘something’ there are; to tell what is like to be, do or think something. Qualitative researchers try to find out ‘What is going on here?’ from the perspective of those who are in the situation being researched. While quantitative research sets out to give numerical results that can be reported in tables and graphs, and answers therefore questions about situations in terms of ‘how many?’ or ‘what proportion?’, qualitative method uses non-mathematical procedures in the process of data collection and interpretation. Patton (2001) states that qualitative research method uses a naturalistic approach that seeks to understand phenomena in context-specific settings, where the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest” (p. 39). Broadly defined, qualitative method means “any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification and instead, the kind of research that produces findings arrived from real world settings where the phenomenon of interest unfold naturally”(Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p. 17). Bouma and Rod (2004) provide the main difference between qualitative and quantitative research methods:

“One of the major differences between quantitative and qualitative research is that, once the basic decisions are made in quantitative research, there is little opportunity to alter them in the light of early findings. Once a questionnaire is designed and sent, it is out of the researcher’s hands. Once an experiment has been carried out, it is over. However, qualitative research allows more continuous

reflection on the research in progress and more interaction with the participants in research, and there is usually more room for ongoing alteration as the research proceeds” (p. 169).

One of the key aims of qualitative research is to provide the maximum opportunity for the researcher to learn from the participants, therefore this requires data collection to be flexible. Ely et al (1991) assert that qualitative researchers want those who are studied to speak for themselves, to provide their perspectives and so teach the researcher about their lives and experiences. As this study required specific and detailed information, a qualitative approach proved to be the most useful method for carrying out this inquiry. It also helped me to collect subtle verbal and non-verbal messages of the participants in as much detail as possible.

Objectivity is vital in qualitative research because the researcher has a closer relationship with the participants than in quantitative research. In this vein, Eisner (1991, p. 58) argues that “a good qualitative research study can help ...to understand a situation that would otherwise be enigmatic or confusing”. Qualitative research is often criticized for the degree of subjectivity and lack of ‘rigour’ in the techniques used (Cassell and Symon, 1994). Its critics contend that qualitative researchers may depart from the original objectives of the research in response to the changing nature of the context. This means that decisions about research are made in gradual response according to the nature of the social setting being investigated as its nature is revealed. Nevertheless, Patton (2002) argues that qualitative method produces richer, more valid data and, above all, may involve the participants to a degree which may be rare to find in quantitative research.

This opinion is also supported by Holliday (2002) who asserts that qualitative research is increasing in use in a wide range of academic and professional areas. He says that qualitative method develops from aspects of anthropology and sociology and represents a broad view that to understand human affairs it is insufficient to rely on quantitative survey and statistics, and necessary instead to delve deep into the subjective qualities that govern behaviour.

Before carrying out the data collection, I visited the offices of different institutions (see section 1.5) where I intended to find informants. These offices are situated in Kigali. I met the officials in order to request them the permission to carry out my inquiry in their respective institutions. After a brief explanation of the aim of my research and responding to some of their concerns and questions, they allowed me to carry out my investigation. They also helped me to schedule the appointments of interviews with informants (note that some officials were among those key informants). The questionnaire-interview is included in the appendix, in both English and Kinyarwanda (local language used in Rwanda).

3.2.1. Recruiting participants and sampling

Since it is impossible to give your questionnaires or interviews to every one, researchers must study a ‘sample’ of their subject populations to use throughout the study. Bless and Higson-Smith (1995, p. 85) define sampling theory as ‘a technical accounting device to rationalize the collection of information, to choose in an appropriate way the restricted set of objects, persons, events and so forth from which the actual information will be drawn’. As far as this study is concerned one type of non-probability sampling- a ‘purposive’ or ‘judgmental’ sample as called by Sewpaul (1995, p. 33) and Bless and Higson-Smith (1995, p. 95), was utilized when recruiting participants.

De Vos (1998) states that “a purposive study is [one] whereby information-rich participants with depth and breadth of experience and who share commonalities are identified”. Moreover, Babbie (2004) argues that ‘...it is appropriate for you to select your sample on the basis of your own knowledge of the population, its elements, and the nature of your research aims: in short, based on your judgment and the purpose of the study’ (p. 166). Judgmental sampling involves the researcher using his/her own judgment or intuition to select the best or relevant participants, people or groups to be studied. Thus, judgmental or purposive sampling helped to select participants who would serve the specific purposes of this study. The target population sample was those people from civil society (particularly those defending human rights) and public administration who daily deal with interpersonal and community conflicts because it was assumed that they have a vast experience of which and how conflicts affect people in Kigali. The selected participants were approached in person and telephonically. They were

informed of the nature of the study and asked if they would be interested in partaking in the study. Appointments were then scheduled with interested participants.

3.2.2. The interview process

There are many ways of gathering information directly from participants if such information cannot be obtained from observation. One of these direct ways of obtaining information is the interview. Gillham (2000) describes interview as a conversation, usually between two people where one person – the interviewer – is seeking responses for a particular purpose from the other person – the interviewee – in order to obtain information and understanding of issues relevant to the general aims and specific questions of a research project. An interview involves personal contact with the participant who is asked to answer questions. Those people who are interviewed are free to expand on the topic as they fit, to focus on particular aspects or to relate their story about their experiences or lives as they wish and identifying the issues and possible solutions that are important to them. Interviews help us to acquire information about social world. In this regard, Silverman (1997) argues that information about social worlds is achievable through in-depth interviews. He says ‘Interviewing provides a way of generating empirical data about the social world by asking people to talk about their lives or experiences’ (p. 113). Given that in-depth interviews provide the best opportunity to find out what someone else thinks, feels or knows about his life or experiences, the primary data collection method that I used during fieldwork was interviewing.

Qualitative interviews were conducted with participants from different fields of work but who regularly meet or deal with conflicting situations. Actually, Rubin and Rubin (1995) state “all people you choose to interview should satisfy three requirements. They should be knowledgeable about the cultural arena or the situation or experience being studied, they should be willing to talk and when people in the arena have different perspectives, the interviewees should represent the range of points of view” (p. 65-66). The participants fulfilled the above requirements: the field of research was not new to the interviewees, they were willing to respond and able to talk about the topic research.

