

A Sociological Analysis of Culture and Memory: A Case Study of the Kigali
Memorial Center of Genocide in Rwanda

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Declaration

I, hereby confirm that, unless where otherwise specified in the text, this dissertation is the result of my own original work. It has not previously been accepted in subject for any degree, and it is not being submitted in application for any other degree.

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Professor Simon Burton (Supervisor)

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May God bless you all.

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of Daniel, the father of my children, Rédempta and Rémy, for his love and his fatherhood will always be remembered, and to the victims and survivors of genocide and to those who always choose to be human.

Abstract

The 'never again' slogan to genocide, expressed by the United Nations Organization in 1948, after the Armenian and Jewish genocides has not been a barrier to other genocides whose Holocausts are a product. In 1994 in Rwanda, genocide occurred and the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is one of the Memorials (Holocaust) which stands as a reminder of the horror, in order to inform the community to keep watching. This raised the curiosity of the researcher, to analyze how these new symbols can contribute to restore and revitalize social and cultural values in the context of Rwanda. The inside of the house offers an opportunity to visit the displayed history in which the genocide is rooted, including the period of genocide through survivors' experiences represented in short movies and by the material used in the killings. There is a room reserved for displays of the others' genocides in the world. Outside the house, mass graves surrounded by a garden, announce the burial place and a documentary place.

The first chapter is the general introduction of the study and outlines the framework of the study. The second chapter offers the syntheses of the literature review that it presents the social and political context in which the genocide took root. The third chapter offers the theoretical framework which deals with the nature of culture and its influence in the understanding of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. The fourth chapter focuses on the fieldwork methodology. This study makes use of the qualitative approach. The primary data was collected through in-depth interviews of twenty one individuals and discussions with four focus groups with ten respondents in each group. Respondents were randomly chosen. The secondary data was used to complete the primary data. The fifth chapter is the presentation of the research findings. The findings reveal that after completing the construction of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide in 2004, spontaneous and organized visits to the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide have taken place. This 'window' of what happened, inspires visitors and communities that there is a need to understand the past which can help in building a hopeful future together, for

sustainable peace. The sixth chapter is the conclusion of the study which makes with recommendations and suggests further research.

List of charts, figures and tables

A. List of charts and figure

Chart 1: Demographic details of respondents.....	72
Chart 2: The estimated number of national and international visits to the KMCG	95
Figure 1: The circuit of the KMCG inter-influences in the community.....	108

B. List of tables

Table 1: The profile of <i>Ibuka's</i> focus group.....	63
Table 2: The profile of the Prison Fellowship Ministry's focus group	64
Table 3: The profile of the Lycée de Kigali School's focus group	65
Table 4: The profile of the orphans' focus group.....	66
Table 5: A summary of the four focus groups	67
Table 6: The categories' profile of the twenty one respondents	68
Table 7: The profile of the twenty one informants.....	69
Table 8: Demographic details of respondents' in the in-depth interviews and focus groups.....	72
Table 9: A summary of national and international visits to the KMCG	95

Contents	page
Declaration.....	ii
Acknowledgement.....	iii
Dedication.....	iv

Abstract.....	v
List of charts, figures and tables.....	vi
Contents.....	vii

Chapter One: Introduction1

1.1 Description of the title.....	1
1.2 Background and Outline of research problem.....	1
1.3 Preliminary literature study and reasons for choosing this topic.....	2
1.4 Research problems and objectives: key questions to be asked.....	4
1.4.1 Key questions	5
1.4.2 The research objectives	5
1.5 Research problems and objectives.....	5
1.6 Principal theories upon which the research project is constructed.....	6
1.7 Research methodology and methods.....	7
1.7.1 Qualitative methodology.....	7
1.7.2 Sampling and data collection.....	8
1.7.3 Data analysis	10
1.7.4 Access.....	10
1.8 Structure of dissertation.....	11

Chapter Two: Literature review.....	12
2.1 Introduction	12
2.2 The description of Rwanda	13
2.3 The myth in Rwanda's life.....	15
2.3.1 Myths of social groups, <i>Twa</i> , <i>Hutu</i> and <i>Tutsi</i> in Rwanda.....	17
2.3.2 The origin of social groups and the colonizer.....	19
2.3.3 The impact of misusing the myth	22
2.4 Ethnic language within political and social systems.....	23
2.5 The socio-political causes of genocide.....	24
2.6 The consequences of Genocide.....	27
2.7 Rwanda's customs of burial, mourning and memorializing.....	29
2.7.1 The burial place consideration.....	32
2.7.2 The afterlife belief and its social influences	33
Chapter Three: Theoretical framework.....	35
3.1 Introduction.....	35
3.2 The Nature of culture.....	35
3.2.1 The individual conformation to culture	39
3.2.2 Culture, a system of meanings in society	41
3.2.3 Cultural attitudes among Rwanda's community, towards death	41
3.3 Socio-cultural considerations of burial, mourning and memorializing in Rwanda's society.....	42
3.3.1 Burial rites.....	43

3.3.2 Mourning rites in Rwanda's Society.....	45
a. Time and place of mourning.....	48
b. Reorganizing social life during the mourning time.....	49
3.3.3 Memorializing and remembrance	51
3.3.4 The funeral rites within the genocide sites in Rwanda.....	52
3.4 Conclusion.....	53

Chapter Four: Fieldwork methodology55

4.1 Introduction	55
4.2 Description of the fieldwork	56
4.3 The access to the fieldwork.....	57
4.4 The ethics of social research.....	58
4.4.1 The respect of respondent's voluntary participation.....	59
4.4.2 The respect of 'no harm to the participants'.....	60
4.4.3 The confidentiality value discussed	60
4.5 The practical modalities leading up to the interviews	61
a. The place and time for interviews	61
b. Interview guide	61
c. Further clarifications.....	61
4.6 Focus groups identification	62
4.6.1 The <i>Ibuka</i> group.....	62
4.6.2 The Prison Fellowship Ministry group	63
4.6.3 The Lycée de Kigali School group	64

4.6.4 The group of orphans	65
4.7 Brief presentation of group discussions.....	66
4.8 The process of in-depth interviews.....	68
4.9 The foremost themes and key words in the interviews	71
4.10 The constraints of the fieldwork	73

Chapter Five: The presentation of the research findings.....74

5.1 Introduction.....	74
5.2 The sites of genocide.....	75
5.2.1 National Memorial Sites of Genocide	77
5.2.2 The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide (KMCG).....	78
5.3 Understanding Rwanda's history through the KMCG.....	81
5.4 The impact of the KMCG on the Rwanda's leadership.....	82
5.5 The KMCG provides awareness through visits.....	85
5.5.1 Institutions visiting the KMCG.....	87
a. Schools visits and understanding of the KMCG	87
b. Others institutions visiting the KMCG.....	91
5.5.2 Individual visits to the KMCG.....	92
5.5.3 Foreigners' visits to the KMCG.....	93
5.6 Community representation of the KMCG.....	97
5.6.1 A burial place for those who perished in the genocide.....	97
a. The benefit variation in performing burial rites in the KMCG	99
b. The contrast in the way burial rites are performed	100

5.6.2 A space for national mourning and remembrance.....	100
a. The positive impact of national mourning.....	102
b. Negative impact of national mourning.....	105
5.6.3 A space of expressing and sharing emotions	106
5.7 The contribution of the KMCG to restore the Rwanda's society	108
5.7.1 A common understanding of what happened	109
5.7.2 Solidarity, sympathy and mutual respect.....	110
5.7.3 Trust, kindness and reciprocal comprehension	112
5.7.4 The responsibility and relief of performing funerals rites.....	113
5.7.5 Justice and good governances.....	113
5.7.6 Conclusions	115
Chapter Six: Conclusion	117
6.1 Summary.....	117
6.2 Recommendations.....	120
6.2.1 Recommendations to the Government of Rwanda.....	120
6.2.2 Recommendations to the institutions	122
6.3 Further research	123
References	125
Appendices	132
Appendix 1: Recorded and estimated visit to the KMCG from April 2004 to October 2006	132
Appendix 2: The house with different exhibitions in the KMCG	136
Appendix 3: One of the mass graves in the KMCG	137

Appendix 4: Guide for in-depth interviews and focus group discussions- the English version.....	138
Appendix 5: Calendar of in-depth interviews and focus group discussions.....	139
Appendix 6: The identification's form in the focus groups-The English version.....	140
Appendix 7: Map of Rwanda with located sites of genocide	141

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Short descriptive title

Culture is defined as ‘the whole way of life’ in a given community and shapes the way these in the community understand and interpret the world and how they judge their behaviour accordingly (Williams 1981: 11). Rituals and ceremonies are embedded in the specific context of cultural practice. The important role of culture is to perpetuate the values and norms of a society expressed through social relations, beliefs and symbols (Giddens 2001: 22). One of the influential symbols in Rwanda, after the genocide, is the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide (KMCG). It cautions a sociological analysis to explore how it relates to the cultural practice of burial, mourning and memorializing in the context of genocide and its consequences. This is why this study ‘A Sociological Analysis of Culture and Memory: A Case Study of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide in Rwanda’ has been chosen to display the roles of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide in the community and its influences in daily life.

1.2 Background and Outline of research problem

This research seeks to investigate the value of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide in terms of Rwandan social and cultural considerations of burial, mourning and memorializing. In the aftermath of the genocide, the Government of Rwanda identified seven sites where the official Memorial Centers of Genocide would be constructed and managed. One of these is the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide which was officially opened on 7th of April 2004, the date commemorating ten years since the genocide (<http://www.kigalimemorialcentre.org/centre>). It is this Center that will constitute the focus of my study. The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is conceived as a venue that represents the events in Rwandan history in which the genocide of 1994 is rooted. This research aims to understand how the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide can help Rwandans come to terms with their social and cultural values of burial, mourning and

memorializing. The Center represents a meaningful ‘symbol’ within various aspects of society and culture. For example, in Rwanda the body of the deceased is usually buried in a place of socio-cultural value. These are places that hold respect from the family of the departed and the community as a whole. They are meaningful reminders for those who knew the deceased. It is so with the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. This is a ‘symbol’ of respect for the rites of burial, mourning and memorializing for people killed during the genocide, and provides a certain degree of relief to those who did not pay their last respects to their departed. It is a place which reformulates community identity through the rite of burial, mourning and memorializing, in such a way as to be meaningful to the individual, to the family and to the whole of society.

1.3 Preliminary literature study and reasons for choosing this topic

The Memorial Centers of the Rwandan Genocide of 1994 are unique in the country and they represent a unique period of time. During the time of the colonizers in Rwanda, and then throughout the first and second republics, hatred and division built up among Rwandans and resulted in the genocide of 1994. This was a series of planned massacres that targeted one social group within the population. During that period of massacre, circumstances did not allow Rwandans to perform the rituals related to death. Prunier points out that:

Understanding why they died is the best and most fitting memorial we can raise for the victims. Letting their deaths go unrecognized or distorted by propaganda, or misunderstanding through simplified clichés, would in fact bring the last touch to the killers’ work in completing the victims’ dehumanization. Man (sic) is largely a social construct, and to deny a man (sic) the social meaning of his death is to kill him twice, first in the flesh, then in the spirit (1995: xii).

There is thus a need for a sociological analysis, in order to understand the value of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide as a meaningful venue of burial, mourning and memorializing, in the daily life of the Rwandan community. In previous research conducted, the main focus was on the period of the genocide, and some of the findings of that research had exploratory and historical approaches to that period, recording testimony and questioning the historical context. For example, historian Prunier (1995) in

his book *'The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide'*, investigates Rwanda's history scrutinizing the historical environment in which the genocide was rooted.

This study aims to understand the contemporary significance of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. The sociological analysis which is intended in this study addresses issues including culture, burial, mourning and memorizing. For instance, the shape of the edifice of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is built in a certain fashion which offers a mourning context for the people who enter into it. Carroll says that, "The sunshine does not follow you when you walk down the steps into the entrance of Rwanda's official house of pain: a new Memorial Centre in the capital, Kigali, for genocide of 1994".

(<http://arts.guardian.co.uk/features/story/0,11710,1176333,00.html>).

The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide includes a house in which the exhibition of the remains of the deceased and other aspects of the genocide are displayed. The whole purpose of building these Memorial Centers around the country, especially this one in the city center, was motivated by the desire to create a space within the Rwandan community where people could express their cultural beliefs and practices when they are in moments of bereavement. As Giddens indicates, cultural arrangements are central elements of social life:

These elements of culture are shared by members of society and allow cooperation and communication to take place. They form the common context in which individuals in society live their lives. A society's culture comprises both intangible aspects - the beliefs, ideas and values which form the content of culture - and tangible aspects - the objects, symbols or technology which represent that content (2001: 22).

The term 'tangible' and 'intangible' are important terms because they are represented in the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. From the above quotation, the term 'tangible' can be defined as the physical aspects of the place and the display that are used in the building. On the other hand, the term 'intangible' means beliefs, ideas and values of the people about a particular issue, in this case the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. The above statement by Giddens, shows that the important feature of symbols is not the symbols themselves but their meanings. The statement expresses an understanding of

'intangible' cultural phenomena where people practice rituals of remembering and yet go through the process of mourning because they didn't have a chance to do it when the killing was taking place. The representation of those rituals needs a socio-cultural understanding in the environment of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. This Center holds the 'tangible' aspects of culture in its construction, and also reflects cultural understanding in its 'intangible' aspects. It is a venue of burial, mourning and memorializing, and therefore, holds a meaningful value of social life. This research will contribute to an understanding of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide as an arena of importance in every day life, for this provides an insight into the changing cultural values associated with death.

There are three main reasons why I have chosen this topic. Firstly, being a Rwandan, I share with the Rwandan community the challenge to reconstruct Rwandan social and cultural values and to contribute to the understanding that what happened is not the end of our hope as a community. It should be a beginning for reconstructing a strong national identity by facing the realities of the present and to hope for a better future. Secondly, I am also motivated to do this research because being a student in Sociology has unlocked my understanding of sociological phenomena through exposure to different perspectives. Thirdly, the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is a representation which might appear different depending on the perspective from which one views it. Focusing on the socio-cultural aspects of burial, mourning and memorializing will help to discover the process of change in traditional customs of the rites associated with burial.

1.4 Research problems and objectives: key questions to be asked

The problem statement is: "How can the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide assist Rwandans in reconstructing their cultural practices and revitalize the values of burial, mourning and memorializing?"

1.4.1 Key questions

The key questions to be asked are:

- (a) How does the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide fit into the Rwandan socio-cultural context with respect to the rites of burial, mourning and memorializing, understood as a means for people in the community to reconstruct their identities?
- (b) What are the implications behind the creation of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide for Rwandan society?

1.4.2 The research objectives

The research objectives are:

- (a) to establish an understanding and explore the significance of the role of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide as an arena for people to mourn, memorialize and pay their last respects to their deceased;
- (b) to explore the significance of Rwanda's Government's creation of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide as a meaningful 'symbol';
- (c) to explore the implication of changes in socio-cultural customs with respect to understanding traditional burial in single tombs versus the communal tomb forced by the genocide circumstances;
- (d) to explore the different perspectives held by different groups and associations such as *Ibuka* (Association 'Remember'), an association of survivors of genocide, and Prison Fellowships Ministry, an association of people released after they had served their sentence in prison.

1.5 Research problems and objectives

The following broad issues are addressed:

- (a) The social and cultural value of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide with respect to rites of burial, mourning and memorializing;
- (b) The sociological justification of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide.

1.6 Principal theories upon which the research project is constructed

This study utilizes the theoretical framework offered by the sociological theory of culture. Here people define culture in different ways even though they agree on the generic elements that underpin the concept of culture. Giddens delicately argues that:

Culture refers to the ways of life of the members of society, or of groups within a society. It includes how they dress, their marriage customs and family life, their patterns of work, religious ceremonies and leisure pursuits (2001: 22).

The concept of culture provides a platform for the identity of human beings in a given society. It influences the way humans interpret life, death and the afterlife. In this regard Moller, quoted by Marrone writes:

Funerals are ceremonial emblems of humanity's attempt, on both an individual and a collective basis, to respond to the turmoil generated by the deaths of individuals. They provide legally and culturally sanctioned ways of disposing of dead human bodies while reinforcing systems of support for grieving survivors. Less obviously, funerals are an embodiment and a reflection of social life in a given time, place and culture (1997: 361).

The above has become an issue for Rwandans to wrestle with after the genocide of 1994, since the cultural values associated with death were not observed. This compelled the Rwandan Government to thus preserve those cultural values through the establishment of Memorial Centers throughout the country. This is because these Centers were viewed as a location of burial, mourning and memorializing. Thus, these Centers enable Rwandans to observe their cultural values related to death. This prompted Grainger to state, "The ways in which the dead are sent on their way are cultural-specific, but the impulse to send them in the right way is characteristic of the human species and does not appear to change" (1998: 7). In this respect the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide became one such location of the preservation of these cultural practices. The perspective of cultural value is supported by Giddens, who contends that:

These elements of culture are shared by members of society and allow cooperation and communication to take place. They form the common context in which individuals in society live their lives. A society's culture comprises both intangible aspects - the beliefs, ideas and values which form the content of culture - and tangible aspects - the objects, symbols or technology which represent that content (2001: 22).

Indeed, the sociological theories of culture will enable us to understand how the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide can assist Rwandans in reconstructing their cultural practices and revitalize the values of burial, mourning and memorializing. For instance we will be able to understand how these Centers contribute to the processes of building social and cultural values by including both 'tangible' and 'intangible' cultural aspects of burial, mourning and memorializing. Similarly, Giddens will help us understand this as he suggests that, "Culture plays an important role in perpetuating the values and norms of a society, yet it also offers important opportunities for creativity and change" (2001: 25). Because culture is not static, it provides the opportunity for the creation of new 'symbols' that would enable change in the rituals of burial, mourning and memorializing. The insight offered by the sociological theory of culture reflects on this as a particular way of life shaped by values, traditions, beliefs, material objects and territory (Williams 1981: 11-12). This cultural understanding will help to examine how the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide can be a reminder of the past as well as shaping the present and the future. Sehene suggests that, "If the past is forgotten it is bound to repeat itself because forgetting involves a refusal to admit wrongdoing" (http://www.unesco.org/courier/1999_12/uk/dossier/intro08.htm).

1.7 Research methodology and methods

1.7.1 Qualitative methodology

This research is an empirical study which uses a qualitative approach. Babbie and Mouton point out that, "Qualitative researchers attempt always to study human action from the perspective of the social actors themselves. The primary goal of studies using this approach is defined as 'describing and understanding' rather than 'explaining' human behaviour" (2001: 270). This methodology is appropriate to this research because of the qualitative nature of social and cultural experiences related to the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. This methodology helps to 'discover the meaning' of the Center as a venue of burial, mourning and memorializing (Neuman 2000: 123).

1.7.2 Sampling and data collection

The research used a purposive and judgmental sampling method. Babbie and Mouton argue that a purposive and judgmental sampling method may be appropriate when the researcher knows the population, its elements, and the nature of the research and its aims (2001: 166-167). This sampling method also helps the researcher to use her/his judgment, according to Saunders *et.al.*, to “Select cases that will best enable her/ him to answer the research question(s) and meet her/ his objectives” (2000: 174).

The primary data was collected using both in-depth interviews with individuals and focus groups (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 79). The respondents of focus group and in-depth interviews were able to participate in the interviews and they gave answers from their own experiences about the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. An interview guide helped to prompt the necessary information. It included open-ended questions in order to discuss, in detail, the issues. It was written in English and translated into Kinyarwanda, a language in which most of the respondents of focus groups and in-depth interviews could understand and also felt comfortable speaking. This approach to data collection was appropriate to the research question, as it was through in-depth interviews and focus groups that deeper information could be obtained rather than by using standard questionnaires and interviews.

The assertion of Babbie and Mouton that, “Focus groups are useful because they tend to allow a space in which people may get together and create meaning among themselves, rather than individually” (2001: 292), supports the need to hold a conversation with people in order to discover their thoughts and feelings. The way in which respondents will discuss the topic in groups should help to explore the issues under discussion in that they may complement each other and come up with strong responses (Stewart and Shamdasani 1990: 51-53; Babbie and Mouton 2001: 270).

In this study, four groups of ten informants in each group formed the focus groups. Ten informants were randomly chosen because they represented a number that would

facilitate discussion in groups small enough for each informant to offer her/his views, and ensure that the information needed can be captured. The first group comprised of those who survived the genocide of 1994 who are officially known as *Ibuka*. The second group consisted of members of the Prisons Fellowship Ministry, people who were released after they had served their sentence in prison. These first two groups would contribute with views on the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide about the reconstruction of identity in relation to cultural values of burial, mourning and memorializing. The third group consisted of students from Lycée de Kigali, a high school in Kigali city. And the last group consisted of the orphans of the 1994 genocide. These last two groups of students and orphans brought views on how Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide could be an educational tool for social and cultural values of burial, mourning and memorializing. In fact these participants consisted of different genders and age groups. It was expected that this would enrich the information that would come from them (Stewart and Shamdasani 1990: 51). It was expected that about two hours would be spent with each group, as it would help create enough time and space to gather relevant information through discussion.

The in-depth interviews were conducted with twenty one individuals empowered by their leadership positions in Rwandan society at different levels. Twenty one leaders were randomly chosen as key informants, people who could represent different age, gender, and social groups, so that a deeper understanding of issues could be gained. This included religious leaders, associations' leaders, political leaders and educational personnel. These key informants increased the potential of getting consistent information (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 288). It is estimated that forty minutes would be spent with each interviewee so as to allow trust building and thorough discussion.

Secondary data are the 'existing data' as Babbie and Mouton call it, which have been previously used for another purpose but they are still useful and relevant to subsequent researches (2001: 79). This study used secondary data, which included library research. In this respect, books, articles from journals and internet resources were consulted.

1.7.3 Data analysis

Content analysis, as a tool of data analysis, was used to analyze the content of the transcripts from the focus groups and in-depth interviews. The analysis of the data, using content analysis, helped to go deeper into the meaning of people's feelings and understanding of their experience with regard to the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide as a 'symbol' of rites of burial, mourning and memorializing. Neuman asserts that, "The content refers to words, meanings, pictures, symbols, ideas, themes, or any message that can be communicated" (2000: 293). In this research, the content arose out of the focus groups and in-depth interviews, identifying themes to discover the meaning of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. The content analysis, "Is a research tool used to determine the presence of certain words or concepts within texts or sets of texts. In this respect the researcher quantifies and analyzes the presence, meanings and relationships of such words and concepts, then makes inferences about the messages within the texts"

(<http://writing.colostate.edu/references/research/content/printFormat.cfm?printFormat=yes>).

Indeed, in this study, content analysis enabled the researcher to determine the presence of themes that reflected, articulated and explained the values of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide as a meaningful 'symbol' of burial, mourning and memorializing in Rwandan society. The content analysis provided a process whereby 'coding turned aspects of themes into variables' which enabled the researcher to make sure that the intensity and the frequency of terms surrounding themes in the transcript were clear (Neuman 2000: 293-295).

1.7.4 Access

Research on the Memorial Centers of Genocide is a sensitive topic which requires time to gather information. In fact this is a sensitive topic which needs to be approached with great caution especially in approaching people and asking them about their own experiences and memories. Seven Centers located by the Rwandan Government are scattered around the country. The nature of this research required that significant time be spent with respondents as it raises emotions, and this could not be done in all Centers.

Also this study was not able to cover all Centers because of time and financial constraints. Thus, this study is limited to the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. Necessary authorization was sought in relevant departments and institutions such as the Rwandan Ministry of Culture and Sports, the City Council where the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is located, *Ibuka*, Prison Fellowship Ministry and Secondary schools where pupils participated in the research interview. In this research, the respondents were not difficult to access. Initial contacts occurred by e-mail, telephone or through personal contact to recruit them.

1.8 Structure of dissertation

Chapter One covers the general introduction of the study. Chapter Two concerns the literature review and an assessment of cultural ‘understandings’ of Rwanda’s customs of burial, mourning and memorializing. This chapter also briefly highlights the Rwanda’s history which embraces the period of the genocide. Chapter Three provides the theoretical framework. This discusses the theories around culture, burial, mourning and remembrance. Chapter Four is the methodology: the fieldwork, collecting data and explaining the process of interviews and meetings. Chapter Five is the presentation of the findings and analysis of the data. Chapter Six presents a summary, conclusions and recommendations.

Chapter Two: Literature review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will deal with an overview of cultural ‘understandings’ of Rwanda’s customs of burial, mourning and memorializing. It will also briefly review Rwanda’s history which embraces the period of the genocide, focusing on the social and cultural aspects. Rwanda’s history has been deliberately disoriented as a history of the ruling elite’s power over the population. This perspective of history does not allow historians to discover aspects of community life in remote areas. Community life has been assimilated to the small circle of rulers. Although, this assimilation does not reflect the daily reality, it becomes particularly noticeable during conflict periods. The population votes according to public opinion interrelated with decision making and include the last minute implementations of the rulers’ ideologies. This has affected Rwanda’s community in making choices; the rulers’ options have been accepted as a predetermined approach to every day life.

The population seems to be executing the rulers’ desires instead of making its own decisions. This is most obvious when consequences are significant for the population; people exhibit their intention of sightless obedience to the rulers instead of analyzing whether these rulers’ actions are judicious or thoughtless. Without reservation, the historian Vansina quoted by Jewsiewicki considers that kind of approach as a handicap both to popular knowledge and to the small circle of leaders. The endeavour to develop this kind of biased history is to legitimise the power of the leaders in each sphere in the country. The social, the political, the economic and the cultural aspects of society are viewed as the leaders’ domain without considering the ideas from the population. Moreover peoples’ lives are evaluated through the leaders’ views (Jewsiewicki 2002: 127-128). Therefore, the population has to agree with what the leaders propose and do so without contestation. This political system has made people accept anything from leaders

even if it is considered detrimental. The independence period had not changed this system; rather, it has been accentuated.

