



6-2016

The Rwandan Diaspora in Canada and the United States: Reconciliation and Justice

Jennifer J. Marson
Western Michigan University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/dissertations>



Part of the Race and Ethnicity Commons, Regional Sociology Commons, and the Sociology of Culture Commons

Recommended Citation

Marson, Jennifer J., "The Rwandan Diaspora in Canada and the United States: Reconciliation and Justice" (2016). *Dissertations*. 1607.

<https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/dissertations/1607>

This Dissertation-Open Access is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate College at ScholarWorks at WMU. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks at WMU. For more information, please contact wmu-scholarworks@wmich.edu.



THE RWANDAN DIASPORA IN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES:
RECONCILIATION AND JUSTICE

by

Jennifer J. Marson

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate College
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Sociology
Western Michigan University
June 2016

Doctoral Committee:

Angela Moe, Ph.D., Chair
David Hartmann, Ph.D.
Ronald Kramer, Ph.D.
Harry Mika, Ph.D.

THE RWANDAN DIASPORA IN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES: RECONCILIATION AND JUSTICE

Jennifer J. Marson, Ph.D.

Western Michigan University, 2016

This dissertation analyzed the attempts at achieving justice and reconciliation among the Rwandan diaspora located in Canada and the United States. Following the 1994 Rwandan genocide, many Rwandans fled and a modest diaspora found a home in various locations throughout Canada and the United States. The diaspora, located thousands of miles from the institutional mechanism of justice and reconciliation in Rwanda, are subject to many of the same concerns regarding justice and reconciliation as those who remain in Rwanda. This research focused primarily on how this specific diaspora attempted to achieve justice and reconciliation, if institutional mechanisms (gacaca) in Rwanda have a residual effect on the diaspora, and if the diaspora has created any diaspora-specific mechanism to facilitate justice and reconciliation among one another. This research also addressed current political concerns in Rwanda and how these concerns affected the diaspora.

Telephone and face-to-face interviews were conducted with eight members of the Rwandan diaspora located in a variety of locations in the United States and Canada between May 2015 and March 2016. As a supplement to diaspora participant interviews, telephone interviews with four experts on the Rwandan genocide were conducted in February and March 2016. Interviews with diaspora participants revealed that there

exists a culture of silence among them, largely as a result of the authoritarian leadership of Rwandan President, Paul Kagame. Diaspora members believed that it was dangerous to speak negatively about Kagame (including political topics such as justice and reconciliation) and that there are personal and legal consequences both for those in Rwanda and among the diaspora who do so. More specifically, diaspora participants suggested that there is a belief that they may be monitored by the Rwandan government.

Diaspora participant interviews revealed that justice among the diaspora is inherently connected with justice in Rwanda. If justice has not been served in Rwanda, justice has not been served for the diaspora. Diaspora participants do not feel that justice has been achieved in Rwanda or among the diaspora. Reconciliation among the diaspora, while tied to attempts at reconciliation in Rwanda, may be its own construct. Interviews demarcated “thin” reconciliation (peaceful coexistence among different ethnicities) and “thick” reconciliation (creation of meaningful relationships among different ethnicities) (Pozen, Neugebauer, & Ntaganira, 2014). Diaspora participant interviews reflected that “thin” reconciliation exists among the diaspora, but that “thick” reconciliation is a rare occurrence. Additionally, diaspora interviews suggested that “thick” reconciliation occurs less frequently among the diaspora than in Rwanda because it is not forced. However, when “thick” reconciliation does occur among the diaspora, it is authentic, precisely because it is not forced. Diaspora members did not heavily discuss the effects of gacaca courts on the diaspora, largely because they did not feel that it addressed justice and reconciliation in Rwanda. Diaspora participants did not report any diaspora specific mechanism regarding attempts at justice and reconciliation. Expert participant interviews supported the claims of diaspora participants regarding the culture of silence both within

Rwanda and among the diaspora, and confirmed diaspora participants statements regarding justice and reconciliation.

© 2016 Jennifer J. Marson

So you now see that the truth in our country is hidden, and you need to look not for what is there, but for what they hide. You cannot pay attention to what they show you, but need to listen to those who are kept quiet. You need to look differently in a dictatorship, you need to think about how to listen to people who live in fear.

— Excerpt from *Bad News*, Anjan Sundaram

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To my family and friends, thank you for your patience and understanding throughout this process. I'm sure I was not always easy or fun to be around. To Victoria, Malcolm, and Joshua, thank you for always reminding me of what I was capable of. There is no way I would have believed I could do it without you. You are where my heart starts.

Jessie Sullivan and Olivia McLaughlin, you both talked me off the ledge more times than I can count. Sully, you've been my sounding board for the past 4 years. I am forever grateful for your support and friendship. Liv, thank you for all your work on this project, specifically your help with transcription. You are brilliant. Now start believing it.

To Dr. Ronald Kramer and Dr. David Hartmann, thank you for your invaluable instruction and assistance. You both challenged me, theoretically and methodologically. Although, your baseball loyalties concern me. The American League shall always be owned by the Tigers.

To Dr. Harry Mika, who encouraged me all those years ago to research exactly what I wanted. I remember barreling into your office and telling you I wanted to go to Rwanda. You didn't bat an eye. Thank you for seeing more in me than I saw in myself.

To Dr. Angela Moe, dissertation chair extraordinaire, my Yoda. You have gone above and beyond what anyone could ever ask for in a dissertation chair and a mentor. I

Acknowledgments—Continued

am eternally grateful for your support and advice during this process. You've shown me that it is possible, all of it.

To Roosevelt, my furry companion who has spent the past four years tucked close to my feet. You are the joy of my life. Last, and most importantly, Dale. At the end of every day, you often got what was left of me. Not once did you complain, but provided constant encouragement and support. I know how lucky I am. You are my superman.

Jennifer J. Marson

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ii
CHAPTER	
I. RESEARCH INTERESTS AND THE RWANDAN GENOCIDE.....	1
Rwandan History	5
The 1994 Rwandan Genocide	10
Role of the International Community	11
II. NOTIONS OF JUSTICE IN AND OUTSIDE OF RWANDA	21
Post-Genocide Justice	21
Conceptual Definitions	22
Rwandan Gacaca.....	26
Problems with Gacaca.....	29
Post-Genocidal Notions of Ethnicity: Connections Between the Diaspora and Home Country	33
Political Landscape and the Culture of Silence	39
In Rwanda	39
Among the Diaspora	46
Engaging the Diaspora.....	49
The Rwandan Diaspora in the United States and Canada.....	51
Rwandan Diaspora in Canada.....	52
Ottawa	53
Montreal	54
Toronto.....	55

Table of Contents—Continued

CHAPTER

Edmonton.....	56
Rwanda Diaspora in the United States.....	57
Research on Rwandan Diaspora in the West	58
Diaspora Throughout the World	59
Conclusion	65
III. METHODOLOGY	67
Life-Story Interview.....	68
Serial Interviewing.....	71
Telephone Versus In-Person Interviewing.....	74
Speaking for the “Other”	77
Sampling	83
Recruitment Efforts for Diaspora Interviews.....	87
Recruitment for Expert Interviews.....	98
Methodological Issues	98
Interviews: Consent, Confidentiality, and Coding.....	100
Data Analysis	102
Reliability and Validity.....	103
Conclusion	105
IV. BIOGRAPHIES	106
Paul	107
Joseph.....	110
Jean-Paul	113

Table of Contents—Continued

CHAPTER

Pierre	115
Marie	119
Therese	121
Marc	122
Monique	124
Conclusion	126
V. PARTICIPANT INTERVIEWS/FINDINGS	127
Participant Interviews/Review of Themes	128
Perceptions of the Current Political Landscape in Rwanda.....	131
Culture of Silence	132
Promoting Silence Through Monitoring	138
Single Narrative	144
Justice and Reconciliation in Rwanda	146
Justice.....	147
Reconciliation	154
Justice and Reconciliation Among the Diaspora	160
Reconciliation	163
Conclusion	172
VI. EXPERT INTERVIEWS/FINDINGS	174
Dr. Helen Hintjens, International Institute of Social Studies in the Netherlands	176
Dr. Filip Reyntjens, University of Antwerp, Belgium.....	178

Table of Contents—Continued

CHAPTER

Dr. Gerald Caplan, Chair, International Advisory Board for the University of Toronto Centre for International Health's HIV/AIDS Initiative for Africa.....	183
Maia Storm, Attorney at Law	187
Conclusion	193
VII. CONCLUSION.....	195
Summary of Research	195
Rwandan Politics and the Culture of Silence.....	197
Justice and Reconciliation in Rwanda	203
Justice and Reconciliation Among the Diaspora	208
Methodological Issues/Limitations of Research	215
Theoretical Implications	219
Contributions/Directions of Future Research	224
REFERENCES	228
APPENDICES	
A. Map of Africa 1914.....	236
B. Map of Africa 2014.....	238
C. Diaspora Interview Guide	240
D. Expert Interview Guide.....	242
E. Human Subjects Institutional Review Board Letter of Approval	244

CHAPTER I

RESEARCH INTERESTS AND THE RWANDAN GENOCIDE

From April 1994 to July 1994, approximately 800,000 to 1 million Rwandans were murdered during a 90-day genocide between the two predominant ethnic groups in the country, the Hutu and the Tutsi (Gourevitch, 1998). The genocide eliminated approximately 10–15% of the total Rwanda population (7 million), including 70% of the Tutsi—the primary targets of the genocide. The atrocity was largely the result of ethnic tensions exacerbated during colonialism and fueled by the militant and anti-Tutsi-led government. The genocide ended when the Rwandan Patriot Front (RPF) seized political control of the country in July 1994. The resulting post-genocide government was responsible for responding punitively to the 100,000 people accused of genocide and for fostering justice and reconciliation among the remaining population.

Following the genocide, two major vehicles were institutionally created to address both justice and reconciliation for survivors: the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) located in Arusha, Tanzania, and gacaca courts held locally throughout Rwanda. The new Rwandan government categorized the genocidal crimes along four levels. Level 1 crimes included genocidal organizers, planners and those suspected of sexual crimes. Levels 2–4 crimes included all other violent offenses (Levels 2–3), as well as property and non-violent crimes (Level 4). The ICTR only tried and prosecuted Level 1 crimes and gacaca courts tried and prosecuted Levels 2–4 crimes.

While very few Rwandans participated in the ICTR, approximately 250,000 Rwandans participated in gacaca courts in some capacity (Harrell, 2003). To be more specific, the ICTR tried a total of 75 cases, whereas the gacaca courts have tried 2 million people with appellate hearings ending in 2012 (International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, n.d.). Participation in gacaca is said to have fostered justice and reconciliation for survivors—both those who were victims and those who were offenders (Haider, 2014; Pozen, Neugebauer, & Ntaganira, 2014). This is often credited to the extent to which members of the local communities played important roles in the judicial process.

However, throughout and following the genocide, a large number of Rwandans fled the country and established numerous diaspora throughout the world, ending up as political refugees, internationally displaced persons or permanent residents in many African, Asian, European and American locations. Larger diaspora are located in countries such as Belgium, Burundi, Kenya, and Uganda. In the geographical West, there is a modest sized Rwandan diaspora in the United States (7,000) (Government of Canada, 2014; Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], 2014) as well as in Canada (5,600–7,700) (UNHCR, 2014). While the diaspora populations are similar in size, it is important to note the total population of each country. The United States has a general population of approximately 320 million people, whereas Canada has a population of 35 million. Canada's population is roughly one-ninth that of the United States, but houses only 1,000 less Rwandans than the United States. This may be due to the relatively progressive immigration policies in Canada. Many members of these diaspora witnessed the 90 days of slaughter in Rwanda, or were otherwise intimately impacted by it given family and other social ties, but did not necessarily participate in

gacaca. Furthermore, because they live outside of Rwanda, they are not inundated with the constant governmental and societal pressure to reconcile, nor are they privy to the abundant and frequent national memorials and remembrance activities. As such, their specific quest for justice and reconciliation remains unaddressed.

The objective of this dissertation is to examine how members of the Rwandan diaspora located in the United States and Canada have obtained a sense of justice and reconciliation among one another following their relocation before or after the 1994 Rwandan genocide, while continuously dealing with the legacy of genocide itself. Indeed, how do members of the diaspora, located thousands of miles from the institutional mechanisms of justice and reconciliation, attempt to achieve it? Have they attempted to find justice and reconciliation among one another? What are their perceptions of justice and reconciliation, post genocide, as part of the Rwandan diaspora?

To be more specific, during the course of my research, I sought to address whether the Rwandan diaspora located in the United States and Canada played, or continue to play, any role in the justice and reconciliation apparatuses in Rwanda from their current location. Additionally, I attempted to identify any justice and reconciliation apparatuses that the Rwandan diaspora utilize among the diaspora population. Finally, I explored notions and perceptions of justice and reconciliation among the diaspora. Though my original research question did not include questions regarding the greater socio-legal aspect of Rwandan politics and its effect on the diaspora, I spent significant amounts of time discussing current Rwandan politics, as they played a central role in participants' responses to my research questions. These issues and questions were first addressed by reviewing past and current academic research, followed by telephone and

face-to-face interviews with members of the Rwandan diaspora in a variety of locations within the United States and Canada. In addition, telephone interviews were conducted with four experts on the Rwandan genocide and post-genocide Rwandan politics to provide an additional layer of understanding regarding the attempts at justice and reconciliation among the diaspora.

Understanding the complexity of attempting to achieve justice and reconciliation among a diaspora population requires a thorough, yet varied, literature review. In this chapter, I discuss the events leading up to and during the 1994 Rwandan genocide and follow this with a discussion of the justice and reconciliation apparatuses (and their subsequent problems) utilized within Rwanda following the genocide. This discussion will be provided through the lens of transitional and restorative justice. Issues associated with justice, reconciliation, ethnicity, politics, and division in Rwanda will be discussed, as the literature suggests that they may have a residual effect on the Rwandan diaspora. Discussion of Rwandan diaspora organizations located in the United States and Canada will be provided, including the specific goals of each organization.