The interviews were conducted to a sample of people who primarily deal with interpersonal and community conflicts on a daily basis in Kigali viz., from the staff of Ministry of work in charge of workers requests, administration staff of KIMIHURURA sector (district GASABO), CESTRAR officials: the Federation of Rwandese workers associations, civil societies members especially HAGURUKA association: a NGO defending child and woman rights and members from AJPRODHO-JIUKIRWA, a youth association that advocates for human rights development and staff from BENEVOLENCIA a NGO managing interpersonal and community conflicts especially through mass media. The interview adopted an approach of asking general questions so as to encourage participants to open up and lead the interview and give their perspectives with as little influence from the researcher as possible. The questionnaire-interview was designed in a manner that facilitates the responses from the respondents on their opinion and perceptions surrounding the principal themes of this research.

Bouma and Rod (2004) recommend interviewing in places that are safe and comfortable for the researcher and participants because in-depth interviews are usually more productive if the participants are comfortable. In this respect, I used safe and comfortable places where we were alone, the participant and I. The participants approached were both men and women who had experience on how Kigali is affected by conflict in particular and Rwandan society in general. All participants were native of Rwanda. Their ages were varying between 25 and 55. With the agreement of participants to partake in the study the way of documenting an interview was to take extensive fields notes of the participant's responses. This face-to-face interviews elicited positive responses from 20 participants. In order to understand each other and to get deep meanings and information, the interviews were conducted in the local language: Kinyarwanda (language spoken by all Rwandan natives). They were then translated from Kinyarwanda into English. However, some of the participants were able to speak both Kinyarwanda and English; when it was the case, participants were allowed to use both languages. For the interest of confidentiality, I personally transcribed all the interviews. However, the translation of some words from Kinyarwanda into English was not easy: on several occasions it was very complex and problematic. But to solve this problem, I used to discuss such words or expressions with the participants, during or after interview sessions to ensure that there was a common understanding of the words usage. The duration of the interviews ranged between 50 and 130 minutes.

Before every actual interview was started, some clarification and information were given to the participants: a clear idea of why they have been asked, the basic information about the purpose of the interview and the research project; and some idea of the probable length of the interview and the way I would use to document the interview. Another thing which is not less important is that I tried to be sure that I was in the interview room well ahead of the appointment time. In fact, Gillham (2000) contends that the respect of the appointment time is common courtesy and it can be a source of confusion if you are late. Throughout the interviews, probing questions were asked in order to get a broader discussion with the interviewees. It is actually important to stimulate participants to talk more because much more information is gotten. In this respect, Rubin and Rubin (1995, p. 131) writes “Throughout the interview you should work to encourage your conversational partner to be open and frank, as well as to provide answers in depth”. At the beginning of each interview, most of participants were hesitating to respond. They seemed not to be interested by the topic research. But as the interview was continuing, they were more interested by the discussion, showed cooperation and freely expressed their experiences.

When narrating their experiences, many participants spent at least ten minutes or more on one question telling their stories and other related anecdotes so that it was difficult to pass to another question. Definitely, they told me that the topic was really interesting and enjoyable; they encouraged me to do more research in the area of conflict resolution. They also hailed such idea and efforts undertaken solution to establish a centre for conflict resolution and encouraged to pursue this way so that a space of dialogue and mediation can be put into place. At the end of the interviews, a useful summary about what I have learnt from the interviewees was done so that they could give feedback on the summary impression. Also, appreciative comments were addressed to the participants for instance ‘you’ve given me a lot of useful material’, ‘thank you for your invaluable help in this study’, ‘I am very grateful for your extremely useful and rich conversation’, etc. After all interviews were done, e-mail messages of thanks were likewise sent to each one of the interviewed people.

3.2.3. Some challenges

Although these interviews are described to be positive and useful, this study was challenging for different reasons. Firstly, when recruiting I met a great deal of hesitance from participants. A large number of participants required detailed information of the nature of the study, and needed to be convinced that I would not divulge either their identities or their declarations. To this challenge, some explanation about the aim and nature of the study were given and confidentiality was granted to them. Secondly, there was tendency from some participants to provide only brief answers without elaborating and thus rendering little data. To find a solution to this problem, some probing questions inviting participants to talk at length or reflect on their personal experience were asked to them. Thirdly, as the questions were globally general and as participants had a lot of freedom to respond to the questions, a number of them (but not too many) drifted to topics unrelated to the research. But politely, the discussion was redirected back to the research topic for instance by showing them you're interested in what they were talking about and you tell them you would like however to know more about when the interview was finished. Fourthly, this data collection was extremely time and money consuming. As far as time is concerned in-depths interviews, they were longer in duration than I had anticipated: most of them took more than one hour; it even happened that three interview sessions were postponed to the following days because they were started in afternoon and it was not possible to finish them given their length. Concerning money, the transport from home to the interview premises were expensive because the distance was a bit far from home but especially because the scheduled interviews were often cancelled under pretext of other 'important meetings' or 'urgent programs', thus I was obliged to go and come back another day. Money was also spent when telephoning participants firstly to ask them to partake in the study and secondly to fix program of interview with them.

3.2.4. Data analysis

Holliday (2002) contends that once many novice or experienced researchers find out they have got their data, it can equally become difficult and even more problematic deciding what to do with it and how to talk about it on paper. However, having organized his/her data, the researcher has to analyse it and make sense of it. Therefore, he/she has to write what is going on and most importantly to develop his/her sense of 'having been there' or having been close

to the situation so that he/she can manage or explain the data as someone who knows the situation personally.

There are many ways of analyzing informants' views about their experiences. Holliday (2002) says that a common way of analyzing data is taking data from all parts of the corpus and arrange it under thematic headings i.e. thematic analysis. I decided to use thematic analysis because it focuses on identifiable themes and patterns of living or behaviour, provides much wider understanding of the participants' responses. Holliday (2002) stresses that "under thematic headings, extracts of data are taken from the corpus, put together with discussion and used as evidence for the ongoing argument".