The origins of the genocide in Rwanda can be traced to the time of the colonizers. The Belgium colonizers did not understand the culture, especially the myth behind the origin of Rwanda's community. They therefore interpreted the myth incorrectly and biased its meaning to the point where the terms *Twa*, *Hutu* and *Tutsi* have been prejudiced as having distinguishable ethnic considerations. This misunderstanding has caused the division among the Rwandans people. Although there are no marked characteristics of different ethnic groups, the colonizers exploited perceived differences to advance their own interests in having a division tool in Rwanda's community (Destexhe 1995: viii).

Respecting the norm as a fundamental source of identity can give rise to confrontation of both the ideology and the every day life within a community. As Williams argues, "The culture is not just the best that has been thought and said but rather that culture is ordinary life." (<http://www.wsu.edu:8001/vcwsu/commons/topics/culture/culture-definitions/raymondwiliams.html>). According to Williams' views, culture is constituted by the ordinary life and this has been forgotten in the making of Rwanda's history. However the elite's thoughts are important in influencing the conditions and quality of life. There is always a gap between people and leaders' lives.

2.2 The description of Rwanda

Rwanda is located in the Central African Rift Valley. It is part of the Great Lakes Region. The natural borders are volcanoes in the North, Kivu Lake and the Rusizi River in the West, the Akanyaru River in the South and the Akagera River in the East. The neighboring countries are: Uganda in the North, Burundi in the South, Tanzania in the East and the Democratic Republic of Congo in the West (Spijker 1990: 8). Rwanda does not have direct access to the Indian Ocean and depends on her neighboring countries' infrastructure such as Mombassa seaport in Kenya (passing through Uganda) and Dar-Es-Salaam's seaport in Tanzania. Roads form the essential transport infrastructure. Rwanda has four seasons: two rainy seasons and two sunny seasons. The long rainy season is from

March to June and the short from October to December; the long sunny season is from July to September and the short from January to February. Weather rotation is a powerful determinant in facilitating agricultural production during the year. Diversity in production during the four seasons allows the agrarian population to gather a diversity of products. An important portion of Rwanda's population is farmers. They represent ninety two per cent (92%) of the population (Nkunzumwami 1996: 11-12)

The altitude is between one thousand and two thousand meters, and the annual temperature is around 20° C (Rukebesha 1985: 10). Throughout the country, the altitude is divided into three zones. In East-Rwanda, the altitude is less than one thousand, five hundred meters. The lack of sufficient terrain is a constraint to the agriculture domain; pastoralists do not have enough space. The second zone of altitude in the region of the Crete of Congo-Nil, with around one hundred and sixty kilometers located North to South and between twenty and fifty kilometers, from East to West, represents the fertile and productive region agriculturally. It is the heart of Rwanda's agricultural production and the main provider of food production. The last zone is the high altitude zone; it has a high annual rainfall (Lugan 1986: 19-20).

Rwanda comprises 26,336 square kilometers and the population is estimated to be 8,128,553. Out of this number, Kigali city accommodates 760,521 inhabitants; it is one of the most densely populated countries in Africa with 292 habitants per square kilometer. Men are 3,879,448 equal to 47.7 % of the population and women are 4,249,105 or 52.3 % of the population. (Service Général de Recensement 2005: 3, 10). Rwandans speak one mother tongue: *Kinyarwanda* and two foreign languages which are official languages: French and English (Vulpian 2004: 22). Rwanda is a religious country. The population predominantly practices three religions, namely Christianity, Islam and Traditional (Bureau National de l'Enseignement Protestant 2002: 42-47).

2.3 The myth in Rwanda's life

Myths have an important role in traditional literature; they express an original message as a fruit of intellectual imagination. On their own, they do not make sense. Therefore they look for meaning through social, cultural and political institutions in the milieu in which they are born and take form. Lévi-Strauss maintains that, «Les mythes signifient l'esprit qui les élabore au moyen du monde dont il fait lui-même partie. Les mythes ne présentent aucun sens premier, ni dans leur intrigue ni dans leur symbolique. C'est leur travail sur et dans la nature, ainsi que leurs rapports qui leur permettent de signifier» [Myths do not have any significance in themselves. Their meaning is included in the context in which they are conceived] (<http://www.memo.fr/Dossier.asp?ID=304>). This statement reinforces the point of view that the myths' values are embedded in their environment. Therefore manipulating myths knowingly or unknowingly could be the result of those who desire to exploit perceived realities out of their embodiment for the own purpose. This occurs when people ignore the contexts of myth or when choosing to introduce other realities.

Although the unconscious manipulation of myths does not discover the realities expressed, it can articulate something else. Normally myths express hidden realities which the stranger can not find immediately. Indeed, mythology is part of Rwanda's community in its traditional customs to reveal the origin of many things existing within society. For example, there are more than two myths behind the origin of *Twa*, *Hutu* and *Tutsi*, Rwanda's social groups. Myths are one method forefathers used to communicate realities which necessitated explanation in their social and cultural context in order to understand it. Lévi-Strauss continues to argue that, «Certes, les mythes ne sont pas que des machines abstraites; ils produisent bien un sens» [Undeniably, myths have something to say in the community] (<http://www.memo.fr/Dossier.asp?ID=304>).

Myths are not abstract stories; they have a valuable message as they are distinguishable from other form of telling stories and they have a particular context within each culture. This context includes the way in which every society explains its realities through

humankind, and this influences the way of life in a given community. On the other hand it explores such realities in a mythic system of language understandable within a particular culture. In Rwanda's custom, each important event is told through myth. For example, one heroic Rwandan King, Ruganzu Ndori, who ruled from 1510-1543, conquered through war and added a portion to what was ancient Rwanda, to form today's Rwanda. His courage is told in mythic language. He reigned as a powerful king but as myth, the story conveys that, 'He walked on the rock and his footprints remained on it' (Smith 1975: 76). Rwanda's culture has many stories that explain from where everything came. An example is one which tells why and when every animal stopped speaking human language. Another explains why Rwanda's ground has hills, and valleys. Within this philosophy, whatever exists has an originated myth connected to it. These myths have been told in the daily lives of the Rwandan and they have both negative and positive impacts on the population and influence the way it reads and understands its history (Smith 1975: 76).

Beyond the social and cultural context, myths do not make sense. The importance of myths within the social and anthropological existence of communities is considerable in that they tell "An ancient story or a set of stories, especially explaining in a literary way the early history of a group of people or about natural events and facts" (Procter *et al.* 1995: 935). A myth comprises both real and unreal elements; separating one from another is not easy. If the reader does not know the context of the myth, that person could interpret different meanings to different cultural contexts.

In ancient Rwanda, the whole history was transmitted orally. History was passed from one generation to another and with time it could lose its original reality. When one passed a story to another, some words were omitted, changed or added (Rukebesha 1985: 5; Smith 1975: 13). This did not allow historians and sociologists and anthropologists to know the original meaning of the history. This became more complicated when one reality was expressed by more than one myth. This is how the problem of the historical origin of three social groups in Rwanda came about. These myths tried and still try, to

explain where those social groups came from, based on the intellectual imaginations of those who told them.

2.3.1 Myths of social groups, *Twa*, *Hutu* and *Tutsi* in Rwanda

The Rwanda's community consists of three social groups: *Twa*, *Hutu* and *Tutsi*. Mythology has assumed the responsibility of expressing from where they come. In this regard, the origin of these social groups is uncertain in Rwanda's history. Their origin is told by more than one myth. In this research, two popular myths will be scrutinized as expressing a contradictory origin of Rwanda's social groups. The first myth is expressed by Lema quoted by Melvern in *A People Betrayed: The Role of the West in Rwanda's Genocide* as follows, "The pre-colonial Rwanda remains largely a mystery, [---]. One myth told how the first king of all the earth had three sons, *Gatwa*, *Gahutu* and *Gatutsi*, and to test them he entrusted to each a churn of milk. *Gatwa* quenched his thirst, *Gahutu* spilt the milk but *Gatutsi* kept his intact and so he was entrusted to command the others" (2000: 7; Smith 1975: 39). The second myth expressing the origin of the three groups, according to Prunier, reveals that:

What is Rwanda now was inhabited by the hunters-gatherers, the *Twa*, who were displaced by agriculturalists migrating northwards, and supposedly the ancestors of the *Hutu*. The *Tutsi* were said to have originated in the Horn of Africa, migrating south, and they gradually achieved dominance over the other two groups. It is this theory which led eventually to the view that the *Tutsi* were somehow a 'superior race', a lethal interpretation of history and one that would seriously affect the views and the attitudes of the Europeans (1995: 12).

These two myths have some points in common, but others are quite different. The common aspect is that both named three social groups, affirm their existence and give an elevated authority to the *Tutsi* group. They also characterize differently, the three social groups. The difference articulated by the first myth explains that, *Tutsi*'s capacity came from his obedience to his father. Such behaviour was rewarded and *Tutsi* received the authority to reign over his two brothers. This ideology was practical when Rwanda was a kingdom. The kings came from the *Tutsi* social group (Smith 1975: 38-39). The second myth explains three social groups originating from different regions and one of them came with authority and reigns over the other groups including the one which was the

landlord of the country, the *Twa*. It highlights also the labor division between the three social groups; the *Twa* were the hunters-gatherers, the *Hutu*, farmers and the *Tutsi* a 'superior race'. This myth introduced a crucial issue which has produced a polemic understanding and thought process in Rwanda. It emphasizes the different origins of Rwanda's population, each having its own intrinsic knowledge which places each pole apart from the other. Even though, there is no specific identification related to ethnic grouping, these groups are still socially type cast.

In this research, the focus is on the world of the myth within Rwanda's community. The interpretation of these myths has contributed much to the misunderstanding of the social, political and cultural realities. Since these myths explaining the origin of Rwanda's social groups have been read and interpreted as defining ethnic groups, stereotypes attributed to each group have taken hold in the community. The consideration of the three groups in Rwanda as ethnic groups even though it is not always expressed, raises another issue of superiority among groups. As Prunier states, *Tutsi* were considered as a 'superior race'. This categorization created inequality and hatred among the groups. As a result, this hatred later opened the gates and paved the way towards genocide.

Stereotypes of the social groups have arisen and tend to be seen as reflecting real differences. These arose as a result of the misusing the myths and misunderstanding that followed, concerning the origin of three groups. Even so, hatred and feelings of superiority developed and were internalized throughout the country by political propaganda. The prejudices developed, became political 'playing cards'. Any sensitive crisis in Rwanda, leading up to the tragic period of genocide, shows evidence of ethnic grouping 'play card' being used. The first myth tells us that, the groups came from one ancestor but do not articulate any characteristic of ethnic groups. Their social activities determine their social groups. The differences among the groups are based on the social categories in the existence. Furthermore, the *Twa* group, the smallest portion, estimated at 1% of the population, is unrepresented in the conflict between the two other groups. The three groups, *Twa*, *Hutu* and *Tutsi* have been considered as having explicit activities practiced but this is not necessarily the case. The *Twa* group has predominantly

developed a specific activity as its specialty, that of pottery. The other two social groups are involved in a similar activity but not to the same extent (Chrétien 1997: 13-16).

The second myth argues that the three groups have different origins. Hence one could favour one or other myth and interpret it in a way that promotes her or his interest. *Hutu* and *Tutsi* are migrants from foreign countries and Rwanda had formerly belonged to the *Twa* only. Since they come from different places, *Twa*, *Hutu* and *Tutsi* should have different ancestors and different stories which is not the case in Rwanda realities. Melvern states that, “Those groups were not tribes, for the peoples shared the same religion, told the same ancestral stories and spoke the same language, Kinyarwanda” (2000: 7). This myth tries to verbalize something else but those differences do not relate to ethnic realities. It has the importance of a myth but the realities of Rwanda’s social groups are not expressed here. As seen in the previous paragraph about what myth is and its importance within social and anthropological existence of communities, the problem of the subjectivity of myth has been exposed with these two myths which explain where Rwanda’s social groups came from (Procter *et al.* 1995: 935). The unreal side expressed in the myth was inflamed by those who had an interest in Rwanda’s division. It is not always easy to discover the real meaning of myth since it is embedded in a context which needs to be understood deeply, which is why many people believe and accept, blindly, the myth as a truth.

2.3.2 The origin of social groups and the colonizer

During the period of colonization of Rwanda, what had been myths, began to take on a different significance as an historic and social justification of the origin of *Twa*, *Hutu* and *Tutsi*, becoming viewed as ‘ethnic groups’ though that did not have any identifying characteristics as such. Destexhe points out that, “The Belgian colonizers exploited the differences between the *Hutus* and *Tutsis* for their own administrative purposes, making the minority *Tutsis* the rulers over the *Hutus* majority” (1995: viii; Chrétien 1997: 14). This quote mentions the differences between two groups: *Hutu* and *Tutsi*. It was not a matter of the physical, mental and cultural characteristics; they were stereotyped and

socialized by propaganda. Destexhe continues to maintain that, “There were certain distinguishable social categories in the existence before the arrival of the colonizers, but the differences between them were not based on ethnic or racial divisions and exaggerating such stereotypes and supporting one group against the others is what the colonizers reinforced, consolidated and ultimately exacerbated” (1995: 34).

The myths themselves became the references for reality in order to justify or explain Rwanda’s community origin by the colonizers, ignoring the cultural embodiment of myths. Lévi-Strauss explains that in the heart of myths, there is a specific culture in which the system of meaning is elaborated (<http://www.memo.fr/Dossier.asp?ID=304>). Who reads and interprets myths must know the culture and the context in which the myths are situated. The myths interpreted and used by the colonizers, had already had the major core of their meaning removed. The colonizers had their own background and their own social realities. What the colonizers did was to bring their own social and cultural realities to Rwanda’s culture using their own consideration, ignoring the local context of the myths. The colonizers’ understanding is embedded in social, politic and cultural realities in their specific environment, quite different from Rwanda’s. The colonizers did not access the real meaning of the myths because they ignored Rwanda’s culture. This furthered their ends in using their own interpretation as a colonizing tool of division.

As I have noted above, out of a cultural context which holds the real significance of myths, there is no means of interpreting the myth for its own interest and purpose, because even though myths comprise a number of realities, they need to be read and understood in their environment. Rwanda’s colonizers did not allow for those literatures to be embraced in their meaningful system but, they instead shifted their context and they were read with strange eyes and this yielded outside realities. In the Belgium context as the colonizers of Rwanda, what they now have and understand in their context was what they brought to Rwanda’s society. Melvern states that, “In 1933 the Belgian administration organized a census and teams of Belgian bureaucrats classified the whole population as either *Hutu* or *Tutsi* or *Twa*. Every Rwandan was counted and measured” (2000: 10). Since this time, what had previously been a social group took on another

understanding in the same community, that of an ethnic classification. Three social groups became known as three different ethnic groups and the Belgians introduced the system of identity cards in which ethnic groups were recorded. Each Rwandan was consequently given an identity card. Cattle were in the centre of civil, cultural and political relationships. Melvern reported that, “Cattle seemed to be the pivot in an extremely complicated series of civil contracts and political relationships” (2000: 11). Thus the cow was the criterion used by the colonizers to know who *Twa*, *Hutu* and *Tutsi* were when they started the census. Knowing how many cattle each family had, determined to what social group it belonged (Semujanga 1998: 85; Byanafashe 2004: 38). It was not easy to determine who was who according to the criteria of ethnic or racial group which was why they used the criteria they could control, otherwise ethnic characteristics were not applicable in Rwanda’s context. Therefore classification contributed more in manipulating Rwanda’s consideration of the social groups.

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

Ethnicity is a concept that is purely social in meaning. Ethnicity refers to the cultural practices and outlooks of a given community of people that set them apart from others. Members of ethnic groups see themselves as culturally distinct from other groups in society, and are seen by those other groups to be so in return. Different characteristics may serve to distinguish ethnic groups from one another, but the most usual are language, history or ancestry (real or imagined), religions and style of dress or adornment (2001: 246).

From Giddens point of view, defining what can be ethnicity mentioned important characteristics which allow one group in society to be considered as an ethnic group. This listed distinctiveness does not fit Rwanda’s society. Speaking the same language, having

the same history of their ancestors, having the same religions and the same style of clothing or decoration, the named ethnic groups are figurative. Even though the feature of being ethnic groups is rejected by many analysts of Rwanda's history as we have seen in the previous paragraph (Giddens 2001: 247; Melvern 2000: 7; Eltringham 2004: 19; Destexhe, 1995: 34 and others), the debate is still going on between those who maintain the prejudice that there are ethnic groups in Rwanda's society and those who disagree and calls those realities social groups looking at their characteristics. Melvern continues to say that, "There is no consensus among historians or anthropologists on the origin of these divisions so crucial to Rwanda's history. In fact, many anthropologists contest the notion that *Twa*, *Hutu* and *Tutsi* are distinct groups and maintain that the distinction is more one of class or caste" (2000: 8).

2.3.3 The impact of misusing the myth

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

The richest men were those who had many cows. However Rwanda's economy is based on the agriculture sector (Guichaoua 1995: 319). This was neglected and attributed to what was called a low social group, the *Hutu*. This ideology was used until the second republic where the Government had started to initiate and encourage agricultural field as 'champ modéré' [An exemplary field in each district, where the farmers demonstrate and train the local community how to use developed methods of agriculture]. But the cows still represented wealth in a way that the desire for a cow was more than the desire to have land for agricultural revenue. The prejudice used to describe each social group has

influenced the whole nature of Rwanda's population (Botwinick 1996: 5). The misuse of the myths expressing the origin of Rwanda's social group had such a negative impact on the relationships in the community, that it became an instrument of division which led to the genocide tragedy.

2.4 Ethnic language within political and social systems

The word ethnicity was introduced by the colonizers and has been maintained since 1933, the time when the population census was organized and the identity card labeled with those so called 'ethnic groups' was introduced (Eltringham 2004: 18). New terms have the potential to have a significant impact on the population. A word is a significant thought; it is a symbol, embedded in the signification that it communicates something which has not a meaning in itself, but in the social context within culture. The value of a word used is given arbitrarily. It is a matter of consensus between the one who communicates and the one who receives the communication. Through communication, the words used influence the social and political systems (M. Le NET. 1993:184-186). In this regard, the new vocabulary has been created, which means a new understanding in the way Rwanda considers how its social and cultural realities have changed. The country has been identified as one which has ethnic groups within its population and this influences the way of thinking. Therefore what were social groups have become ethnic groups with the different meaning in Rwanda's social context. Yet because what are now called ethnic groups do not have the characteristics expected, in that the *Twa*, *Hutu* and *Tutsi* have the same culture including language, dressing, and customs and so on, in reality, one can say that Rwandans have social groups instead of having ethnic groups.

The influence of word 'ethnic' as divisionistic language has been welcomed in the social and political environment attracting the interest of Rwanda's political leaders, who divide to rule the population. Introduced by the colonizers, 'ethnic' was welcomed by Rwanda's elite, who used 'ethnic' classifications for their own interest and achievement. Maintained in the identity card, it became a normal word of course with many consequences for those who were not favored by the word. Discussions advanced some

analysts in their interest of knowledge but did little to make any correction in the naming of those realities. The use of *Twa*, *Hutu* and *Tutsi* as ethnic groups, though they do not complete the criteria, has been an instrument used by politicians to discriminate and oppress some groups for their own interest. Destexhe states that, “Since *Hutu* and *Tutsi* became identified as ethnic groups, they became ‘played cards’, a way out of political difficulty” (1995: 34). Destexhe’s statement continues to deny the existence of ethnic groups in Rwanda instead of ‘certain distinguishable social categories’.

Deliberately, the initiation of the word ‘ethnic’ has been a matter of covering the weakness of the elite. Politicians used to transform their aspiration or weakness into a social problem associated with those social groups. For instance, the upheaval in 1953 was rooted in those divisions. This event gave birth to massacres and most of the *Tutsis* were forced, by the situation, to become mass refugees in neighboring countries. This was not questioned by the leaders of the first republic, which was born in 1962, two years after the massacres (Nkunuzwami 1996: 88-90), and the situation was not calm. Looking back at the so called ‘*La Révolution rwandaise*’ in 1959, the *Hutu* social group, which was claiming to be oppressed, and aspired to liberation, used the ethnic ‘play card’. The freedom they aspired towards did not justify the reason why they forced another social group to become refugees. Those who fought in defense of unjust causes and those who fought for just causes must both respect and take into consideration human rights, otherwise in both cases, the two social groups have failed and could be considered one in the same according to the acts of violation used (Cherry 200: 9-26).

2.5 The socio- political causes of genocide

The genocide tragedy was being prepared since the time the identity cards were introduced in Rwanda in order to divide the population. There are socio-political causes which led the population to the genocide tragedy. The socialized ethnic groups became a social phenomenon hence affecting each individual as a part of society. Since the ethnic term was introduced, through misusing the myths explaining the origin of social groups, the population felt that they were different in matters physical, intellectual, cultural,

historical origin etc. Because of that, people began thinking that some were superior to others. With time, this developed the hatred among them which led to injustice, oppression, violence to the genocide tragedy. People have become accustomed to doing without asking why, the population has been trained to execute the leaders' decisions blindly.

The colonial period introduced the identity card with ethnic groups and when the republic replaced the colonial period (the first and the second republic 1962-1973; 1973-1994) the problematic identity card remained as part of the legacy handed down. The socio-political system has always been trapped in these ethnic unrealities, which have become socialized in the community. The republics maintained the same identity card which enabled the administration to recognize who is *Twa*, *Hutu* or *Tutsi* thus generating discrimination and marginalization in the population. Therefore inequality has been a part of the socio-political element accepted publicly, and therefore affecting such sectors as education and the work market. The consideration of identity cards to distinguish who is *Twa*, *Hutu* or *Tutsi* was the only check to emerge from the social groups.

The manner of socio-political propaganda used to carry out the division particularly between two social groups helped the leaders to enlarge the gap, generated by the colonizers, between the social groups to advance their own interests. Eisenstadt indicates that, "Men (sic) make their own history, but they do not make it as they please, they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given, and transmitted from the past" (1995: 1). This statement explains the situation in which the first and second republics took place. Misusing the myths expressing the origin of the social groups was the platform elaborated by the colonizers which becomes the legacy of the republics. During that time, the use of terminology which stereotyped the three social groups, increased enormously. The expected changes seemed to be a dream for the community as it was passing out of the colonial era and into the republic era expected to respect the humanity of its own community. The major feature of changes observed was only in the circles of the rulers but the population did not benefit much from those changes. Instead of benefiting from the changes, a huge

portion of the population fled to neighboring countries and became refugees. This created the social disparity between those who remained in the country and those who ran away.

From the *Tutsi* dynasty to the *Hutu* rulers, the social, political and economic history of Rwanda focuses on the leaders circle; the history of the rest is not known (Jewsiewicki 2002: 127-128). The leaders included the community in their program only when they wanted to exploit them for their own interest. When the colonial era was in transition to independence, there was an upheaval in the community orchestrated by a group of 'intellectuals' trained by the colonizers. These tensions generated a catastrophic situation of threat and the killing of the *Tutsi* social group and then many refugees, belonging to the *Tutsi* social group in general, but including a few *Hutu* and *Twa* members fled to the neighboring countries in 1959.

The number of refugees increased in 1973 when the second republic overthrew the first for the same reason. Therefore the 1959 refugees constituted a major danger in political and social achievement. Since then, the refugee issue has affected the whole political and social system somehow. Waller indicates that, "The hatred between *Hutu* and *Tutsi* left by the violence overthrown of the traditional system of Government was kept alive" (1996: 8). One of the most pressing problems for the republics was the struggle to deal with 'mass refugees' and this created an atmosphere of fear, mistrust and trauma for those who did not run the country belonging to the *Tutsi* social group. And in a particular way this affected those who had family members in the refugee camps. The refugees' problem was not the preoccupation of the leaders as they did not see it as a threat undermining their leadership (Nkunzumwami 1996: 89).

By the time, refugees were asking to come back in their native country, the leaders did not give them the chance to come back peacefully saying that, the country was not large enough to host them. Consequently, the refugees organized themselves into a party named 'Rwanda's Patriotic Front' (RPF) and decided to come back forcefully, because negotiations were somehow becoming impossible. Mass murders took place after the plane crash of Rwanda's President Habyarimana Juvenal and this incident was the

starting point of the killing of people belonging to the *Tutsi* social group and a few *Hutu* non-extremists. This upheaval inside the country enhanced Rwanda's Patriotic Front army allowing it to advance quickly from its position in the north of the country to fight against Rwanda's National Army which was orchestrating and leading the massacres. It is Rwanda's Patriotic Front which stopped the genocide after winning the combat involving the whole country. Through the history of Rwanda, there have been many indexes which were the foundation of the hatred. Poverty was not a visible index but it was behind what the population was experiencing when people were encouraged to participate in the killing by those who planned the genocide (Nkunzumwami 1996: 172-176).

2.6 The consequences of genocide

What is named the period of genocide is the climax of what the history was moving towards throughout generations. The atrocity of the acts and the tensions in the atmosphere were not the result of the initiative of local communities but rather a result of political propaganda socialized with other social problems behind it. Destexhe indicates that, "The consequences of genocide always reach beyond the target group and country where it took place, the continuity of savage cruelty for perpetrators and it has to be a collective act. The killers have family and relatives and consequently so do the victims. Even though it is so, the victims have to be identified" (1995: 33-34). In this situation, the cause of the Rwanda's genocide does not make it easy to define who are the family of victims and killers because of the relationships between the two groups.

The identification process is open to suspicion and has a long way to go. Mixed marriages between two groups, neighborhoods, same culture, same language and the differentiation from the physical appearances are not really the realities which could facilitate the observations from either the outside or the inside without using identity cards. Therefore, the gap between *Hutu* and *Tutsi* was recognized and socialized because of the stereotypes internalized within Rwanda's community (Smith 2004: 4).