Before discussion of justice and reconciliation can occur regarding Rwandans who remain in country or the Rwandan diaspora in the United States and Canada, a history of the 1994 Rwandan genocide must first be presented. It is first necessary to discuss historical tensions among the two primary ethnic groups, including a discussion of colonialism as a catalyst, which will help describe the creation and roots of the 1994 Rwandan genocide. This will also preface discussion of the previous conflict between the two main ethnic groups in the genocide, Hutu and Tutsi. The long and tenuous relationship between the Hutu and Tutsi is important to examine as part of understanding

how the 1994 genocide occurred, and while contrary to popular belief, why it did not occur spontaneously.

Indeed, the Rwandan genocide of 1994 appeared to the public in the geographical West to begin literally overnight. People the world over turned on their televisions on an April morning in 1994, and saw the atrocities that were occurring in the tiny African country. The violence is generally assumed to have started with the shooting down of Rwandan Hutu President Juvenal Habyarimana's plane as he returned from a conference in Tanzania. Immediately, blame for the shooting of Habyarimana's plane was placed on the Tutsi minority, principally in the popular local media. It was at this point that mass killings began. While this was the first time many people saw an outbreak of violence in Rwanda, the build up to the genocide had been stewing for years.

Rwandan History

Rwanda is a land locked country in the Great Lakes region of Africa with boundaries that have remained stable. Rwanda is bordered by Uganda in the north, Tanzania in the east, Burundi in the south, and Democratic Republic of Congo to the west (Appendix B). In Rwanda, there are three main ethnic groups: the Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa. Very little attention is focused on the Twa as they make up roughly 1% of the population, while the Hutu comprise 85% and Tutsi 14%. While the origins of the three separate ethnic groups is somewhat unclear, it is generally agreed upon by scholars, based on genetic studies (Harrell, 2003), that the Twa were the original occupants of Rwanda and that the Hutu and the Tutsi immigrated to Rwanda during two separate instances. Harrell (2003) suggests that the Hutu arrived first due to the growth of the Bantu and then the Tutsi emigrated from the non-malarial region.

In pre-colonial Rwanda, the terms *Hutu* and *Tutsi* did not represent strictly defined ethnic groups (Ronayne, 2001) and considerable intermarriage occurred. It appears that from the start of recorded history, the Tutsi minority dominated the government and owned the vast majority of cattle (the primary source of income and trade) in Rwanda. The Hutu majority was predominantly farmers and, on average, were poorer than the Tutsi. This, however, was not an unbending caste system and roles between groups were interchangeable. To be sure, prior to the 19th century, there was not a clear sense of ethnic identity between the groups (Harrell, 2003).

Prior to colonialism, Rwanda was essentially run by Hutu and Tutsi *Mwami* (Kings), and there was often struggle for political and economic control. The Mwami would often have control over religious officials, military action, land and taxation, and the utilizations of pastures for grazing. However, these powers were not always allocated to one Mwami, and it was not uncommon for these powers to be separated among numerous rival Mwami (Harrell, 2003). While this certainly created tension among the different ethnic groups, ethnic identities remained relatively loose until the Tutsi Mwami Rwabugiri reigned from 1860-1895. As Harrell (2003) states, “Nineteenth-century state building by an ascendant and self-consciously Tutsi Mwami line, the Abanyiginya of Nduga in central Rwanda, was likely the catalyst that transformed loose identities into the rigid ethnic groups one finds today” (p. 13). Mwami Rwagugiri began to assign powerful roles within his administration based on Tutsi status, something that had not been done previously regardless of the ruler’s ethnic identity.

While division between Hutu and Tutsi existed prior to colonialism, the new control exerted first by Germany then by Belgium exacerbated the increasingly prevalent

division. Rwanda was first colonized by Germany in 1884 in an attempt to create a German East Africa (which included colonization of Rwanda, Burundi and parts of Tanzania) and after World War I, Belgium gained control of Rwanda as a League of Nations trust territory and exerted a more forceful form of colonialism than the Germans had. The colonization of African countries such as Rwanda was common place, and by 1913 there was an almost complete colonization of Africa by European powers (Appendix A), with the exception of Ethiopia and Liberia.

When Belgian colonists and Catholic missionaries took control of Rwanda, they implemented “Hamitic” ideology. This racial typography defined and differentiated between Hutu and Tutsi on their physical appearance, something that had not been done before. While social distinction between Hutu and Tutsi existed, it was based primarily on family lineage and occupation, not on racial typography. According to the Hamitic philosophy, Tutsi were generally taller, thinner, and more European looking, while Hutus looked more traditionally African with broad noses and high foreheads. Belgian authorities stated that the Tutsi were the superior race and exclusively elevated them to significant positions of power within the government. As Melvern (2006), when reflecting on the common stereotypes assigned to each ethnic group, states, “The Tutsi were proud, arrogant, tricky and untrustworthy and were convinced that the only good Tutsi was a Tutsi in power. The Hutu were modest, honest, loyal, independent and impulsive. This ideology underpinned the genocide in Rwanda” (p. 3).

The Hutu majority eventually gained power and control after years of struggle with the Tutsi minority. Receiving pressure from the rest of the world and showing remorse regarding the oppressed majority, Belgian officials began removing Tutsi from

key positions of power and replacing them with Hutu. However, Hutus' became restless, waiting for expanded power, and in 1959 the first Rwandan genocide occurred in a Hutu attempt to gain power. More than 20,000 Tutsi were killed when the Hutu gained power and control, and attempted to eliminate the Tutsi population. By the time of the Rwandan independence in 1962, thousands of Tutsi had gone into exile in neighboring countries (including future RPF Commander, Paul Kagame), and the remaining Tutsi were increasingly marginalized and disenfranchised (Ronayne, 2001).

The rigid social construct of the terms *Hutu* and *Tutsi* and the negative meaning assigned to each was largely a creation of colonialism. While there had been separation and segregation between the two groups prior to Rwanda's colonization by Belgium, the hierarchical values assigned to Hutu and Tutsi, primarily based on physical characteristics, did not truly materialize until colonialism. Moreover, the creation of values assigned to each ethnicity have outlasted colonialism, and most certainly played a large part in developing the hatred and animosity that fueled the genocide. These unbending and hierarchical ethnic identities were quite different than the somewhat fluid identities that the Rwandans had created themselves.

It is important to note that the Tutsi population also played a significant role in the history of struggle between these two groups, and that they should not be viewed solely as martyrs in the ongoing conflict between the two groups. In 1965, the neighboring country of Burundi (an additional location of Hutu/Tutsi struggle) experienced civil war. Political instability allowed Rwandan Tutsi exiles to gain control, and with this control they attempted to eliminate the Hutu population. In 1975, further problems allowed the Tutsi regime to kill between 100,000 and 200,000 individuals, the vast majority being

Hutu. More recently it is estimated that since 1993, 150,000 Hutu and Tutsi have been killed in “intercommunal violence” in Burundi (Ronayne, 2001). In relative terms, there has been a succession of genocides in the Great Lakes Region of Africa (Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda).

While problems occurred in Burundi, a relatively stable time transpired in Rwanda after Hutu leader, and Major General of the Rwandan Army, Juvenal Habyarimana became president through a military coup in 1973. In the process of the coup, Habyarimana completely disbanded the National Assembly and the political party it represented (the Party of the Hutu Emancipation Movement). In 1975, Habyarimana created the National Revolutionary Movement for Development (MRND) and Rwanda became a single party state. Rwanda returned to civilian rule in 1978, and he was democratically re-elected the same year. Habyarimana was again re-elected in 1983 and 1988, but was the only presidential candidate on the ballot.

From the 1970s to the 1990s, Rwanda experienced a period of relative peace. However, economic problems befell Rwanda in the early 1990s. Coffee prices fell, and poor weather exacerbated poverty. Due to such crises, Hutu governmental officials had to deal with aggressive action from the Rwandan Patriot Front (or RPF, a militant group made up of Tutsi and moderate Hutu). Massacre was used as a political tool to quiet opposition from the minority group, and a civil war transpired from 1990-1993 during which Hutu militants killed hundreds of Tutsi in numerous incidents (Ronayne, 2001). These attacks slowly increased, and the 1994 Presidential assassination created a full-blown genocide of the Tutsi population by Hutus.

The 1994 Rwandan Genocide

Following the assassination of Habyarimana, the Rwandan military and numerous militia groups, most notably the *Interahamwe* (defined as “those who work together,” or “those who fight together”), systematically began killing thousands of Tutsi. Along the way they recruited Hutu citizens who were neither official members of the military nor the militias. Both the military and militias campaigned and encouraged hatred and elimination of the Tutsi population through rallies, radio propaganda, recruiting, and training. This propaganda had begun during the regime of Habyarimana, but greatly intensified following his death.

From April to July 1994, between 800,000 and 1 million Rwandans were slaughtered; 90% of those killed were Tutsi and the remaining 10% comprised moderate Hutu. Killings were conducted in the most brutal of fashion often by machetes and other crude weapons. Neighbors killed neighbors and family members killed family members, largely as a result of the intense and convincing propaganda that the Tutsi “cockroaches” (as they were often referred) must be eliminated. Others killed based on fear of being viewed as sympathetic or moderate Hutu, which often resulted in death as well. Sexual assault and gender-targeted crime were also a common tactic of the *Interahamwe*. It is estimated that 250,000 Tutsi and moderate Hutu women were raped during the course of the genocide (Drumbl, 2013). Tutsi and moderate Hutu women were also purposefully infected with HIV/AIDS, as Hutu extremists would release known HIV positive patients from hospitals and form them into “rape squads.” Rape was also used as a tool to completely destroy the reproductive capabilities of Tutsi women and young girls, with

their genitals often mutilated by gang rapes, machetes, and acid (Drumbl, 2013). The ultimate goal of such heinous acts was to completely eliminate the Tutsi population.

The RPF, led by Paul Kagame, attempted to thwart the genocide being carried out by the government and militia forces. He, along with other RPF members stationed in Kigali, fought their way out of the capital city to join other RPF units in the north along the Congolese and Ugandan borders. The RPF battled members of the Rwandan military, paramilitary groups, police officers and local Hutu citizens for approximately two months. During this two month time period, essentially two wars were occurring. While the genocide progressed, the RPF and Rwandan government battled each other in a more conventional “army” type war. The main Tutsi opposition was carried out by the RPF, as the minority Tutsi (14% of the total population) was simply outnumbered by the Hutu majority (85%). On July 4, 1994, the RPF took the capital city of Kigali and on July 13 they took command of the city of Rukengeri. On July 17 they claimed victory after defeating the last governmental hold outs. After the RPF victory, a coalition government was formed and Kagame became Vice President under Pasteur Bizimungu. Kagame became president in 2000 following the resignation of Bizimungu and remains Rwanda’s current president.

Role of the International Community

As noted, the international community played a large role in helping to create ideologies that led to the genocide (primarily through colonialism) and arguably took little action to stop the genocide once it began. In the 20 years since the Rwandan genocide, there has been debate on the lack of action the United Nations and other UN

member nations took in regards to ending this particular genocide, as well as others.

According to Jentleson (2007),

For all the vows that there would “never again” be another genocide, reality has too many times proven otherwise. Yet again, millions of people have been killed, maimed, raped, displaced, and otherwise victimized, while the international community—including the United States, the United Nations, and the European Union—continues to do too little, too late. (p. 18)

On August 4, 1993, the Arusha Peace Agreement (Arusha Accord) was signed in Arusha, Tanzania. This agreement, essentially between the current government of Rwanda and the RPF, was an attempt to end the three year civil war in Rwanda and create a Rwandan government that was truly representative of both Hutu and Tutsi. The Arusha Peace Agreement resulted in the Broad Based Transitional Government (BBTG) which included members of the current administration (MRND), the RPF and five additional Rwandan political parties. The Peace Agreement demanded that the BBTG be established within 37 days of the signing of the agreement and would last approximate 22 months, at which time a general democratic election would occur (Dallaire, 2003). The BBTG was essentially a last ditch effort to end the civil war and create a representative government. However, from the onset, there were constant struggles to get the multiple parties to work together and Habyarimana, and subsequently the MRND, essentially retained political control.

The United Nations implemented the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) to help enforce the Arusha Peace Agreement and assist in the peaceful creation of the transitional government. While this was the first mission to Rwanda to assist with the transitional government, the United Nations was notified by intelligence in 1993 that large shipments of ammunition and machetes were being

assembled in Rwanda and were provided “hit lists” with hundreds of names of Rwandan Tutsi. Moreover, “at least one year prior to the massacres . . . the United Nations human rights experts and nongovernmental organizations had forewarned of an impending calamity to no avail” (Akhavan, 1996, p. 501). Additionally, documents declassified in 2001 confirm that the United States, including then President Bill Clinton and his cabinet, were informed of the immense likelihood of the genocide as early as January of 1994. Both President Clinton and United States Ambassador to United Nations, Madeline Albright, consistently ignored the information and refused to take action. President Clinton has since spoke publicly about his “failure to act” and “personal responsibility” in the death of nearly one million Rwandans.

The original mandate for UNAMIR, beginning in October of 1993, was for six months. At the onset approximately 2,500 UN troops were activated as peacekeepers, hailing from Belgium, Canada, Bangladesh, Ghana, Tunisia, and Canada. However, it took approximately five months for the full 2,500 troops to arrive in Rwanda. Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh was charged to head the mission with most of the hands-on tactical work being completed by Force Commander Brigadier General Romeo Dallaire. From the onset of UNAMIR, Gen. Romeo Dallaire had to address numerous logistical issues as his requests for funding and allocation of resources was almost completely ignored by the UN. He spent a significant amount of time begging for the most basic of supplies to operate his mission. During his interview with PBS “Frontline” in April of 2004, Dallaire stated, “I was spending 70%—at least—of my time fighting for batteries and flash lights, just the most simple of requirements. Even just furniture, chairs and tables. I had officers still working off the floor at that time, a couple of months into the mission.”

From a military logistical standpoint, Dallaire was also faced with a variety of issues.

During the same “Frontline” interview, he stated:

As a Chapter VI peace keeping mission, our mandate included just self-defense and responding to what either side are telling us in our patrolling. I had no intelligence capability, officially. . . . I could not conduct any covert operations. I could not conduct hard intelligence gathering on either side, in the classic sense. I was totally dependent on the good will of both sides, and my ability to monitor. That was it. The ability to monitor is not necessarily always the most effective intelligence gathering; you do need other operations. You need even signals intelligence, the phones, the radios, all that kind of stuff.