The thematic analysis involves careful reading of the transcribed life stories, categories of the stories into themes and seeking patterns of meaning and experiences. According to Holliday (2002), the key principle of thematic analysis is to stay close to the data. The purpose of interpretative analysis is to provide a thick description which "...gives the context of an experience, states the intentions and the meanings that organized the experience, and reveals the experience as a process (Holliday, 2002, p. 79). Thus, thematic analysis helps in the understanding of the text and its interpretation, because as Taylor (1979) argues the thematic analysis is primarily concerned with the meaning of a text which the researcher comes to understand through oral or written text. This facilitates an internal coherence between method of data collection and data analysis.

3.2.5. The procedure

The first step was the collection of the data primarily through the in-depth interviews with participants. Of course when confronted with a pile of data, new problems emerge and further decisions have to be done. Actually, once data have been collected it is necessary to decide how they are to be summarized and presented. However, data analysis is a task requiring a great deal of concentration. Bouma and Rod (2004) argue, although data are collected in detail, usually they cannot be reported or presented at the same level of detail. As Bouma and Rod (2004, p. 143) say (in respect of quantitative data) 'in order to summarize and present data, tables, graphics or charts are constructed; averages and percentages are calculated'. Thus, the data must first be categorized which was the next step of analysis in this study.

In fact, categories must be selected where data can be analyzed. From transcribed conversations, different categories or patterns of experiences were identified from direct quotes or paraphrasing common ideas from the respondents' views. Of course, the questions I asked were designed to provide such categories. Categorization or thematic analysis involves identifying all data from transcripts that are related to the chosen themes (Boyatzis, 1998, p. 160). Then, substantive statements were identified and put under the corresponding categories or themes. In this regard, I went through all the transcripts and checked them in order to do categories myself. But it was difficult to determine from raw data which substantive statement was more useful than the other to be included or of little use so as to be excluded from raw material study. It was a bit challenging and time consuming.

The following step was to combine and code related patterns into themes. Themes were identified by 'bringing together components or fragments of ideas or experiences or which often are meaningless when viewed alone' (Leininger, 1985, p. 60). Themes that emerged from the interviewees' stories were put together to form meaningful sense and to make meaning of participants' collective experiences. In fact, Leininger (1985) argues that the coherence of ideas rests with the analyst who has thoroughly studied how different ideas or components fit together. When gathering different ideas of information from participants, themes emerging were found out. Although, as Gillham (2000) contends, the process of categorization and classifying is difficult it has a disciplining effect not just on your spreadsheets but on your own intellectual grasp of your material. Without doubt the categorization enabled me to see more clearly the significance and a better understanding, particularly of what people have said to me. Once the themes had been established and the literature had been studied, the formulation of theme statements was possible so that developing a storyline was feasible.

3.2.6. Reliability and validity

According to Bless and Higginson-Smith (1995), reliability can be defined as the extent to which the observable measures that represent a theoretical concept are accurate and stable when used for the concept in different studies, while validity is concerned with just how accurately the observable measures actually represent the concept in question or whether, in fact, they represent something else. Actually, the issues of reliability and validity are very important,

because in them the objectivity of social scientific research is at stake. Silverman (1997) points out that the aim of social science consists in producing descriptions of social world not just any descriptions but descriptions that in some controllable way correspond to the social world that is being described. In research practice, enhancing objectivity is a very concrete activity which involves efforts to assure the accuracy of recordings that the research is based on as well as efforts to examine the truthfulness of those recordings. Briefly, reliability and validity concern the accuracy and consistency of data.

In my interviews, responses from participants were regularly clarified by repeating them verbatim for confirmation. This helped to get coherence between methodology, data collection and analysis. In this study, cross checking of data was done to maintain reliability. Reliability was maintained by asking probing questions related to the study so that participants could be free to express their ideas. This strategy helped me to elicit important responses from participants that correlated to the study and to be sure about the cohesion and consistency of information given by them. In addition, when writing up my interview data I made necessary checks to make sure that I was still working in line with my research aims (section 1.3).

3.3. Documentary analysis

Bouma and Rod (2004) underline that where, rather than just counting the number of times themes occur, researchers use the themes to construct a picture of what it is like to experience a given situation, and texts can be a source of data. For instance, documents can be used to answer the question, ‘What was happening in this time and place to these people?’. Documents can also be a useful source of data about what is like to experience particular situations. In this inquiry, the documentary analysis was used as the basis for gathering secondary data. It included the examination of reports from government institutions or civil societies, newspapers, documents, journals and books.

3.4. Informal discussion

Although literature review, textual analysis and interviews are very important means of acquiring necessary background knowledge for carrying out the research, it must be kept in mind that they are not the only ones. ‘Much vital information and personal experiences have never been published, making it necessary to talk to people. Useful background information can be obtained in direct discussion with people involved in a similar subject issue’ (Bless and Higson- Smith, 1995, p. 25).

That is the reason why the researcher conducted informal discussions with key informants in Kigali (experts, courts officials, lawyers, administrators and police staff) to evaluate the relevance and the likely contribution of a Conflict Resolution and Mediation Centre, and have knowledge of the main conflicts affecting Kigali especially and the Rwandan community in general. Some field notes were taken by the researcher during these discussions. This data was used to supplement the data drawn from the conducted interviews; it was also used to verify the information gathered through the interviews.

3.5. Ethical considerations

Research in the social sciences usually involves dealing with people, organizations and groups. Unless you are only dealing with data that have already been collected, such as census data or public documents, you will be asking people questions, observing their behaviour, or collecting other information about them. All our dealings with other people raise ethical issues. We are familiar with the ethical issues relating to our personal lives for instance issues of loyalty honesty, integrity, and others. So, too, there are ethical issues that need to be considered. Research cannot pursue knowledge at the expense of participants’ dignity. A view expressed by Stenbacka (2001) asserts that it is essential that the researcher be guided by ethical principles when carrying out research. A similar opinion from Babbie and Mouton (2001) states that the researcher should understand his/her responsibility to maintain ethical considerations. According to Bouma and Rod (2004, p.188) “Ethical principles basically require that participants in the research must be able to give informed consent to being part of the research, the identity of informants must be protected unless they give written permission

to be identified in stored data and research reports, researchers must not coerce participants into participating or divulging information, ...”