Mass movements of refugees in the neighboring countries have affected the economic, the political and the social organization of these countries and of course Rwanda's integrity. The relationship in Rwanda's community has been complicated by the genocide period. Through mass media and International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), the spreading of news on genocide has changed the way in which the international community views Rwanda. The most predominant feature is surrounded by the actuality of the genocide. This is an upheaval in the turn of Rwanda's internal history and has come with many changes in each of Rwanda's sectors such as the social, the ongoing refugee problem, cultural community values, political change and economics.

The genocide has demolished Rwanda's values and norms considered as the frame of references. As Giddens states, "These abstract ideas, or values, give meaning and provide guidance to humans as they interact with the social world. [---]. Norms are the rules of behaviour which reflect or embody a culture's values. Values and norms work together to shape how members of a culture behave within their surroundings" (2001: 22). The harmony in a given society relies on these abstract constructions, in its understanding. These constructions facilitate the relationships between individuals. These articulated values and norms such as making peace, solidarity and protecting the lives of others had been the foundation of Rwanda's community and during the genocide period they were demolished.

The neighborhood is in an atmosphere of suspicion because of what has happened. Many survivors have been left without any support; they are living in tragic conditions. Moreover, orphans are another crucial issue in the whole country, and some of them are heading families and are yet still minors. The lack of trust and the feelings of fear are another factor in complicated daily life in the community. Moreover, Rwanda's people are living in critical conditions including violence, poverty, diseases (HIV/AIDS) loneliness, trauma, large numbers of prisoners and refugees. These are hindrances towards welfare in the community. The government and non government organizations make a considerable effort to rehabilitate the worthless but their effort is still insufficient to cover the needs (*Ibuka 2005*).

Apart from the basic needs, psychological and cultural frustration faced during genocide required release for the communities: corpses were everywhere, left behind by perpetrators in dramatic conditions. After genocide a few survivors retrieved the bodies and the remains, and performed honorable funeral rites. On the other hand many survivors didn't know where their dead relatives lay. Therefore, most of them did not find their bodies. This means that they did not perform the burial rites. Rites associated with death are a very important element of culture. Losing the funeral rites forms part of losing a cultural identity (Spijker 2005: 158-159). Marrone argues that, "The ceremony and the rituals of a funeral, in addition to being a last rite of passage for a deceased, also serves to establish a condition of well-being for the survivor and the community left behind" (Marrone 1997: 378-379). Survivors who did not have an opportunity to perform this rite remain with wounds and they are very difficult to heal. In order to help survivors to perform the funeral rites, it was a necessity to the public leaders and the communities to discover where corpses were thrown and to bury them in a respectful way. This forced the Government to create a special cemetery where the community could bury their relatives killed during the genocide.

During the Rwanda's genocide, what happened goes beyond understanding in such a way; it calls for a particular analysis since it affected the social fabrics. Social consequences of genocide have been under played as they are not easy to list. Rwanda is one community with one language and sharing one culture and genocide shook these values and relationships. That is why building and healing it will take time; there is a long way to go.

2.7 Rwanda's customs of burial, mourning and memorializing

Death, as a part of life, influences the social, political, economical and cultural systems in everyday life. In Rwanda's community the processes of rites associated with death are respected in their completion, they hold significance in terms of values. Rwanda's culture underlines the solidarity as a social constraint during painful circumstances (Byanafashe 2004: 31). From the time a person agonizes until the day she/he dies, the bad news is

announced to the relatives, friends and neighbors and then the community is aware about the situation. The hidden thought behind this is that the community has to accompany the family in the painful moment. During the entire process which the family goes through in the painful days, including the burial and mourning when the person died, relatives, friends and neighbors join the family of the deceased in that situation. The burial is organized immediately after death, thereafter the mourning time starts. If it was a man who died, the mourning period last two months, if she was a woman, it is one month. The mourning time is not fixed. It depends on the family (Bigirumwami 2004: 190; Spijker 1990: 73).

when one dies she/he continues being considered in network with the living. These beliefs influence a fear when the funeral rites are not performed properly, needs to organize with respect, the process of these rites are observed according to the prescript he died in the rituals *kuraga* [Kuraga: Is a ritual and friends how to settle big issues she/he left say she/he will be buried. This ritual became her/his offspring] (Bigirumwami 2004: 171;

transition, then clearly it cannot be under framework of the social system process. Conversely, a clear understanding of the of the social system may be obtained through familiarity with ways in which death, in a given cultural context, is considered to affect social transition (1980: 15).

The manner used to interpret the process of rites associated with death has a social and cultural embodiment. This is confirmed by Huber in the above quotation and they influence the manner in which the community appreciates and interprets the world. Performing the rites associated with death has social and cultural constraints in the community. Thus the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide could satisfy those constraints since it has a venue where the community can perform the rites associated with death.

Even though it is in the genocide context, the place itself retains its meaning and consideration in the community.

In Rwanda's context, death is a social and cultural issue. Friends, relatives and neighbors accompany the dying on their last journey. In the first days after burial, the continuity of being together with the family of the deceased is guaranteed by the cultural and social restrictions. The time of mourning in a sense allows for the relatives, friends and neighbors to be together with the family of the departed. This is very important. It stimulates grief and gives the family the opportunity to express their feeling and to bid farewell to the deceased (Tjibeba, 1997: 50-51). "Each individual, of course, makes unique contributions to the social order and his or her death means not only the cessation of these contributions but also the partial deaths of all of those for whom the deceased was a significant other" (<http://www.trinity.edu/~mkearl/death-7.html>). This statement is to conform the social character of death which is valuable in Rwanda's customs. Social obligation to participate during the mourning period is a fact. The death of one member of the community affects the rest in one way or another. In the view of Dawson, Santos & Burdick, Marrone states that, "From this sociological perspective, the death of a community member disrupts the society's smoothly running function. Funeral rituals and memorial services are equilibrium producing systems in that they strengthen the individual recommitment to the community and in this sense, are the key to a stable society" (1997: 379).

The period in which the family organizes the burial and mourning time helps both the individual and the whole community to fill the gap left by the deceased, as well as encouraging the recommitment to the life function and to recognize the work she/he did when she/he was alive. This is so in Rwanda's culture, when one person dies, the time for mourning is a time to think of another person who will be able to replace her or him in her/his responsibility to the family. This liability is discussed within the close family. If there is a partner who dies, the one who remains, will expect the family to get another member of family to assume the partner's duty. This has raised many problems nowadays because this includes sexual responsibilities.

This practice seems to have disappeared but there are some areas which still practice it, of course with a high risk of getting sexually transmitted diseases, especially HIV/Aids and many other consequences (Bigirumwami 2004: 195-196). In this regard, the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide can play the same role. It assists those who do not have any other place to mourn their deceased, even those who do not find the corpses of their relatives. To approach the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide can help them understand that they can practice their routine related to the funeral ceremony. They could attribute a meaningful value to it since it plays a role in being a symbolic tomb. Therefore the hopeful population can be healed and after this will make possible the process of reconstructing community values. Rwanda's Government has set as a priority, the enhancing of the rites associated with death as an important issue to deal within social and cultural values where one should assume her/his responsibility to rehabilitate the social and cultural value.

2.7.1 The burial place consideration

A burial place is chosen either by the deceased before she/he dies or by the elders in the family. They decide the process by which the rite will follow (Spijker 1990: 61-62). As a community who believe in both the afterlife and in the continuity of the relationships between the dead and the living, the burial place is chosen with a romantic fervour. The place will play an instructional role when the time comes to looking at their pedigree if it is one parent who died. On the other hand, the burial place is a place of keeping the relationships between the deceased and the living persons. It is a physical place of remembrance (Spijker 1990: 18). A long time ago, the people of Rwanda used to bury their dead in the land belonging to the deceased or her/his family but in the later part of 1925, public cemeteries were introduced by missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church. Thereafter they were organized systematically as a public place of burial in the country (Spijker 1990: 96). The ideology of having systematic cemeteries was being able to remove the tomb from the land, particularly in town, but the former continue to be used in the remote areas while in town, they are using cemeteries only.

2.7.2 The afterlife belief and its social influences

Burial is a rite of passage, a social truth which expresses how, in every society, human life disappears, but in the metaphysical world, continues to exist. This has been stated by theorists (Grainger 1998; Marrone 1997; Caton 2004) as a passage from the visible world to the invisible world. The human has relative rationality that influences the way in which she/he understands the world. The human capacity to reason about the world is to be explained by examining the complex relationships between experience and understanding. The key is to think about the concepts that are needed by humans in order to have experiences of an objective world. What is expressed as an objective world is rooted in the understanding of what humans do within a specific context in which they view life and understand it. The strength that humans have to interpret life and give meaning to the environment is rooted in what they have experienced (Ashe 1999: 91). The context in which those experiences take place, rational or irrational are powerful in terms of leading individuals' lives and furthermore, the community. The frame of burial surrounded by beliefs has significance in the environment of a social construct.

As a product of society, the rites associated with death take place in society as well as providing a way to prepare humans to go to another place. This is fundamental within Rwanda's beliefs, since her people believe that the departed will come back to their families if they have not been honored in the rites related to death. This belief influences the way in which the funeral and the mourning period are experienced inside the society (Spijker 1990: 61-62). Therefore the most respectful vow the family of the departed undertakes is to honor and respect the rites related to the death of the departed, including what has been requested relating to it. It is expected that, that kind of respect will pave the route for a good relationships with the departed and the living family. Rwanda's Community, in performing rituals, conveys its attitudes, aimed at protecting its people as the living and to pay respects to the departed ones.

On the other hand, it is a sign of saying adieu, which has an important role in the ceremony and the mourning time, which helps the family of the deceased to accept that separation with the community (Bigirumwami 2004: 181). In the same thought, Marrone

retains that, “Ancient funeral rituals and burial customs attest both to the belief in an afterlife and to an almost instinctual refusal on our part to accept death as the complete and the final end of our existence. The belief that human beings survive death in some form occurs in nearly all religions and societies” (1997: 361). Marrone emphasizes the refusal to accept that the death is the end of a human being. This is another reason which forces the living person to perform the rites related to the death, particularly the funeral. A further reason is a hidden attitude of fearing fatality. This influence the way human beings organize funerals to prepare the journey to the afterlife as well as embalming, putting flowers (Marrone1997: 364). The importance of funeral preparation helps survivors to accept the reality of death as part of their lives but not the end of life. Karish maintains the same thoughts, he states, “One familiar way to deal with the fears and wonders about death is to believe that death is not the end, not extinction, but a rite of passage to another existence [---], it is culture that shapes what each individual believes to give the meaning of death” (1980: iii-iv). Believing in the afterlife decreases the fear of death and generates anticipation to the integration of the loss.

The consideration of the afterlife has been enlarged by religious doctrine, which emphasizes the resurrection in their teaching. The funeral ceremony includes traditional customs influenced a little by religious doctrine as Rwanda is so called a religious country including, particularly, Christianity. It is estimated that 90% of Rwanda’s population is Christian and out of this more than 65% is Roman Catholic members. This influences the way in which Rwandans consider burial rituals, mourning and memorializing. As well as following the Roman Catholic belief, the family of the deceased, through prayers should feel better about the deceased. These beliefs have influenced the way the family treats their departed to ensure that the process of good relationships is guaranteed (Matsunami 1998: xviii; Spijker 1990: 90). Having a symbol which materializes the rites associated with death, like the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide, within that social and cultural consideration is helpful in the community.

Chapter Three: Theoretical framework

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the literature review in terms of what defines the customs related to the rites of burial, mourning and memorializing in general, and in Rwanda specifically. These rites get their platform in the context of culture. This chapter exploits the theoretical framework offered by the sociological theory of culture. The concept of culture is a complex concept, and the moral obligation in the community is shaped by culture in specific contexts. The social and acceptable behaviour within society is part of the culture. The social passion for doing what is proper according to society is preconceived by the culture. All individuals internalize consciously and unconsciously those norms in the community. Culture is part of being human that it organizes relationships in society. What is called 'social value' by culture in a society becomes a constraining element in decision making since the individual is a part of that society (<http://www.wsu.edu:8001/vcwsu/commons/topics/culture/culture-definitions/arnold-text.html>).

These rooted cultural elements in society do not always have rational explanations. Even though customs play valuable influences in human attitude, they are not fixed in that they are in evolution in terms of time and space. The example to illustrate this is the disparity between traditional and modern society where changes are produced by new discovery. The rural areas preserve traditional customs, as they do not have as many influences of new styles of life as do urban areas. Culture is a wide subject that is not possible to exploit in its whole field, therefore this chapter develops the specific area of burial, mourning and memorializing.

3.2 The Nature of culture

Culture can be studied as a process, a configuration or a generalization shaped by media, ideology, and the social structure within the community. Culture is not transmitted

through biological inheritance but is learned from interactions with other people. Culture is uniquely human and is transmitted through language. Each generation passes its accumulated knowledge and experience on to its children. Culture tells us how we ought to act and behave. Culture helps us adapt to the problems presented to us by our biological imperatives, our physical and sociological environment (Inkeles 1999: 67).

The environment of culture includes social change and the appearance of differences seen in the towns; urban and suburban areas make the evolution easy. Those social changes are observed within the family and in the social organizations, which play a major role in the transmitting of culture. One of the roles of the family is to perpetuate and maintain culture through basic teaching to the offspring. Another element in shaping culture is ideology Giddens states that, "Ideology refers to the influence of ideas on people's beliefs and actions" (2001: 464). Used as a 'science of ideas' ideology plays an influential role in creating a community's thoughts and can contribute to making change in the common understanding. In Rwanda, the discrimination ideology of how one social group considers others has been the typical example of how powerful an ideology is; in proposing a way of thinking.

Culture, as Williams observes, is a term from the agricultural field, which is derived from the cultivation of crops, and the rearing and breeding of animals. This means that something developed and was refined with a particular quality. By extension, culture as an active cultivation of the human mind, became, in the eighteenth century, a noun used to explain the total way of living of a distinct people that relates to civilization and includes development (Williams 1981: 10-11). If cultural elements include civilization and development, this means that culture is not static but is in evolution. Culture creates an interest, consciously or unconsciously, through socialization of its traditions and customs which enable a person to feel comfortable within the community ideology. The system of meaning linked to the acceptability of human behaviour, is part of a social life in relationship with who produces the environment of cultural constraint. The element in influencing culture as "the whole way of life" is the "Social structure: patterns of interaction between individuals or groups. Social life does not happen in a random fashion. Most of our activities are structured: they are organized in a regular and

repetitive way” (Giddens 2001: 699). Being conscience of others, their rights and their limits are taught by social structure and consolidated by the internalization of each value by the individuals.

Sociologists are interested in culture because it is the obvious element which links a nation or a community. Relationships are made possible through culture which facilitates the analyst in understanding individual behaviour. In terms of viewing the world from a general understanding, what is going on in the society, culture is a precious resource that enables the analyst to access the core of most of the practices in which the population are engaged in their daily lives. Culture representations have specific effects which mediate the incorporation of others, and those specific representations are not harmonious (Smaje 2000: 53-59). Here people define culture in different ways even though they agree on the generic elements that underpin the concept of culture. Giddens delicately argues that, “Culture refers to the ways of life of the members of a society, or of group within a society. It includes how they dress, their marriage customs and family life, their patterns of works, religious ceremonies and leisure pursuits” (2001: 22).

The concept of culture provides a platform for the identity of human beings in a given society. The way people express feelings and organize rites and ceremonies exhibit their understanding of the world. It influences how humans interpret life, death and the afterlife. Rituals take root in cultural understanding, and then they influence every day life, in the milieu in which people live and organize their activities. The way people in community interpret life, influences how they interpret death and the afterlife and vice versa. Culture determines how people perform rites in the specific context of society. In this research a specific emphasis is placed on the rites associated with death. The rites associated with death are profoundly a reflection of being human in everyday life. Human life is shared through responsibility, which makes death something social. The individuals who know the departed through family, the working place and other opportunities offered by the social relationships, have a social obligation to share in the absence of the departed.

In this regard Moller, quoted by Marrone write:

Funerals are ceremonial emblems of humanity's attempt, on both an individual and a collective basis, to respond to the turmoil generated by the deaths of individuals. They provide legally and culturally sanctioned ways of disposing of dead human bodies while reinforcing systems of support for grieving survivors. Less obviously, funerals are an embodiment and a reflection of social life in a given time, place and culture (1997: 361).

Even if culture helps us adapt to the problems we encounter through our physical and sociological environment, it becomes an issue for Rwanda to wrestle against after the genocide of 1994; the cultural values associated with death were not observed. As part of cultural customs, the community was frustrated twice: losing their relatives during the genocide and then not getting time to perform the funeral rites. That is why after sometime Rwanda's Government has undertaken the responsibility that offers the possibility of observing the cultural values. It established the Memorial Sites throughout the country. This is because these Centers were viewed as a location for burial, mourning and memorializing. Thus, these Centers enable Rwandans to observe their cultural values related to death. This prompted Grainger to state that, "The ways in which the dead are sent on their way are cultural-specific, but the impulse to send them in the right way is characteristic of the human species and does not appear to change" (1998: 7).

In this respect the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide became one such location of the preservation of these cultural practices. The perspective of cultural value is supported by Giddens, who contends that:

Those elements of culture are shared by members of society and allow cooperation and communication to take place. They form the common context in which individuals in society live their lives. A society's culture comprises both intangible aspects - the beliefs, ideas and values which form the content of culture - and tangible aspects - the objects, symbols or technology which represent the content (2001: 22).

Indeed, the sociological theories of culture will enable us to understand how the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide can assist Rwandans to reconstruct their cultural practices and revitalize the values of burial, mourning and memorializing. For instance we will be able to understand how the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide contributes to the processes of building social and cultural values as both 'tangible' and 'intangible'

cultural aspects of burial, mourning and memorializing. Similarly, Giddens helps us understand this as he suggests that, “Culture plays an important role in perpetuating the values and norms of a society, yet it also offers important opportunities for creativity and change” (2001: 25). Because culture is not static, it provides the opportunity of creation of a new “symbol” that would enable change in the rituals of burial, mourning and memorializing. On the other hand the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide plays a symbolic role of remembering, in vision, never again to subscribe to genocide ideology. Sehene states that, “If the past is forgotten it is bound to repeat itself because forgetting involves a refusal to admit wrongdoing”

(http://www.unesco.org/courier/1999_12/uk/dossier/intro08.htm).

The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide will stay to summarize the history of Rwanda which led to the genocide tragedy. The exhibitions, at the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide, of the whole process in which divisions and hatred fuelled the genocide, provide an important lesson to prevent the genocidal ideology. Visiting the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide provides teachings expected to prevent what happened. Therefore the present and the coming generation have to make a considerable effort to avoid a similar event. Culture helps us to behave in different circumstances; its practices must be evaluated on how well they help a particular society to adapt. They can not be evaluated with universal criteria but must be evaluated in context.

3.2.1 The individual conformation to culture

Throughout the world, humans have devised very different methods for adapting to their environment and solving basic problems over time. These methods become patterned and shared within the population. The patterned responses become a way of life passed from one generation to the next as a design for living. Each succeeding generation may modify and add to the design but the basic patterns show remarkable stability. The complexity of culture, which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, laws, customs and any others capabilities and habits acquired by humans as members of society, enables people to settle and live in almost all areas of the planet. Culture is all that human beings learn to

do, to use, to produce, to know and believe as they grown to maturity and live out their lives in the social group to which they belong. Culture is a blueprint for living in particular society; culture is crucial to all human existence (Inkeles 1999: 71). The power of perceiving the world, understanding the social representation of rites comes from the whole way of life in a given society in terms of time and space. It influences and dictates to the community, that what individuals interpret and mean, is the result of that preconceived thought. The common significance of culture must be understood in the manner in which people interpret the world, which is influenced by the whole being of humans in their environment. It plays an important role in our lives that the relationships people develop, are always embedded in cultural contexts. Being a member of society means that there are accepted values and norms which exercises social constraints upon one's behaviour (Lull 1995: 67-68). A person born in a specific milieu, grows up with the legacy of that community. The way she/he learns how to dress, to eat, to communicate and to perform social rites and ceremonies are preconceived within culture. The idealist content of culture creates a social order. The order forms a materialist relation between one idealist content of culture and its activities within an institution (Williams 1981: 12). The cultural representations are not biologically inherited. They are socialized and developed towards a closed system model.

Each system has solid and different ways to construct their representations. Culture helps a generation to internalize social values and customs and consequently it helps individuals to become integrated into it. People express their understanding of social values through their practical routine. One of them is the rites associated with death as well as a manner to communicate the legacy of culture. The portrayal of the community's life is articulated, most of the time, through rites. The essence of culture is a sharing of meaning among members of a society. The chief mechanism for that sharing is a common language including verbal and non verbal aspects. The familiarity of employing oral and inscribed language enables the community to communicate through symbolism. Language is a carrier of culture. It embodies the values and meaning of a society as well as rituals, ceremonies and stories. Until people share the language of culture, they can not participate in it.

Loss of language may mean the loss of culture (Fourie 2001: 354-366). Individuals conform to culture which is neither homogenous nor static; it is always dynamic for as a society develops, the culture changes to adapt to time and space. Culture enables individuals to integrate the new changes.

3.2.2 Culture, a system of meanings in society

There is no universal culture and thus each culture has its meaning in context. Therefore the significance of culture is relative. The sense of culture is transmitted through a dynamic social relationship within community representation. Indeed the significance of human behaviour can be understood in its milieu. How humans stand for and comprehend humanity is not inherited, it is a progression in which humans integrate the cultural system of meaning through formal and informal education. The following quotation expresses that:

Meaning systems consist of negotiated agreements [---] members of a human society must agree on the relationships between a word, behaviour, or other symbol and its corresponding significance or meaning. To the extent that culture consists of systems of meaning, it also consists of negotiated agreements and processes of negotiation”

(<http://www.wsu.edu:8001/vcwsu/commons/topics/culture/culture-definition.html>).

3.2.3 Cultural attitudes, among Rwanda’s community, towards death

Among Rwandan people, death is a pilgrimage passing through a lot of suffering. However in Rwanda’s community, death is not lonely or impersonal because the individuals belong to the community. Like wise, a patient is not taken away from or out of her/his community. If a person is admitted to hospital, she/he has somebody from the family, friends or any others from the community to look after her/him during the day as well during the night. In most hospitals people are not left in the hands of doctors or nurses alone, there is always somebody from the community who takes care of patients. Because of this, when the patient is in the process of dying, the person who is taking care of her/him is the one who listens to her/him and plays the role of counsellor as much as possible. This is the one who has the news and secrets of the patient and if possible,

passes the message on to the family. This is a very important moment, knowing and giving value to what the person has said before she/he dies. It is expected that, during this time, the dying gives order of where she/he will be buried and how the process of burial will take place and how to organize what is left behind as responsibilities. Again when the person dies, culturally in Rwanda the body is not taken to the mortuary, as was introduced by the colonizer. Rather, the body is immediately taken home to allow people to pay their last respects to the deceased. The departed is buried the same day and mourning continues. The whole process of accompanying the dying person and her/ his family prepare the rest to accept the loss (Bigirumwami 2004: 181; Spijker 1990: 53).

3.3 Socio-cultural considerations of burial, mourning and memorializing in Rwanda's society

As discussed in the previous paragraph, one of the important values in the suffering period within Rwanda's culture, is to assist the one who is passing through it, and to console her/him is the moral dues expected from the neighbors, relatives and friends. Being together with the family and especially with the individual who is facing painful days has become a social obligation. Being closely observed, relieves the dying person in a particular way, and that individual feels cherished (Byanafashe 2004: 31). For instance if a member of a community is ill, friends, relatives and neighbors are informed of that and then each member of the community is expected to visit and to encourage the individual and relatives. If it is a matter of accompanying the dying person, the community should visit her/him. When the death occurs, the community has the social responsibility to ensure that the family of the deceased is relieved during the burial and mourning ceremonies. In a sense, they share the painful days in the first place with the person who is passing through her/his last days and then, they allocate the responsibility of organizing the funeral rites with the family of the departed.

Moller quoted by Marrone writes in this respect that:

Funerals are ceremonial emblems of humanity's attempt, on both an individual and a collective basis, to respond to the turmoil generated by the deaths of individuals. They provide legally and culturally sanctioned ways of disposing of dead human bodies while reinforcing systems of support for grieving survivors. Less obviously, funerals are an embodiment and a reflection of social life in a given time, place and culture (1997: 361).

Being a part of social life, the rites associated with death are deeply rooted in people's attitude towards the community. In their relationships with others, individuals create social interactions. These interacting relationships are deeper in the everyday life influence of the environment. When someone dies, those who were attached to that person have a responsibility to pay their last respects to the deceased. This makes death a social occurrence. Devotions maintain that, "Each individual, of course, makes unique contributions to the social order and her/his death means not only the cessation of these contributions but also the partial deaths of all of those for whom the deceased was a significant other" (Devotions, <http://www.trinity.edu/~mkearl/death-7.html>; Spijker 1999: 104).

3.3.1 Burial rites

In Rwanda's community, the organization of a burial starts when the person is dead and it is done by the family after informing the entire community. The information is spread very quickly. Relatives and neighbours come to attend the burial rite organized the same day if possible. What causes a change in this process of burial rite is when relatives are travelling far from where the burial will take place. In this case, those close-by, wait for them, and the body can be conserved in the mortuary during this time. The burial is organized any time during the day before the sun sets. The time chosen does not have any explanation other than seeming practical to finish the ceremony early.

There are two kinds of burial places. Traditionally, the bodies were buried at home in one's own land. With time, in 1931, cemeteries were introduced by missionaries. They had a specific cemetery for their clergy. This influenced the Rwandan's Government after 1948 to declare public cemeteries as organized places where the population could bury

their dead although burying the deceased in one's own land remains a practice in Rwanda even now, especially in the rural areas (Spijker 1990: 96). The rigour to bury in cemeteries has been observed in towns. The place of burial remains a decision of an elder in the family who will respect the will of the deceased once she/he had proposed where she/he will be buried. The burial rites observe first of all, hygienic aspects in society. The decomposition of bodies can affect the lives of the community because they generate air pollution if the deceased are not buried. This conforms Gordon and Marshall's statement that, "Throughout history, it has proven virtually impossible for the living simply to ignore the dead. At the most basic level, if only to guard against disease and contamination, their physical remains must be disposed of" (2000: 1).