Not only did Dallaire deal with basic logistical issues, but he witnessed near constant attempts to thwart the success of the BBTG by Habyarimana’s administration, as well as increasing talks of extermination of the Tutsi. Two political leaders were assassinated and violent attacks were occurring throughout the country. Dallaire was notified by an informant (upper level member of the MRND) on January 11, 1994 of an arms cache. While Dallaire had been informed of similar tactics, this was perhaps the first notice that the UN. would consider reliable, and he immediately contacted UN. Military Adviser General Baril via fax “warning that there would be significant killings and massacres that would destabilize the whole political process, and that in fact we would ultimately not have a mandate anymore, because it would be totally destroyed by the extremists’ actions” (Barker, 2004). Dallaire asked for an increased level of military control, as UNAMIR currently had no authority to actively intervene in any type of violent act. The next morning, Dallaire received a return fax signed by Secretary-General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, informing him that any act to intervene or prevent the genocide was outside of the current mandate.

From January to April 1994, Dallaire continued to request support and permission to militarily intervene, and was continuously denied. On April 6, 1994, the day that

President Habyarimana's plane was shot down, Dallaire again contacted the United Nations and was informed again that he must stick to his mandate and that force was only to be used in self-defense. The genocide had officially begun and not only did the UN continue to ignore requests from Dallaire, but the original 2,500 Peacekeeping Troops dwindled to 270 as troops were pulled by their respective countries. In addition, the United States petitioned the UN to withdraw all troops in April of 1994. Dallaire was notified that the UN would be sending 5,500 UNAMIR troops in May 1994, but for administrative reasons, they were never sent (Hintjens, 1999). Eventually, Dallaire would be informed by the UN to completely retreat from Kigali, a warning he purposefully ignored in an attempt to save those who remained.

An additional way in which the international community attempted to negate responsibility regarding the intervention in Rwanda was playing on international racial-ethnic prejudice toward most of the African continent, downplaying the killings as "tribal" African massacres rather than an actual genocide. As reports from all over the world soon confirmed, the killings were "rapid, efficient and systematic" (Hintjens, 1999, p. 275). By suggesting that what was occurring was *tribal* and avoiding the term *genocide*, the UN and member nations could continue to ignore the atrocities and negate any legal responsibility. As Jentleson (2007) states, "Many policymakers take the 'primordialist' view of these conflicts and view them as the inevitable outcomes of fixed, inherited, and deeply antagonistic group identities" (p. 19). It was not until the UN Security Council set up an International Tribunal for Crimes against Humanity in November of 1994 that the term *genocide* was officially applied to what occurred in Rwanda.

Indeed, during the 100 days of massacre, there was little help from the outside world in addressing the needs of the Rwandan people. It was as if the violence and murders were simply not occurring. According to Hintjens (1999):

In April and May 1994, the international community, through the United Nations, was unable and unwilling to prevent a continuation of what was soon understood to be genocide. The United States in particular was preoccupied by its own domestic concerns and initially did not seem to give much thought to the nature of the killings, being wary of any intervention that would embroil it in something even more complex than Somalia. (p. 274)

Additionally, Deputy Assistant Secretary of African Affairs James Wood of the Clinton Administration stated,

I won't go into personalities, but I received guidance from higher authorities: "Look, if something happens in Rwanda-Burundi, we don't care. Take it off the list. US national interest is not involved and we can't put all these silly humanitarian issues on lists like important problems like the Middle East, North Korea, and so on. Just make it go away." (Ronayne, 2001, p. 114)

Not only did member nations and the United Nations as an entity ignore the warnings of impending violence, but one nation's policies actually perpetuated the genocide. France acted to prevent English-speaking Africans from coming to power in Rwanda, as they viewed Kagame's militant actions as an attack on a "francophone" country and an attempt to eliminate French influence. France also maintained its connections with the military and militias after the genocide began. As Hintjens (1999) states, "French material interests included arms sales, and rewards for private companies and 'loyal' Africans. . . . France was able to persuade other European countries to stay relatively quiet in the run-up to genocide" (p. 273). Interestingly, a French "humanitarian" operation was authorized by the United Nations in June of 1994. Operation Turquoise was stated to be a French humanitarian mission to create a safe zone in the southwest region of Rwanda. However, following the genocide, it was suggested

that Operation Turquoise was not a humanitarian mission by the French, but essentially a mission to attempt to weaken the RPF, as France had funded and supported the Habyarimana regime.

While none of the world's countries truly took an active role to end the genocide in Rwanda, Canada is considered to be the country that played the most active role (though severely limited) in attempting to intervene as well as in supporting Rwandans afterwards. As noted earlier, UNAMIR was made up largely of peacekeepers from Belgium, Canada, Bangladesh, Ghana, and Tunisia. Due to Belgium's role in the colonization process and the economic and immigration issues in Bangladesh, Ghana, and Tunisia, Canada became a desirable location in the geographical West for many Rwandans following the genocide. Canada has one of the most open immigration policies in the western world, and it is estimated that almost a third of Canada's population is made up of individuals born in other countries.

The Canadian government has also attempted to promote inclusion of Rwandan citizens by creating national remembrance days. In 2004, it declared April 7th as the "Day of Remembrance" for the victims of the genocide. In 2008, Canada changed the title to "Day of Reflection on the Prevention of Genocide" to provide a more specific title of remembrance. Additionally, in 2000, Canadian parliament passed the Crimes against Humanity and War Crimes Act, which allows the government to prosecute perpetrators of the Rwandan genocide if they are visiting or taking up residency in Canada. It is not surprising, based on Canada's role during the genocide, their immigration policies and their attempts to honor victims of the genocide that a large number of Rwandan nationals moved to Canada following the genocide.

Additionally, a modest Rwandan diaspora (7,000) resides within the United States. While the diaspora is actually larger in the United States than in Canada, it is proportionately modest. While the United States immigration policy, particularly from developing nations, is much more limiting and difficult than that of Canada (Koopmans, 2013), many Rwandans came to the United States shortly before, during, and after the genocide as political refugees. This was often done through partnerships with American churches and immigration organizations. Additionally, America remains an appealing location for relocation due to perceived freedoms, relative safety, political stability, educational opportunities, and potential employment opportunities.

Moving forward, in Chapter II I discuss the conceptual definitions of justice and reconciliation as they are utilized for this research. Descriptions of post-genocide institutional apparatuses in Rwanda (particularly gacaca), aimed at facilitating justice and reconciliation will be presented as well, including the restorative principles behind them. Procedural issues with gacaca and its effects on restoration will be outlined. Additionally, issues associated with post-genocide ethnicity in Rwanda and its salience to the diaspora will be provided. This will lead to discussion of the current political climate in Rwanda and the effect that it may have on the diaspora. Finally, a comprehensive list of Rwandan diaspora based organizations in the United State and Canada, including their particular aims and goals, will be discussed.

Chapter III outlines the methodology utilized in this study. This research is primarily a phenomenological study and, within a qualitative framework, the life-story method of interviewing was implemented. A rationale for this methodology will be provided, including discussion of semi-structured serial interviewing via both telephone

and in-person. Additional methodological issues including sampling, consent and confidentiality, data analysis, and reliability and validity, will be covered. Chapter III will conclude with a discussion of the potential contributions of this research.

Chapter IV provides biographical stories of each of the eight Rwandan diaspora participants in this research. Biographical information will be provided because of the relatively small sample size, and the significant time I spent communicating with each respondent, as well as the salience of each of their narratives to my larger research questions. These biographies vary in length, and serve to familiarize the reader on the range of participants in this study as well as contextualize the thematic findings presented later.

Chapter V presents the analytical findings from interviews with the eight members of the Rwandan diaspora in the United States and Canada. These findings center around three main themes identified through the course of the interview process: the culture of silence, justice and reconciliation in Rwanda, and justice and reconciliation among the diaspora. However, contrasting statements to these themes are identified as well. Chapter VI presents the findings (including general biographical information) of the four experts interviewed. Experts were selected based upon their expertise in the field of genocidal studies, *gacaca*, restorative justice, and post-genocide politics in Rwanda and among the diaspora. Interviews with expert participants addressed issues associated with sampling, Rwandan politics and its effect on the diaspora, and notions of justice and reconciliation. These interviews are offered as a layer of further interpretation regarding themes that emerged from Rwandan diaspora participant interviews.

Chapter VII serves as a conclusion to my study, beginning with a summary of the literature review and its applicability to the research conducted. Discussion regarding the methodological framework, including weaknesses and challenges, will be presented, as well as a detailed summation of findings and analysis. Additionally, theoretical implications and development will be discussed. More specifically, the contributions to standpoint theory for transnational diaspora and the importance of grassroots and voluntary components of restorative justice apparatuses will be addressed. Finally, limitations of the study as well as anticipated contributions of the research are outlined.

CHAPTER II

NOTIONS OF JUSTICE IN AND OUTSIDE OF RWANDA

The purpose of my research was to understand notions of justice and reconciliation for members of the Rwandan diaspora within the United States and Canada. Before this question can be addressed, post-genocide justice and reconciliation in Rwanda must be outlined, including the alleged restorative justice nature of the largest justice and reconciliation apparatus, gacaca courts. Potential benefits and problems associated with gacaca will be outlined. Additionally, a discussion of post-genocide notions of ethnicity will be provided. Issues associated with justice, reconciliation, and ethnicity within Rwanda lead to discussion of the political landscape within Rwanda and how this has a residual affect among the diaspora.

Post-Genocide Justice

Following the genocide in 1994, the victorious RPF was charged with the restructuring and rebuilding a country that had been all but completely decimated. Approximately 800,000 to 1 million Rwandans died during the genocide, resulting in the elimination of roughly 20% of the country's total population and 70% of the country's Tutsi population (BBC News, 2011). Health, education, and political infrastructures were rendered almost entirely inoperative. Additionally, the new RPF-led government was responsible for addressing the 100,000–120,000 (estimates fluctuate) genocidaires (those who committed genocidal acts), which quickly overwhelmed the country's limited judicial capacity (Sarkin, 2001). Indeed, only 14 public prosecutors and 39 criminal

investigators were left alive after the genocide and two thirds of the nation's judges had been killed or fled the country. Six years after the genocide between 100,000 and 120,000 perpetrators out of the estimated 160,000 were in Rwandan prisons awaiting prosecution; it was believed that they would most likely die before they ever saw a day in court (Harrell, 2003).

The new Rwandan government not only had to deal with a variety of infrastructure issues and the punishment of genocidaires, but also had to address the needs of the surviving victims, specifically the issues of justice and reconciliation, which can be difficult to define.

Conceptual Definitions

Justice and reconciliation are abstract terms. Pozen, Neugebauer, and Ntaganira (2014) define justice as based on procedural and judicial outcomes, specifically the perceived fairness of the judicial process as well as attitudes regarding the outcomes of the judicial process. This definition is relatively agreed upon by genocide scholars. However, the actual definition and measure of “justice” for those who have survived mass atrocities is not as easily definable, particularly for those who are geographically removed from where justice is to be administered. Interviews outlined participants’ definitions regarding what they believed justice to be, including the difficulty with administering it, and will be discussed in the findings section.

Quinn (2009) defines reconciliation as “a process that is fundamentally ‘about building relationships’ of trust and cohesion at multiple different levels, from the individual, inter-personal and communal to the national and international levels” (p. 5), and Bradley (2012) suggests that reconciliation may take the form of establishing shared

truths, fostering harmonious relationships between otherwise conflicted groups, offerings of apology and forgiveness, and reinforcement via rules of law. Simon (2012) demarcates reconciliation into “private” and “social.” Private, or personal, reconciliation is a specific form which refers to the specific psychology of someone involved in genocide. Public, or social, reconciliation, addresses the ability of individuals to coexist without a return to violence. More specifically, Simon suggests that social reconciliation occurs “when individuals/communities formerly associated with opposing sides of a conflict accept as legitimate a shared set of institutions to govern them and guide behavior” (p. 254).

Pozen et al. (2014) also note that varying definitions of reconciliation exist, and have thus adopted the terms *thin* and *thick* reconciliation as two possible demarcations. Thin reconciliation refers to “peaceful coexistence” and thick reconciliation refers to “a participatory process that promotes social healing and forgiveness” (p. 37). I found the above definitions of justice and reconciliation appropriate for the purpose of my research, and am particularly drawn to Pozen et al.’s notions of thick and thin reconciliation. Their separation of reconciliation types is important, as it allows one to examine whether peaceful coexistence is occurring, as well as whether a deeper level of healing and forgiveness exists. As I will explain in detail later, I freely discussed the terms *thin* and *thick* reconciliation, during the course of interviews and participants overwhelming agreed with these definitions.

While the discussion of “private” and “social” reconciliation, as outlined by Simon (2012), provides an additional lens with which to view reconciliation among the diaspora, I find Pozen et al.’s (2014) demarcation more useful for the purpose of my

research. More specifically, Simon's discussion of "social" reconciliation does not address the concept of deep and meaningful relationships among different ethnicities, but defines this type of reconciliation as peaceful coexistence (quite similar to "thin" reconciliation). I believe that Pozen et al.'s definitions of reconciliation allowed for a more detailed understanding of the specific layers that exist regarding the issue of social reconciliation. However, the issue of "private" reconciliation was certainly addressed with participants. Their specific beliefs and feelings regarding reconciliation, both within themselves and among the diaspora, were discussed during the course of interviews and are evident in their responses regarding "thin" and "thick" reconciliation.

Western criminal justice systems are offender-oriented, meaning that the focus of the criminal justice system is focused largely on punishment of a specific offender (as opposed to groups or larger entities). Alternatively, transitional justice, defined as "justice that seeks to address the legacies of large-scale past abuses, and includes mechanisms such as criminal trials, truth commissions, memorials and reparations" (Haider, 2014, p. 208) is often utilized by nations recovering from large-scale devastation and internal violence. Duthie (2012) provides perhaps the most comprehensive definition for such purposes:

Transitional justice refers to a set of measures that can be implemented to redress the legacies of massive human rights abuses that occur during armed conflict and under authoritarian regimes, where "redressing the legacies" means, primarily, giving force to human rights norms that were systematically violated. The different measures that together make up a holistic approach to transitional justice seek to provide recognition for victims, foster civic trust and promote possibilities for peace, reconciliation and democracy. (p. 243)

Oduro (2007) suggests that reconciliation is the main goal of transitional justice.