This study also was concerned by some primary ethical considerations, namely privacy or voluntary participation and confidentiality. Concerning privacy or voluntary participation, Bless and Higson Smith (1995) argue that the right to privacy demands that not only participants in the research must be free to consent to participating in at the outset, but they must also be reminded that they are free to withdraw from the research at any time without penalty if they wish to do so. In this research, before conducting the interviews participants were informed about their right to partake voluntarily in the research and to end their participation whenever they want without any negative consequence. Likewise, verbal and written consent were sought from all participants and granted (see informed consent form in appendix). As far as confidentiality is concerned, Bless and Higson-Smith (1995) assert that respondents must be assured that information given will be treated with confidentiality. Before carrying interviews, the researcher explained to the participants that the data will only be used for the stated purpose of the research and they were assured that no other person will have access to interview data.

3.6. Limitations to the study

When carrying out a study it is important that the researcher acknowledge possible limitations faced. But these potential limitations should not mean that useful information was not elicited from participants and therefore these limitations shouldn't negate the findings of this study. Nevertheless, these limitations need to be acknowledged and taken into consideration.

3.7. Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the research methodology used in this study. Especially the primary research method utilized to collected data i.e. qualitative method was highlighted. The process interview, the sampling techniques and the procedure and data analysis followed during this research design were elucidated. Other accessory research methods used to collect data were equally briefly discussed in this chapter: literature review, documentary analysis and informal discussion. The chapter has also pointed out the ethical concerns applied throughout the study

and finally it dealt with some challenges and limitations to this study. The following chapter will talk about the analysis and interpretation of data.

Chapter 4: CONFLICT IN KIGALI

4.1. Introduction

The responses of the 20 informants on which this dissertation is based, are reported in chapters four and five. Chapter four deals with the nature, the extent, the causes and the consequences of conflicts in Kigali and ways used to resolve them. Chapter five is dealing with the plan to establish a conflict resolution and mediation centre in Kigali and the respondents' views about this idea. In this research, participants' responses and their narrative accounts are considered and then interpretation of these experiences and description are done. We start with the nature of conflicts.

4.2. Nature of conflicts

In this section, the types of conflicts that are found in Kigali were investigated. Various kinds of conflicts were mentioned by respondents. However this section points out the main types of conflicts as revealed by the research: domestic conflicts or domestic violence, land conflicts and expropriation conflicts, property or ownership and succession conflicts; and ethnic conflicts. These are summarized in the table below.

Table 3: The nature of conflicts experienced in Kigali

Types of conflicts	Respondents' views	
	Number: /20	Percentage
Domestic conflicts or domestic violence	16	80%
Land conflicts and expropriation conflicts	9	45%
Property or ownership and succession conflicts	12	60%
Ethnic conflicts	7	35%
Others	10	50%

* Source: Survey February 2009

As indicated in Table 3, 80% of the respondents reported that domestic conflicts or domestic violence are commonly experienced in Kigali while 60% of the respondents mentioned conflict over property or ownership and succession conflict. 45% of respondents indicated that land conflicts and expropriation conflicts happen in Kigali city while 35% mentioned ethnic conflicts. Various other conflicts like swindle and breach of trust, political conflicts, workplace conflicts, murder and assassination, abortion, different violations related to personal rights and freedom, assaults and batteries, robbery, rape, environmental conflicts, and so forth have also reported to happen in Kigali.

4.3. Extent of the conflicts

This section shows the extent of each of the four main conflicts revealed by this study according to the respondents. Results are presented in the following table.

Table 4: The extent of the conflicts

Types of conflicts	Respondents' views: Level of frequency			
	Very frequent		Frequent	
	Number: /20	percentage	Number: /20	percentage
Domestic conflicts or domestic violence	16	80%	-	-
Land and expropriation conflicts	5	25%	4	20%
Property and succession conflicts	6	30%	6	30%
Ethnic conflicts	3	15%	4	20%

* Source: Survey February 2009

Table 4 indicates that a large number of respondents (80%) reported that domestic conflicts are very frequent; 30% said that property and succession conflicts are very frequent while an equivalent percentage expressed that they are only frequent; 25% considered that land and expropriation conflicts are very experienced while 20% said those conflicts are frequent.

4.4. Causes of conflicts

This survey has also investigated the causes of each of these conflicts. Many causes were given by the respondents so that they cannot be tabulated. The main causes reported by the respondents are described in the following subsections.

4.4.1. Domestic conflicts

The study has found that domestic conflicts as principal kind conflict that occurs in Kigali comes from many causes, some of which are deeply-rooted in Rwanda culture and male attitudes while, others are based on specific behaviours:

- alcohol;
- adultery by females;
- infidelity by males;
- ignorance of law governing the family and therefore lack or little knowledge of husband and wives' rights;
- lack of dialogue between spouses or all family members including children;
- sexual dissatisfaction;
- illegal weddings for instance polygamy, concubinage and marriage done without all legal required formalities;
- attitude of male dominance in Rwandan culture;
- mistreatment especially beatings from husbands;
- loss of the sense of family and breakdown of moral values
- mismanagement of property particularly by males without consulting females;
- lack of/ or poor family planning.

4.4.2. Land and expropriation conflicts

The respondents suggested the following as important causes:

- insufficiency or scarcity of land in general;
- lack or unclear law governing land management;
- many unregistered lands and plots in hands of current 'owners' ;

- lack of clear and sustainable urban plan of Kigali city (Note that recently in May 2009, an urban master plan of Kigali city was launched, and the number of conflicts related to this obstacle will probably decrease);
- insufficient compensation for plot/land/property taken for expropriation by the Government;
- rapid urbanization of Kigali which is more than the capacity of the majority of ordinary people to handle.

Note that land conflicts generally occur in rural areas while expropriation conflicts globally happen in urban areas. However, as Kigali is today, it has a massive area that can be considered as rural. That is the reason why land conflicts also occur in Kigali city due to high levels of expropriation to support the 2020 vision (a Rwandan government plan aimed to accelerate development and eliminate poverty by the end of 2020).