On the other hand, the burial rites are organized to pay respects to the deceased. In the same view, Marron declares that, "Originally the funeral was primarily for the benefit of the dead, to acknowledge and honour their virtues and contribution to family and community and to prepare them for the passage to the afterlife" (1997: 378). The importance of burial rites stimulates grief and allows the family the opportunity to express their feelings and to bid farewell to the deceased. The action of burial is not only to honour the deceased but it also helps the family to feel that they have performed a social responsibility and accept that the person has gone away.

In the first place, the loss is for the family but extends to the whole community. The responsibility exercised by the deceased when she/he lived in the community disrupts the community and the social constraint of participating in the funeral rites is a compulsory practice, even for those who did not have good relationships with the family. Marrone articulates that, "In addition to being a last rite of passage for the deceased, it also serves to establish a condition of well being for the survivor and the community left behind. To offset and buffer the crisis of loss through death, the gathering group will invoke the ceremony and the rituals of the funeral or memorial service" (1997: 378). As a rite of passage, the funeral ceremony prepares the family and the community to accept the loss. It is an honor for the family to perform these rites, since it is a social and cultural

requirement in each society. After the ceremony, a vote of thanks to those present, is pronounced by the elder in the family.

3.3.2. Mourning rites in Rwanda's Society

The mourning time follows automatically when the community is informed of a death and then it continues after the burial ceremony. The mourning rites assist the family of the deceased and the community to realize her/his absence (Tjibeba, 1997:50-51, Marrone 1997: 361). In the same manner, Marrone states that, "Those ceremonies and rituals function to help individuals to form certain thoughts, to recall certain memories and feelings, together with family and friends in an effort to soften the impact of the loss" (1997: 379). This gathering is an expression which assists the family in the sorrow period. In general, the mourning takes place in the residence of the departed. Friends, relatives and neighbours support the family materially and morally in this time. During this time, people visit the family frequently and gather around the fire; they share stories and the biography of the departed (Interview on 22nd November 2006).

The loss of a community's member disrupts the entire community. To integrate that loss requires a meaningful time so that the community can re-establish the order which existed before the disorder created by the absence of one member. Reflecting on the thoughts of Webb, Marrone states that, "Mourning refers to the ways in which we come to live with loss, grief, and bereavement, to how we weave loss into the fabric of our lives" (1997: 108). When a member of a family disappears, the whole family and the community are affected by her/his absence and the encouragement from friends and neighbours to assist the family to manage the anguish is a necessity.

Death interrupts the continuity of life; therefore some social activities are not performed during mourning, especially those which have a recreational aspect. For instance, it is prohibited to organize a marriage during the mourning period. Neighbours are involved but the absolute requirement refers to the family of the deceased. Similarly, some taboos are respected by the family of the deceased, such as sexual abstention, special clothing is

worn, the use of meat as part of meals can not be accepted, and the family adopts a particular behaviour in this time. The meaning of these observances is that, the death has broken down the continuity of life, and in a certain way the community is aware and that rupture is consumed. The day when the end of the mourning takes place, the relatives and community re-establish normal life (Bigirumwami 2004: 191; Spijker 1990: 111-112).

What enables the mourning period to take place and be respected as an important rite in the family left behind is what Marrone states as, “Grief reactions, such as shock, protests, sadness, yearning, crying and depression help[ing] us to recognize the loss and prepare us for the work of mourning” (1997: 108). These reactions are natural in life and make sense to the human behaviour in painful circumstances. Marrone continues to reveal that:

Mourning is a psychological work associated with loss of a beloved one through death. This definition encompasses not only the grief reactions to the loss of a loved one, but also the future resolution of the loss [---], the individuals must come to understand that the deceased person will never return and that life can be meaningful nonetheless [---]. In contrast, mourning involves a search for meaning in our loss and profound changes in our assumptive world that can last for years and, for some of us, may last until we ourselves die (1997: 108-109).

In this quote, it reveals that the mourning time is precious and can restore life. The period of mourning is a platform to accept and integrate the absence produced by the loss. The process of going through the mourning time is not fixed. But the important thing is to have the time for doing it. How long it will last and what steps it can take is comparative. Theorists do not agree on how far the mourner has to go before recovering. Many of them agree on three phases of mourning and memorializing such as (a) shock, (b) emotional expression and (c) recovery and resolution, though these may be expressed in different ways (Marrone 1997: 110-112).

People do not always follow these predictable phases. Sometimes the mourner may never recover. The recovery of the mourner is not a mechanic or isolated action. It relies firstly on the degree of integration in every day life which the mourner has developed. Secondly it relies on the capacity of the mourner to manage the shock faced in terms of daily life and, lastly, it relies on the intensity of the painful event, and whether it has happened to her/him as repetitive or successive sad events. The time of remembering for the mourner, starts with shock and sadness. If the departed was the one who was nurturing the whole

family and her/his death embraces the poverty after, this responsibility in the family will complicate the recovery time of the mourners. Another obstacle to the recovery of the mourners is the cause of the death; it can either simplify the process of recovery and resolution, or can be a handicap to the mourner (Marrone 1997: 112-113). The non acceptance of the loss, as emotional and psychological steps, when facing a painful event, can hinder the integration in the new life after the loss. If mourning time plays a role in accompanying and assisting the living family to accept and integrate the loss, it is a valuable time in the process of ceremony related to the death.

After the genocide, mourning has become a complicated issue in Rwanda. Indeed the survivors have been looking at how to perform the funerals rites and how they could express their anguish reactions, such as shocks, sadness, crying and being heard, even though they have other problems associated with what has happened to them. The mourning time is organized to remember those who died during the genocide. It also helps mourners to recover, but the mourners of those killed during genocide encounter many barriers to recovery. As seen in the previous paragraph, the recovery of the mourner is embedded in everyday life. Mourning those who were killed during the genocide was not easy during that atmosphere of fear and distrust in the population.

The aim of mourning and memorializing is to accompany the mourner to go through the process of mourning and reach a stage which enables the family of the deceased to accept the realities of the loss and to follow the process of recovery. Understanding and integrating the emptiness caused by the death assist them in finding another way of life which helps them to manage these feelings of loneliness after the loss and is the purpose of mourning time. Marrone alleges that, "The process of accounting for the death from burial to the end of official mourning helps the mourner in the process of recovery. Telling stories to the friends about the death and the deceased biography are instrumental in finding eventual peace of mind" (Marrone 1997: 116). Having time to share the difficult circumstances with the community is a meaningful time of healing for the mourners.

In this way, mourning is a process of consolation, acceptance and integration in the new life after the empty place occupied by the departed person in the family and in the community. At the end of this time, friends, neighbors and family organize a celebration party. This means that the relatives of the deceased are in good health and can restart their daily life. Since the death is thought of as creating a hole in the social life, the mourning time plays the role to fill that gap. The new life after the loss takes place in the whole community which accepts the importance of mourning by taking part in it. Chronic grief reactions can mean that the mourner had not been reintegrated completely, during the mourning time.

On the other hand masked or exaggerated grief reactions and clinical depression complicate the mourner's life because they are a symbol of non recovery. Even though the mourner has gone through the official mourning, if she/he is still mourning and this period can not be ended, it will accompany the mourner for life (Marrone 1997: 134-135). The mourning related to those killed in the genocide is quite different from cultural mourning. It does not follow the aforementioned stages; it has a particular organization. When the killings took place, people did not have time to go through mourning time at the right time. It is only after the genocide that the community is allowed to perform it.

a. Time and place of mourning

The official time of mourning starts the day when the family hears the sad news that a member of the family has passed away. If it is a man, a symbol of responsibility in the Rwandan family, the time for mourning could take two months, for a woman it takes one. It was so determined in Rwanda's customs. For a single person and child, the time for mourning doesn't have a pre-determined duration. This time is respected and depends on the family decision to observe the duration as it is, or to diminish it. The length of mourning can be changed according to the available time the family has for mourning. As culture has been changed, the time of mourning has been reduced to eight days for a man and four days for a woman (Bigirumwami 2004:190; Spijker 1990: 73).

The place of mourning is automatically in the household of the departed. The Christian ministry has modified this slightly and Christians end the mourning time in church but often they mix the two ceremonies, using the church and thereafter returning to the family place (Spijker 1990: 87). In this regard, the problem of gender took roots in the community, even in the rites associated with death, which reveal how a community organizes its life. The inequality between man and woman is expressed through the observance of mourning. Rwandans consider the deceased differently if it is a man or a woman. They observe the rite associated with death differently, even for a son or a daughter (Bigirimwami 2004: 174-190). Nowadays, following the fight against any social discrimination, these considerations have been changed a little bit but are still alive in the community. The major change is observed in the urban area with educated women but in the rural community, the situation has not change (Interview on 4th December 2006).

b. Reorganizing social life during the mourning time

The time for mourning enables the deceased's family to go through the period of sadness, to revisit the deceased through memories and prepares them to adjust to the emptiness of life without the departed. This time is the beginning of memorializing and remembrance. This is a significant period. If it is ignored or incompletely organized, it will affect the rest of the life of the family and that of the community. The mourning period is a process in which the family of the deceased thinks about the emptiness in their social and family life. Friends and neighbors come together during that social time with the family of the deceased. This time helps the family to be reorganized in the newness of life after the departed. In this regard, Marrone claims that, "The loss and sorrow experienced with the death of someone deeply loved, can distress us in ways that are particularly profound and powerful because death involves finality and an emptiness that is immediate and highly disturbing" (1997: 106).

During the mourning time, the family of the deceased has a time to know if the deceased has earned any dues from anybody or from any institution and then the family recovers

these dues. It is a time to resolve any social conflict within the community left behind by the deceased. It is the job of the family to find a friendly solution if the conflict was caused by the deceased. This has social and cultural aspects to it which protect the family of the departed. During mourning time, relatives, friends and neighbors deal with social issues, knowing exactly if allegations are true or not, and ensuring that the arrangements are carried out immediately. This is to avoid any rumors, unknown by the family members, being spread about the deceased. It is also an opportunity to think about who will take over the responsibility, who from amongst the relatives will do it, particularly if the departed was a responsible.

The mourning rite plays an equilibrium role in the community. It is expected that if there is someone who does not say anything about what the deceased had of her/his or any other request concerning the deceased, after ending the mourning time, the family will not allow that person to solicit and request anything (Spijker1990: 111-112). Caton explains that, "Every memory contains the trace of something lost, a presence that is no more. But the work of mourning is more than a text about loss. It is more accurately described as a text about the affirmation of loss [---] mourning demands both a keeping in mind or memory and a releasing or letting go" (Caton 2004: 808, quoted 20). For those who cannot reach the second step of mourning, the letting go will never occur. They will still be in the process of looking for the meaning of what has happened in their life.

In this case, the emptiness caused by the deceased will accompany them for the rest of their lives. The whole of life will continue like a mourning time. Levinas quoted by Caton indicates that, "Again we learn how sadness prevents a goodbye, and only through revisiting the dead man's (sic) thoughts do we have strength to go on" (2004: 809). Accepting to continue and getting another option of living is the way to construct the future and to prepare the remembrance time.

3.3.3 Memorializing and remembrance

Throughout the process of remembering, then the funeral and mourning time, representation remains with the family and with the community. In the view of Shneidman, Marrone states, “The capacity to weep the loss and to continue to treasure the memory of that loss is one of our noblest human traits” (1997: 110). The capacity of human beings to store some event in mind assists them when the time comes to memorialize someone who is no longer present. The processes of mourning through which the mourners pass, reinforces the capacity to keep the picture and memory of the deceased. This depends on various circumstances more than the loss itself, such as the relationships entertained, the social responsibility with regards to the remaining family and so on.

Going through a particular period of rites related to death is an important episode which makes possible the acceptance process of the loss. This period allows the person to maintain the representation of the departed. The mourner may keep the loved one alive by symbolic representations and interactions. This is rooted in a mourner’s belief shaped by the fundamental belief in the afterlife (Marrone 1997: 127). The tomb becomes a symbol of remembering and the family has to visit and take care of it. In Rwandan culture, people believe that even if the person dies physically, she/he remains in the family psychologically. And if she/he is a parent, the family continues to respect what she/he ordered before dying. Therefore, there is continuity of the relationships (Spijker 1990: 115).

Traditionally, Rwanda’s communities used their own land to bury their dead. Therefore there was no need to visit the tomb of relatives because it was in a place used every day. There are some family activities, such as cultivating the land, planting and so forth which were organized in the same place where the tomb was. Moreover several special occasions to visit the tomb were organized each year to remember the departed. This time, the family went to the tomb for a special ceremony. Most of the time, this process of remembrance was followed more closely when the departed was a parent. But for

those who died as young or children that kind of remembrance was observed in a relative manner (Interview on 5th December 2006). The traditional manner of performing the memorializing and remembrance ceremonies has changed nowadays. The use of one's own land to bury the deceased has completely disappeared in towns.

Following Dawson, Santos and Burdick, Marrone states that, "From this sociological perspective, the death of a community member disrupts society's smoothly running function. Funeral rituals and memorial services are equilibrium producing systems in that they strengthen the individual recommitment to the community and in this sense, are the key to a stable society" (1997: 379). The remembrance episode provides a counseling and healing role to the mourner and to an extent, to society. In remembrance of the departed, the family can keep the clothes and pictures; it is a way to keep the deceased alive.

3.3.4 The funeral rites within the genocide sites in Rwanda

The rites associated with death are fundamental in Rwanda's culture. The previous paragraph detailed the importance of observing these rites. They help one population to recognize the loss, to integrate the absence of the departed and consequently to reorganize life. If those rites are not performed, they affect the rest of the family's life. This has become an issue in Rwanda's community, to struggle with the absence of these rites during and after the genocide of 1994. Cultural values were not observed, especially those associated with death. Within the basics of observing the rites associated with death, memorial centers have been introduced throughout the country, to play the roles of cemeteries for those killed in the genocide. This has been a solution in the community to perform the rites which were not observed on time. This has been confirmed by Gordon and Marshall:

Moreover, even beyond an initial period of grief and bereavement, the emotional bonds which link the survivors to the deceased have usually demanded some form of symbolic commemoration, as well as a belief in the continued existence of the dead in some afterlife place or state. If societies are to continue to function, the dead must, in a variety of senses, be put in their place (2000: 1).

It is in this sense that the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide fits in the context of giving the community the possibility to bury their departed. This is a valuable effort to rehabilitate those social and cultural values. It can represent a venue which makes possible, the mourning time and remembrance.

3.4 Conclusion

Culture is a complex concept; the moral obligation in the community is determined by culture with a specific background. The social and acceptable behaviour within society is determined by the culture. It can be studied as a process, a configuration or a generalization, shaped by media, ideology, and social structure in the community. Culture is instilled consciously or unconsciously through the socialization of its traditions and customs which enable a person to feel comfortable within the community. It includes a system of meaning linked to the acceptability of human behaviour as a part of social life. Culture produces the environment of constraint to those who fit well in a society. Sociologists are interested in the cultural aspect, because most of the time this is the obvious element which links a nation, a community. Culture has made possible, the ability to analyze people who share the basic constituent of life. Cultural symbols and structures are very important in reaching a consensus within communities and then organizing how people perform ceremonies and rites.

Indeed, the sociological theories of culture will enable us to understand how the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide can assist Rwandans to reconstruct their cultural practices and to revitalize the values of burial, mourning and memorializing. For instance, we will be able to understand how the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide contribute to the processes of building social and cultural values as both 'tangible' and 'intangible' cultural aspects of burial, mourning and memorializing. Culture precedes the individual and determines the way she/he organizes her/his life in order to understand customs. Socio-cultural ceremonies associated with death are observed as well as a way in which the community keeps its identity as a way to express its consideration for life. The meaning of culture is given through a dynamic social relationship within community

representation. Certainly the significance of human behaviour could be understood in the milieu that the disappearance of a member of a community affects not only the family of the deceased, but also the whole community.

Seeking a sense of life, the mourners need to put in order, their own lives disorganized by the disappearing of one of them and who will not come back to fulfill her/his social obligations. The time for mourning enables the family of the departed to go through the period of sadness, to revisit the deceased mentally and prepares them to subsist in the emptiness of the departed. The capacity of human beings to store some events assists them when the time to memorialize the departed one arrives. The death of a community member does not destroy her/his image; the person is kept alive. The insight offered by the sociological theory of cultural understanding will help to examine how the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide can be a reminder of the past as well as shaping the present and the future. If cultural elements include civilization and development, these two constituencies of culture are the way in which culture is still open to the new elements.

Chapter Four:

Fieldwork methodology

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter examined the theoretical framework of culture in order to analyze how individuals shape their behaviour according to their social and cultural environments. Rites and ceremonies are embodied in culture and constrains to social life. This chapter deals with the methodology used in the fieldwork to collect the primary data. It describes the field work including in-depth interviews with both individuals and focus groups. During in-depth interviews the researcher came to know more about the issue under discussion. The way in which respondents expressed their opinions allowed the researcher to capture the information (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 291). Babbie and Mouton assert that, “Focus groups are useful because they tend to allow a space in which people may get together and create meaning among themselves, rather than individually” (2001: 292). This method supported the need to hold a conversation with people in order to discover their thoughts and feelings about the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide.

The way in which respondents discuss the topic in focus groups helps to explore the issues under discussion in that they complement each other and come up with strong responses (Stewart and Shamdasani 1990: 51-53; Babbie and Mouton 2001: 270). This research is an empirical study which uses a qualitative approach. There is a need to observe the ethics of social research since this research involves other people as respondents. The interview guide enabled the researcher to gather useful information. Two hours spent with each focus group was enough time to collect helpful information. Forty minutes with each individual in-depth interview, was sufficient time needed to cover the issues under discussion.

This study also made use of secondary data which are the ‘existing data’ as Babbie and Mouton call it, which have been previously used for another purpose but are still useful and relevant to subsequent researchers (2001: 79). The secondary data included library

research. In this respect, books, articles from journals and internet resources and recorded materials were consulted.

4.2 Description of the fieldwork

The fieldwork was done in Kigali city, the capital of Rwanda. It is an administrative town as well as a business one. Kigali holds 760,521 habitants (Service Général de Recensement 2005: 3, 10). It includes two sites of genocide Gisozi and Nyanza memorials. The Gisozi memorial is named the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide, hence the chosen case study has the specificity of being in Central town and it is an international venue since:

It deals with a topic of international importance, with far-reaching significance, and is designed to engage and challenge an international visitor base. The response from genocide survivors to the creation of the Center was unpredicted. In the first week, over 1,500 survivors visited each day. In the first three months of the Center's opening, around 60,000 people from a variety of backgrounds visited it. Over 7,000 of these visitors were from the International Community (<http://www.kigalimemorialcentre.org/centre/>).

The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide, the case study in this research is located on Gisozi Hill. Moreover, it is the one whose construction was finished in 2004. Information was accessed from the documentation room in the venue. The accessibility of the venue is guaranteed, as it is open to anybody who needs to enter. The guardians also give further explanation to those who wish to know more than what they see throughout the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide and by watching the short movies inside. More than two hundred and fifty thousands (250.000) bodies are buried in the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. It has different compounds as is described in the following quote:

The entrance to the center is going to run through the cemetery. Outside in the cemetery, there will be a wall of names. There are a quarter of a million people buried here, all victims of the genocide in that three-month period in 1994. The Center includes three permanent exhibitions, the largest of which documents the genocide in 1994. There is also a children's memorial, and an exhibition on the history of genocidal violence around the world. The Education Center, Memorial Gardens and National Documentation Center of the genocide all contribute to a meaningful tribute to those who perished, and form a powerful educational tool for the next generation (<http://www.kigalimemorialcentre.org/centre/>).

When visitors enter in the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide, every part has something to say to them and offers information about what happened in Rwanda. The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide was the main location of the fieldwork of this study and the office in Kigali city facilitated the collection of data.

4.3 Access to the fieldwork

Located in Kigali town, the access to the field work was facilitated by the necessary authorization from relevant institutions such as Rwanda's Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sports under which the responsibility of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide falls. The *Ibuka* association was contacted as a non benefit organization of genocide survivors. They play an important role in organizing the ceremony related to the burial, mourning and remembrance. The Prison Fellowship Ministry is also a non benefit organization, of former prisoners, thus their views could complete the information. The headmaster of Lycée de Kigali secondary school was contacted. The focus group of pupils of that school participated in the interviews. The Coordinator of Tumurere, an orphan association, was contacted to obtain permission to work with orphans who lead their families.

The first two weeks of October 2006 provided enough time to contact institutions where respondents were situated and to get the official permission. A written letter in Kinyarwanda addressed to the representative of the organization was placed in the secretary's office. The letter contained the aim of the research, and a few days after, I received a positive reply. After getting official permission, initial contact occurred by telephone and through personal contacts to recruit the respondents individually. Most of the time, respondents were located by their working place and thus getting their personal contact details was obtained easily through the reception office. This first contact was to organize an appointment with her/him so that informal consent could be obtained.

4.4 The ethics of social research

Like any other social research, a defined process through which the researcher obtains, from respondents, the voluntary participation to reveal information freely about the matter under discussion, without any harm, must guarantee confidentiality. To observe the ethics of social research in this study, meetings were organized with those who accepted to contribute to this study. Explaining to them the nature of the research, and what was required from their participation as well as the practical modalities, therefore underlined the three values of social research. Going through the ethics of social research paved the way to getting consistent information.

In each case, the first meetings were organized in different places and at different times, chosen by the respondents. Generally, a consensus was reached by the respondents of focus groups, concerning the place and the time to meet. In this study, four focus groups of ten respondents, randomly chosen to participate in the study, were contacted in their working places or homes, depended on the participant's availability and choice. The group of *Ibuka* chose the meeting place in the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide in the afternoon. The Group of the Prison Fellowship Ministry, meets once a month, working together in an agricultural association to develop themselves. I reached that place where they normally meet and organize their activities and introduced myself and the request to work with them in the research project. The group of Lycée de Kigali was reached in the school. Those pupils were organized by one of the leaders in the classroom to obtain the informed consent from the pupils. The orphans group, which is found in the Gisozi area, was contacted through the Association. The meeting place was organized in a public place near the households.

For the *in-depth* interviews, with each respondent, the contact was in the office where the interview occurred. The purpose of this first meeting was the presentation of the nature of the study, its interest and aims and then going through the ethical issues of social research. Indeed, this research aims at contributing to the body of knowledge about the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. The study evokes the social and cultural understanding which ties together Rwanda's community. This is related to how a society

accepts the integration of new symbols and language in the social and cultural understanding. The possibility to rehabilitate the present for a better future is a challenge for all Rwandans. The social and cultural aspects of Rwanda's society are studied to understand the consideration of the rites of burial, mourning and remembrance and their involvement in the daily lives of its members. And the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide may contribute to making a change in daily life in Rwanda's community. The researcher briefly stated that to inform the respondent about the topic, the statement had been made in Kinyarwanda. The researcher then shared ethical conditions to be involved in the study. Therefore, details were given regarding the way respondents might be engaged to participate in this study, and the following three ethical values were discussed with respondents.

4.4.1 The respect of respondents' voluntary participation

Voluntary participation is the first value to be respected when social research happens. The investigation required the participants to reveal either personal details or information about a group or a community. Though their contribution was very important to the research, their participation needed always to be voluntary, not forced or under manipulation. The participants were clearly informed about the study and made voluntary decisions whether to participate or not. Because the researcher and the participants should benefit from the collaboration and cooperation (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 521-522), this cannot occur when participation has been forced or manipulated. A particular explanation to the pupils and orphans focus groups occurred in that, the researcher continued to highlight to them how it was an individual invitation and the responses should be individual ones. Being pupils, orphans were under no obligation to participate in this study, and the leader of the institution was asked to come to the first meeting. Being free to choose what to do, either to accept or withdraw the decision to take part, was the free will of each one. Respondents were sure that participation did not affect them in any way. After exploring this value, all respondents proved their intention in feeling free to participate as a decision motivated by their own free will.

4.4.2 The respect of ‘no harm to the participants’

‘No harm to the participants’ was the second value expressed during the first meetings. Babbie argues, “Social research should never injure the people being studied, regardless of whether they volunteer for the study” (1992: 465). Once permission for the participation in the study is given, the participant should be respected. She/he is free to withdraw her/his participation from the study for any reason and that cannot affect her/him. Those who agreed to take part in the study were asked to give information about their understanding of how the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide related to the burial, mourning and memorializing of those killed during the genocide in Rwanda’s community. Psychological preparation was necessary because of the sensitivity of the topic which dug up miserable experiences. In this study, orphans and pupils were considered as sensitive groups, especially the orphans because they became heads of families at the earliest age when their parents and closer relatives died. They lived near the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide, in the Gisozi area. Because of that sensitivity, the researcher provided a professional counselor for these two groups so that she could be able to settle any traumatic case which could arise as a result of the discussion in the focus group.

4.4.3 The confidentiality value discussed

Confidentiality was another social value discussed in this study to protect the participant when she/he revealed delicate information. In this case, the researcher knows who provided the information but has kept the names a secret. This was explained and the names of all respondents have been kept confidential in this study (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 523). Instead of using unreal names, the phrase ‘one respondent’ has been chosen in this research to avoid any confusion with real names. Therefore any information that can reveal the identity of the respondents is not discussed in the conference or in the published research. The researcher used both audio recording and written answers to the questions asked during in-depth interviews and focus groups.