Restorative justice often falls under the blanket of transitional justice as it represents

justice that attempts to restore the harm that was caused by a criminal act. While the main purpose of transitional justice is to promote reconciliation, the main purpose of restorative justice is to “put right the wrongs” (Zehr, 2002, p. 19). It tends to be victim-orientated, and provides much broader terms and more complex analyses in establishing who the “victim” is. Often, in the instance of genocide, it becomes difficult to determine who exactly is a victim and who is an offender. This is somewhat due to genocides often being the result of mass hysteria, propaganda, and moral panic which often causes irrational acts of violence by various members of a community. Looking at offenders within the general population who may have fallen prey to mass hysteria propaganda and moral panic through the same lens with which organizers of genocide are viewed is problematic. Furthermore, it becomes difficult to pigeon-hole individuals to one category, either “victim” or “offender,” since multiple roles (as both victims and offenders) are often occupied during the course of a genocide (Sullivan & Tifft, 2006). For example, a moderate Hutu may have committed acts of genocides but these acts may have been the results of fears of personal mutilation and retaliatory death.

Restorative justice practices are focused on not only addressing the harm caused and endured by victims and offenders, but also on the harm inflicted upon the community. Through the restorative justice process, the needs of all three components may be addressed, by initiating steps to repair the harm by involving all parties, as well as the community in the restorative process. Restorative justice apparatus often take the form of truth commissions, victim-offender mediation, and community based court systems. Gacaca courts in Rwanda were not only utilized to appropriate responsibility, but to attempt to provide justice and reconciliation through restorative justice means. In

other words, gacaca was charged with building Rwanda while attempting to repair the harm that had been caused (Harrell, 2003). Pozen et al. (2014) suggest that “Gacaca was one of the first post-conflict mechanisms established to at once punish perpetrators and reconcile communities through truth telling and public confessions” (p. 32). It is here that the restorative and transitional justice applications of this apparatus are identified.

Rwandan Gacaca

The Rwandan gacaca courts were implemented as a mechanism to achieve both justice and reconciliation. The direct translation of *gacaca* is “grass”; prior to colonialism, Rwandans utilized local gacaca courts to solve the majority of crimes committed within a community. As part of this process, elders would often sit on patches of grass to discuss cases and dispense judgment (Lahiri, 2009). Gacaca courts maintained existence during the first part of colonialism, but in 1924 Belgian authorities limited their jurisdiction to commercial and civil issues and this resulted in the gradual dissipation of the court system. Following the 1994 genocide, gacaca courts re-emerged (unofficially) almost immediately to address local issues as there was no functioning judicial system (Harrell, 2003). As noted previously, the new Rwandan government categorized the genocidal crimes along four levels and gacaca courts were assigned with trying and prosecuting Levels 2–4 crimes.

Because of the slow pace of the judicial system and the backlog of large number of prisoners waiting to be tried, gacaca courts were officially re-established via Organic Law 40/2000 in 2001. Estimates suggest that between 100,000 and 120,000 genocide suspects were being housed in prison facilities at this time, awaiting prosecution. Such facilities were designed for 45,000 inmates total. Between 9,000 and 11,000 gacaca

jurisdictions (estimates fluctuate) were created across the country and involved approximately 250,000 Rwandans (6% of the country's adult population) who reportedly served voluntarily in the gacaca system in some capacity (Clark, 2009). There were three primary levels of jurisdictions within the gacaca courts: cells, sectors, and districts. Approximately 9,500 cells existed throughout Rwandan and they represented the lowest level of administration. They were charged primarily with investigating claims of genocidal acts, recording crimes, and identifying potential suspects. Cells were also responsible for dispersing judgment for those convicted of category 4 crimes, which encompassed all property crimes. Additionally, there were 1,500 sectors within Rwanda whose primary responsibility was try category 3 suspects, or those who were charged with attempted assault or murder. District level jurisdictions were charged with dispersing judgment for category 2 crimes (those charged with assault that resulted in murder) as well as addressing any appeals from the sector-level.

Judges were elected from a general citizenry vote and received legal training from surviving Rwandans with education background in the judicial system. Those that were elected as judges were also vetted for their moral character and were required to be well known within their community for being upstanding citizens. Other Rwandans volunteered to act as bookkeepers, mediators, and general clerks. Gacaca courts were present in almost every community, whose members attended and participated as witnesses, often speaking of their own experiences during the genocide. Gacaca courts officially began handing out sentences in March of 2005, and as of 2012, approximately 2 million perpetrators had been tried through the system, with 65% being found guilty.

These verdicts resulted in imprisonment, mandatory community service, or some other form of reparation (Pozen et al., 2014).

While the gacaca courts were primarily responsible for the punitive end of justice, one of their primary roles was to foster forgiveness and reconciliation. With so many Rwandans killed and maimed in such a short time, and the large percentage of the population involved, a more traditional means of incarceration was simply not an option. Imprisoning over 100,000 perpetrators of genocide in a country that just lost a large portion of its population was not feasible for infrastructure and economic reasons, as well as social reasons (i.e., loss of labor). Indeed, it has been argued that restorative justice was most applicable in Rwanda because there was no other option. Perhaps that is true. Regardless, however, what this meant was that victims were able to take an active role in the legal process and offenders were encouraged to take responsibility for their actions and make reparations in ways not possible in other models of rendering justice. This gacaca courts put justice, at least partially, in the hands of victims.

Moreover, gacaca courts allowed those already in prison to be released to participate in the justice system. If gacaca administrators determined an offender's guilt, but the offender provided information about his or her crime as well as expressed remorse, the prison sentence was often suspended and the duration of their time was spent providing community service. In this way, restorative justice measures in Rwanda after the genocide attempted to address the needs of victims, offenders and the community with a goal of repairing the harm in a more holistic sense.

Problems with Gacaca

While gacaca courts were assigned the enormous task of fostering justice and reconciliation, its ability to do so remains unclear. The courts officially closed in late 2012 following the completion of all active cases. Academic and NGO-based research regarding its complete successes and failures are still pending, though there is no shortage of research regarding the gacaca process as it was occurring. There appears to essentially be two primary “camps” of thought; one suggests that gacaca was a functioning apparatus that adequately addressed justice and reconciliation. The second suggests that gacaca was a political tool of President Kagame to create one collective memory of what happened which in turn created animosity and strife (Clark, 2009). Rwandan politicians tend to occupy the first camp and international NGOs, academe, and human rights organizations the latter. However, even within academe there has historically been a divide. While the majority of academics have taken a critical stance regarding the authoritarian nature of President Kagame, acknowledgement of human rights violations, and the severe limitations of gacaca, there have also been those that tend to reject this black and white picture of Rwanda and offer a more nuanced stance.

While the government claims that justice and reconciliation have been achieved by gacaca courts, the published research notes a variety of procedural and sociological issues with the execution of the courts. Attempts at conducting interviews with gacaca participants as well as reviewing governmental records and documentation on the gacaca courts are ongoing. While the evaluation of the successes and/or failures of gacaca courts are not the aim of this research, it is important to understand these issues as they may

have a residual effect on the Rwandan diaspora located in the United States and Canada and the diaspora's ability to achieve justice and reconciliation among one another.

From the onset of the creation of gacaca courts, a variety of problems with the process have been noted by academic researchers, non-governmental agencies, and participants of the gacaca process. Most notable is the absence of lawyers. Individuals who are called and those who volunteer to appear before gacaca for crimes committed during the genocide are not appointed an attorney. Hintjens (2008) suggests that "justice for the accused in gacaca is a haphazard affair. Without any deference for the accused, serious miscarriages of justice can result and innocent people can be imprisoned" (p. 17).

Pozen et al. (2014) suggest that gacaca courts may have resulted in the intimidation of witnesses, provided insufficient security for participants, and generally increased ethnic tensions in Rwandan communities. As Hintjens (2008) notes, "The contribution to gacaca to reconciliation and national unity is thus not self-evident: dangers of retribution and false accusation are real enough; witnesses and suspected genocidaires, as well as their relatives have already been attacked and even been killed" (p. 17).

In their 2011 survey research of 504 Rwandans, Pozen et al. (2014) found that the majority of respondents believed gacaca had achieved its goal of creating an accurate history of the genocide, as well as exhibited fairness of punishment to offenders and brought reconciliation and justice to victims and communities at large. However, it was also shown that the majority of respondents expressed concern regarding security issues and felt that particular "sociocultural norms inhibited testimony" (p. 49). Specifically, respondents expressed concerns regarding false testimony and inauthentic confessions,

suggesting that defendants offered testimony and confessions as a way to receive a reduced prison sentence or to have current prison sentences transferred to community service. Additionally, half of all respondents suggested that these issues caused increased tension between and among families.

An additional procedural problem associated with gacaca is the lack of trial and/or prosecution of any RPF members. RPF members, largely comprised of Tutsi, are entirely exempt from being tried for crimes they may have committed during the genocide. A widely held assumption among Rwandans is that this is a result of the RPF-led government, specifically the policies of President Paul Kagame, the former leader of the RPF. This lack of inclusion of crimes committed by the RPF within the scope of the gacaca courts has notably fostered the belief that gacaca is a tool to prosecute solely Hutu crimes during the genocide. It further supports the widely held notion that the Rwandan government holds the static view that all Hutu were perpetrators of the genocide, and all Tutsi were victims. Harrell (2003) notes that many Hutu believed that gacaca courts were utilized for purposes other than administering justice for the genocide, that they were targeted for offenses unrelated to the genocide, or selected simply because they were Hutu.

Because gacaca was created and implemented by the state, and participating is essentially mandated for all citizens, it can be suggested that it is not truly a restorative justice apparatus. Restorative justice practices are typically more holistic than state-sanctioned justice mechanisms and often operate entirely separately from the government. Restorative justice practices are typically voluntary with victim, offender, and the community coming to the table in some degree of mutual solidarity. The fact that

participation (at least as a community witness) was a legal requirement for all Rwandans causes some to suggest that the gacaca process cannot be considered true restorative justice.

Further, Thompson (2011) suggests that gacaca represents a “state imposed narrative” as opposed to a truly local conceptualization of reconciliation. Specifically, “the policy disguises the government’s efforts to control its population by using the language of ethnic unity and social inclusion while working to consolidate the political power for the RPF” (p. 374). Essentially, the RPF controlled Rwandan government may utilize gacaca courts to create one specific national narrative, a narrative that outlines Tutsi as victims, Hutu as perpetrators, and completely excludes the RPF from any accountability regarding their actions during the genocide. This narrative does not appear to be an honest representation of the sum of personalized experiences, but a state created picture of what they think justice and reconciliation should look like. While gacaca may have been implemented to assist with restoring justice and providing reconciliation, the problems associated with it may have severely limited its ability to do so and in fact may have exacerbated ethnic tensions (Burnett, 2008; Rettig, 2008), as well as create new tensions among “victims” and “offenders.” In his 2007 Human Rights Brief, Christopher J. Le Mon perhaps provided the best summary of the goals and failures of gacaca:

Torn between the need to reconcile a deeply divided population and the duty, both moral and legal, to punish those who sought to eradicate an entire people, Rwanda’s attempt at combining criminal justice and community reconciliation might have provided a “third way” for societies in transition. As it has been implemented, however, the gacaca court system—fraught with corruption and violence, and insulated from much-needed change by a government that brooks no criticism—is quickly proving that in seeking to achieve both justice and reconciliation, the gacaca courts may very well achieve neither. (p. 4)

Post-Genocidal Notions of Ethnicity: Connections Between the Diaspora and Home Country

An understanding of issues of ethnicity, as well as the public discourse within Rwanda regarding ethnicity, is imperative if we are to understand these same issues within the Rwandan diaspora in the United States and Canada. As previously stated, there is little published research regarding the Rwanda diaspora (in the United States, Canada, and elsewhere). The literature that does exist focuses almost solely on the role of the diaspora in fueling insurgency, as well as further promoting or negating conflict and division within the home country. This narrow research focus on the diaspora is problematic as issues of ethnicity and politics *within* Rwanda often have a residual effect on issues of ethnicity and politics experienced by the diaspora (Haider, 2014; Mohamoud, 2005; Owen, 2009).

To be sure, Mohamoud (2005) conducted an extensive literature review, in-depth interviews, and small group discussions with African diaspora organizations, institutions and scholars and found that “homeland conflicts also directly affect the lives and well-being of the diaspora despite the fact that they are far away from the conflict zones” and that “long-distance activities undertaken by the African diaspora have both positive and negative impacts on the conflict dynamics in their homelands” (p. 5). Regarding the Rwandan diaspora in the Netherlands, Mohamoud found that

the Rwandese diaspora in the Netherlands number a little bit over 1300, and yet they have 13 organizations representing diverse interest groupings. This extreme fragmentation reinforces not only the strained divisions of the Rwandan community both in the diaspora and in the homeland, but also undermines their collective strength. (p. 12)

When discussing the African diaspora in Canada (including the Rwandan diaspora), Tetey and Puplampu (2005) offer particularly interesting commentary regarding the salience of country of origin politics and the diaspora:

While African-Canadians may be spatially removed from the discursive tensions that characterize their societies of origin, they are not immune from its manifestations in spite of the centripetal tendencies that their otherness and mutual experiences might engender. What happens, then, is a carry-over into Canada of ethnic tensions and suspicious, as well as political divisions that attend inter-group relations in the home countries. (pp. 162–163)

The relationship between diasporas and home countries may be cyclical as diaspora members often maintain political, social, and economic ties with the home country. They are often credited with being the “primary and most stable funders of developing economies” (Young & Park, 2009, p. 356). Stated differently, ethnic, racial, and political tensions within Rwanda may fuel ethnic, racial, and political tensions outside of Rwanda, and vice versa. However, Tint, Chirimwami, and Sarkis (2014) suggest that diaspora may be just as effective at promoting peace and reconciliation within the homeland as they may be at promoting conflict. They found that within the Diaspora Dialogue project in Portland, Oregon, diaspora members felt strong about their ability to influence circumstances within their home countries. Additionally, Caarls, Fransen, and Ruben (2012) collected survey data from 568 households within the Huye District of Rwanda to determine how the family relationships between those living inside and outside of country impacted their beliefs about reconciliation. The authors found that continued relationships with family outside of Rwanda contributed to participants in reconciliatory acts and attitudes. Conversely, they found that financial assistance from family outside of Rwanda decreased their activity level in reconciliatory activities, largely as a result of a lesser dependence on neighbors.