4.4.3. Property and succession conflicts

The respondents suggested the following as important causes of property and succession conflicts:

- illegal weddings including polygamy and marriage done without all legal required formalities;
- ignorance of law governing the property and successions;
- male dominance sentiment that causes egoism;
- the prevailing mindset in Rwandan culture stating that females do not succeed;
- unfair (unequal) distribution of property by parents between their children;
- generalized insufficiency of family property;
- illegitimate children (born outside the closed and legal family) who claim succession besides legitimate ones;
- genocide consequences (for example when it comes the succession of property by many relatives the deceased, or the sale of the property left by someone who fled the country after genocide).

4.4.4. Ethnic conflicts

Responses concerning the main causes of ethnic conflicts in this research are the following:

- the breakdown in the covenant of trust among people in general and particularly aggravated by the 1994 genocide;
- psychological injuries linked to the history of violent conflict between Hutu and Tutsi;
- ideological differences existing between Hutu and Tutsi established in peoples' minds or/and taught from parents to children;
- marriage between Hutu and Tutsi individuals (generally relationships between them are not smooth).

4.5. Consequences of the conflicts

As mentioned above, Kigali experiences several kinds of conflicts. In previous sections, the main types of conflicts and its possible causes has been highlighted. In this section the consequences that are or can be created by each of those conflicts were investigated.

4.5.1. Domestic conflicts

According to the respondents' views, consequences related to the domestic conflicts are various and different from each other. But the main causes that often occur are presented in below lines:

- distrust or breakdown of trust between spouses or family members in general;
- decrease or lower level of education for children because none of the parents takes care to them;
- loss of time and money due to various claims and complaints in courts or before administrative institutions;
- poverty;
- temporary separation with divorce as a possible long term consequence;

It is important to note that these consequences have been characterized as being on the increase in Kigali in recent years. The respondents urged for an investigation into why domestic conflict had increased.

4.5.2. Land and expropriation conflicts

In regard to consequences that are generated by the land and expropriation conflicts, the number of respondents noted the following main points:

- Numerous claims or complaints quasi perpetual in courts or before the administrative institutions;
- Difficulties to find another house or plot/land where to stay or to build or buy given the scarcity of land or insufficiency of compensation;
- Reluctance to obey government institutions orders by citizens due to the lack of transparency with respect to expropriation.

4.5.3. Property and succession conflicts

From participants' viewpoints, the survey has also suggested some main consequences that are created by property and succession conflicts.

- worsening of relationships between family members;
- loss of time and money before related to quasi perpetual claims and complaints before courts or administrative institutions;
- mismanagement of the family property due to lack of communication or consultation concerning decision making on domestic affairs;

To sum up, the extent of conflicts in modern day Kigali is considerable and their consequences are severe and increasing with the pressures of urban expansion. The next section considers the methods used to deal with these conflicts.

4.6. Methods used to deal with conflicts in Kigali

The results of this section are described in two subsections- the ways used in dealing with conflicts and their effectiveness.

4.6.1. Ways used in dealing with conflicts

In this study several ways used to deal with conflicts in Kigali were provided by the participants. The results are displayed in the table below.

Table 5: Ways of managing or resolving conflicts in Kigali

Types of ways	Respondents' views	
	Number who mentioned: /20	Percentage
Litigation or Court proceedings	19	95%
Traditional conciliation/mediation and conciliation facilitated by public administration	11	55%
Sensitization and formation about laws governing family, property and succession	13	65%
Counseling to the persons concerned (especially in domestic, rape and ethnic conflicts)	9	45%
Advocacy by human rights NGOs and civil society towards government	7	35%

* Source: Survey, February 2009

As table 5 shows it, the litigation way or court proceedings is the one which is the most used (with 95%) to deal with conflicts while respondents reported that the sensitization and formation about laws is used by 65% to deal with conflicts in Kigali. 55% of the participants surveyed responded that traditional conciliation or conciliation facilitated by public administration is used to deal with conflicts while 45% of the respondents quoted counseling to the persons concerned to be used in dealing with conflicts.

Note that more than one way can be used, often after the other has failed or abandoned to deal with one type of conflicts. However, there are some ways which are proper to one conflict so

that they cannot be suitable or applied to the other one. For instance, counseling is not appropriate in resolving land conflicts or expropriation conflicts. On the contrary, counseling may be advisable for rape or some domestic violence.

4.6.2. Effectiveness of the ways used in dealing with conflicts

In our sample, participants were asked to evaluate the effectiveness of those methods used to deal with conflicts in Kigali. The results are presented in the table below.

Table 6: Assessment of effectiveness of ways used to deal with conflicts

Type of ways	Respondents number (Total)	Respondents' views					
		Very effective		Average		Not effective	
Litigation or Courts proceedings	19	-	-	1	5.2%	18	94.7%
Traditional conciliation/mediation and conciliation facilitated by public administration	11	1	9.09%	4	36.6%	6	54.5%
Sensitization and formation about laws governing family, property and succession	13	-	-	4	39.7%	9	69.2%
Counseling to the persons concerned (especially in domestic, rape and ethnic conflicts)	9	-	-	1	11.1%	8	88.8%
Advocacy by human rights NGOs and civil society towards government	7			1	14.2%	6	85.7%

* Source: Survey, February 2009

According to the results from the above table, most of the ways used to deal with conflicts in Kigali are reported by respondents to be ineffective. Therefore, there is strong evidence that something needs to be done in order to improve the situation in settling conflicts matters in Kigali and this must be due to the absence of knowledge or implementation of effective alternative ways of resolving conflicts. However, a significant proportion (36.6%) of participants reported that traditional conciliation/mediation or facilitated by public administration to be average. Accordingly, this indicates that this way needs to be enhanced to be more effective.

Furthermore, with informal discussions conducted by the researcher with some different people (police staff, lawyers, courts officials) there is a belief that an appropriate attention should focus on how to deal with conflicts in Kigali in particular and in Rwandan society in general. Respondents contend that current ways used to settle conflicts are revealed to be ineffective, so alternative ways of settling conflicts need to be put into place or implemented.

4.7. Conclusion

As a theoretical concept, conflict was defined in section 2.2, as was conflict management and resolution. As was noted in section 2.4, to date there is no academic literature on conflict, or its resolution and management using mediation or negotiation, in Rwanda. This chapter has reported data on the nature, extent, causes and consequences of conflict in Kigali, derived from a sample of 20 people.