4.5 The practical modalities leading up to the interviews

With those who had accepted to participate in the study, the practical conditions of running it were discussed regarding convenient times for interview and the places where the respondents could reach easily and timeously.

a. The place and time for interviews

The working place was favored by all respondents for the in-depth interviews. Each respondent selected a time during the day which was an easy time for her/him and the researcher respected the appointment. Forty minutes was enough to collect useful information about the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. As planned, two months was enough time to carry out the interviews of twenty one key informants. For focus groups, the appointments were a little bit complicated because each member had her/his convenient time and place. A discussion was conducted to arrange a convenient place and time for all respondents. The meeting place and time was respected.

b. Interview guide

There was an interview guide (See Appendix 4) which helped to prompt the necessary information related to the understanding of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. The interview guide included open-ended questions in order to discuss the issues in detail. They were written in English and translated into Kinyarwanda, a language which most of the respondents of focus group and in-depth interviews could understand and thus felt comfortable speaking. After communicating the questions, each respondent gave her/his view, one by one, until all information was clear.

c. Further clarifications

Further explanations were given to the respondents, concerning what they could expect from their participation in this study. Respondents were given clarification that the

information offered should be done freely and that the researcher was not going to offer money for the information received because this exercise did not entail buying information from them. However there were refreshments just to offer a word of thanks. For those who needed transport to come to the meetings this was facilitated, but they also used public transport, since where we had chosen to meet was in an accessible place.

4.6 Focus groups identification

There were ten respondents expected in each focus group. The members of each group were chosen randomly. All groups included males and females and they were in a relatively good position to discuss the matters under study. The identification of each respondent in the group was gained, where each respondent voluntarily indicated this information during tea time.

4.6.1 The *Ibuka* group

The expected number of ten respondents was not achieved. There were nine members in this focus group because one of them gave an excuse. They were between twenty six and fifty five years old, five were men and four were women. All faced the tragic situation during the genocide and some of their relatives were killed. Some of them knew where their relatives were buried and others did not know; they had not found the bodies of their relatives killed during the genocide. All had visited the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide.

Table 1: The profile of *Ibuka*'s focus group

Age range	Gender		Visit to the KMCG	Reasons for the visit or the non visit to the KMCG
	F	M		
26-30	1	2	All of them has visited KMCG more than once and the visits had been initiated either by themselves or friends or public authorities.	Participation in national mourning, the burial ceremony, the family's remembrance and others social occasions like responding to this interview on the KMCG.
31-35	2	2		
46-50	1	-		
51-55	-	1		

Source: Fieldwork data, December 2006

M: Male respondent

F: Female respondent

4.6.2 The Prison Fellowship Ministry group.

In order to improve the process of social relationships, the Prison Fellowship Ministry integrates survivors in their activities. The expected number of ten participants was realized in the focus group. Seven were men and three were women and they were between twenty six and fifty five years of age. The members of the Prison Fellowship Ministry are working together to enhance their life conditions, since they are behind because of being in prison for a long time. Six of them had never visited the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide and four had been there.

Table 2: The profile of the Prison Fellowship Ministry's focus group

Age range	Gender		Visit to the KMCG	Reason for the visit or the non visit to the KMCG
	F	M		
26-30	1	1	Six of them had never visited the KMCG and four had visited it. The visits were initiated by themselves, friends or local authorities.	Fear of trauma, lack of awareness, distance from the place and age were the reasons to not visiting the KMCG. Participating in national mourning, the burial ceremony and the family's remembrance were the reasons for the visit.
31-35	1	2		
36-40	-	2		
41-45	-	1		
46-50	-	1		
51-55	1	-		

Source: Fieldwork data, November 2006

M: Male respondent

F: Female respondent

4.6.3 The Lycée de Kigali school group

Lycée de Kigali is a public high school in Kigali city, of mixed gender with one thousand three hundred and six students in 2006. The expected target of ten participants was exceeded; there were eleven members but this did not affect the interview. Even though the participants in the focus group were chosen randomly, they were pupils who had responsibilities in their classes, such as being class representatives, members of sport groups or were group leaders. There were five girls and six boys, aged between sixteen and twenty five. Only three of them have not visited the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide.

Table 3: The profile of the Lycée de Kigali School's focus group

Age range	Gender		Visit to the KMCG	Reasons for the visit or the non visit to the KMCG
	F	M		
16-20	2	4	Most of them had visited KMCG. Three had not yet visited it. For those who had, the visit was initiated either by themselves or school or friends.	Participation in national mourning, the burial ceremony, the family's remembrance or as a visit organized by the school. There is also youth curiosity. The fear of trauma was the only reason given for the non visit to the KMCG.
21-25	3	2		

Source: Fieldwork data, November 2006

M: Male respondent

F: Female respondent

4.6.4 The group of orphans

There are young boys and girls with many responsibilities as heads of families. All the members of this focus group had visited the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide more than once. The estimated number of ten participants was reached in the focus group, with five boys and five girls. They were between sixteen and thirty years old. They lived in the Gisozi district, the same district as Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide, and some of them were pupils, others were students in institutions of higher education and others were looking for jobs. They received support from the government and non governmental organizations. For most of them, their parents and relatives are buried in the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide, but others have not discovered the bodies of their parents and relatives.

Table 4: The profile of the orphans' focus group

Age range	Gender		Visit to the KMCG	Reasons for the visit to the KMCG
	F	M		
16-20	1	2	All participants had visited the KMCG more than once and the visits were initiated either by themselves or schools or friends.	Participation in national mourning, the burial ceremony, the family's remembrance or on a visit organized by the school.
21-25	2	2		
26-30	2	1		

Source: Fieldwork data, December 2006

M: Male respondent

F: Female respondent

4.7 Brief presentation of the group discussions

Through discussion, the topic was explored and each member offered good responses, which complemented the responses from others in the group. Recording material and note taking were used to store the information given throughout discussions and this facilitated the work of revisiting the entire discussion.

Table 5: A summary of the four focus groups

Group	Presence of respondents	Visit to the KMCG	Participation in the debates
<i>Ibuka</i>	9 participants: one of them was absent.	All participants had visited the KMCG, more than once.	Excellent participation. All respondents exchanged ideas and their arguments were powerful and complemented each other. Concerning some issues, sometimes they were in disagreement yet done so peacefully.
Prison Fellowship Ministry	10 participants	Four participants had visited the KMCG and six had never been there.	Active participation but the handicap to their arguments was that most of them had not been inside the KMCG. The disagreement in their discussion was not fundamental but related to the lack of the whole picture of the venue.
Lycée de Kigali school	11 participants	Eight participants had visited to the KMCG and three had never been there.	Active participation. They were attentive to the responses of their colleagues. All have possessed a curiosity to learn rather than to inform.
Orphans	10 participants	All participants had visited KMCG, more than once.	Active participation but they were too emotional in their intervention. Many presented their opinions at the same time sometimes in arguments. They needed to express their testimonies and they were involved in exciting discussions. They have possessed a curiosity to learn and to know more about the KMCG.

Source: Fieldwork data, November-December 2006

4.8 The process of in-depth interviews

The in-depth interviews were conducted with twenty one individuals empowered by their leadership positions in the community at different levels. Twenty one leaders were randomly chosen as key informants who represented different ages, both genders, and various social groups such as religious, associations, political and educational leaders. They were between thirty one and fifty five years of age. A good understanding of issues discussed was gained.

Table 6: The categories' profile of the twenty one respondents

Categories	Number of respondents	Reason for inclusion
Religious leaders	4 leaders from different religions	These twenty one individuals are empowered by their leadership positions at different levels, and their views influence the community as leaders. They gave their own views as well as the views of their fellows, thus a greater understanding of the issues was gained.
Associations' leaders	6 leaders from different nonprofit associations	
Socio-political leaders	7 leaders inspired by their social and political responsibilities	
Educational personnel	4 leaders such as, lecturers, headmasters and counselors	

Source: Fieldwork data, November-December 2006

Rwanda is a religious country, and the religious institutions have a considerable influence on decision-making in the country and thus in making changes (Byanafashe 2004: 57-62). The impact of religious institutions in everyday life cannot be ignored. They contribute to shape the behaviour of their followers, and religious institutions deal with a large numbers of the population in their activities. The influence of their leaders, therefore, necessitated that same leaders be interviewed. The common understanding of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide under study was facilitated by their views.

There are nonprofit associations which play an important role in the community such as the *Ibuka*, Association des Veuves du Génocide Agahozo, and Tumurere. They were created to tackle the genocide consequences. The views regarding the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide, as presented by these associations, influence the population's views, which is why in-depth interviews with leaders of those institutions were considered as providing helpful information. Their contribution to the research was significant. In this study, leaders inspired by the social and political responsibilities were also interviewed in order to get an insight into the ideology behind the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide's creation. Some of the leaders were from the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, the Electoral commission, the Department of Culture and the Memorial Department. Educational personnel also played a major role in making the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide an instrument which can contribute much to the community understanding of what has happened, and to find out the way forward. They use the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide as a teaching tool for the younger generation. Headmasters of primary and secondary schools and University lectures and counselors were interviewed to discuss the contribution of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide in the educational arena.

Table 7: The profile of the twenty one informants

Age range	Gender		Visit to the KMCG	Reasons for the visit to the KMCG
	F	M		
31-35	1	4	All of them had visited the KMCG more than once and the visit was initiated either by themselves or friends or public authorities.	Participation in national mourning, the burial ceremony, the family's remembrance and other social occasions like responding to this interview on the KMCG.
36-40	2	4		
41-45	2	4		
46-50	-	1		
+ 55	-	3		

Source: Fieldwork data, November-December 2006

M: Male respondent

F: Female respondent

The key informants offered consistent information and they increased the understanding of the topic under discussion and helpful information was gained (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 288).

The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide represents a social and cultural aspect in the Rwanda's community. Most Rwandans take time to visit the venue. In each category of respondents, more than 90% of the respondents have visited the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. Initiated either by the individual or by other social and cultural circumstances, visiting the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide and facing what happened was an advantage. All the respondents improved the knowledge they had before the visit (Interview on 2nd December 2006; 4th December 2006). The fieldwork was successful with regards to gathering data. During the interviews differences could be observed between respondents who had visited the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide and those who had not. This was evident throughout their answers. The former gave more detailed and relevant answers than the latter.

On the other hand, recorded information was useful in completing the primary data. All national mourning in Rwanda from 2004 to 2006, is recorded and the researcher revisited organized ceremonies to analyze the process of how all social groups in those ceremonies were integrated. Certain groups who visited the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide had been audio-visually recorded and their views were significant. They were either national or international visitors and their speeches reflected much of what they had learned throughout the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. The documentation within the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide holds helpful information, especially books and journals which are specific to the genocide ideology. Checking the information from the fieldwork was facilitated by those books, journals and recorded materials put together in the documentation space within the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide.

4.9 The foremost themes and key words in the interviews

The in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were used to collect primary data and the reading or recorded materials were used to gather secondary data. Themes and key words formed the guideline for storing and keeping the data collected. These themes and keys words were:

- The reasons for the visit to the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide: The reasons expected, such as having the profile of the genocide ideology, the participation in the burial rites, the remembrance ceremony, national mourning, organized visits or other social obligations like accompanying the neighbors going through the rites associated with death, were confirmed. Others social occasions like escorting a foreign visitor, responding to the interviews were other themes added during the interviews since they were raised by some of the respondents.
- The meaning of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide in the everyday's life through diverse perspectives such as a burial place, a mourning place, a remembrance place, a teaching tool, an emotional place or a place which represents a genocide ideology in Rwanda's community.
- How the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide can be a symbol which helps to restore social and cultural values such as identity, tolerance, trust, apology, common understanding and good relationships in Rwanda's community, and the contribution of each one to reestablish good social relationships.

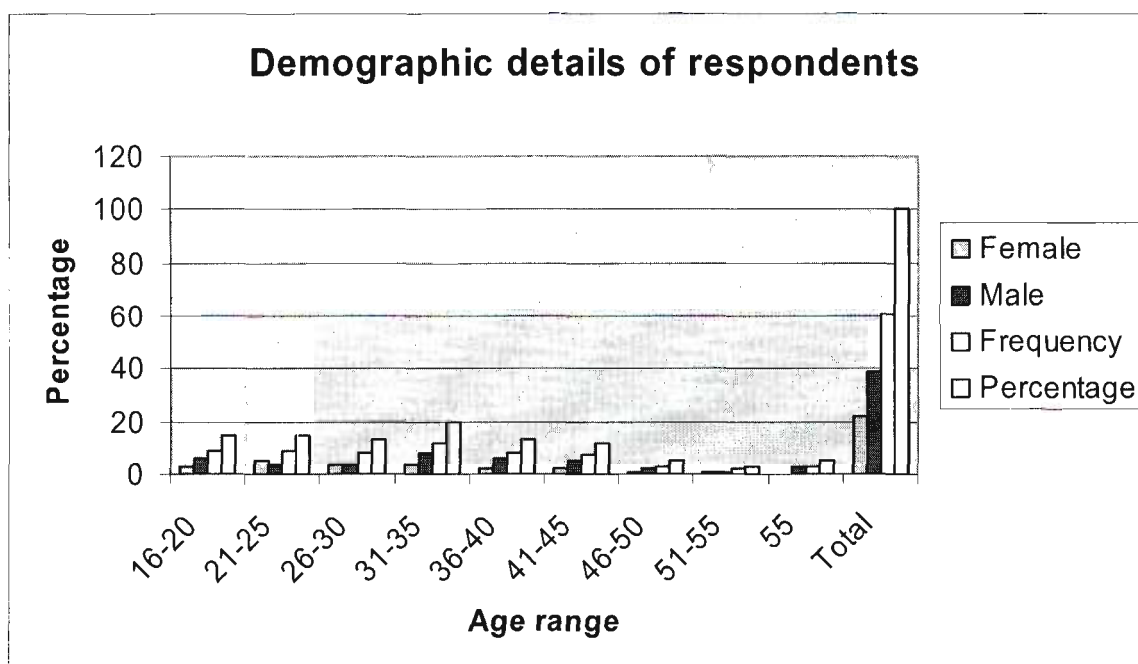
Indeed these themes and key words enabled the researcher to reflect, articulate and explain the values of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide as a meaningful 'symbol' in the community which can help to rehabilitate the social and cultural value in Rwanda's society. The content analysis used to analyze the findings and provide a process whereby 'coding themes into variables' which enable the researcher to make sure that the intensity and the frequency of terms surrounding themes are clear (Neuman 2000: 293-295).

Table 8: Demographic details of respondents' in the in-depth interview and focus groups

Age range	Female	Male	Frequency	Percentage
16-20	3	6	9	14.75
21-25	5	4	9	14.75
26-30	4	4	8	13.11
31-35	4	8	12	19.67
36-40	2	6	8	13.11
41-45	2	5	7	11.47
46-50	1	2	3	4.92
51-55	1	1	2	3.28
+ 55		3	3	4.92
Total	22	39	61	100

Source: Fieldwork data, November-December 2006

Chart 1: Demographic details of respondents' in-depth interviews and focus groups



Source: Table 8

4.10 The constraints of the fieldwork

There are some constraints related to the place and time chosen by the respondents of in-depth interviews. Most of the respondents agreed to the appointment taking place in their working place. Consequently, sometimes the researcher faced disturbing parameters even some unexpected by the respondent. Sometimes these parameters interrupted the interviews of those who had chosen for the appointment to take place in the middle of a working day, and it was not easy to continue the interview. This affected the process of the interview but the information was still shared as planned, because in those cases, the respondents added more minutes to the end of the interview. Otherwise the appointment had to be postponed.

The topic raised so many emotions that sometimes the respondents asked for more time so that they could continue to share their own experiences. The focus groups were looking for more time after the time allocated for discussions, as they wanted to talk about their own experiences since the discussions raised emotions. According to time constraints, it was not easy to add more time. Moreover, with the orphans group, the counselor accompanying the researcher, suggested adding further time for them to share their personnel testimonies, since talking about what they went through is a type of healing. And also they may not have someone at home with whom to share their emotions. They were comforted by that extra time and the counselor ended the discussion with some comforting counseling theories.

All focus groups suggested that if they could go to visit the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide after exchanging so many ideas, then they may enter in with more open minds than before. And it would be an occasion to anticipate for those who had never been in the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. This was not possible to organize at the time because it required more time and organization.

Chapter Five:

The presentation of the research findings

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter dealt with the procedure which enabled the researcher to approach respondents in the fieldwork and raised certain constraints faced during interviews. In this chapter the researcher presents, in detail the primary data from the fieldwork concerning the contribution of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide in assisting Rwandans reconstruct their cultural and social values and revitalize the practices of burial, mourning and memorializing.

The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide plays an important role in the community. It is visited by individuals and by governmental and non governmental organizations in order to learn more about Rwanda's history in which the genocide ideology is rooted; the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is a teaching tool. It is also visited by those who view it as a cemetery where their relatives, killed during the genocide tragedy, are buried. It thus facilitates mourning and remembrance. It is a space of sharing emotions, especially during national mourning even if that period has some depressing effects on the community. The contribution of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide in restoring Rwanda's society requires the effort of all to understand the need of reviewing, positively, the history of Rwanda in order to avoid the same mistake of misinterpreting the history.

It is expected that the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide should help the population to avoid any discrimination and promote equity among Rwanda's social groups, which should be the foundation of rebuilding community relationships and rehabilitating social values. This concerns Rwanda's Government and the entire community because the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is a challenge to the cultural, social and political system in Rwanda across generations, and concerns, particularly, the leadership. Different institutions, individuals such as witnesses of the genocide, survivors and

perpetrators should be involved in rehabilitating the social and cultural values. Each one should bring its contributions to restore good social relationships.

It is important to have a venue like Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide which provides information about what happened in Rwanda. Improving the possibility of communicating this information to all who are targeted, is required. Visits to the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide by the community provide that possibility of accessing the information which it holds. Knowing more about the history in which the genocide is rooted, would be the overpass between the past and the present, and will aid in avoiding such wrongdoings and will help to rehabilitate the communities destroyed by the genocide ideology, therefore, promoting good social relationships.

5.2 The sites of genocide

After a hundred days of genocide tragedy, Rwanda's communities expressed the intention of burying the bodies and remains of bodies scattered everywhere in the country and this was a priority in order to organize society. The sites of genocide are those places where people were killed and their bodies' remains lie, or where many corpses were thrown by the killers. Looking at the way the population can perform rites associated with death for those who perished during the genocide, different ideas emerged from the local communities. Some of them organized the burial rites as they used to do in the cultural customs, and others looked for another alternative which could help them to bury more than one corpse in the same tomb. This has moved the communities to use mass graves to bury the bodies and remains.

The initiative to organize the mass graves as a new form of tomb, in contrast to a traditional single tomb started in the local community of Mwurire, in order to perform funerals rites. This happened in October 1994 where the local community of Mwurire organized a burial in honor of their relatives killed during the genocide. This inspired other local communities to do the same. Therefore the Government took over those

initiatives and transformed them into a national project (Interview on 2nd November 2006).

Since the early months of 1995, Rwanda's Government has materialized its involvement in order to systematize the rites associated with death, in creating the Memorial Commission of Genocide for the whole country. It started its activities under the Social Affairs Ministry in the Department of Culture. The major role of the commission was:

- to locate where the bodies were thrown by the killers during the genocide;
- to organize the funeral rites in respect of those bodies discovered and bury them;
- to look at how a genocide memorial can be managed, using some bones of human bodies, clothes left behind and the materials used in assassinations during the genocide such as guns, axes, machetes, etc. as evidence of genocide;
- to generate a documentation center relating to the genocide ideology and to encourage Rwandans to read them decisively in order to discourage this from ever happening again.

The Memorial Commission of Genocide identified one hundred and eighteen sites of genocide in the country (Mapping agency, April 1997). All of the sites scattered in each corner, required financial assistance in order to be constructed and managed. Because they are many, it was not easy to construct all of them at the same time; that is why the Government took the decision to do it step by step. Some sites are situated in spaces well arranged as venues of burial, mourning and memorializing. They comprise burial places surrounded by gardens and a house with rooms in which there are different exhibitions. Other sites still resemble normal burial places, but there are banderols which announce what kind of burial place is being approached.

The Department of Culture moved from the Social Affairs Ministry to the Education Ministry in 1997 and thereafter, it was again moved to the Youth, Culture and Sport Ministry. Throughout these changes, the Memorial Commission of Genocide remained under the Department of Culture. In 2000, the Memorial Commission of Genocide

became the Memorial Department of Genocide under the Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sport.

Rwanda's Government ideology to promote Memorial Sites of genocide is assuming social and moral responsibilities to help the community to know more about Rwanda's genocide ideology and to honor those who were killed during the genocide. It should not be possible to rebuild Rwanda's society when the unburied bodies of those killed are scattered throughout the country in dishonorable conditions. Burying those corpses with respect should be done in the communities as a sign of a new life in the country, which would be the foundation for hope of a better future. Rwanda's culture places emphasis in the funeral rites as a social and cultural obligation, which the living people should perform to ensure the future (Bigirumwami 2004:181; Interview 13th November 2006).

5.2.1 National Memorial Sites of Genocide

These include Murambi in the Southern Province of Rwanda, Nyamata, Ntarama and Nyarubuye in the Eastern Province, Bisesero in the Northern Province and Gisozi and Nyanza in Central Kigali Town, the Capital of Rwanda (<http://www.kigalimemorialcentre.org/centre/other>). The locations of these National Memorial Sites of Genocide are not arbitrarily selected; they are located in places with a particular history during the genocide. What makes them unique places is that they enclosed a huge part of the population during the genocide period as camps for people and most of them were killed in those camps.

In the same places where people were killed during the genocide in April 1994, the survivors kept the remains of corpses in disorder as they were incapable of organizing these sites. Keeping the remains in the same place was the only contribution they could make. The management of those places is delicate and cannot be done by the local communities because it is costly. The local communities were at risk of being contaminated by the decomposition of the bodies kept in fragile conditions, as the burial rites had not yet been performed. One of the objectives of the National Memorial Sites of Genocide is to create a 'window' through which people can look, thereby see and

understand what has happened in Rwanda. This has influenced the Government to exhibit, carefully, some bones and remains of bodies not buried, to serve as evidence of and witness to of the genocide in Rwanda. When the Government began to supervise these places, the remains of corpses, leftover materials used in everyday life and clothes were arranged in such a manner as to conserve them inside those Memorials Sites.

5.2.2 The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide (KMCG)

This study scrutinizes the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide as one of the seven National Memorial Sites of Genocide located in Kigali City. One of the reasons behind the creation of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is creating evidence of the genocide. It emphasizes some events in Rwanda's history which contributed to the divisions of the community which lead to the genocide and explains the history in which the genocide is rooted. Genocide has deep destructive impacts on society and, Rwandans have experienced those harmful consequences. Within this, Rwanda's community necessitates a particular understanding of what has happened. The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide can help the community to realize that. Explaining what happened in simple and easy language has been underlined by Bauman who states that:

What did happen was far too complicated to be explained in that simple and intellectually comforting way I naively imagined sufficient. I realize that the Holocaust was not only sinister and horrifying, but also an event not at all easy to comprehend in habitual, 'ordinal' terms. This event had been written down in its own code which had to be broken first to make understanding possible (1989: viii).

In the same view as Bauman, understanding the genocide, requires a language which can be written to convey an understanding the happening. The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is, and has developed, an expression which uncovers the meaning of the genocide in the community. It should contribute to the common understanding of the process which makes possible, the genocidal ideology. The individual and collective responsibilities concerning the understanding of what happened will pave the way to prevent futures occurrences (Interview on 20th December 2006).

This has been highlighted by Prunier in the following assertion:

Understanding why they died is the best and most fitting memorial we can raise for the victims. Letting their deaths go unrecognized or distorted by propaganda, or misunderstanding through simplified clichés, would in fact bring the last touch to the killers' work in completing the victims' dehumanization. Man (sic) is largely a social construct, and to deny a man (sic) the social meaning of his death is to kill him twice, first in the flesh, then in the spirit (1995: xii).

There is thus a need for a sociological analysis to understand the value of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide as a meaningful venue of understanding the genocide ideology. It is a symbol of refusing to let the victims of genocide go unrecognized, as Prunier states. The acknowledgement of what has happened is recognizing the humanity of the victims and creates an atmosphere of trust and sympathy in the community. The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide promotes different elements which should help Rwanda's community to know in detail what happened. The emphasis is put on the genocidal ideology throughout Rwanda's history as one respondent confirms (Interview on 3rd November 2006).

There is a need to have a symbol which allows the national and international community to reflect on the genocidal ideology. "When you do not know where you came from, you cannot know where you are going to. Indeed Rwandans should know where they came from, facing the present challenges of the past, and this will enable them to make prior preparation for the future" states one respondent (Interview on 5th December 2006). There is information in the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide which scrutinizes the process in which divisions had been nurtured until the genocide. The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is a teaching tool and for those who need evidence to understand what has happened, it plays a retrospective role in the community. It is also a place of documentation about other genocidal ideologies in the world, which offers the opportunity to learn about other circumstances which permit genocide to occur (Danielle de Lame 2002: 128).

Another reason behind the creation of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is promoting a symbol which stands for the rites of burial, mourning and memorializing for

those who perished in the genocide. It is expected that the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide should enable people to recover their humanity by relating to the routine of the rituals associated with death. They are symbolic representations of continuity in society. The lack of the funeral rites believed to play a role in the continuity of social life, can be a barrier into rehabilitating social values. A place which can enable the community to hope for a better future is helpful. The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide plays this role since it includes a burial place for those killed during the genocide. The routine of having a tomb in the family history, which helps them to accept the loss, provides a psychological relief.