It is not enough to simply study the relationship of diaspora members to their home country, but to inquire seriously about their relationship among one another within the diaspora. The limited research suggests that there is a connection between the diaspora and Rwanda in terms of potential issues with justice and reconciliation. If issues within Rwanda exist, it seems plausible that they will spill over to the diaspora. This in turn may create issues within the diaspora itself, particularly with current issues associated with ethnicity.

The RPF government, and President Paul Kagame specifically, have instituted drastic measures to reduce all notions of ethnicity since the genocide. Ethnicity, tribalism, and race ideology have all been eliminated from public discourse (Rafti, 2004). Prior to the genocide, identity cards were assigned to each citizen that stated their ethnic affiliation (Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa). Such dramatic measures of labeling, which assisted in easy identification during the genocide, have been abolished; identification cards no longer list any ethnic identity. In fact, using terms such as *Hutu*, *Tutsi* and *Twa* is only allowed in public discourse if their use is meant “to dismiss them and deny their salience” (Hintjens, 2008, p. 12). Essentially, using these terms publicly is only allowed when one is stating they do not matter. More to the point:

Under the Organic Law of 2003, a new set of thought and speech crimes were introduced into the law including “divisionism,” “ethnic ideology” and a “genocide mentality.” All are seen as atavistic and backward looking, and ethnicity in any case has been delegitimized and is illegal. (Hintjens, 2008, pp. 9–10)

While powerful attempts by the Rwandan government have been implemented to eliminate and criminalize ethnic identifications, other means of labeling and categorizing Rwandans have been created. While the government suggests that claims of ethnic

identity produce genocide mentality, they have been quick to create the categories of “perpetrators” and “victims” according to the following rubric:

1. Victims
2. Old caseload returnees (Rwandan refugees who fled in the 1960s)
3. New caseload returnees (Rwandan refugees who fled after 1994)
4. Suspected genocidaires

These categories are utilized for political and social identification and are the only official governmental sanctioned identity categories (Hintjens, 2008). While Rwandans are not required to carry identification stating their assigned category, it tends to be publicly known who fits into each category. The notion of such labels may be just as divisive as previous identification cards that stated their ethnic identity. In addition, these clear cut distinctions about identity do not take into account the multiple roles that individuals may have played during the course of the genocide. In the government’s attempt to eliminate ethnic categorization due to its perceived contribution to genocide ideology, they have essentially created an entirely different categorization. This new categorization may create more separation, division, and promote notions of the “other” that are more intense and complex than ethnic labels did prior and during the genocide. In almost every case brought before gacaca courts, Hutu fall into the category of “suspected genocidaires.”

There is continuous debate among scholars to the actual numbers of victims and offenders, based on ethnicity, of the genocide. President Kagame claimed that an appropriate estimation of genocide perpetrators was closer to 1 million, which would essentially include every Rwandan Hutu in the population. Additionally, some research

suggests that as many as 200,000 Hutu were killed during the genocide in attempts to protect and defend Tutsi, or as a result of their “moderate” Hutu status. The estimates do continue to fluctuate, as Hintjens (2008) notes:

During the first decade after the 1994 genocide, the classification of victims and perpetrators has evolved so as to include fewer and fewer victims and survivors and to point at more and more potentially or actually culpable perpetrators. There have been continuous re-readings of the genocide and the outcome seems more likely to further social and inter-group polarization than reconciliation and social peace. (p. 22)

Hintjens (2008) further notes that the governmental claims that procedures and rules regarding notions of ethnicity, as well as of “offenders” and “survivors” in the apparatuses of history, law, and politics are used to support the ideals of justice and reconciliation. However, further examination seems to suggest that these apparatuses are being utilized as a way to eliminate ethnic identity and to solidify the categorization of “offenders” and “survivors,” providing a potentially deep cleave among the remaining Rwandan population.

There is essentially one history of Rwanda which is officially sanctioned by the government. It indicates that there was virtually no division among different ethnic groups prior to colonization, and that colonization by first (and briefly) the Germans, and then the Belgians is the sole source of the creation of the rigid ethnic divide and subsequent genocidal mentality (Hintjens, 2008). This interpretation of history fuels the legitimacy of the current administration’s attempt at eliminate ethnic typography. Furthermore, this “history” essentially posits Tutsi as the only victims of genocide and the Hutu as the only offenders. Again, this interpretation provides legitimacy for the RPF-led administration to utilize the static interpretations of victim and offender.

Legally, as noted above, the elimination of ethnic categories has been utilized as a way of social reconstruction following the genocide (Hintjens, 2008). The legally approved interpretation of the genocide is reiterated each year during annual public memorials and remembrance activities. Hintjens (2008) further notes that institutions, such as the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, the National Human Rights Commission, and the National Fund for Genocide Survivors, have been given the task of “refashioning Rwandan political identifies” (p. 16) and “the so-called solidarity camps” where the objective is to “re-educate Rwandans about their past” (p. 16). Additionally, the resurrection and implementation of gacaca courts have helped place Rwandans into categories of either “victims (victims of the 1994 genocide and old and new caseload returnees)” or “offenders,” their various procedural and security-based issues notwithstanding.

While gacaca courts were instituted as a means to achieve justice and reconciliation among the Rwandan population, their ability to do so remains unclear. While there is research suggesting that many Rwandans find solace in the decisions of gacaca, there are also various procedural issues that may have limited its capabilities to fully achieve justice and reconciliation. These issues may be further exacerbated by the total authoritative regime of President Kagame and his static definitions of victims and perpetrators. The stated success of gacaca by Rwandans may in fact be a result of their fear of the current administration. If there are issues associated with gacaca courts in Rwanda, it may be that these issues influence attempts at justice and reconciliation among the Rwandan diaspora.

The elimination of public discussion of ethnic identity is but a small part of the current political landscape within Rwanda. President Kagame has not only successfully criminalized the mere public whisper of one's ethnic origin, but has also created a culture where any politics, ideas, or beliefs that contradict those proclaimed by the government are illegal based upon the presupposed notion of "divisiveness." The current political climate, spanning the last 22 years, has essentially created a culture of silence is imperative to understand when discussing the diaspora, as their connections to Rwanda often run deep.

Political Landscape and the Culture of Silence

As previously discussed, issues of ethnicity and the attempted elimination of such identity markers may have created a plethora of new decisive identification terms within Rwanda. The issues of ethnicity, both in Rwanda and among the diaspora, may be tied to the political culture in Rwanda. Ethnicity and politics should not be viewed separately, but as matters that consistently affect each other. Concerns associated with politics appear to affect issues associated with ethnicity, and vice versa. Both appear to play a distinct and important role at attempts at facilitating justice and reconciliation.

In Rwanda

The political landscape in Rwanda suggests an almost total authoritarian regime, spearheaded by President Kagame and the RPF. The regime is perhaps most effective due to their intense level of monitoring regarding the activities of its citizens, journalists (both national and international), academics, and NGOs. The watchful eye of the government appears to be quick to discard those who do not follow the RPF party line.

The crackdown on free speech began shortly after the genocide with 38 international NGOs being ejected and 18 more getting suspended in 1995, largely as a result of their vocal concern over alleged human rights violations. Specifically, UN Special Rapporteur Rene Degni-Segui was fired, as his reports became critical of the new administration. In 2000, the Tutsi survivor organization, Ibuka, was disbanded as a result of their increasing vocal criticism of the government. The vice-president of Ibuka went into exile and it was reported that his brother was assassinated. Additionally, an April 2001 law gave the Rwandan government the ability to control the finances and management of both local and international non-governmental agencies. In June 2004, the “Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry on Genocide Ideology” recommended banning all organizations that they believed produced speech that was considered divisive or promoting genocide ideology. This resulted in the banning of the last independent human rights organization in Rwanda, Liprodhor. Most of Liprodhor leaders fled to Uganda and Burundi and the RPF currently runs Liprodhor operations (Reyntjens, 2010).

Journalists and news reporters have also been frequently targeted as reporting inaccurate information and accused of speech that creates divisiveness, most notably, Reuters correspondent Christian Jeanings in 1997 and Human Rights Watch senior advisor to Africa, the late Alison Des Forges, in 2001. The government accused Des Forges of promoting ethnic divisiveness and stated that her report on the rural poor was baseless and inaccurate (Reyntjens, 2010).

Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International have consistently published reports regarding the lack of political transparency and human rights violations in Rwanda, and in turn have been consistently accused by the government as producing

inaccurate documents (Human Rights Watch, 2014). More dramatically, the government has accused Amnesty International of harboring genocidal ideology. In August of 2008, the Rwandan government accused both Voice of America (VOA) and the British Broadcasting Company (BBC) of attempting to “destroy the unity of Rwandans” (Reyntjens, 2010). In early 2009 the government banned the Kinyarwanda edition of the BBC for two months and both BBC and VOA were again threatened with sanctions in mid-2009.

Reports by national and international bodies have been met with similar hostility from the Rwandan government. In July 2000, an International Panel of Eminent Persons (IPEP), commissioned by the OAU to investigate genocide, produced a report that was critical of the RPF, particularly surrounding the alleged killings conducted by the RPF before, during, and after the genocide. The Rwandan government was quick to slander the report and suggested that the report utilized what the government considered “revisionist literature.” Additionally, the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) produced a report that, while complimentary of the Rwandan government on a variety of issues, was also critical of the political landscape in Rwanda. President Kagame again claimed that the report was fact less and that there was ample political space within Rwanda. In the 2005 U.S. Department of State’s *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices*, Rwanda was listed as having limited political freedom and outlined issues related to political detainees. Kagame responded by stating that the report was based on subjective opinions and claimed that there were no political detainees being held in Rwanda (Reyntjens, 2010).

In addition to the attempts at silencing journalists and discrediting research organizations, the Rwandan government has put in place a variety of measures to limit the freedom of political expression within Rwanda. Reyntjens (2010) suggests that many politicians and civil servants who worked for the previous regime were willing to work with the RPF-led government in their attempts to rebuild Rwanda. However, this was not welcomed by the new Rwandan government and in 1995 reports surfaced Hutu elites became victims of harassment, imprisonment, and murder. The same fate befell governors, mayors, and judges who did not toe the line of the new RPF government. This pattern soon emerged among Tutsi and RPF members who were in disagreement with some of the policies and practices of the government. In 2000, the President (and RPF leader), Prime Minister, and Speaker of Parliament were forced to resign based on contrary views from the party as a whole. In May 2001, the former President created a new political party, the Parti Democratique pour le Renouveau-Ubuyanja (PDR). He, along with the former Prime Minister, was placed under house arrest. Gratien Munyarubuga, a PDR leader, was assassinated and Major Frank Bizimungu disappeared (Reyntjens, 2010).

Organic Law 2003 prohibits the political parties from any discussion or production of information that can be considered “divisive.” The main opposition party, Le Mouvement Democratique Republicain (LMDR) was outlawed in 2003. With the exception of LMDR, other political parties in opposition to the current administration are technically allowed; however, many political opponents had been placed on house arrest for accusations of divisiveness, while others have been strategically exiled and imprisoned (Beswick, 2010). President Kagame won the presidential re-election in 2003

by an overwhelming 95% of votes. A European Union observer mission reported ballot box stuffing, intimidation, fraud, and lack of secrecy in the voting process. In 2008, the RPF received over 98% of the general vote. However, it appears the RPF-led government understood the difficulty of portraying this astronomical number as a result of a democratic election, and reduced the number to 78% during the announcement of the official election results (Reyntjens, 2010). They then “gave” a handful of seats in Parliament to opposition parties.

In 2009, PS—Imberakure, an opposition party, was officially registered. However, two additional parties, the Democratic Green Party and Forces Democratiques Unifiees (FDU) were denied registration. Reyntjens (2010) suggests that this issue ignited a public debate within Rwanda regarding the totalitarian regime of Kagame and the lack of political space within Rwanda. It is alleged that the RPF responded by threatening party leaders and incarcerating and murdering opposition leaders and independent journalists. Kagame and the Rwandan government maintained that there was ample political space for all political parties. In August of 2010, Rwandans again showed up in masses at the polls, reflected in a 98% turnout. Not surprisingly, 93% voted for President Kagame (Amnesty International, 2010). One must wonder if this represents national unity and support for Kagame and the RPF, or a fear of dissention. Reyntjens (2010) suggests, “Rwandans know what is expected of them” (p. 12).

More to the point, Kagame now has the authority to run for a third term. Article 101 of the Rwandan constitution states that presidents may only hold office for two 7-year terms. During July 2015, both houses of Parliament voted in favor of altering the constitution so that Kagame could run for a third term. Approved governmental

consultations were conducted in all 416 sectors of Rwanda to determine if the general citizenry supported such a constitutional amendment. Government-controlled media (primarily the New Times newspaper) reports that 3.7 million Rwandans (60% of voters) signed the petition to alter Article 101. Furthermore, the government claims that in all consultations held, only 10 Rwandans were identified as opposing the constitutional amendment (Oropo, 2015). This report was submitted to Parliament on August 10, 2015. A constitutional amendment was recently approved.

Perhaps where the Rwandan government is so effective at its control over its citizens is in the ambiguity of language regarding what is legal and what is not. What is clear is that the laws enacted stifle political opposition and free speech. What is not clear is the actual definition of “divisiveness” or “divisionism” utilized in Rwandan law to arrest and imprison individuals and to eliminate various NGOs and independent media sources. The 2010 Amnesty International Report *Safer to Stay Silent* noted the “vague legal framework which is misused to criminalize criticism of the government and legitimate dissent” (p. 1) and suggested that this is done by lumping any contradictory or anti-RPF speech under sectarianism laws.

To further contextualize the power of the RPF government, consider that Article 3 of the 2003 Rwandan constitution outlines characteristics of the crime of genocide ideology. Specifically, Section 2 of Article 3 states the following are illegal:

Marginalizing, laughing at one’s misfortune, defaming, mocking, boasting, despising, degrading, creating confusion aiming at negating the genocide which occurred, stirring up ill feelings, taking revenge, altering testimony or evidence for the genocide which occurred.