The data shows that there are major types of conflicts in Kigali with severe negative consequences. The ways of settling these conflicts are perceived to be ineffective. The following chapter will deal with the survey done about the establishment of a centre for conflict resolution and mediation centre in Kigali with the aim of dealing effectively with conflicts.

Chapter 5: ESTABLISHING A CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND MEDIATION CENTRE IN KIGALI

5.1. Introduction

Considering the existence of several conflicts in Kigali, their extent, causes and consequences and given the ways used to deal with them seem to be ineffective, the setting up of a conflict resolution and mediation centre was suggested to effectively deal with conflicts. The attitudes towards such centre were investigated as well as the reasons why the centre should be put into place. Some other things that might be done by the centre were also surveyed. Participants were then asked if people would be interested in doing training at the centre. And finally, a strategic plan to establish the centre is proposed with emphasis on its mission, vision, staffing, financing, principles and strategies.

5.2. The attitudes towards establishment of the centre

This section is dealing with the respondents' opinion about the establishment of a conflict resolution and mediation centre in Kigali. Views from respondents on this aspect are presented in the table below.

Table 7: Opinion about establishing the centre

How the idea is considered	Respondents' views	
	Number: /20	Percentage
The idea very good	18	90%
The idea is good	2	10%
The centre is not really needed	0	0%

*** Source: Survey, February 2009**

Table 7 shows, 90% of respondents said that the idea is very good while 10% reported the idea to be good. No participant has responded negatively to the idea. Likewise, different people contacted during informal discussions have also received positively the idea calling it a

‘genuine one’. According to these results, one can conclude that the idea of establishing a conflict resolution and mediation centre is strongly supported.

5.3. Reasons for establishing a conflict resolution and mediation centre

During this survey, participants were also asked to provide reasons for having a conflict resolution and mediation centre. Reasons given by respondents to support the idea of establishing the centre were various:

- the major functions of the centre are to provide training in conflict resolution and mediation services;
- there is no such centre or initiatives doing this work;
- Interpersonal conflicts are natural and inevitable, this centre will help to resolve them and to decrease the conflicts rate;
- The courts ways of resolving conflicts are so expensive and take too much time;
- The centre will play an important preventive role by training and teaching people different techniques of managing and resolving conflicts effectively;
- Public administrative institutions are not doing enough to resolve conflicts and this may be related to the lack of sufficient knowledge in conflict resolution matters, the centre will help them to acquire such knowledge;
- The conflicting parties are not often satisfied with courts and public administrative decisions; their relationships are often destroyed or even aggravated than before the decision. The conflict resolution by the centre will consider the restoration of relationships between parties;
- As it stands today conflicts cases taken to courts and public administrative institutions are so many, with the establishment of the centre there will be a significant decrease number of conflicts taken before the courts and administrative institutions; and this will help the government to deal with other important development matters;
- The centre may help to rebuild the social cohesion by improving peaceful reconciliation in Rwanda if the centre is characterized by integrity in its functioning.

Though the participants responded positively to the establishment of the centre, some of them expressed some challenges. Some were concerned about the expensiveness of such centre and they were asking where to find out funds to establish a genuine centre. Others expressed the concern of possible absence of total independence of the centre.

5.4. Other possible functions of the centre

With regard to other particular things which such a centre might do, respondents mentioned different things but the main suggestions were the following:

- The centre should offer on-going training to the centre's personnel in conflict management and resolution;
- The idea of being a place of permanent peace study research was likewise urged by most of the respondents;
- The centre was also suggested to provide widely peace teachings using various possible means or channels of transmission like radio, television, newspapers, leaflets, soap opera, conference, workshops, etc.;
- The centre was also suggested to train public administrative personnel in conflict resolution to improve their capacity of handling conflicts effectively.

5.5. Interest by people to do training at the centre

As far as the question to know if people would be interested in doing training at such centre is concerned, all the participants (20 meaning 100%) have answered positively. As all participants responded in affirmative to the question they also pointed out some reasons explaining why they think people would be interested to be trained in conflict resolution and peace studies at the centre:

- the mission of the centre is based on a good cause and there is no other such centre in Kigali;
- the services offered (such as mediation, negotiation, peace studies teachings,...) by the centre are original and much needed;

- conflicts are frequent in Kigali and people need to get knowledge in matters of preventing or settling peacefully conflicts either themselves or by help of other individuals or organs.

Definitely, from the results of the survey, the attitude of the respondents towards the creation of the centre is very positive. For many reasons reported by respondents its establishment would provide important advantages to the people. We now turn to the plan of setting up a conflict resolution and mediation centre.

5.6. A strategic plan for the centre

A centre for conflict resolution and mediation is more likely to be effective if it operates on the basis of a clear strategic plan. An organization without a coherent action plan would be characterized by the lack of direction. The formulation and adoption of a comprehensive strategic plan is vital for the real effectiveness of the centre as one aimed to be established as suggested by this study. The elaboration of a genuine strategic plan requires different elements of planning including the following:

- the vision is the dream or hope for the future. It is what the centre would like to envision in the future;
- the mission refers to specific role of an organization. The mission reflects what one will do in order to move forward towards the vision. It expresses the justification of the existence of the organization;
- principles are fundamental values or propositions serving as the foundation of our decisions or actions. Principles underpin the ways in which the organization realizes its mission;
- strategies are the plans designed to achieve particular long-term targets. Strategies include the means which one can use to achieve the targets.

5.6.1. The vision of the centre

The centre would like Kigali to become a place where peaceful alternatives become the natural way to resolve conflicts and where the culture of peace could be learnt and overcome the culture of troubles. Briefly, the centre's vision is to be a place of compassion for people, a centre of hope for renewed and transformed people full of peaceful cohabitation.

5.6.2. The mission of the centre

The centre's mission is wide but its objectives include the following important elements:

- The centre will promote a culture of peace among people;
- The centre aims to keep everyday conflicts taken before the public institutions or the courts out, or at least to considerably reduce them;
- The centre will help individuals and communities to effectively manage, and resolve conflicts; where individuals have tried but cannot manage or resolve their conflicts, the centre will offer mediation services;
- The centre will provide practical and transformative peace education that aims to produce peacemakers at all levels guided by integrity, peace and simplicity;
- The centre will strive to emphasize on creative problem solving skills necessary to promote positive change in Rwanda.