During the genocide, circumstances did not allow the population to bury its deceased. Even after the genocide, it was complicated for the survivors to locate where the corpses of their relatives were, so that they could bury them. The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide has been a stimulus to the Government, in searching for where the corpses were thrown in dishonorable conditions. Thereafter, it organized the mass graves in respect of the social and cultural aspects related to the burial and mourning rites. If the people in communities did not get the chance to bury their deceased, they could not mourn and memorialize their loved ones. Even if the funeral rites for those killed during the genocide were not organized in the due time, the subsequent organizing of those rites has been helpful to the community for the continuity of life (Marrone 1997: 381). The mass graves have been an alternative solution to bury masses of bodies because many people were killed and it was not easy to get a tomb for each corpse. The burying time facilitated the mourning and memorializing rites and assisted in lifting the community up.

Even if there are differences in performing the rites associated with death for those killed during the genocide, this affects neither the way they are traditionally performed nor their significance in the community. However the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide provides an opportunity to perform these rites as much as possible and the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide will last as a reminder of the cost of the atrocities. The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide exists as a permanent memorial for the harmful

wrong done to those who survived the genocide, and also as a place for Rwandans to grieve for those they lost (<http://www.kigalimemorialcentre.org/centre/>).

The innovation of mass graves in the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide goes beyond a normal burial place and serves as evidence of what happened. The mourning and memorializing times organized for the period of genocide are particular, they are not performed with traditional observances but they include the same significance. It is a national event as the consequences of the genocides are shared by all Rwandans. The mourning and remembrance times organized each year go beyond family mourning. Whereas the social and cultural aspects associated with death in the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide are a response to the particular situation in Rwanda, they do not influence at all, the cultural ways those rites are organized.

5.3 Understanding Rwanda's history through the KMCG

In 2000, Rwanda's Government began to construct the shell of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide and it was inaugurated on 7th of April 2004, by the President of Rwanda, with the ceremony of the 10th anniversary of the genocide in Rwanda. (<http://www.kigalimemorialcentre.org/centre/opening.php>). Developing a common understanding of Rwanda's history can be a helpful approach in rehabilitating the identity of Rwanda's community. Rebuilding a society after genocide requires a retrospective regard of knowing the history. Therefore, the examination of the past should help to identify the way in which the past has been undermined by the genocide ideology. The essence of a new understanding is to know the past, and it is important to study the past in order to shape the future. This encourages people to know more about the social and political context of their country. Through this knowledge, each one recognizes her/his contribution to improving social and cultural values. Making changes in the community for a better future demands the participation of everyone, which is why the entire population needs to understand the past. The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide offers an easy explanation to everybody and facilitates the understanding of Rwanda's history.

The period of genocide marked an upheaval in cultural customs especially those of funeral rites which were not performed. In the context after genocide, some initiatives which aimed at dealing with them, were introduced so that they may reduce the shock caused by the dehumanization. The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide includes the burial place with mass graves, to serve as tombs for those killed during the genocide tragedy. Performing the rites associated with death, releases the families of the departed, from their grief, in that the acknowledgement of their dead generates a hope, facilitated by a new awareness. The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide includes three permanent exhibitions inside the house. The largest part includes the history of the community, thereby including the way that the division and hatred developed within the community, helped lead to the genocide.

There is also a children's memorial room, and an exhibition on the history of genocidal violence around the world. Outside the house, mass graves occupy an important space, surrounded by a memorial garden. The national documentation center of the genocide, managed within the venue, somehow orientates those who wish to deepen their understanding of the genocide ideology, through different authors, paying particular attention to Rwanda's genocide. This is also helpful for those who need to research the matter. All those venues contribute to a meaningful tribute to those who perished in the genocide, and form a powerful teaching tool for the present and next generations (<http://www.kigalimemorialcentre.org/centre/>).

5.4 The impact of the KMCG on Rwanda's leadership

The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is a challenge to broken social relations in the community. As was discussed in a previous chapter (2.4), the leaders contributed in order to generate and promote the genocide ideology in the community, through the misuse of their power positions. On the other hand, the leaders have also been able to use their power positions to reestablish and develop social relationships among the communities. When a regime is engaged to promote good governance in a society, this influences communities' cohabitation and facilitates mutual respect. The restoration of the social

relations, broken down by the genocide, is a priority in rebuilding the community. A venue like the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide addresses a challenge to the leadership. It is a retrospective tool to help the leaders to localize where the crucial problems, which undermined social relationships, are.

Therefore, they exploit the bad example of what has happened to improve the good relations in the community. One of the solutions to enhance good relationships is to enable the leaders to acknowledge what the community has lost and the factors which contributed in destroying social and cultural values. This is necessary information which could embrace the contribution of each leader in promoting good governance (Waller 1996: 8). The leaders' awareness of what the community has lost should help them to think deeply of how the population should be empowered to build themselves their community. Understanding the role of the leadership in the community should strengthen and assist the leaders to face, with courage, the consequences of the genocide that the population is facing.

The possibility of rehabilitating relationships into society depends on the manner in which the leaders are able to analyze the past and to interpret the present for a better future in daily life. How leaders give the people the place to express their understanding should help them to engage their efforts to restore and improve their social and cultural values, and ensure good relationships (Byanafashe 2004: 11). Rebuilding a national identity should begin with a new language to teach the community that tolerance, mutual respect, assistance to the needy and acceptance of the diversities in the community are required. They are the basic necessities of sustainable social interaction.

In this regard the Electoral Commission has organized systematic visits by the public leaders to the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide so that they themselves, could understand Rwanda's history in order to help the population to understand it. The problems the leaders are facing today are the legacy of the past, thus they need to settle them, make a difference in their leadership and ensure that there is a hopeful future. The visits to the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide are expected to enhance the leaders'

ability to analyze the example of bad leadership which led the country for a long time and become an instrument of division and hatred among people which led to the genocide tragedy. This could empower them to set up strategies and mechanisms to stop and avoid hatred and division in the community. Social changes are not automatic but are a process. The visit to the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide could create an understanding of the factors which led to the genocide and demolished such social and cultural values in the community. One respondent stated that:

They were leaders like us, from the same community and with the same leadership capacity. Though the time differs, their time was better than our time, because now we have more challenges than them, due to the wounds left by the genocide. Any effort should be made to avoid another similar case. I think what made the genocide happen is still alive. This can be confirmed by the atrocities observed in Gikongoro, Butare and others areas. The challenges left behind by the overthrown government continue to stress us. The important people to initiate transformation in the community are both the local and national leaders. A leader should recognize her/his role in order to create a positive influence expected by the people (Interview on 16th November 2006).

The above statement affirms the inter-influence between the past, the present and the future. The needs of the newness in the process of changes are made by the weaknesses and the strengths of the past and the power of the present can generate a better future. The visits to the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide should open opportunities for the leaders to exchange ideas on what the impact of bad and good leadership on communities will be. Therefore, to encourage the culture of tolerance and acceptance of diversities in communities, they should come up with resolutions to their exchange discussions. One respondent confirmed that, “The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide can be a good helper to knowing where we come from and to settle on where we are going. The painful period society passed through, is revisited inside the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide like a compiled book of history. It is expected to enable us, leaders and the rest of society to manage diversities and to promote good social relations” (Interview on 24th November 2006).

To eradicate division and hatred might require a considerable effort from leaders and communities. “Being deficient in leadership can be a handicap in the process of rebuilding social and cultural values as we know some of the factors which caused the

genocide are still alive,” argued a respondent (Interview on 24th November 2006). Discouraging the genocide ideology and all social inequality is a matter for everyone who looks for sustainable peace in the community. Being informed about what destroyed social relations can help to prevent a repetition of the same wrong doing and hopefully, it can generate changes for a good future.

5.5 The KMCG provides awareness through visits

The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide aims to be an educational apparatus to the national and international community. It can assist all who enter its gates, representing the process and time frame in Rwandan’s history during which the genocide ideology was developed and put into action. Bauman confirm this by stating:

The historian analysis was cogent and profound. They showed beyond reasonable doubt that the Holocaust was a window, rather than a picture on the wall. Looking through that window, one can catch a rare glimpse of many things otherwise invisible. And the things one can see are of the utmost importance not just for the perpetrators, victims and witnesses of the crime, but for all those who are alive today and hope to be alive tomorrow. What I saw through this window I did not find it all pleasing. The more depressing the view, however, the more I was convinced that if one refused to look through the window, it would be at one’s peril (1989: viii).

Related to this quotation, Bauman does not look at the holocaust as showing the whole reality of the happening but he considers the venue like a ‘window’ through which people can see the invisible. Where the indistinguishable is made a little more distinguishable, society can learn how terrible genocide is. Questioning the past and being aware of the causes which undermined good relationships is made possible in simple language used by the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. This should help the population to take a step further in fighting the genocide ideology and other social inequalities which can generate and/or enlarge the gaps among the population. The different lessons the community can learn through the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide can renew their understanding and equip them to find a way forward to build a new society. To confirm this Shyaka states, “A conflict lead to the destruction but it is also a driving force in the history of humanity and a powerful motivation in the peace building process” (2004: 16). The Kigali

Memorial Center of Genocide should be a useful teaching tool to cultivate a solid foundation in formal education such as in primary and secondary schools and in universities, and should also be worthwhile in informal education.

Two official institutions have already taken the responsibility of listing as their first priorities, educational preoccupations relating to the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. These are Rwanda's Educational Ministry and the Electoral Commission. They have added to their curriculum, using the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide as tangible teaching material. The entire field of education should embrace social and moral obligations to visit the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide in order to elucidate the theories elaborated on in everyday teaching in classrooms. The history taught in the school curricula after genocide should enable children to grow up in the culture of tolerance, acceptance and mutual respect (Short *et al.* 1998: 10).

The struggle of Rwanda's society to manage the legacy of the past and to prepare the way forward could encourage the community to detest divisions and hatred from wherever they may come. The education system should equip the community to think critically and to take action. It should be able to maintain good social relations (Short *et al.* 1998: 14). The awareness provided by the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide's visits is an important step which needs following up in order to settle the shock experienced inside, and to consider the way forward. The shock and hard facts faced within the exhibition and during short movies inside the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide might orientate the thoughts of visitors in different ways. At the end of the visit, various attitudes can be observed: Either renouncing any discrimination because it destroys them and the communities of which they are members, or increasing the atmosphere of hatred in which human kind looks for revenge, or being passive and indifferent (Interview on 28th November 2006). The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide plays a teaching role and creates a dynamic and integral process promoting worthwhile changes in Rwanda's society. A strong educational system in society brings the community's thoughts together and is a necessity in this regard. The survivors, the witnesses and the perpetrators might have diverse views on the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide; consolidating the

educational system in the community is a priority, to promote tolerance of each other and to accept others' views.

5.5.1 Institutions visiting the KMCG

The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is one of the genocide's consequences, it is a challenge to Rwandans, and it is an inescapable reference for the entire community (Fein 2002: 50). The institutions' leaders aim to include in their schedule visits to the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide in order to improve social relationships among employees, because they are empowered by their responsibility to influence them, and to develop a good understanding of the past. Consequently, the employees are in a good position to generate changes since they have the possibility. The working place is a platform for increasing the possibility of building community values. The initiative to improve social and cultural values is an issue in the community because the genocide has destroyed them. Identity is a basic human need, and social and cultural values are embedded in the common identity of a society. To develop this identity, schools have been emphasized since they offer the possibilities of influencing individual characters at an early age. Also, to develop an atmosphere of tolerance and trust, colleagues, neighbors and relatives should be highlighted as community members worth relating to, rather than creating distances from.

a. School visits and understanding of the KMCG

The entire educational sector has envisaged integrating the teachings about the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide to develop a sense of tolerance and respect of others and this should enable the pupils, students, teacher and lectures to be critical in all situations. The basis of these teachings is to pave the way of abolishing all social discrimination and intolerance which led the society to the mass murders, and to rebuild a new society (Conseil National des Programme 2004: 154-158). The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is a teaching tool which helps the learners to acknowledge what happened in society and to develop their understanding (Short *et al.* 1998: 12-13). Many schools have

visited the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide to complete their classroom theories. Some of them are Kingdom Educational Center, Training Centers, FAWE, La Colombière primary and secondary schools ect (See Appendix 1).

A strong educational system is required in order to equip young people to grow up with social and cultural values which make them human. The acknowledgement of others' rights and the respect of life are taught and highlighted in educational systems. The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide's help in pointing out degradation and misery and destroying the values which tie together a community, is a potent illustration. The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide helps students to face the reality of what they learn in their class rooms and in their families. The role of the educational sector in improving social and cultural values is highlighted by most of the respondents. They state that there is a need to educate the population to visit the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide since it can enable them to assume the responsibility of whatever they are doing. Through the visit to the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide, the population can see what it meant to blindly follow leaders' interests in the past. Formal education should encourage the learner to think critically and to understand their actions in the community so that they are able to choose what is good to do (Interviews on 24th November 2006; 30th November 2006; 1st December 2006; 13th December 2006).

Some of the views from learners who went to visit the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide are helpful. The attention they gave in the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide, shows how important it is. Also most of children in Rwanda are either genocide's orphans, or their parents are or have been, in prison for many years because they participated in or are suspected for participating in killing people during the genocide, or were not in the country during the genocide. The suffering of these children can not be ignored. Often they do not have any sources of comfort which can ease their pain, or people with whom they can discuss their feelings. Learning about the past ideology and visiting the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide should give them the opportunity to express their feelings. One pupil expressed during a focus group discussion:

I was not in the country when the genocide took place. I came after the genocide with my family. The genocide event was a strange story to me. I went to the KMCG with many questions because I did not realize that what I had heard in class and seen through television and newspapers created an interest to know more. The day I went to the KMCG it was too much for me to internalize what I saw, I did not believe. I took time to listen to the explanations and watch short movies inside the house. The understanding of each step gives a picture of what has happened in the history of my country. I learned how tolerance, good relations and the respect of others' lives is an ultimate condition in society. My impression after the visit is to encourage everybody to think deeply on what contribution she/he could make in order to rehabilitate our community (Interview on 22nd November 2006).

This statement elevated discussion in the focus group. It provoked agreement and disagreement. Some pupils would like to stay away even if that behaviour inhibits insight into what happened in their community. Those who support avoiding the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide maintain that a visit to the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is an intoxication of the innocent mind of those who were not in the country during the genocide. Unfortunately they were challenged in that they cannot avoid the history of their country. Being a member of a community involves understanding the good and bad realities which make its history.

Those who could avoid the visit to the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide emphasized its traumatic aspects. It is a fact that the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide can be harmful as it exhibits traumatic events, though it is a part of Rwanda's history which needs to be presented in an easy language and known about (Interviews on 22nd November 2006; 30th November 2006; 6th December 2006). The reason supporting their argument is that they fear being traumatized by the harmful period which is kept fresh by the images inside the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. It was not only a problem for those who were not in the country during the genocide; even those who were in the country at the time are included in the group which prefers avoiding visits to the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. However social constraints have forced some of them to visit. There are many cultural activities which demand the population to visit the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide, such as participating in the burial ceremony, the remembrance ceremony or national mourning. For those who feared visiting the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide, their argument raised discussion. This attitude will bring

about the consequences of being observers rather than being active in the community. Although, there are many ways of knowing the history, knowing what actually happened during the genocide, necessitate a place like Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide as ‘a window’ where the population can look and get an idea.

This attitude has been compared to the ignorance which has been critically analyzed as a negative element that cannot help the community to overcome the faults of the past and to develop itself. “Ignorance is a handicap to the social, cultural, economical and political development in the community” states one respondent (Interview on 3rd November 2006). Those who prefer remaining in ignorance about the reality of what happened can be a handicap in the community. Their ignorance can be used by any body who wishes to bias their understanding. The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide offers some explanation about Rwanda’s history. The effort to visit it is required in order to face the history and to be able to contribute to generate changes. Communities are unable to rehabilitate their identities, their social and cultural values if the undermined past is not known.

There are some people in the group who cherish the place even if it is thought by some members of the group as being a harmful venue. They need to be closer to it and look in that ‘window’ to see the invisible and to learn more. They said that the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is a teaching tool for them and as it represents the burial place of their relatives, it can relieve them. Through the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide they have had the possibilities of performing the funeral rites, a social and cultural obligation to honor the deceased. Perhaps one can visit the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide and after exploring what it exhibits, realize that these exhibitions can generate shock. Hereafter that shock can be changed into powerful thinking which might enable the individual to rise to the occasion and help build the community. Conversely, exploring what has happened can end the attitude of retribution. The institutions’ visits to the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide should prepare the visitors to use them as positive opportunities to build the community and not to create a negative impact on the visitors. A solid plan is necessary to develop a common understanding to avoid bias and negative impacts on the community. The entire field of education embraces a social and moral

obligation to visit the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide so that the theories elaborated on within the everyday teaching are complemented with visual material in the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide.

b. Other institutions visiting the KMCG

Groups like to visit the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide in order to gain a deeper knowledge of what the genocide ideology is and its implication in deconstructing the basic values in the community. The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is opened to everyone, at all times. Many of the institutions have organized a visit to the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide are listed: Ukuri Kurakiza Association, Gacaca Coordination, Ombudsman office, National Police Delegation, MTN delegation, the Ministry of Infrastructure and so on (See Appendix 1). During their visits, sometimes recorded views are kept and transmitted through mass media. This manner of diffusing information, influences the population's views, even those who have never been inside the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. The mass media can impact the community and generate curiosity to visit the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. The mass media is able also, to impose an agenda on the community through a proposed way of understanding the event (Rutayisire 2006: 4). The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is a visual teaching tool and it will continue to speak to the coming generations when "No living generation will have a tangible connection to those who survived. It is for their sake and the sake of coming generations that it is so vital to continue to write and record" (Persson 2000: January 27). This continues to confirm the educational aspect of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide as part of the informal educational system.

The effort to face the reality of what happened should be made by each Rwandan to know, in detail what is lost from her/his social and cultural values and consequently make a decision to contribute to its rehabilitation. Themes such as 'non recurrence', justice, tolerance, peace, mutual respect, and others have been highlighted in the visitors' book (See Appendix 1). The struggle the community is facing today was created yesterday and

can continue in the future if the community is not aware that it should combat and avoid the like (Interview on 30th November 2006).

5.5.2 Individual visits to the KMCG

The way the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is constructed, it exhibits a summary of the history, so if one visits it, she/he faces a dramatic deconstructed of social relationships in a community. Even those who are not able to read, are given a possibility to recognize through pictures and short movies some of the underlined moment in Rwanda's history. The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is a venue where the community can easily read and come to understand some of the struggles they are facing even if they are facing hard facts. The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide expresses what the community and others, in written books, could not express easily, and this encourages the community. Even those who can not access other readings, the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is a helpful documentation in completing their knowledge, especially about the genocide ideology (Interviews on 7th; 13th December 2006). Most of the respondents who had visited the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide highlighted the importance of the leaders' responsibilities. They should encourage the population to visit the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide and might promote a 'common understanding'. However the effort to use it positively should be promoted.

Because the genocide happened in Rwanda's context, it does not mean it could not have been avoided. What is unavoidable, however, are the consequences. The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide represents a result of community wrongdoings. Somehow, it is a shared responsibility. The ideology was cultivated and somehow all Rwandans contributed in destroying their human values since they accepted consciously or unconsciously the stereotypes attributed to each of social groups. These stereotypes were the foundation which enlarged the gap among the social groups (See 2.3.3; 2.4; 2.5). A visit to the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide can enable each one to get a common understanding. This cannot happen if people continue learning through biased stories

from their relatives or neighbors. Visiting the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide and its rooms, unlocks the mind. One respondent during an interview stated:

The indifference about the KMCG disappears, inside the painful house and you come to realize the valuable role of the KMCG during the visit. Promoting social values and a culture of tolerance should be the priority in the whole community to avoid another similar case. The visit to the KMCG helps you to question what kind of identities the community has developed and this forces you to choose the good way to follow which will say 'sorry' for being naïve (Interview on 6th December 2006).

Inside the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide, each visitor might have time to realize the failure of the community to resist the evil ideology, that if there have been more resistance in the community, the genocide either could not have happened or if it had happened, it could not be as bad as it was. This was confirmed by the respondent who had emphasized the great contribution of some people who risked their lives to save people during the genocide. Those individuals' initiatives are a helpful example that the contribution of each one in the community is required to elevate the community. This underlines the individual's role in rehabilitating social and cultural values.

There is another reason which stimulates the community to visit the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. It is the respect of rites associated with death for those who perished in the genocide. These rites tie a community together in that people organize remembrance ceremonies in the burial place inside the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. It is a conducive symbol in the community. The community gathers in order to perform the funeral rites through which they are able to carry on their cultural customs associated with death. The social obligations to escort the neighbors to perform funerals ceremonies create an atmosphere of regret, encouragement and sympathy among members of the community.

5.5.3 Foreigners' visits to the KMCG

The foreign visitors enter the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide ignorant of the history of the genocide in Rwanda and the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide teaches them more. The President of Zambia confirmed that, "During my visit to the Memorial Center

of Genocide, it elucidated what I had read in many books and had seen on Television. At the end I was holding what happened in Rwanda, as one who had gone through the tragic event” (Services Documentaire de KMCG 2006: Recorded material on 3rd July 2005).

This view of the President of Zambia confirms the educational aspect of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. Whoever comes to Rwanda feels a social and moral obligation to know the reality of the genocide and this pushes that person to visit the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide in order to discover some information. The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide should be an instrument that portrays the history of genocide. It should unlock minds, so that the community can think of how to preserve social values such as justice, tolerance, mutual respect and so forth which make neighboring in the community easy and then ‘never again’ should it be a reality. A member of the Sudanese delegation, on a visit to the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide, confirmed what the President of Zambia had said and continued to argue that, “After the visit, the challenges faced inside the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide cause you to think about what contribution the international community should make with regards to rehabilitating the community” (See appendix 1; Services Documentaire de KMCG 2006: Recorded material on 3rd July 2005).

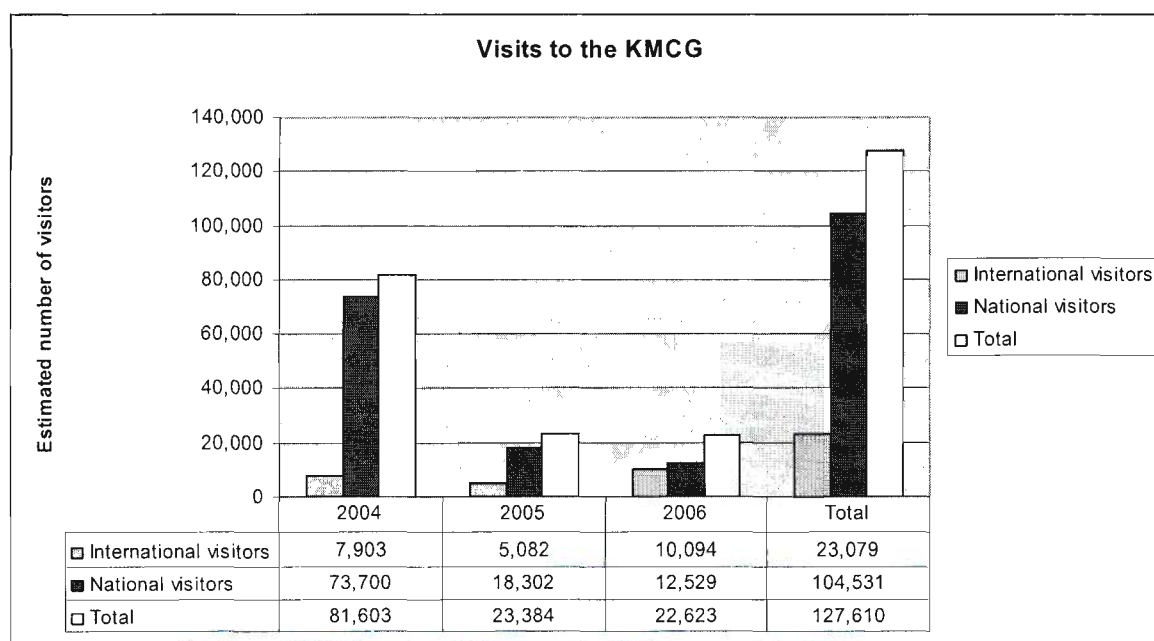
To visit the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is necessary but it requires psychological preparation to avoid or reduce the shock the visits can generate. And also, the follow up is important, to help manage the emotions after the visit. Even if the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide has counselors, the shock can come after one has left the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. These are challenges for the organizers of the visits. Most of the time they do not take time to prepare individuals in order to avoid or to reduce the shock (Interview on 30th November 2006). These visits can be viewed with sympathy for the community and this cultural attitude in the sorrow period, as well as neighbors, plays a major role in comforting those who are going through the period of grief and this should help them to recover (See 2.7; 3.2; Interview on 24th November 2006).

Table 9: A summary of national and international visits to the KMCG

Type of visitors	2004		2005		2006		Total
	Recorded	Estimated	Recorded	Estimated	Recorded	Estimated	
International visitors	3	7,900	82	5,000	94	10,000	23,079
National visitors		73,700	302	18,000	1,529	11,000	104,531
Total	81,603		23,384		22,623		127,610

Sources: <http://www.kigalimemorialcentre.org/centre/> and

Services Documentaire de KMCG 2006: Recorded materials (Files 001; 002;...; 084/KMC.V/INT & NAT; See details in Appendix 1)

Chart 2: The estimated number of national and international visits to the KMCG.

Source: Table 9

It is estimated that 104,531 Rwandans have visited the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide from April 2004 to 15 November 2006 (See Appendix 1). Those Rwandans who took the initiative to visit the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide are a large in number because as we have seen in previous paragraphs (See 5.2; 5.2. 1), the Kigali

Memorial Center of Genocide is one of the seven National Memorial Sites of Genocide which are selected from one hundred and eighteen sites of genocide (See Appendix 7). If each site of genocide could be visited like the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide, then diverse factors which contributed to bias the history of Rwanda should be known. This knowledge is an expected key element which can be one of the possibilities offered to the communities to make them aware of their failure to maintain good social relationships and to help them to restore their social and cultural values, and create the continuing requirements of vigilance in order to avoid divisions and hatred among them.