Vague language, such as “stirring up ill feelings” or “laughing at one’s misfortune” gives the Rwandan government a vast amount of leeway regarding what is

considered genocide ideology. Should an individual, organization, or media outlet voice disgruntled feelings about the current administration, it may be interpreted as “stirring up ill feelings,” regardless what the voiced concerns may be about. Furthermore, Amnesty International found that not only did the government not officially define divisionism, but found interviewing Rwandan lawyers and human rights workers that they themselves were unable to specifically define what actions constituted divisionism or genocide ideology. However, they did note that, in 2009, the Minister of Justice to the African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights stated that

Divisionism is though generally understood as the use of any speech, written statement or action that is likely to divide people or spark conflicts among people, or cause an uprising which might degenerate in strife among people based on discrimination. (Amnesty International, 2010, p. 8)

It is concerning that the government acknowledges no technical term and legal experts are unable to operationally define terms that result in imprisonment, yet it is expected that members of general citizenry shall understand what actions constitute these terms.

Additionally, four parliamentary commissions were conducted from 2003 to 2008 in an effort to investigate alleged division and genocidal ideology. The first commission, conducted in 2003, defined *divisionism* to include any opposition to governmental policies. The second commission, established in early 2004, expanded the definition of *genocide ideology* to include the actions of NGOs, or any organizations that supported ideals that may promote divisionism. The third commission, enacted in June 2006, defined genocide ideology to include the vocal criticism of lack of free speech specifically as it relates to the media. The fourth commission, in 2008, identified genocide ideology to include negative comments to survivors, stealing school materials of survivors, and defecating in the beds of survivors (Amnesty International, 2010).

Among the Diaspora

Due to the intense level of monitoring and control from the Rwandan government for those who remain in Rwanda, it appears that there is a residual culture of silence among the diaspora. Because of the close connection to home and the level of nationalism many members of the Rwanda diaspora believe that what occurs in Rwanda has a residual effect, including fears (whether imagined or real) associated with speaking out about the government. Members of the diaspora are well aware of what is going on in Rwanda regarding the elimination of political opposition and independent media. The Rwandan government appears to be aware of the fears of the diaspora and has categorized them based on their ability to support the Kagame administration and contribute to his regime, or to be “rehabilitated” to do so (Turner, 2013). Furthermore, the Rwandan government has created very specific programs to “reeducate” members of the diaspora, including programs to come in person and witness the remarkable actions of the Kagame administration.

While there is an abundance of literature outlining the monitoring of those in Rwanda by the government, as discussed above, research is just beginning to emerge which addresses this concern among the diaspora. When I contacted Dr. Helen Hintjens, Dr. Filip Reyntjens, and attorney Maia Storm in February 2016, all three encouraged me to read a recently published book authored by journalist Anjan Sundaram. Sundaram was a journalism instructor in Rwanda in 2010, and in his book *Bad News: Last Journalists in a Dictatorship* (2016), he outlines the intense scrutiny and ultimate elimination of independent Rwandan journalists. Sundaram shares the stories of journalists in his class and how many of them quit the course, changed their careers, and/or fled or were forced

to leave Rwanda for fear of persecution by the government. *Bad News* primarily addressed the political climate in Rwanda, but also made note of how the Rwandan government monitors the diaspora. As an example, Sundaram reports on Moses, a Rwandan journalist, who was pursued by the government for his “critical reporting”:

He was to be deployed against his family, some of whom had fled the country and were intellectuals in the Rwandan communities in Europe and America. His task would be to befriend these aunts, uncles, cousins and nephews, and report on them to the governmental services. It was possible that the authorities had caught on to his activities at our program. Sending dissidents for work abroad was a way to neutralize them. The same had happened to General Kayumba, who had been made the ambassador to India. But here they were inflicting a double punishment on Moses by asking him to turn on those who trusted him. (p. 121)

During the course of my telephone interview with Dr. Filip Reyntjens, he recommended that I consider the recent article by Esther Marijnen (2015), which outlines issues of dissent across borders, specifically among members of the Rwandan diaspora. To Dr. Reyntjens’ knowledge, Marijnen’s article is one of the few academic pieces to address this issue. Marijnen’s case study (involving interviews) of the Rwandan diaspora in Brussels during 2011 addresses the issue of dealing with the presence of the Rwandan government among the diaspora. While Marijnen suggests that those in the diaspora have more freedom to speak, she outlines that speaking out can come with very real consequences including

a trigger response from the RPF, usually in the form of the local embassy or prominent exiles loyal to the regime. Hence, contentious Rwandan politics most often occurs beyond the territorial boundaries of Rwanda itself, especially on-line and in the social media. (pp. 287–288)

More specifically, she states “whether real or imagined, however, this presence does have real social and political consequences, reinforcing a lack of social cohesion among much of the Rwanda diaspora living in Brussels” (p. 289). Furthermore, Marijnen discusses the

“‘RPF presence’ among the Rwandan diaspora(s) that reinforces the ‘imaginary’ of state verticality and encompassment by the Rwandan government, and as such wants to control and incorporate all localities produced in the diaspora” (Marijnen, 2015, p. 303).

Marijnen (2015) not only addresses the potential monitoring among the diaspora, but how this may impede social cohesion, which certainly would limit facilitation of justice and reconciliation. In fact, one of the main goals of the Rwandan government is to “reconstruct Rwanda and thereby also the diaspora . . . the RPF continues to see the existence of refugees as an existential threat to its hegemonic project” (Marijnen, 2015, p. 292).

To this end, Turner (2013) suggests that the Rwandan diaspora is separated into three categories by the state: members who support the works of the Kagame administration, those who remain skeptical and may be converted, and those who remain hostile toward the government and are not capable of “rehabilitation” (p. 266). However, Marijnen (2015) outlines a more specific categorization of the diaspora by the state as dictated by the Rwandan Diaspora Policy. The first group includes those who fled Rwanda between 1959 and 1994 due to violence and hostility. This group is subdivided into two groups, positive and negative. The “negative” group includes those who left Rwandan during 1959–1994 and are considered “subversive,” by spreading genocidal ideology or encouraging diaspora members to be critical of the Rwandan government. The “positive” group includes descendants of refugees who fled Rwanda in 1959 and are frequently cited as “victims.” They are defined by the Diaspora Policy as offspring of those who left Rwanda for economical or other educational purposes—essentially, those that constitute the “brain drain” of Rwanda (Nnaemeka, 2007). Members of this group

are highly sought after by the Rwandan government, as they are seen as being well positioned to contribute financially in the rebuilding of the country. The third and final group defined by the Diaspora Policy includes descendants of refugees and Rwandans that are born to foreigners. Marijnen notes that the Rwandan Diaspora Policy publicly acknowledges that there is a lack of unity and community cohesion among members of the diaspora, but attributes this to false information and the spreading of genocide ideology.

Marijnen (2015) further notes that the lack of social cohesion among the diaspora is partially the result of ethnic boundaries. However, the current dominant public boundary within “the diaspora” is political. They divide themselves often into “pro-Kagame,” “anti-Kagame,” and “those that ‘do not care’ sets of groups” (p. 297). Not surprisingly, ethnic and political boundaries tend to be blurred. Marijnen found that while individuals among the diaspora may work and live near those of different Rwandan ethnicities, there still existed a deep level of mistrust, running congruently along ethnic and political lines. While they may coexist peacefully, they are not ready to create meaningful relationships among one another.

Engaging the Diaspora

In an attempt to unite members of the diaspora, the Rwandan government initiated an “Itorero” program. The first iteration of the program specifically addressed to younger members of the diaspora in Belgium and took the form of a weeklong workshop in 2010. It drew together eighty young adults in an attempt to provide them with the “correct” information about Rwanda and encouraged them to think positively about their home country. Students were lectured on Rwandan history, culture, and the government-

approved version of Rwanda politics (“80 attend Itorero 2010 in Belgium,” 2010).

Itorero programs occur annually and have been hosted in Belgium as well as Rwanda. In 2013, youth members (ages 18–35) of the Rwandan diaspora from locations throughout the world were invited to Rwanda to participate in an in-country Itorero program. This Itorero was held at a military training camp in an eastern province.

Additionally, a “Come and See” program was created, where members of the diaspora who appeared skeptical of the works of Kagame could return to Rwanda and experience firsthand the improvements that had been made. This program was also initially offered to members of the diaspora in Belgium, the only criterion being they had not visited Rwanda in 15 years. President Kagame assured diaspora members that the state would cover the expenses in their visit. Upon entering Rwanda, diaspora members were greeted personally by Kagame and over the course of their stay were provided VIP treatment (Marijnen, 2015). The “Come and See” program has been offered to diaspora members in a variety of locations throughout the world.

In Rwanda, specific camps, called *Ingando*, have been created. Ingando translates to “going to stay in a place far from one’s home.” The official claims of these camps is that they are “programs of peace” created to clarify Rwanda history, promote patriotism, and fight genocidal ideology (Mgbako, 2005). However, it is not uncommon for dissenters in Rwanda to be forced to attend Ingando, including those tried by gacaca, and those members of the diaspora who choose to return. While Ingando states that its goal is to promote peace, members of the diaspora alluded during interviews that they believed that the camps were a way to recreate history to Kagame’s liking (Reyntjens, 2016).

Attempts continue to be made to engage the Rwandan diaspora. It appears that this is often done by hosting programs, both in diaspora locations and Rwanda, that provide “correct” versions of Rwandan history, current politics, and encourage diaspora members to contribute to their home country in a variety of capacities. This is most frequently done with the Rwanda diaspora in Europe, which is much larger than the diaspora in the United States and Canada. Discussion will now focus on members of the Rwandan diaspora in the United States and Canada.

The Rwandan Diaspora in the United States and Canada

The terms *diaspora* and *transnationalism* are often used interchangeably, but Haider (2014) suggests that transnationalism is an umbrella term under which diaspora falls. Transnationalism is essentially the study of both how migrants live and how they maintain connections with their home country. Diaspora, more specifically, refers to a particular community of migrants. Brubaker (2006) outlines three specific criteria for a population to be considered a diaspora. First, dispersion is forced, often the result of a traumatic event in the homeland, and occurs across state borders. Brubaker also suggests that this includes “dispersion in semantic and conceptual space” (p. 5). Second, there must be an orientation to a real or imagined homeland (p. 5). This homeland provides a very real sense of identity and value for diaspora members and often fosters deep-seated notions of loyalty. Lastly, diaspora create boundary maintenance within their host country by both honoring the unique culture and identity provided there, as well as striving to preserve an identity distinct from that of their host country (p. 6).

Based on these criteria, Rwandans living in the United States and Canada post-genocide do indeed qualify as a diaspora. They largely arrived in both locations as a

result of the genocide, either as forced political refugees or due to “traumatic dispersion.” There is also a remaining homeland orientation and connection with Rwanda, which will be discussed. Finally, there is boundary-maintenance and an attempt to retain a Rwandan identity, as evident by the commonality of Rwandans to relocate to areas where other Rwandans live and by their attempts to maintain their identity through membership in cultural and ethnic based groups.

Rwandan Diaspora in Canada

From 1991 to 1997, Canada provided residency for 609 Rwandan refugees. However, the 2006 Canadian census indicates that there are approximately 3,440 Rwandans who have permanent residency. The most recent data regarding total immigration for Canada reflects that from 2007 to 2012 approximately 2,177 Rwandans were granted permanent residency (Government of Canada, 2014). According to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, 2014), in 2014 there were approximately 1,647 Rwandan refugees in Canada and 445 asylum seekers. Total estimates then suggest there are approximately 5,600–7,700 Rwandans living in Canada. Per the limited research conducted by scholars on the Rwandan diaspora in Canada, as well as available information about specific Rwandan diaspora organizations, it appears that the majority of Rwandans have settled in four Canadian cities: Ottawa, Montreal, Toronto, and Edmonton. However, there are no official data which reflect specific locations, the projected number of Rwandans with temporary residency, or those who have obtained Canadian citizenship.

There are a variety of organizations in Canada created by members of the Rwandan diaspora in attempts to maintain their Rwandan culture and heritage, as well as

to promote justice and reconciliation among one another. It is important to discuss these organizations for two specific reasons. First, it is essentially the only way to begin to identify diaspora locations. There is no official list of diaspora locations and identifying diaspora organizations provided the most comprehensive understanding of their locations. Second, it provides verification that one of the primary goals of the identified diaspora organizations was to address issues of justice and reconciliation. This suggests that such may be a primary goal of other diaspora organizations throughout Canada.

There are also organizations created by members of the Rwandan diaspora in Canada that promote and maintain connections and relationships with their country of origin. Many of these organizations do not address only one of the above listed objectives, but rather encompass all three. An extensive search of the Internet, along with antidotal evidence from research informants, has yielded information about a variety of organizations. The summary of such organization below is illustrative.

Ottawa

In January of 2005, two separate African organizations, the Association of Higher Education and Development (AHEAD), and the South African Rainbow Association – Ottawa (SARA), met at the South African High Commission, and attempted to unite all the African diaspora organizations and individuals in the National Capital Region into one cohesive association. This meeting resulted in the creation of the African Diaspora Association of Canada, whose mission is “to provide a forum for Canadians of African Caribbean descent to build a network of action-oriented individuals and groups in support of our communities in Africa, the Caribbean and Canada.” Their mandate is not only contribute to Canadian society, but to create and maintain partnerships that benefit

African communities in Africa, the Caribbean, and Canada (African Diaspora Association of Canada, 2014).

Montreal

The “Diaspora Rwanda Montreal” organization states their main objective is to create an environment enabling all Rwandans living in Montreal to maintain a sustainable relationship with their home country, primarily for the purpose of assisting with the national development of Rwanda. No information regarding membership size was available. It appears that the Diaspora Rwanda Montreal organization is focused solely on the relationship between the diaspora and Rwanda, specifically how the diaspora may provide aid for those living in Rwanda. The official Republic of Rwanda website reflects “Diaspora General Directorate” and a “diaspora-association” section, but the web page is currently under “construction.” It is unclear if and how the Diaspora Rwandan Montreal affects development in Rwanda and if it is involved in any sort of partnership with the Rwandan government.

However, the Rwandan Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation has created a program called Migration for Development for Africa (MIDA), which attempts to address the issue of “brain drain” in African countries through the creation and strengthening of sustainable links between African Diaspora and their countries of origin. It would appear that MIDA would reach out extensively to Rwandan diaspora throughout the world, particularly in highly developed and industrialized nations. Based on lack of available information, it is unclear if MIDA and the Diaspora Rwandan Montreal have any sort of relationship.