5.6.3. The centre's principles

The centre will also have the basic fundamental values which guide its line of conduct of its decisions or actions:

- The centre will always strive to use peaceful methods in resolving conflicts keeping in mind the aim of having all conflicting parties satisfied;
- It will act with participative methods using transparency, equity and inclusiveness;
- The centre will train people to communicate and solve problem themselves by facilitating group meetings;
- The centre, as a third party, will assist people, families or communities in conflicting situations to reach mutually acceptable agreements.

5.6.4. The strategies of the centre

As any other organization, the conflict resolution and mediation centre to achieve its goals should use strategies. The main strategies of the centre will be the following:

- Training in conflict resolution at all levels of people;
- Playing the preventive role of any possible conflicts by encouraging peaceful dialogue. This process helps to focus on collaborative problem solving and encourage parties to share their own experiences and differences. With dialogue, parties learn more clarity about their perspectives and therefore have many chances to reach peaceful solutions;
- Setting up a library where appropriate tools and materials for peace studies and conflict resolution can be found;
- Publishing articles in newspapers (its own newspaper or private ones), on leaflets related to conflicts resolutions, peace, forgiveness and reconciliation;
- Promoting the culture of peace and peaceful alternatives of resolving conflicts through radio and television programs.

5.6.5. Other actions needed to fulfil its mission

For achieving properly its mission, there are other necessary and important actions to be done by the centre at least in its early years of existence, for its effective functioning and easy realization of its mission:

- Elaborating the action plan;
- Implementing the action plan;
- Sensitizing the importance and objectives of the centre to the public and especially to those who usually play a big role in making-decision in society like Government authorities, churches, NGOs and other civil societies organizations;
- Organizing fundraising;
- Empowering and equipping the centre with the necessary materials for effective daily functioning;
- Empowering the personnel of the centre by training them in conflict resolution through seminars and workshops;
- Evaluating activities of the centre.

To be successful the establishment of the centre requires time and planning, good organization and a well done sensitization. The project and its strategic plan need to be shared with the public from all levels of life and especially to those who are receptive to this new initiative. And, of course, the project's implementation will demand adequate financial and competent human resources.

5.7. Human and financial resources

As we have mentioned above, once the centre is established it has different goals to achieve. The initiative will be a long term project given that conflicts always happen and that peace to achieve it is a process which needs to be steadily sustained and maintained. Therefore, significant financial and human resources will be needed to realize its mission.

5.7.1. Personnel

For its effective functioning, the centre will absolutely have good personnel much committed to conflict resolution and peace studies. In this regard, the centre will absolutely either to recruit the specialized personnel or to assist the personnel in place with intensive training programs so that to equip them with the required skills used to deal with conflicts. The organization chart of the centre would include the following staff:

- Centre Director;
- Conflict Resolution Training Coordinator;
- Mediators;
- Centre Programs Coordinator;
- Fund Development and Marketing Manager;
- In charge of Archives and Documentation.

5.7.2. Finances

The effective functioning of the centre will also depend on availability of the funds. For this reason, the financial commitment from different donors will be necessary for the centre to function. Some organizations important organizations have a long tradition to support peacebuilding initiatives. In this regard, the centre administration will approach different national and international NGOs, churches and various civil societies for a financial support.

The centre will likewise organize fundraisings to make individual financial support possible. The centre will likewise use funds from contributions of its effective and honorary members. Then, without hindering the independence of the centre the financial help from the government institutions would also be welcomed.

5.8. Conclusion

This chapter has discussed a proposal plan to establish a conflict resolution and mediation centre in Kigali. The large majority of the respondents investigated reported the reasons justifying the importance of the centre and welcomed its foundation. The chapter has outlined the elements which would constitute its strategic plan. Then, the chapter indicated the necessity of financial and human resources in order to properly function and where those resources could come from. The last chapter will consider the summary of findings, recommendations and conclusion.

Chapter 6: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1. General conclusion

The main reason for undertaking this research was related to the desire to provide a contribution to the search for effective solution to conflicts occurring among individuals and communities in Kigali city in particular, and in Rwandan society in general. The overall objective of this study was to propose a conflict resolution and mediation centre in Kigali and to examine effectiveness of some ways used in dealing with conflicts. To reach this objective, the study focused on the following specific aims:

- (a) To examine the nature, extent, causes and consequences of community and interpersonal conflicts in Kigali.
- (b) To analyse some effective ways used in dealing with conflicts.
- (c) To formulate a strategic plan for establishment of a conflict and mediation centre in Kigali with particular emphasis on its mission, vision, principles and methods, required staff and finance.

The study emphasized the effective ways of dealing with conflicts. In addition, the study examined the idea and importance of establishing a conflict resolution and mediation centre with the aim of resolving conflicts effectively. People were interviewed, informal discussions were conducted and major findings were revealed.

In chapter 2, the key concepts related to conflict and presented the effective alternatives that can be used to deal with it with the aim of providing a clear foundation for the topic. The chapter thus demonstrated the effectiveness of peace education in dealing with conflicts and all kinds of violence.

Twenty respondents were interviewed about various aspects of conflict and the results are reported in chapter 4 and 5. The respondents indicated that the main conflicts encountered are domestic conflicts, property and succession conflicts, land and expropriation related conflicts and ethnic conflicts. Their causes and consequences were examined in section 4.4 and 4.5 respectively.

As regards the ways used to deal with conflicts, this study found five main ways currently used to deal with conflicts: litigation or court proceedings, traditional conciliation/mediation and conciliation facilitated by public administration, sensitization and formation about laws governing family, property and succession; counselling to the persons concerned and advocacy by human rights NGOs or civil society towards government. It was however revealed that the majority of cases are reported to courts or public administration. Regarding the effectiveness of these ways of dealing with conflicts the large majority of respondents reported them to be almost totally ineffective.

In chapter 5, it is reported that the attitude towards the idea of establishing a conflict resolution and mediation centre in Kigali was very positive. 90% of the respondents strongly supported this initiative. Participants also gave specific reasons why they think the idea is very good (see section 5.3).