In 2004, a large numbers of local communities (73,700 visitors) entered the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide either for funeral rites, since many bodies or remains of bodies were discovered and then buried, or for visits so that they could satisfy their curiosity. In 2005, the visits decrease (18,302 visitors), it is said that the number of bodies or remains of bodies discovered decreased and therefore the number of local visitors dropped. In 2006, the visits decreased again (12,529 visitors) and the same observable fact emerged: few funeral rites were organized inside the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide (Interview on 12th December 2006). Actually, the mass population decreased its number of visits when organized visits of national institutions increased. This means, the visits are not at all spontaneous and associated with funeral rites but they are structured, and possess the characteristics of training visits (See Appendix 1).

The focus of this study is Rwanda's community. The international community however can have an important role to play with the issue of rebuilding the Rwandan community. The international community can help to re-establish social values eroded during the genocide. The presence of the international community inside the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide conveys its interest. During these three years over 23,079 international visitors have visited the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide and their insight should be helpful to the community (Appendix 1)

5.6 Community representation of the KMCG

The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is a multifaceted symbol in the community and different considerations therefore require it to be visualized in order to understand the meaning of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide in the community, and how it can influence people's everyday relationships. The possible representations held by the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide depend on how one interprets the history in which the genocide is rooted. Someone can view it as a symbol of funeral rites which has offered the possibility of paying last respects to beloved ones, others can view it as a symbol of genocide ideology organized by the circle of leaders, or, it can be seen as a symbol of shame to the community because of people's wrongdoings. These different views surrounding the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide have various impacts on the community.

5.6.1 A burial place for those who perished in the genocide

The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is one of the burial places for those who perished during the Genocide. Survivors would like to visit the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide as it stands for their tomb. It is a place that the family considers meaningful because it is where their relatives and friends are buried. It allows for a chance to pay last respects to the deceased. It plays the role of keeping the relationships between the deceased and the family, thereafter, facilitating the work of mourning and remembrance. One respondent declares that:

Me and my family, we would like to visit the KMCG as it gives us the opportunity to bury our father and relatives. The KMCG is a place of distinction for our loved ones killed innocently during the genocide. We had the occasion to perform social and cultural obligations to the loved ones. During the mourning and remembrance time, we go to the tomb. It is a bequest to the innocent, it helps me to breathe and to believe in a better future (Interview on 30th November 2006).

The outlook from the above statement includes the survivors' representation of the venue and this has been highlighted by most of respondents during in-depth interviews and

during focus group discussions. The mass graves inside the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide have been a solution to burying the many corpses of those killed during the genocide. For those who did not discover the bodies/remains of their deceased relatives, the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide provides a psychological comfort to them in that it provides a tomb of unknown bodies/remains. In that situation where the bodies/remains have not been discovered, to mourn and to remember are still a need, which requires a symbolic representation of a place which can play the role of the tomb. The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide provides that psychological tomb through mass graves of unknown deceased. This symbolic representation helps survivors to mourn and remember (Interview on 11th December 2006). The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide also offers the opportunity to bury unknown bodies in respect, since their families were eliminated, or those left behind were small children, too young to recognize the bodies of family members.

The burial place inside the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide differs from normal cemeteries or other individual burial places located on private land. The specific period like the genocide in which many people were killed and needed to be buried en masse cannot be compared with traditional customs. The rites associated with death in the genocidal context have a particular organization. It was a necessity to perform those rites, as they assume the continuity of life in the community (Interview on 24th December 2006). This generates the thought that the genocidal period has created a discontinuity of life which tends to disrupt society or a part of society (Bigirumwami 2004: 191).

From these cultural and social considerations, the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is a bridging place to ensure continuity. Through the funeral rites, made possible by the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide, a symbol of respect to the deceased and the community is resurrected. The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is a symbol of life's continuity in the community (Interview on 3rd November 2006). Performing the rites associated with death, gives hope to the community and this hope encourages people to look forward and to settle their social relations. Therefore the shock of the past should be reduced.

a. The benefit variation in performing burial rites in the KMCG

Certainly, the burial rites, forced by the genocide circumstance, are different from normal cultural ones. To perform the rites associated with death for a large number of corpses left behind by the genocide tragedy, is an obligation to be taken up by the community. The burial rites are organized to honour the departed as well as the living family. In the context of genocide, it was a unique experience which needed an adaptive solution. In a sense, mass murder gives birth to mass graves. In contrast to the private organisation of the burial rites within the family of the deceased, the public method, in which these rites are performed, provides a positive contribution to the whole of society. Since the genocide was a public event, the burial rites were systematized.

How the funeral rites are organized beyond the family circle is not seen as a problem to the families of those whose deceased are buried in the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. It is true that the way to organize the burial rites was changed, but this is as a consequences of the genocide's atrocities. To confirm how the community integrated those changes in the way the burial rites were organized, one respondent stated that, "We cannot compare the burial rites in normal time with those forced by the genocide. In most cases it concerns burying the remains of the human bodies. It is two incomparable situations which is why we understand what the Government is trying to do in order to bury the bodies" (Interview on 2nd December 2006).

The Government's responsibility to manage the consequences of the genocide started with burying the deceased. Therefore, it was not easy to get enough places for single tombs in which to bury a large number of bodies as well as the remains of the bodies left behind by the mass murder. It is estimated that 250.000 victims are buried in the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide and even now, it has a mass graves open for burial ceremonies for the genocide's victims. However the meaning of burial rites remains the same, and the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide has not replaced others cemeteries (<http://www.kigalimemorialcentre.org/centre>).

b. The contrast in the way burial rites are performed

As pointed out in the previous section, the way in which burial rites have been observed is doubtful in the traditional regard. The normal burial place, in Rwanda's custom is chosen by the family and consists of a single tomb. The burial ceremony is the concern of the family members of the deceased. They don't ask for any permission to bury their dead. The whole process gives an identity to the family in relation to the environment (Spijker 1990: 61-62). The culture defined as a system of meaning which ties a society together has been frustrated in terms of the process being disrupted (Ashe, F et al, 1999: 131-132). The burial place in the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide requires order to control the whole premises. In order to manage the place, those who need to use the mass graves request official permission, but the process is easy. The initiatives to tackle the consequences of genocide are unique in their execution (Interview on 7th December 2006).

5.6.2 A space for national mourning and remembrance

The genocide began in April 1994 and ended in July, after 3 months, therefore the first week of April each year is a week of national mourning. It is not only for those families who lost their relatives during the genocide, but it is also national mourning for all Rwandans. There is a social and cultural obligation that all neighbours should participate in the mourning time when a member of the community dies. The mourning time is a time to think, to remember and to take a step further in sharing the responsibilities left behind by the deceased. Death disrupts the family and the community, so that both should be involved in rehabilitating what the death has destroyed in terms of responsibility. This consideration still has an important role in national mourning (Bigirumwami 2004: 191). The national mourning time is conceived insightfully in its preparation. It is announced in the public media and the national flag is flown at half mast, a sign of honour and respect during mourning. Different seminars and public speeches about the evils of genocide are organised, pleasure activities are prohibited. People organize visits to the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide especially for remembrance, attend seminars and organize

family mourning time within their households. The last day of the week of the national mourning is a public holiday and the Government organizes an official ceremony in the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide to close the week.

When the mass media is effectively and faithfully used in spreading information, it could be an efficient tool which could help in socializing community matters. It can play an advocacy role in order to make clear the social, cultural, political and economic issues. It also plays a considerable part when resolving conflicts. In contrast, the mass media has been used to build up hatred between the *Hutu* and the *Tutsi* social groups before and during the genocide in Rwanda. Adelman and Suhrke delicately argue that, “The journalists of *La Radio Télévision des Mille Collines (RTL)* spent all day broadcasting intoxicating propaganda based on ethnicity. This was an effective tool of preparation for extremism since it reached all peasants in the country” (1999: 76). However after the genocide, the mass media provides a platform of reconciliation and national unity.

Throughout national mourning, mass media diffuse much information relating to the genocide, its consequences and the way forward in the community. Mass media engage the community in mourning time, especial through television and radio through songs, poetry, short movies etc (Webster 2002: 59-60). It is a sensitive time and, consciously or unconsciously, the community is exposed to mourning through television, newspaper and radio which propose an agenda to the community. Most of the information during this time surrounds the genocide ideology, social and cultural values, and achievement after the genocide and so on. It is a time to share the experiences the community has gone through. Some individuals organize visits to families of survivors to say sorry about what happened to them and to comfort them. Others invite each other to share in cold or hot drinks during this period. This opens opportunities of repeating their life experiences and relating how they are coping with the consequences of what they have gone through. This time of sharing experiences helps the community to release anguishes and to encourage each other. Marrone alleges that:

The process of accounting for the death from burial to the end of official mourning helps the mourner in the process of recovering. Telling stories about him/herself to friends, about the death and the deceased's biography are

instrumental to eventual peace of mind. The loss refers to the empathy place we find in our own lives but also in the changes observed in the environment (1997: 116).

National mourning should help the community to have time to express sadness, feelings and emotions; it is a time to grieve. The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is viewed by the community as a place which facilitates the mourning time since it includes a burial place. During the mourning time, the community needs special accompanishment and counseling. It is a traumatic period to remember relatives killed during the genocide. The mourning time is organized to help society in general and families in particular to integrate and accept the loss. The way the national mourning is organized provides a relief to the community but there is an aspect which needs adjustment in order to minimize the harmful effects it could trigger (See 5.6.2b).

a. The positive impact of national mourning

National mourning plays social and cultural respect to the victims of the genocide, to the family of the victims and to the whole community. This should assist the survivors and the rest of the community to integrate and accept the loss. Through speeches, seminars and workshops, the population is taught how the genocide ideology is destructive. This equips people to say 'no' to any kind of discrimination in whatever guise it might come. They are also taught to have solidarity which could strengthen them in resisting the divisionism ideology. In a particular way, they revisit the social and cultural values which were the foundation of Rwanda's society and the way these values were destroyed step by step leading up to the genocide period. The focus is placed on how to restore destroyed values and to keep them alive with those which remain. This time is made possible by the week of national mourning; the afternoons are free for those who would like to participate in organized workshops (Interview on 13th November 2006).

There is a considerable effort in the way the national mourning is organized to ensure that all social groups are integrated since it is a national event. One respondent affirms:

The support and encouragement offered to the survivors in this event which recalls the sorrow of the past is important. We are concerned first of all by the history of our country. What happened to one social group of Rwanda's population is automatically our history. And then we are concerned by the national mourning as a social and cultural obligation to support our relatives, friends and neighbors who experienced such traumatic moments. The humanity we can demonstrate in our community is by saying 'sorry' to the survivors through accompanying them (Interview on 13th December 2006).

This raised discussion, in the focus group, around the attitudes of both social groups during national mourning. One could ask the survivors to be considerate in terms of the language used during the mourning time and another could ask the other social group to understand the reactions of a broken heart. Furthermore both social groups accept taking the next step, and to tolerate one another in order to accept each other even if they have different views, therefore they can improve the chances of being together during the mourning time and this should increase their social interactions within the community.

In this regard, they sum up the discussion that they are in the same country and despite what happened, they have to live together, facing the consequences positively, understanding that each one has a responsibility to assume, in making changes for the better (Interviews on 13th December 2006). This discussion in the focus group was reiterated in the in-depth interviews. It is still a major aim of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, as one of the members of this commission, attested in an in-depth interview (Interview on 20th November; 16th November 2006).

Indeed, national mourning is an important time in the community. It also helps to reveal some powerful and positive actions during the genocide tragedy, which encourage the community to realise that there is always a way to be human, to promote change and to fight for the best. During the national mourning and remembrance time, Rwanda's community, through sharing experiences, increases the possibility of equipping the documentation room with consistent information required to expose the genocide. That information should help the Government to deal with different behaviours observed in the community (Lorey and Beezley 2002: 39).

For instance, on the eleventh anniversary of the genocide, the ceremony held in the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide, was the first time that Rwanda's Government had officially recognized the brave individuals who had accepted the high risks on their lives in order to save the lives of some victims in the genocide. This recognition was made more meaningful during the remembrance time. Since then, this event has been a part of the remembrance ceremony each year. The prospect of sharing outstanding attitudes, publicly, is valuable in the community. This should be a challenge to those who failed to take any sympathetic action. It is helpful also for those who survived because of these brave people, as well as for the entire community. They remained human when circumstances were asking them to be inhuman; there are challenging the rest of the community. This should pose thought-provoking questions to those who participate actively in killing people, and who said that they did not have any other option, as they were executing orders given by the leaders (Services Documentaire de KMCG 2006: Recorded material on 17th April 2005).

This courage is confirmed by Bauman, J (Bauman's wife), quoted by Bauman, who points out that, "The point is that humans do not have to be inhuman even if they live in social and historical circumstances which make the cruel treatment of the other seem to be easy and without consequence. It is always possible to choose to be human; it is always possible to choose to be moral" (2001: 13). This attitude should be an encouragement for the community. The mourning and remembrance time should continue to discover new rubrics which should enhance the hope of good social relations within Rwanda's community (Services Documentaire de KMCG 2006: Recorded material on 16th July 2006).

The process in which the national mourning is organized does not affect the normal mourning organized by the family of the mourner. Unfortunately, the normal cultural mourning does not include the sadness related to the death but it embraces the contributions of the deceased during her/his life. Furthermore to the living family, the time for mourning is a time to discuss the responsibilities left behind (Byanafashe 2004: 31). Thus the integration of the loss, creates an atmosphere which brings family, friends and neighbors together. This has been emphasized by the chairman of *Ibuka* that,

“Memory is very important because it is the foundation of the prevention of genocide in the future generation and we think that remembrance is important in the construction of a united society because you can’t have a united society without justice. Justice means first of all, truth, and truth is not possible without remembrance”

(<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/3430205.stm>). The cyclical moment of remembrance each year encourages the population to gather and there are many topics and initiatives discussed during this week, which can help the community to emerge with strong solutions to rehabilitate social and cultural values.

b. Negative impact of the national mourning

Although national mourning is very important, it can to some extent, harm some of the communities’ members. It evokes the situation in such a way, that fresh images of what the community has experienced come back. Facing, each year, fresh images of the genocide through television, radio, movies, and cinema provokes troubles in communities’ lives. This has been an issue in high schools where the rates of traumatized pupils are inflated during this time. This is confirmed by the counselors of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. “During the mourning time they have a lot of work to do, since many survivors visit the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide and became traumatized more than at other times. Even the Government is made aware of this because it provides more counselors” (Interview on 28th November 2006).

These who are traumatized became more vulnerable to the use of exclusive language or generalizations which can generate different emotions (Interview on 22nd December 2006). This has been mentioned by some of the respondents and a suggestion has been formulated that, the Government and those who organized this mourning time, should be sensitive to the effects of national mourning. Therefore fresh images, which can traumatize the community, should be replaced, and this can help people to remember and to stay strong during this time. The past will continue to be part of the present during the remembrance, without the harmful consequences.

5.6.3 A space for expressing and sharing emotions

The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide offers to the community the opportunity of expressing and sharing emotions. One respondent maintains that, “This time in the history of Rwanda, officially, our country has recognized the mass murders and we will not end the horrible period of genocide, with frustrations, in the secret of our households” (Interview on 22nd December 2006). This was highlighted by most of the respondents in focus groups and in in-depth interviews. The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is a social public place in which the community members are openly allowed to let their emotions go, and friends and neighbors could have time to express their regrets to the mourners. They can express their emotions in manners such as crying, expressing heavy words from broken hearts, staying for long periods close to the tomb, tending the garden surrounding the burial place, keeping the burial place clear, bringing flowers, talking about the deceased and evoking contributions to the community and so on. This could encourage them to persevere and endure life, since they feel supported by the community. Accompanying one who is expressing this emotional outpouring is important, in order to lift her or him up and make her/him feel accepted in the community. The fear of the future can be reduced since she/he knows that the community supports her or him (Byanafashe 2004: 31; Interview on 20th December 2006).

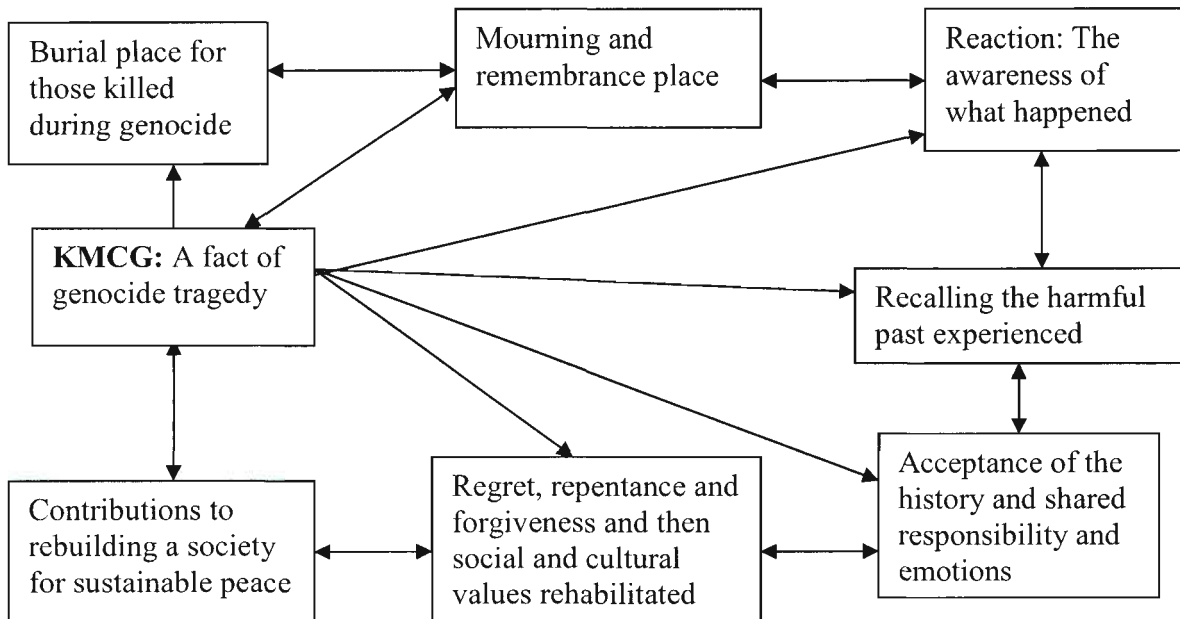
Being in the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide because of social obligations such as burial, mourning or remembrance ceremonies opens a way to sharing emotion and paves the way for understanding others’ feelings and tolerating differences (Uwanyiligira 2005: 117). This can be a hope within the community to re-establish social relationships and to comfort one another since the emotions are shared. Most respondents validate the importance of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide as a place which can help the individuals to express their emotions and to understand the other’s emotions. Respondents state, “The first time I visited the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide, I realized what survivors experienced, how deep their suffering is, and was given the chance to understand their emotions, even when they are extreme ones. And from that time I decided to walk in the shoes of my friends and neighbours who had gone through

the tragedy” (Interviews on 24th November; 13th December; 20th December 2006; 22nd December 2006).

The above statement has been echoed by Coloroso in the view of Mary Carolyn who points out that, “If I have known what troubles you were bearing , I would have been more gentle, more caring and tried to give you gladness for space” (2002: 11). When people go to visit the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide and see the sorrow their neighbours are bearing, this influences their feelings, behaviour and emotions. The shock and sadness of what happened influences the way people view their environment and their relationships. If emotions are shared, no matter how dark they are, with a positive attitude, communities can overcome obstacles which undermine their social relations.

Foreign visitors confirm the emotional aspect of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide in that, “At the end of their trip they affirm having emotional reactions which makes them more sympathetic with Rwanda’s community” (Services Documentaire de KMCG 2006: Recorded material on 3rd July 2005). The Genocide in Rwanda has affected the community deeply in various aspects, particularly in that social relationships have been destabilized. The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is a predictable frame of perception, a symbol which heightens emotions, and through the understanding of others, tenderness emerges and it is in this atmosphere, which improves the culture of tolerance, that the community can put their efforts together in order to understand and encourage each other with mutual respect.

Figure 1: The circuit of the KMCG inter-influences in the community



Source: Data collection, November-December 2006

↔ : Reciprocal relationships

→ : Linear relationships

The feature above summarizes the inter-influences the role the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide should have on the community. It also addresses a challenge to the community which requires that everyone, is conscious of accepting some involvement in the history in order to reestablished social relations. If challenges are admitted, mourning and remembrance becomes the bridge to acceptance, which, in turn, gives birth to sympathy, regret, repentance and forgiveness. This process paves the way to rehabilitate social relationships and cultural values in the community.

5.7 The contribution of the KMCG to restore Rwanda's society

As in any society, there are social and cultural values which tie together Rwanda's community. Some of them are solidarity, responsibility, trust, reciprocal respect, acceptance, sympathy, kindness and hospitality. The way of performing rites and ceremonies and so on, forms a frame of reference for behaviour in a specific context,

which governs the community (Byanafashe 2004: 11). The genocide ideology has destroyed that legacy to the extent of disorganizing the behaviour. The destruction of social and cultural values affects the community's identity embedded in its customs' references.

The rehabilitation of those social and cultural values should also rehabilitate human identity. The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is expected to contribute to the reestablishment of that 'frame of behavioural' reference, or, to adapt those which are not easy to rehabilitate such as the funeral rites related to those who died during the genocide. The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide should enhance the understanding of the community in order to restore the social and cultural values which are the foundation of good relationships. The expected role of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide was highlighted in an interview where an example occurred in the community and has been a case study to determine the contribution of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide in rebuilding social and cultural values. One respondent claimed:

At the end of a seminar, the organizer of the seminar planned a visit to the KMCG. All participants went and they were shocked by what they saw. Going back to the training place, they shared what they had seen. Thereafter they decided to organize an evening visit to one, whose relatives had perished during the genocide, and was present in the same seminar. They showed their support, their encouragement of him and he was surprised by their sympathy and kindness. He, with his family, expressed gratitude to the group for the actions it undertook, saying that he couldn't have imagined this solidarity (Interview on 8th November 2006).

5.7.1 A common understanding of what happened

The example above underlines how the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide can help Rwandans to develop a common understanding of the past. When the past is elucidated and known, there is a possibility of taking action. Going throughout the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide, the people of this group improved what they knew about the genocide. Being a compound of a lot of testimonies collected from different people, has shown how deeply the genocide ideology had destroyed many people and that understanding has pushed them to react against that dehumanization. The endeavor to visit one of them could not have happened if the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide has

not been visited, because this seminar was not the first one to be organized with the same group. The images and short movies inside the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide, the history written on its murals, challenged their understanding. This visit to the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide provided a new understanding of what had happened, that the confusion between the genocide and other harmful situations was not as they had believed (Interview on 8th November 2006).

The suggestion of visiting the survivor in the above example can be interpreted as a reaction to the new understanding of the genocide ideology through the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. This surprised the survivor and he was comforted. This initiative has generated reciprocal acceptance and challenged the stereotypes attributed to each social group. The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide plays a helpful role in the community. It has a position that it should contribute to meditate the past, so that the present and the future Rwandans can maintain their relationships.

5.7.2 Solidarity, sympathy and mutual respect

Through the visit of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide in the above example, the group became conscious that their solidarity could support one of them, and it did. After the visit to the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide they discussed and exchanged experiences and then the feelings of regret emerged. They accepted the responsibilities, as members of Rwanda's society, to apologize. Their attempt to sympathize, to encourage and to console one of them improved their relationships. The visit to the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide had caused them to take action as a group. This can be seen as a reaction to the shock they experienced during the visit but also as a sense of deeper understanding. The survivor, as a result, feels attached to that group.

As seen in previous paragraphs (See 5.6.1; 2), the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide includes a burial place which offers the opportunity to bury the victims of genocide. The burial ceremony is an issue which engages the gathering of relatives, friends and neighbors and this moment increases the solidarity and sympathy among the community

where the bodies or remains were discovered. It becomes an important moment inside the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide, around the mass graves, where the community, still in solidarity, encourages those who are in grief at that moment. And also the remembrance time offers the community the possibility of being sympathetic, and it is organized with a visit to the tomb of the remembered, for those killed during the genocide, inside the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide.

Through visits to the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide, some witnesses of the genocide tragedy among the *Hutu* social group affirm that the exhibitions inside the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide have kept them in an atmosphere of sympathy and solidarity with those who were concerned personally with the genocide, the *Tutsi* social group. They affirm that the images, short movies and other exhibitions are always fresh in their memories because of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide visits. And some survivors affirm also, that visits to the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide have kept them in a state the atmosphere of sympathy and solidarity with those who risked their lives to save others, or to encourage those who suffer. They feel closer to them. This environment has impacted the community. The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is a symbol which helps the community to maintain relationships (Interview on 4th December 2006).

This sympathy and solidarity has pushed some witness to become involved in searching with survivors, where their relatives were thrown during the genocide. Also, some survivors have become involved in helping their neighbors to come back to the country, as there are many who ran away during the genocide tragedy (Interview on 1st December 2006; Services Documentaire de KMCG 2006: Recorded material on 17th April 2005). This can be interpreted as a process which should enable the community to share the responsibilities of the past and open a gate of forgiveness and acceptance even, for those who participated actively during the genocide.

When the Gacaca court (Gacaca court is a kind of local community court created after the genocide to help the Government and the community to gather evidence and to know

exactly who was involved in genocide in the villages) started in Rwanda, those who felt solidarity, sympathy and reciprocal respect, collaborated in giving information needed about what happened. These social values developed in the community, have opened opportunities to maintain good relationships between the two social groups. The intermarriage between social groups continues to be a sign of reciprocal respect and sympathy and there are other initiatives in the community which salute the effort done to rehabilitate the social and cultural values and contribute to the building of Rwanda's community.