PAGE-Rwanda was created in 1994 by Canadians of Rwandan origin who lost loved ones during the genocide. The organization was approved by the government of Quebec on October 27, 1994, and received approval as a charitable organization on March 10, 2010 (PAGE-Rwanda, 2014). PAGE-Rwanda states that the goal of the association is help keep the memory of the genocide alive and to help survivors in combatting impunity. Via the PAGE-Rwanda website, the official goals of the organization include:

1. Establish/maintain services and projects aimed at alleviating poverty of refugees and immigrant survivors on the genocide living in Quebec and elsewhere in Canada, as well as address the need of orphaned children. This includes the provision of necessities as well as emergency psychological services responding the specific cultural and emotional sensibilities of refugees.
2. Provide aide regarding immigration services for Rwandans living in Canada.
3. Create and maintain partnerships with academia and other research institutions to promote scientific research regarding topics of genocide, violence and racial discrimination.
4. Establish/maintain vocational schools for the survived orphans.
5. Obtain donations to address the above mentioned purposes and administer such gifts in Quebec and elsewhere.
6. Provide funds to “qualified donees” for the above mentioned purposes.

While there is no specific information regarding the number of members in the PAGE-Rwanda diaspora organization, it appears that it is an extremely organized organization. Not only is it the oldest diaspora organization located in Canada, but they also have official approval from the government as well as a registered non-profit status.

Toronto

When interviewing members of the Rwandan diaspora located in Ontario, Owen (2009) noted that there were at least four diaspora specific organizations in the region:

Humura, the Rwandan Social Services and Family Counselling Organization (RSSFC), the Rwandan Association of Ottawa-Gatineau, and the Communauté des Immigrants de la Région d'Ottawa-Gatineau (CIRO). Humura is an organization made up of genocide survivors and works to keep the memory of the genocide alive and to honor victims. RSSFC is a non-profit organization that provides assistance to Rwandan immigrants who are new to Canada to assist with their transition. Owen notes that there is little information regarding both the Rwandan Association of Ottawa-Gatineau and CIRO.

Edmonton

The Rwandan Edmonton Diaspora (2014) maintains a website and reports membership of 13 individuals. According to the organization's website, its philosophy is to invest in community cohesion within Canada, and to focus on providing support regarding national development in Rwanda. The following pillars continue to shape the existence and performance of the Rwandan Diaspora in Edmonton.

1. To promote understanding and cooperation among Rwandans in Edmonton and Alberta at large.
2. To welcome and assist Rwandan newcomers to Edmonton in their settlement here.
3. To assist members of the Rwandan Diaspora community who may encounter calamity or unforeseen financial hardship.
4. To establish and maintain educational, cultural and information resources on Rwanda to benefit our community members.
5. To promote awareness and involvement of the Rwandan Edmonton Diaspora Community in the economic development of their mother country (Rwanda); and
6. To provide a forum for Rwandese and all those interested in Rwanda to exchange ideas and share experiences.

While the above organizations may not represent a comprehensive list of Rwandan diaspora organizations within Canada, they do suggest that diaspora organizations do at least exist and with the appearance of organization and frequency. Furthermore, the organizations have very closely related objectives and goals to support each other socially and foster notions of cultural identity, as well as to play an important role in the economic development of Rwanda. This transnationalism is evident in all the listed organizations and is perhaps why the existing (though sparse) literature focuses so heavily on the diaspora relationship with Rwanda.

Rwanda Diaspora in the United States

According to the 2000 United States Census, approximately 1,956 Rwandan-born individuals resided in the United States, 280 of which have become naturalized citizens. Of the remaining 1,690, 1,425 (or 72.5%) entered the United States between 1990 and 2000, suggesting the largest immigration wave occurred in the decade encompassing the genocide. The 2010 U.S. Census does not give immigration information from specific countries. However, the American Community Surveys Brief (2008-2012), conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau (2014), suggests that in 2012 approximately 7,000 Rwandan-born individuals resided with the United States. Of the 7,000, approximately 1,020 are refugees and 445 are asylum seekers (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2014).

While this approximate number is somewhat larger than the Canada diaspora, there is less known about this particular diaspora. After a through database search, I was able to identify the Rwandan Diaspora US, Rwandan Diaspora in Midwest, Rwanda Diaspora Global Network, and Rwanda Diaspora Network USA organizations. None of

these organizations, only two of which had websites, outlined specific mission statements or purposes.

Research on Rwandan Diaspora in the West

While diaspora organizations exist, initiating or solidifying contact with diaspora members proves continuously difficult. In one of the few pieces of research addressing the specific experiences of the Rwandan diaspora in the geographical West, Owen (2009) reports on her findings of in-depth interviews with six members of the Rwandan diaspora in the Ottawa-Gatineau region of Canada. While relevant, as it was one of the few pieces of research on this topic, the findings of this work must be handled with caution given the low sample size. Nonetheless, Owen found that, while respondents participated in individual level interactions with members of the Rwandan diaspora of different ethnic/political affiliations, there remained “community level polarization, present in the diaspora, similar to that in Rwanda” (p. 69). She notes that this divisionism within the diaspora, as well as within Rwanda proper, may be a result of “the suppression of ethnic identities and the ongoing immunity granted to the Rwandan Patriot Front by the government” (p. 105). Owen further found that the Rwandan diaspora located within this region maintained strong ties with their national and ethnic identities, and were very much tuned in to the political landscape of their home country.

While Owen’s (2009) research focuses on issues of ethnicity and how it molds experiences and encounters, my research focuses on how justice and reconciliation are achieved among the Rwanda diaspora. Doing so obviously entails notions of ethnicity. While there is research on other diaspora throughout the world, which will be discussed below, none have addressed my specific research question. Generally speaking, these

other studies focused almost exclusively on the relationship between the diaspora and transitional justice with the home country. This lack of research has been noted by a variety of authors and recommendations for this particular type of research has been suggested (Haider, 2014; Rimmer, 2010).

Also telling is that Owen's (2009) research is the only piece of literature that I have identified to date which specifically focuses on the Rwandan diaspora in Canada and their experiences and perceptions of one another. Indeed, tracking and evaluation work on the Rwandan diaspora is just beginning to emerge; a primary source of such work is the Diasporas Dialogues project out of Portland State University. The Diaspora Dialogues project focuses primarily on providing training to members of a variety of diaspora groups on how to facilitate dialogue and the peace building process within their communities. The focus of this project appears to be on actually training, not specifically on identifying the particular problems among the diaspora (Tint et al., 2014).

Diaspora Throughout the World

As so little literature addresses the Rwandan diaspora, it is important to consult other literatures on diaspora throughout the world. This provides an understanding of how a variety of diaspora engage within their new locations as well as their connections to the home country. Truth commissions in Sierra Leone and East Timor attempted to engage diaspora members living in a variety of countries. The final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Sierra Leone included the statements of experiences of 175 refugees living abroad. The Liberian Truth and Reconciliation Commission (LTRC) also included the experiences and statements of Liberian diaspora members throughout the world, which resulted in public hearings in a variety of cities worldwide.

Interestingly, the LTRC also revealed that tension and division existed among the Liberia diaspora located within the United States and indicated that this had “developed into a new form on infighting and resentment found among some community members” (Young & Park, 2009, p. 359). In 2011, The Kenyan Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission conducted interviews with members of the Kenyan diaspora located in Uganda to determine if they could be included in the transitional justice process, and Zimbabweans in numerous European countries have been contacted by Zimbabwe NGOs to inquire as to their potential participation in transitional justice measures. However, the actual degree of participation of members of the Kenyan and Zimbabwean diaspora in transition justice processes in their home country is unknown.

The above attempts at including diaspora in transitional justice mechanisms suggest that some countries understand the importance of justice and reconciliation for those living outside their home countries. However, the attempts are few and far between, and it is unclear whether these attempts are done to secure social, political, and economic support from diaspora members. As noted, the main transitional justice apparatus for Rwanda was the gacaca courts, which likely excluded diaspora members from playing a role in the process, specifically if they vacated Rwanda shortly after the genocide and prior to the creation of the courts.

Haider (2014) also notes that diaspora themselves have reached out to transitional justice apparatuses, demanding a seat at the table, and have helped promote justice and reconciliation within their home countries, and even, among one another. Bradley (2012) supports Haider’s statement, suggesting that, “thousands of refugees and IDP’s have challenged their typical marginalization in transitional justice processes by participating

in these efforts as witnesses, claimants, beneficiaries, and leaders in the push for accountability” (p. 1). For example, in the 1990s the Haitian diaspora helped facilitated the implementation of the Truth Commission for Haiti and participated in the commission from abroad. Internationally displaced persons and refugees from Guatemala also recorded testimonies of life stories from diaspora members which were represented in the official report. Haider (2014), citing Mey (2008), also notes that members of the Iraqi diaspora located within the United States played a part in developing reparation programs for victims.

While we see numerous examples of transitional justice relationships between diaspora and home countries, very little literature exists on how diaspora members have attempted to achieve justice and reconciliation among one another. In one of the few examples, Haider (2014) notes that the *Fragments* project in Toronto, a specific transitional justice initiative, encouraged a variety of African diaspora members to “submit artifacts that represented their personal narratives and micro-truths” that were then presented at an exhibit which “encouraged support and interaction among diaspora members” (p. 215). As she states, that “diaspora communities have engaged in various other transnational activities aimed explicitly at processes of reconciliation and peacebuilding among themselves and in the home country” (p. 219), and notes that initiatives, while often short-lived, have been created by Australian and Canadian Sri Lankan NGOs to encourage dialog between diaspora members as well as encourage dialogue between members of the diaspora and their home country. Initiatives have also been created for the Ethiopian diaspora in the United States between 1993 and 2003;

George Mason University provided workshops aimed at addressing conflict and the building of relationships among the diaspora.

Diaspora members often come together in attempts to honor their language, culture, and to assist each other with the assimilation process, particularly those who relocate to smaller cities and towns. They are able to help each other with particular challenges that they face in resettlement to a strange and foreign location, including housing, employment, and identifying other social supports. In the same vein, the memories of violence in their homeland often linger, and this creates distrust and resentment among members of the diaspora. As Tint et al. (2014) state:

This not only impairs successful resettlement, but also buries the trauma and enmity that people have imported, often preventing community healing and a unified diaspora. While mutual interdependence has the potential to unify people across conflict lines, increased fear, trauma, and insecurity related to resettlement can also harden the barriers between conflicted people and groups. (p. 184)

Notably missing in the review of literature is an in-depth discussion of other diaspora throughout the world, particularly the Jewish diaspora. While research certainly exists regarding a variety of topics among different diaspora throughout the world, I have narrowed my review of it. My research focuses on justice and reconciliation among the Rwandan diaspora in the United States and Canada as its own separate entity. While certainly appropriate for comparative studies, there are distinct differences between the Rwandan genocide and others. The stories of Rwandan survivors are complex and detailed with many layers to understand, without comparison to others. When outlining the specificities of the holocaust, King (2012) addresses this particular issue of comparing mass atrocities. He argues that social scientists should not be entirely preoccupied with comparative work of genocide studies that is ultimately something that

should be left up to historians. Rather, social scientists should be attempting to disaggregate the details of the atrocities that happened so as to understand each case as a “*sui generis*” phenomenon.

Indeed, while mass atrocity and surviving genocide is, unfortunately, not an entirely unique experience, there are many aspects of the Rwandan genocide that *make* it unique within the field of genocidal studies, including the efficiency with which the genocide was carried out. This was primarily done by the power of the Rwandan state to mobilization every day, non-governmental or para-military citizens. While the utilization of civilians in carrying out genocide is not unique, the extent to which it was done in Rwanda *is*. The success of the Rwandan genocide was entirely reliant on the micro-level violence of non-military citizens (Straus, 2006).

Also unique was the national response to the genocide. While the international community responded with the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), the vast majority of the responsibility to prosecute offenders and attempt to address justice and reconciliation was left up to the Rwandan government and its citizens (primarily through gacaca courts, where participation was required). Gacaca is considered to be one of the largest and most all-compassing attempts at transitional and restorative justice following mass atrocity, particularly at the national level. While truth and reconciliation committees have been created in countries such as Yugoslavia and South Africa, there is no other example of such an apparatus as gacaca. Because of the effects of gacaca on reconciliation and justice in Rwanda and the residual effect this has had (or not had) on the diaspora, it is important to note that their particular beliefs regarding these issues may be unique in comparison with others who have suffered genocide in other locations.

Additionally (as will be discussed further in the expert findings section), the Rwandan diaspora may be unique from others because of the perceived or real threat of re-victimization by the Kagame administration. This is not to diminish the experience of those living through other wars or imprisonment. However, in addition to witnessing and ultimately surviving a mass atrocity of this scale and swiftness, many Rwandans now believe that they cannot freely talk about their victimization and trauma without fear of retribution from the Rwandan government. This hypervigilance to protect themselves did not end when they left Rwanda. It is something that they have to systematically deal with on a daily basis.

Indeed, the belief among the diaspora regarding the politics of President Kagame, including the perception of being monitored, appears to be somewhat of a unique experience. While news outlets have reported that numerous countries (e.g., Liberia, Pakistan, and Ethiopia) attempt to monitor their diaspora in the United States and Europe, it is unknown to what capacity this monitoring occurs. Further, it is unknown whether the assumption of monitoring is widespread among these diaspora (as it appears to be among the Rwandan diaspora) and if this type of monitoring affects attempts at justice and reconciliation among diaspora members (Horn, 2014; “Liberian Government Denies Spying on Liberians in Diaspora,” 2009; Mazzetti, Schmitt, & Savage, 2011).

Not only did survivor participants in this research live through the horror of genocide and continue to deal with the legacy of it, they are essentially re-victimized through the deep belief that they are not entirely safe from the Rwandan government. They do not feel free to speak without fear for themselves and their families, both inside Rwandan and among the diaspora. Because of this fear, a fear which may not exist

among many other diaspora populations (M. Storm, personal communication, March 8, 2016), their attempts at justice and reconciliation may be quite different than other diaspora members throughout the United States and Canada, and throughout the world.