Drawing from these results, the study then offered a number of recommendations, which it is hoped would constitute constructive suggestions on how a centre would operate.

6.2. Recommendations

Based on the findings of this research, it is possible to identify some problem areas that need to be performed or supported and therefore to formulate some recommendations. These recommendations will be addressed to the following entities:

- The Rwandan government;
- NGOs and churches;
- Other researchers

To the Rwandan government

This study showed that many conflict cases are directed either to courts or to government institution. This situation contributes much to the loss of time and money from government

when handling those conflicts. Clearly, the government should use this time and money in dealing with economic development matters. It was also observed that the establishment of the conflict resolution centre can play a positive role of decreasing the number of cases reported to government institutions and courts. Therefore, some recommendations to the government may be formulated:

- Without interfering in any way with its function, we recommend the Rwandan government to financially support the setting up of the centre or other initiatives in conflict resolution;
- The Rwandan government should encourage students to study conflict resolution and provide scholarships for those who wish to do so;
- The Rwandan government should likewise introduce in his peace studies in his curricula of all schools from primaries to universities.

To NGOs and Churches

Many NGOs and Churches in Rwanda have good programmes related to the social and economic development of the community. However, it is clear that significant development cannot be achieved when people are living with an amount of unresolved conflicts. Therefore:

- NGOs and church organizations should take within their responsibilities the initiative of promoting conflict resolution by supporting the establishment of the conflict resolution centre and should be among its principal donors;
- NGOs especially those advocating for human rights and all churches should include conflict resolution in their programmes.

To researchers

According to the results of this study a high rate of domestic conflicts was observed these last few years while the Rwandan family is normally known to be a smooth and peaceful place for a long period. For that we think this research is not exhaustive, further studies especially about domestic conflicts, its causes and its consequences in Rwandan family and which possible ways of preventing them or addressing them are recommended.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Structured interview

I. Identification

- a. Names (optional):
- b. Place/location of residence:
- c. Sex:
- d. Age:
- e. Highest educational level reached

II. Guidelines

- Your personal opinions will be treated confidentially

III. Objective: To examine the main types of conflicts in Kigali and to evaluate the possibility of establishing a conflict resolution and mediation centre.

IV. Questions of interview

A. Conflict and violence in Kigali

1. Please give examples of the main types of conflicts which you face in Kigali. (maximum of three).
2. How frequent (the extent) are each of these conflicts?
3. What are the causes of these conflicts?

4. What are the main costs/ consequences of these conflicts?

NOTE: Answers of the above questions from respondents will be collected by means of the table below.

Main types of conflicts in Kigali	Frequency of each this conflict	Main causes	Main costs/Consequences
1.			
2.			
3.			

5. a) What ways are used to manage or to resolve these types of conflicts?

Types of conflicts	Types of ways

--	--

b) How do you evaluate the effectiveness of these ways in dealing with conflicts?

Types of conflicts	Types of ways	Very effective	Not effective

B. Attitudes towards establishment of the centre

1. I am planning to establish a conflict resolution centre in Kigali with two aims: to train people in effective ways of resolving conflicts and providing mediation services to help people when they cannot resolve alone their conflicts. What do you think about this idea? Explain your answer.

2. Can you think of other things which such a centre might do?

3. Do you think people would be interested in doing training at such a centre? Explain your response.

Thank you for your kind assistance

This page is to be retained by participant

APPENDIX 3: Participant consent form

**UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL
School of Economics & Finance**

Researcher: Name (Telephone number)

Supervisor: Name (Office Telephone number)

Research Office: Names (Office Telephone number)

CONSENT

I _____ (full names of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project. I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire.

Signature of Participant

Date

This page is to be retained by researcher

UMUGEREKA 1 – Ibibazwa mu kiganiro (Kinyarwanda)

I. Umwirondoro

- a. Amazina:
- b. Aho atuye /Aho akorera:
- c. Igitsina:
- d. Imyaka:
- e. Amashuri yize:

II. Amabwiriza

- Ibitekerezo byawe bizaguma ari ibanga

III. Intego : Kumenya ubwoko bw’ingenzi bw’amakimbirane aba muri Kigali no gusuzuma ishoboka ry’ishingwa ry’ikigo kigamije gukemura amakimbirane.

IV. Ibibazo by’ikiganiro

A. Amakimbirane muri Kigali

1. Tanga ingero eshatu z’ingenzi z’amakimbirane ukunze guhura nazo.
2. Ni gute (frequency/extent) buri bwoko bw’ayo makimbirana bwigaragaza?
3. Ni izihe mpamvu z’ingenzi zitera buri bwoko bw’ayo makimbirane?
4. Ni izihe ngaruka z’ingenzi ziterwa na buri bwoko bw’ayo makimbirane?

Icyitonderwa: Ibisubizo ku bibazo bigaragara hejuru birakirwa hakurikijwe imbonerahamwe (tableau) ikurikira.

Ubwoko bw'ingenzi bw'amakimbirane muri Kigali	Urwego (the extent) ayo makimbirane agaragaraho	Impamvu z'ingenzi zitera ayo makimbirane	Ingaruka z'ingenzi z'ay makimbirane
1.			
2.			
3.			

5. a) Ni izihe nzira cyangwa uburyo mukoresha (bukoresha) mu gukemura ayo makimbirane?

Ubwoko bw'amakimbirane	Inzira zikoresha mugukemura amakimbirane

--	--

- b) Ese ubona izonzira cyangwa uburyo bukoreshwa buhosha (burangiza) ayo amakimbirane ku buryo bwuzuye

Ubwoko bw'amakimbirane	Inzira zikoreshwa mugukemura amakimbirane	Ni bwiza cyane (very effective)	Ntabwo bihagije (not really effective)

B. Ibitekerezo ku ishingwa ry'ikigo kigamije gukemura makimbirane

1. Hari umugambi wo gushinga ikigo kigamije gukemura amakimbirane muri Kigali gifite intego ebyiri: kwigisha abantu inzira nziza zo guhosha amakimbirane no gufasha abagiranye amakimbirane gushyikirana igihe badashobora gukemura amakimbirane ubwabo bonyine. Ubona ute iki gitekerezo? Sobanura igisubizo cyawe.