5.7.3 Trust, kindness and reciprocal comprehension

In the above example, the survivor affirmed that, "It was my first time sharing emotions of the genocide so openly with a mixed group (*Hutu* and *Tutsi* social groups); this experience somehow strengthened me" (Interview on 8th November 2006). The visit to the survivor developed an atmosphere of trust and mutual comprehension, the basic attitudes, being that of sympathy. They were on their last day of their formation, but their emotional reaction which made their kindness possible, came after the visit to the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. This has released the survivor, in the way that he feels accepted and cherished in both social groups.

The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide facilitates mourning time. This period raises important values, kindness and mutual comprehension. This was underlined by the testimonies during the eleventh anniversary of Rwanda's genocide, that some peoples tried to protect their neighbours. In the end, some of these families were eliminated together with those whom they tried to save, while others succeeded in saving them. These outstanding actions would not be common knowledge if the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide had not facilitated the remembrance time. These attitudes enhance the atmosphere of trust in the community. Those trusted people in the community are useful to the reconciliation and peace building process that they provide information needed in order to write reliable documentation about Rwanda's genocide and some of

the information would be impossible without witnesses' contributions (Services Documentaire de KMCG 2006: Recorded material on 17th April 2005).

5.7.4 The responsibility and relief of performing funeral rites

Social and Cultural values include how the population performs its rituals and ceremonies. Through the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide, the families' responsibilities of performing the rites associated with the deaths of those killed during the genocide have been performed. The happiness of responding to the imperative obligation of the families to bury the bodies, in the context of genocide, has been possible through the burial place inside the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. In this regard, Spijker substantiates that, "When I was in Rwanda during the later period after the genocide, I was even more impressed by the indispensable function the funeral rites have for the bereaved. Many people who survived the genocide were happy to be able to accomplish a proper burial when the bodies of their relatives were discovered" (2005: 157). Including a burial place in the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is a source of happiness for those whose relatives are buried in the mass graves. They are given the opportunity to pay their last respects to their loved ones. Smith confirms this by stating that, "You cannot suppress the memory of what has happened, but you can live in peace with your memories once you are given an opportunity for healing" (2004: 12). According to this position, the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide should be a place which makes possible, living with the legacy of the past positively.

5.7.5 Justice and good governances

Throughout the themes discussed by visitors after visiting the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide, some of the issues raised included 'justice must be done' and 'good governance should be improved' and most of visitors stressed these themes as highly important which should be considered in rehabilitating Rwanda's community. The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide offers the possibility, through exhibitions of learning how injustice and impunity destroyed Rwanda's identity. Where there is justice, there is no

generalization to create an atmosphere of confusion between the responsibility of the action taken, and the group to which one belongs. Because every one is held responsible by what she/he did, the reward or punishment goes to the concerned person. The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide contributes to rehabilitate these values as it keeps the genocide facts fresh in peoples' minds, and constantly stresses to visitors that signing the visitors' book conveys that justice is an imperative in organizing a society after genocide. Some of the visitors go beyond this and take on engagements to become part of these initiatives, to give a hand in eradicating generalizations which confuse the community. Sustainable peace cannot be a reality without justice. It is required to eradicate the impunity, one of the channels of wrongdoing (See Appendix 1; Services Documentaire de KMCG 2006: Recorded material on 17th April 2005).

The visits of local leaders to the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide encourages them to discuss and to question bad governance and to work hard for justice. The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is a visual instrument which addresses a challenge to their leadership. Leadership is the fundamental element which has the potential either to build or to destroy social values in the community. This was mentioned by most of the respondents in interviews. They state that, "With good governance, justice is guaranteed, and when justice is guaranteed, impunity is eradicated and thus equal relationships in the community, create mutual respect" (Interviews on 22nd November; 4th and 11th December 2006). There is hope that the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide will continue to stress to the leadership the importance of achieving justice and good governance for sustainable peace in the community.

Therefore, promoting social change, defined by Giddens as, "An alteration in the basic structures of a social group or society" (2001: 696), furthers the aim that the communities have to face their history in order to generate changes. The knowledge of their history is an important reference which should aid and facilitate cohabitation sharing the everyday activities. The knowledge of the past is another force which can help the population to find a way to overcome social conflicts and characteristics of the past. They should continue living together. One respondent maintains that "The history of a country

includes positive and negative scenarios. The genocide is one of the worse ones in Rwanda's history. The word 'sorry' will continue to be addressed to the whole population and in a particular way to those who are most affected in the community. This is most excellent action a human can do" (Interview on 12th December 2006).

5.7.6 Conclusions

As Rwanda's Government is struggling to integrate all sectors of society, a common understanding of the country's history, it has been of value for the different institutions to visit the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. The rehabilitation of social and cultural values in the community require the effort of all Rwandans to develop a common understanding, justice, good governance, a sense of responsibility, trusting, kindness, mutual comprehension, solidarity, sympathy and reciprocally respected values. In this way, there are social and moral constraints that different institutions, such as public institutions, non governmental organizations and religious institutions, should ensure, are present in ensuring the empowering of the community in order to enhance social and cultural values. During the visit to the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide, financial and social support is given. Helpful sights from the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide visit are reported on Rwanda's television, radio and in newspapers. This allows for the sharing of opinions with the rest of the community, and increases common understanding in the community.

The visits improve good relationships as they encourage tolerance, compassion and good understanding among social groups, since the visits facilitate the exchange of different views about *discrimination, stereotypes and other issues raised during the visits*. Many respondents affirm that, "The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide taught us how harmful words such as 'cockroaches' and 'snakes', the given names to those who belong the *Tutsi* social group, can be" (Interview on 20th December 2006). Those emotions stated by respondents were confirmed by the leaders of some institutions who visited the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide with their staff. They confirmed that, "After the visit, changes have been observed, and tolerance and mutual understanding have been

improved in the working place among employees. Their discussions about what they saw throughout the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide inspire the will and hope for change” (Interview on 4th December 2006).

Institutions integrate within their departments, people from different social groups, ages and both genders. They are heterogeneous groups when they visit the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide and they are together often, sharing everyday in the working place. There have been more possibilities to have open discussions and follow up sessions after the visit. The initiatives of all institutions to visit the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide should contribute to harmony in the community and can enable Rwanda to go beyond ethnic divisions.

Chapter Six:

Conclusion

6.1 Summary

This chapter addresses the conclusion of 'A Sociological Analysis of Culture and Memory: A Case Study of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide in Rwanda'. This study describes culture and funeral rites in the context of Rwanda's customs and specifically in the period after genocide. It examines the attitudes of Rwandans in relations to the genocide period during which the culture and customs related to the funeral rites were not performed, as at the time, it was impossible. It also summarizes the work presented throughout five chapters and then proposes recommendations. Some of them are suggestions raised during interviews and others have emerged as a result of the interpretation of the findings. Hereafter further research has been proposed for the interest of other researchers who may possess the curiosity to explore the topic in more depth or to extend it. This study is based on fieldwork conducted in Kigali city where the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is located. The primary data gathered through in-depth interviews and focus group discussions helped to analyze and present the meaning of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide in Rwanda's community, and secondary data was used to complete the information gained through the primary data.

The focus of Rwanda's Government after the genocide period was to rehabilitate the country. Some of the social and cultural rituals which are fundamental in the community had been demolished during the genocide tragedy. The most affected were the funerals rites which were not observed or respected in their completion. Therefore providing an opportunity to the community to perform the funeral rites which hold significant value was important. Then, the discovered bodies and the remains of bodies of the genocide's victims, could be buried. It is under these circumstances that the Government's intention to establish the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide came about. The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide, therefore, could serve as the burial place for victims of genocide and simultaneously, expose genocide ideology.

The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is a new symbol introduced in social, political and cultural levels in the community. The history expressed inside the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide emphasizes the genesis of the genocide ideology and the internal and external factors which contributed to building an atmosphere of hatred and division between two social groups. From colonialism up to 1994, when the attempted extermination of the *Tutsi* social group occurred, more than eight hundred thousand of people were killed and discarded during the period of one hundred days. The cultural and social context in which the genocide of Rwanda took place is not easy to understand in Rwanda's environment. The perpetrators and the victims belong to the same community, share one culture and speak one language. It occurred because it was carefully orchestrated with significant resources, including the military, civil services, education systems and the media. The stereotypes developed with each social group nourished hatred and division. The identity cards labeled with ethnic categories provided the necessary evidence of knowing to which social group people belonged, otherwise it was impossible. Since 1994, the word 'genocide' has been introduced as new vocabulary in the Kinyarwanda language; it is expressed as a foreign word, pronounced in Kinyarwanda as 'jenocide' (Lemkin 1947: 143-144).

Rwandans need to face their history and look forward in order to generate changes in their relationships. Recognizing either the evil work of the perpetrators or discovering the deepest sadness survivors hold in their lives, somehow generates feelings of concern, as members of the community. If the weaknesses of the past are known and admitted by the community, then they can inspire new ideas and a hopeful future can be gained. Visits to the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide offer the possibility of disclosing the weakness of the past. The spirit to visit the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide comes either with intellectual curiosity to learn more, or with social and cultural obligations within the community. The funeral rites organized inside the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide provide for the community, the opportunity to visit the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide since there is a social and cultural responsibility to accompany neighbours, friends and relatives performing funerals rites, mourning and remembrances.

The Government's purpose of encouraging all Rwandans to visit the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is to develop a common understanding about the history in general, and the genocide ideology in particular. For instance, the Electoral Commission claims that leaders may present many opportunities to influence the collective conscience in the community. In order to facilitate the local leaders in generating change in the community where social and cultural values have been demolished, visits to the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide have been organized to expend the leaders' minds to help them know more about the environment in which they are working, and thus they are better able to lead the population. Raising the level of understanding of the community, facilitates a cleansing of a mentality intoxicated by stereotypes attributed to each social group in Rwanda. Jewsiewicki maintains that the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide should help Rwandans mourn the past and bury the deceased and thereafter look to how they could build their society:

I believe that the only solution for the future of those countries is to mourn the past collectively: to continue burying the dead, memorializing the victims and to carry on with the interminable discussion of which each episode of mourning is the theater. This is the socially acceptable way to separate the past from the present without forgetting what has happened, without abandoning the dead to oblivion. It is the way to separate the past from the present so that the past does not stand in the way of life in the present or the imagination of the future (2002: 126)

The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide has been produced by Rwanda's history. It will last, in stimulating new thoughts which should enable Rwandans to make alterations in their social relationships. Death has disrupted Rwanda's community in that all social groups are concerned. The meaningful reactions to such tragedy, should be to recognize the wrongdoings in order to avoid the same. Having sympathy could aid in sharing the burden of the past and then tolerance, acceptance and mutual respect in everyday life will become a foundation for good social relations. Yearly national mourning increases the community's responsibility to remember that they will be watching each other, and so will be able to revitalize the social and cultural values and norms which have characterized solidarity in Rwanda's society.

6.2 Recommendations

Throughout the interviews, helpful recommendations raised by respondents and others emerged with data analysis. Certainly, different institutions and people concerned would benefit from such recommendations.

6.2.1 Recommendations to the Government of Rwanda

I approve that Rwanda's Government built the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. The Government should continue however to improve its effort to facilitate and encourage the population to visit the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. Most of the population's visits are spontaneous and emotional. Thirteen years after the genocide, the Government needs to turn those spontaneous and emotional visits into training ones, so that the population can be encouraged to think more deeply and to improve social relationships. There is a need to educate the population and for it to go beyond emotional attitudes thus become strengthened in avoiding external and internal factors which continue to keep them in fruitless and destructive relationships.

The influence of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide has been elevated, and today, it is a place often visited and has a profound impact on the community's thoughts. Using it to express the values and norms of what is to be a good citizen today, after the genocide in Rwanda, should be a priority of the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. Short movies and mural images inside, should include some achievements after the genocide, which give hope firstly that the genocide is clearly over, and secondly, that it is not the end of what is good in terms of social and cultural values. This is because, other places which complement the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide in addressing the achievements within community, are not visited as much as the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is. Enriching the documentation room should add more interest to those who visit the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide in order to satisfy scientific curiosity and provide a facility to access more easily the books which are contained in its shelves.

It is good to conceive an educational program about the genocide and promote visits to the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide by schools as a visual teaching tool. The Government should plan to empower teachers and lectures so that they are able to use the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide positively and extensively, not only as a tool for teaching about the genocide. How strong or weak educators are, can either consolidate or fragment the learners' knowledge. Rwanda's history has been misunderstood and misused for a long time; there is a need to rewrite it. This influence can be used to generate changes or resistance in the community. Workshops about the use of the holocaust, along with counselling theories, are needed for teachers and lectures.

The Government should continue to control the language used during national mourning to avoid any generalization, and to make sure that the national mourning is not a mourning of only one social group. The mourning time disrupts the community, particularly survivors. It brings back fresh images and an atmosphere of fear in general. The Government should be aware of heightened sensitivity during that period and introduce other methods of conducting national mourning, which can reduce or avoid the traumatic images, speeches, songs and others activities which can be potentially harmful in the community.

The Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide stands also to teach the perpetrators and suspected perpetrators (there are some who are still in prison and their verdicts are not yet known, and are thus suspected perpetrators). Therefore the Government should draw up a specific schedule which allows for perpetrators to visit the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. This can encourage them to recognize their wrongdoings. Even if they are prisoners, they are part of the community, and need to think about their contribution. They must be aware of how the genocide consequences continue to caution the community. Probably, when they think about the genocide, they may have images of their own village, but they do not have the whole picture, which is why visits to the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide can be helpful to them.

The social and cultural values are not isolated. They are embedded in economical and political systems. The vulnerability of social relations can be reduced or completed by these different systems. The Government has to work hard to increase the welfare of the population so that cohabitation is made easy. When the basic needs are satisfied and the political apparatus is strong enough to manage the equity and justice within good governance, sustainable peace is possible.

6.2.2 Recommendations to institutions

It is great that institutions visit the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide as much as possible. What is recommended to those institutions, however, is that they prepare their employees for the visits and follow up is required. Most of them they do not take time to use the counseling theories before the visit. They do not wonder about what their employees might come across inside the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide and do not consider their potential traumas or indifferences. They should continue to visit the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide but there is a need to prepare before hand. Also, these institutions need time to pursue the impact of these visits to assess if their expected purposes have been achieved or not. If they do not, then such visits will not be fruitful. They should use opportunities in their work place to discuss Rwanda's history, the genocide ideology, the consequences of the genocide and other social discriminations and thus, the step forward to reconstructing social and cultural values in their community.

Briefly, the visits to the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide involve large numbers, but one step further needs to be made in order to consolidate these visits and to render them fruitful. Indeed, designing a place to discuss their visits and what they have learned, and furthermore the impact they can have on the community is required. This can help the community by letting members express what happened, in a safe atmosphere of acceptance which reduces reciprocal accusations.

6.3 Further research

Further possibilities into research are suggested in terms of searching more deeply into what is going on in Rwanda with the National Memorial Centers of Genocide scattered throughout the country. This research has been done on one Center, located in the central city, and there remain six others. Each Center has its particularities which could generate interest in its analysis. Taking time to approach each Center can add to the knowledge and literature concerning the Centers.

During interviews, the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide was referred to as ‘a teaching tool’ for this generation and for future generations. Deepening this perception, using educational theories, will be interesting in terms of how the researcher can analyze the ways in which the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide can be used as a program in the school curricula and contribute to knowledge.

Doing a comparative research focusing on the divergences and convergences surrounding the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide from the various communities’ points of views will be a pertinent project, especially in the context of the yearly national mourning and remembrance.

There are a significant number of international communities inside the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide. Investigating their views to provide deeper insight into their contributions after what they have experienced in the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide, comparatively with the attitudes of the international community during the genocide, will be particularly significant and enlightening.

These Memorial Centers of Genocide are new symbols in the community. They generate much curiosity in regards to the researcher and there are still many areas which need to be researched. Briefly, the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide is a challenge to both international and local communities. Combining efforts to dig up the true identity of a community is a necessity. The legacy of Rwanda’s history, in using the Kigali Memorial

Center of Genocide, can be reduced in terms of its harmful aspects. Even if there is still some fear or an atmosphere of mistrust between two social groups, the progress is observable and social relations are improving in the community. There is hope that the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide will influence the population to continue reviewing what has happened in the community but this is not a barrier to restoring social and cultural values. The researcher congratulates the effort of the Rwandan's Government and the communities for making an effort to assure that there is a hopeful future.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Recorded and estimated visits to the KMCG from April 2004 to October 2006

Data provided by 'Service Documentaire de KMCG 2006', File (001;002;...;084/KMC.V/INT & NAT)

Date	International Visitors	National Visitors	Themes discussed
April to July 2004	Mass visitors: Approximately 7,000 visitors estimated in the first three months of the Center's opening. Over 150 visitors, estimated each month, visited the Center	Mass population visited the Center but they are estimated in the visitors book at approximately over 63,500 persons in the first three months of the Center's opening	
11.07.2004 11.07.2004 28.07.2004	A visitor from Bosnian Association Suzan Pollak The Former USA Ambassador in UN	Over 1700 visitors each month visited the Centre	'Never again' and justice Kindness and justice Being extremely vigilant Horrible time
07.02.2005 07.02.2005 07.02.2005 07.02.2005 22.02.2005 31.03.2005 06.07.2005 08.04.2005 15.04.2005 18.04.2005 22.04.2005	Ladies from UNDP (8 ladies) Minister of Social Welfare from Sierra Leone UNDP Representative in Africa The Conflict Manager from Ivory Coast Mass visitors: Approximately 5,000 visitors estimated in the visitors' books Mr Quincy Jones The President of FIFA Parliament delegation of Burundi (10 persons)	Mass population: Approximately 1500 each month from January to December Ukuri Kurakiza Association (54 persons) Gacaca Coordination visit (22 persons) Electoral Commission (42 persons) Minister of Youth, Culture and Sport Mayor General Secretary of FERWAF Ombudsman office (16 persons) National Police' Delegation (33 persons) Rwandan Minister of Defense (15 persons)	Youth, the hope of the future Rebuilding the country Human right and justice Leadership, good governance Justice Good governance and justice Peace and reconciliation Responsibility and justice

20.05.2005		MTN delegation (56 persons)	Keep watching
25.05.2005	USA Secretary of Defense		Difficult to capture what happened
26.05.2005		Mayor of Kigali City	The Youth and power in Rwanda
28.05.2005	AMANI Delegation (15 persons)		
01.06.2005	Swaziland's King	Minister of Foreign Affairs	An Africa and World Center
01.06.2005	Belgium Delegation (3)		Justice and leadership
02.06.2005	USA Deputy Secretary of State	A Member of Senate Chamber	Tolerance and justice
03.06.2005	Sudanese President and Delegation (5)		Peace, reconciliation and 'never again'
03.06.2005	Ivory Coast President	Mayor of Kigali	Peace and reconciliation
07.06.2005	The Mayor of Tswane from South Africa	Rwanda's School visit (52)	Remembrance
20.06.2005		Minister of Youth, Culture and Sport	Unity and reconciliation
24.07.2005	Student from Kenya (20)	A member of Senate Chamber (6)	'Never again'
27.07.2005	USA Delegation	Minister of Foreign Affairs	Justice and eradicating impunity
18.10.2005	The President of Tanzania	First Lady of Rwanda	Peace, reconciliation and leadership
10.11.2005	The first Lady of Burundi	Mayor of Kigali City	Forgiveness and justice
15.11.2005	ENESCO Representatives (3 persons)	Mayor of Kigali City	Unity and justice
27.11.2005	Mayor of Roma		International Community's silence
04.12.2005	USA Senate delegation (4 persons)		Forgiveness and justice
		Mass population: Approximately 1100 each month until November	
09.04.2006	Swedish Embassy Representative	Inyumba Aloys	Memorial, an educative instrument
14.02.2006	The President of UNICEF	Mayor of Kigali City	'Never again'
14.02.2006	The President of ONUSIDA	A member of Senate Chamber	
14.02.2006	A Minister from Luxemburg	Mayor of Kigali City	
14.02.2006	DFAID Representative	A member of Senate Chamber	Forgive not forget
15.02.2006	French Union and Jewish Student delegation (13 persons)	Mr Gasana Ndobu	Justice
02.06.2006	Russia Ambassador	The Minister of Defense	Unity and justice
05.06.2006	Netherlands Ambassador	Minister of Foreign Affairs	The power of the world and justice
05.06.2006	Germany's Delegation (5 persons)		Hope in children' education

05.06.2006	Chinese Delegation (9 persons)		Justice, forgiveness and unity
06.06.2006	COMESA delegation (20 persons)	Delegation from Rwanda (7 persons)	A Sustainable education
07.06.2006	USA Embassy		Justice and remembrance
08.06.2006		Caisse Social au Rwanda (59 persons)	Rebuilding a nation with history
09.06.2006	Mass visitors: Approximately 10,000 visitors	MINITERRE works' visit (49 persons)	'Never again'
13.06.2006		Kigali City workers visit (53 persons)	To Prevent is better than to cure
14.06.2006		RPF Delegation (15 persons)	The consequences of genocides
15.05.2006		MINICOM workers (36 persons)	Justice and memory
17.05.2006		MININTER workers (45 persons)	Support Memorials
16.06.2006		Forum of Political Parties (8 persons)	Being human
18.06.2006		Rwanda Revenue Authority (56 persons)	The past, the present and the future
22.06.2006		Pupils of FAWE Secondary School and their parents with teachers (67 persons)	
23.06.2006		Pupils of La Colombière secondary school and their parents (62 persons)	
24.06.2006		The Minister of Youth, Culture and Sport	The Center, an important school
25.06.2006		BNR (53 persons)	Information provided
26.06.2006		BCDI (74 persons)	Human behavior
27.06.2006		MINAFET (46 persons)	Fighting evil through justice
28.06.2006		Suprême Court (32 persons)	The foundation of Peace is justice
30.06.2006		UBPR (14 persons)	Endurance
05.07.2006			Repentance, forgiveness and peace
07.07.2006	Hope Rwanda (18 persons)	BRD (25 persons)	Justice and reconciliation
10.07.2006		Electrogaz (69 persons)	An international Centre
10.07.2006		MINICOM (45 persons)	KMCG, a good School
11.07.2006		ORINFOR (55 persons)	Life struggle and peace
12.07.2006		MINISANTE (39 persons)	Justice and sustainable peace
12.07.2006		MININFRA (27 persons)	Against divisions
13.07.2006		British Tabaco Company (22 persons)	
13.07.2006			Youth and Peace
14.07.2006	Russian Delegation (7 persons)		Works together
04.08.2006		KORA association (42 persons)	

17.08.2006		United Steps Groups (10 persons)	Forgiveness and remembrance
18.08.2006	AFORNET delegation (5 persons)		'Never again'
20.08.2006		Bank of Kigali (44 persons)	Fighting genocidal ideology
25.08.2006		ADEPR Delegation (37 persons)	
29.08.2006	Chinese delegation (6 persons)		Remembrance
29.08.2006	Aegis' manager	Chairman of RPF	Not be captured by the sorrow
29.08.2006		MAGERWA Delegation (59 persons)	Hope within education
13.09.2006		Kingdom Education Center (41 persons)	Kindness
22.09.2006		AERG/APADE (66 persons)	National reconciliation
22.09.2006	European Union (7 persons)		Culture of peace and tolerance
24.09.2006	UEGF delegation (4 persons)		Culture of peace and tolerance
25.09.2006		North Province (33 persons)	Rewrite the history and remembrance
27.09.2006		KIE Delegation (48 persons)	Justice and eradicate impunity
27.09.2006	CCPNUSAC		Human right
28.09.2006		AERG/ETM (30 persons)	Forgive but not forget
29.09.2006		BCS Tuvugane (51 persons)	Eradicate genocide ideology
02.10.2006		Nyamagabe District (49 persons)	Leaders as a good example
04.10.2006		Burera District (46 persons)	
05.10.2006		SA of UN GS on Genocide Prevention (5 persons)	Being vigilant

Appendix 2

The house with different exhibitions in the KMCG



Source: <http://www.kigalimemorialcentre.org/centre/>

Appendix 3

One of the mass graves in the KMCG



Source: <http://www.kigalimemorialcentre.org/centre/massgraves.php>

Appendix 4

Guide for in-depth interviews and focus group discussions - the English version

1. What is the normal burial ceremony in Rwanda's community?
2. In your understanding, what is the importance of burial for the community?
3. To what extent does the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide represent a normal burial place?
4. From your cultural understanding, what are the commonalities of and the differences between a common tomb and a single tomb?
5. Is the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide a place that you would like to visit?
If yes, how does the visit help you to mourn and memorialize the deceased?
6. To what extent does the Kigali Memorial Center of Genocide provide a space for expressing and sharing emotion?
7. What are the similarities of and the differences between the official mourning in April each year associated with genocide, and cultural mourning?
8. Are these new arrangements for burial, mourning and memorializing helping to rebuild Rwanda's society?
9. Can these Centres contribute to a new Rwandan identity that goes beyond the sectarian problems of the past?
10. Is the Government doing enough to encourage these new symbolic places of healing?

Appendix 5

Calendar of in-depth interviews and focus group discussions

Date	Morning	Afternoon
02/11/2006	Individual interview	
03/11/2006	Individual interview	
08/11/2006		Individual interview
13/11/2006	Individual interview	
16/11/2006		Individual interview
20/11/2006	Individual interview	
22/11/2006		Group discussion
24/11/2006	Individual interview	Individual interview
28/11/2006	Individual interview	
30/11/2006	Individual interview	Group discussion
01/12/2006		Individual interview
02/12/2006	Individual interview	
04/12/2006	Individual interview	Group discussion
05/12/2006	Individual interview	
06/12/2006	Individual interview	
07/12/2006		Individual interview
11/12/2006		Individual interview
12/12/2006	Individual interview	
13/12/2006		Group discussion
20/12/2006	Individual interview	
22/12/2006	Individual interview	Individual interview