In short, while genocides share many similarities, I believe that there are unique circumstances surrounding the Rwandan genocide, including the reliance on micro-level aggression during the genocide the required participation in the post-genocide apparatus at facilitating justice and reconciliation, and the connection between Rwandan politics and diaspora members (including perceptions of monitoring). It is the combination of these three issues, including the intertwined nature of each, that make this population unique.

Conclusion

Following the Rwandan genocide, justice and reconciliation for survivors was of upmost importance but was difficult given that virtual decimation of infrastructure and the close proximity in which survivors lived and worked. The last two chapters have detailed these struggles and applied them to academic constructs of justice and reconciliation. Justice has been defined as the perceived fairness of the judicial process as well as attitudes regarding the outcomes of the judicial process (Pozen et al., 2014). Reconciliation has been demarcated into “thin” and “thick.” Thin reconciliation refers to “peaceful coexistence” and thick reconciliation refers to “a participatory process that promotes social healing and forgiveness” (p. 37).

To address issues of justice and reconciliation, the Rwandan government implemented gacaca courts. However, it has been noted that these courts had numerous procedural issues and may in fact have created additional divisiveness among the

Rwandan population. It remains unknown how and if gacaca courts affected the diaspora and their attempts at justice and reconciliation, or if there are specific mechanisms among the diaspora to address these issues. Additionally, the current political climate, as well as the culture of silence that appears to exist in Rwanda, may have a residual effect on the diaspora. This in turn may affect their attempts at justice and reconciliation among one another. Furthermore, it appears that issues of ethnicity remain in Rwanda and that these issues may have a residual effect on the Rwandan diaspora in the United States and Canada. The diaspora in both locations is active, as evident by the variety of diaspora based organizations, and it appears that they retain a unique Rwandan identity which includes connections to their homeland. This is not a unique phenomenon, as reflected by the variety of different diaspora throughout the world and their activity. The next chapter outlines a methodological approach for conducting research on the Rwandan diaspora in Canada and the United States.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the methodology utilized for this phenomenological research project. In it, I will discuss and defend the application of the life-story method of qualitative interviewing for both in-person and telephone interviews. Discussion of the important issue of speaking for the “other” within the standpoint theory framework will be provided, as well as issues and actions associated with sampling and recruitment. An outline of the data analysis procedure will be presented, including discussion of the reliability and validity of this research.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the Rwandan diaspora located in the United States and Canada have not been studied through a sociological lens (Haider, 2014; Mohamoud, 2005; Owen, 2009), and there is no existing research regarding their specific efforts at attempting to obtain justice and reconciliation specifically among one another. To rectify this gap in research, I conducted telephone and face-to-face interviews with eight members of the Rwandan diaspora located in a variety of locations in the United States and Canada between May 2015 and March 2016. I also conducted telephone interviews with four experts on the Rwandan genocide in February and March 2016.

This research is primarily a phenomenological study, as I am describing the very specific life experiences of members of the Rwandan diaspora, particularly the concept of justice and reconciliation (Creswell, 1998). I am interested in their lived experiences, and how the experiences of surviving genocide, relocating to the geographical West, and

being a part of the Rwandan diaspora, shape their everyday lives. Conversely, I am interested in how their everyday lives, including their identities as members of the Rwandan diaspora, shape their notions of justice and reconciliation. Rwandans had very individual and specific social and genocidal experiences before they relocated, experiences that helped mold their particular notions of justice and reconciliation. Additionally, when they did relocate, they found residence in different types of communities within the geographical West, which may have also contributed to their perceptions of post-genocidal justice. In a true phenomenological sense, I am interested in how these factors shape not only their individual experiences and perceptions of reality, but how their experiences shape a collective conscious or shared meaning with others (Patton, 2002). Primarily, I am asking them about the particular phenomenon of justice and reconciliation for the diaspora, and to fully understand these particular concepts, I must understand their life-story. While my primary focus was on survivor participants, I conducted telephone interviews with four experts on the Rwandan genocide, post-genocide politics, and the Rwandan diaspora. The details of these interviews are provided in the findings chapter.

Life-Story Interview

Within the qualitative framework, I utilized the life-story method of interviewing for both in-person and telephone interviews. Life-story, also sometimes known as life-history, interviews are meant to allow participants to essentially share their lives and stories and to construct their own reality through their explanation (Miller, 2000). I have elected to use the term *life-story* as I feel it is more inclusive, not only addressing the “history” of a respondent but their current life experiences. For example, Owen (2009)

utilized this method while interviewing members of the Rwandan diaspora located in Ottawa, Canada, and found that it is the ideal method for this particular type of research, as it “provides insights from actual members of the diaspora who are negotiating their own way within this particular history” (p. 43). In this way then, life-story interviewing provides the researcher with a micro lens with which to study a community by allowing its individuals members to explain the world around them in their own words. During my own research, I primarily conducted serial interviewing, speaking numerous times with six out of the eight diaspora participants, which resulted in 20–25 hours of interviewing. This allowed me to obtain a more complete and complex understanding of their life histories. Expert interviews also provided additional insight to the multiple facets which encompass the life histories of members of the Rwandan diaspora.

Indeed, questioning specific notions of justice and reconciliation among the diaspora was only a part of what I attempted to understand through this process. To fully grasp perceptions of justice and reconciliation, I needed to understand how individuals came to be members of the diaspora in the first place, which included their lives in Rwanda, their experiences with genocide, and their relocation to Canada and the United States. Moreover, notions of justice and reconciliation are not static or simple concepts, but rather nuanced terms that are likely to reflect various opinions. They are sure to be wrapped within notions of ethnicity, specific experiences during the genocide, composition of family and kin, political notions, and processes of relocation.

Atkinson (2002) notes that life-story interviewing helps researchers understand the range of “possible roles and standards within a community” (p. 128). He also

provides the most comprehensive discussion of the life-story interview and what it includes:

The movement toward life stories, where we tell our own stories in our own words, is a movement toward acknowledging personal truth from the subjective point of view as well as a movement toward the validity of narrative. A life story narrative highlights the most important influences, experiences, circumstances, issues, themes, and lessons of a lifetime. As such, a life story narrative can be both a valuable experience for the person telling the story and successful research endeavor for the one gathering the data. (p. 125)

Members of the Rwandan diaspora throughout Canada and the United States may definitely occupy distinct roles within their communities, which will thus affect their notions of justice and reconciliation. One of the most useful aspects of utilizing the life-story interview is that it allows the researcher to become aware of “social realities that exist outside the story that is described by the story” (Atkinson, 2002, p. 129). This is particularly relevant when studying the diaspora. Research suggests that there may be underlying divisiveness among the Rwandan population, which may affect issues of divisiveness among members of the Rwandan diaspora (Haider, 2014; Owens, 2009). By allowing respondents to tell their life stories, it became possible to examine much more than individual opinions on whether justice and reconciliation had been achieved. I often found deep-seated issues that more thoroughly *explained* why they have the beliefs that they do about justice and reconciliation.

The telling of life-stories was not without its potential conceptual and ethical issues. Life stories can be incredibly complex and this can make achieving clarity in responses somewhat difficult. Interpretation of responses often prove difficult as researchers must take the life-story presented and provide an accurate description of what the respondents stated and the meanings associated with their statements.

While my interviews were conducted using this methodology, they were also semi-structured in nature (general questions were asked regarding notions of justice and reconciliation that allowed for significant flexibility regarding the tone and direction of the interview). In traditional standardized interviews, we assume that the meaning associated with each question is the same for each respondent (Berg, 2004). As Mishler (1986) states, “Mainstream researchers rigidly apply a standard method as if it had universal cross-cultural and trans-historical validity” (p. 23). However, for the purpose of my research, it was imperative that I understood what justice and reconciliation actually mean to each respondent, and the meanings assigned to these concepts varied based on personal experience, ethnic identity, and length of time living in Canada or the United States, occupation, socioeconomic status, connections to the home country, and education level.

By providing flexibility in the flow of my interviews, I was better able to understand the variety of ideas and contexts that each respondent posed, and to take into account cultural contexts. As Berg (1998) states, “Questions used in semi-standard interviews can reflect awareness that individuals understand the world in varying ways. Researchers thus approach the world from the subject’s perspective” (p. 62). Asking rigid, unbending questions would have hindered the capabilities of the respondents to be truly honest about what they believed regarding notions of justice and reconciliation and if these constructs had been achieved among the diaspora.

Serial Interviewing

Due to difficulties with recruitment, the complex nature of my research, and the culture of silence (discussed at length previously) among the Rwandan diaspora in the

United States and Canada, I ended up also relying heavily on serial (or multiple) interviewing. I conducted between two and six interviews with six out of eight participants, depending on their willingness to disclose information. Two participants only participated in one telephone interview, each lasting approximately 75 minutes. It was my intention to speak with these two participants' additional times, and additional interviews were scheduled, but they did not pan out. Total time spent conducting telephone and in-person interviews was 25–30 hours. Some participants began speaking of justice and reconciliation during the later end of the first interview, whereas others spent the first two to three interviews discussing their life story up to the genocide. I honored the participant's process and was willing to speak as many times as they wanted.

Serial interviewing, under the auspices of the life-story methodology, allowed me to develop a deeper understanding of, and appreciation for, of the participants' experience that I might have missed had I conducted only one interview. The details provided by respondents who participated in more than one telephone interview were more in-depth and nuanced than those who participated in only one. I was able to hear about a wide variety of their life experiences—experiences that were not included in my interview questions, but that provided levels of rich understanding regarding their perceptions of justice and reconciliation. Laslett and Rapoport (1975) support this approach, suggesting that serial interviewing allows researchers to understand deeper, beyond the “preliminary description of events and opinions” (p. 968). Indeed, serial interviewing allowed me to not simply receive static definitions or statements about their thoughts on justice and reconciliation, but to hear the many reasons as to why they believed what they did. Additionally, this approach provided me greater opportunity at building trust and rapport

with participants over time, which led to additional understand regarding their feelings on complex topics. This will be discussed further in the next chapter.

I was also able to hone my understanding of the tones, inflections, and pauses in their voice (during both in-person and telephone interviews), as well as the meanings of their body language (in-person interviews). I often took these as cues to determine when the participant might be overwhelmed with the subject matter, and would recommend that we stop there for that particular interview. Having a better understanding of the participants' body language also helped me acknowledge when a participant was not comfortable with certain questions, or when they wished to discuss it further.

Serial interviewing also allowed an opportunity to discuss responses with participants to ensure that I had a solid understanding of their statements. Before each interview (whether in person or via telephone), I would summarize the previous interview with the respondent. This was an excellent time to clarify any misunderstandings that I had, and often led to even greater discussion of the particular topic. Additionally, I had the email addresses of each participant. Generally, there were 7 to 14 days between each interview and I would often email respondents during this time. Emails consisted primarily of discussion points for our next interview, confirmation of interview dates/times, but also led to more personal information about the respondent. I found myself discussing books (primarily Bryan Stephenson's (2014) *Just Mercy*, of which I actually mailed a copy to one respondent), school, American culture and politics, and Canadian culture and politics with respondents. Not only did this create friendships, but allowed yet another level of personal understanding of the respondent, which in turned colored and shaped their responses to interview questions. I believed that the familiarity

I created with each respondent allowed them to respond in more honest and truthful ways. For example, one respondent was very guarded during the first interview, and it was clear by his tone and body language that he was not interested in discussing any personal information with me. However, following this interview and numerous emails, he became much more willing to discuss issues outside of justice and reconciliation, which allowed me to better understanding his particular stance on these issues.

Getting to know participants on a person level allowed me to not simply view them as participants in my research, but as people that I genuinely cared about that had survived something that I could not possibly fathom. I learned of their families, their fears and frustrations, and how most of them were still trying to reconcile their Rwandan identity with their “Western” identity. I heard the sadness in their voices or saw it in their faces when they talked of family that they lost. I appreciated the conflicted nature most of them had when discussing the tenacity of President Kagame regarding economic development in Rwanda, yet his stranglehold on their freedom of speech and assembly. I saw the unyielding spirit that they had, not content to simply survive, but to change the world around them. These are all issues that I would have likely missed had I only interviewed them once. These are issues that provided an irreplaceable level of understanding on how they view justice and reconciliation.

Telephone Versus In-Person Interviewing

Both telephone and in-person interviewing have distinct benefits and I utilized both during the course of my research. Some respondents preferred to speak in person and others wished to talk via telephone. My financial resources for conducting these interviews were limited and thus it was not possible for me to travel for each interview.

By utilizing both in-person and telephone interviews, I honored the preferences of each participant as well as leveraged my financial resources.

Shuy (2002) suggests that telephone interviewing may reduce interviewer effects, including issues associated with race, gender, and age. An additional benefit of telephone interviewing is that it typically allows for a larger sample size, as numerous telephone conversations may be had in the same duration of time it may take to travel to conduct a single in-person interview. Telephone interviewing may also allow for more standardization of interview questions, which may help ensuring research validity. Trier-Bieniek (2012) also suggests that telephone interviews can assist with building rapport between interviewer and respondent, as the interviewer must practice concentrated and focused listening (p. 636). I found this to be particularly accurate during the course of my interviews. I spoke numerous times with the two respondents in Canada, creating a general rapport, before any real discussion of justice or reconciliation occurred.

Additionally, during a telephone interview the researcher is unable to observe body language or other non-verbal cues, and thus must rely completely on how the respondent verbally answers each question. This intense listening can create a rapport between interviewer and respondent as it provides the respondent the opportunity to clearly express their thoughts, opinions and feelings about a particular question. Furthermore, being actively “listened to” may help the respondent feel that the interviewer truly cares about their specific life experiences and their responses to each question. Trier-Bieniek (2012) also suggests that telephone interviews can provide comfort for respondents regarding sensitive subjects, as they are able to participate while in the comfort of their own home or setting of their choosing. Additionally, the distance

and privacy that are provided by telephone interviews may make it easier for respondents to discuss potentially painful and sensitive topics.

This is not to say that in-person interviews do not also have unique qualities that contribute to data validity. Because in-person interviews may provide more opportunity to read verbal and non-verbal clues, I often got a clearer picture if the respondent was having difficulty interpreting the meaning of a question when interviewing in person. It is also possible that the respondents that were interviewed in person were more likely to elaborate on their answers because they may have felt a personal connection with me because of physical presence. Indeed, Shuy (2002) notes that in-person interviews may provide “greater effectiveness with complex issues” regarding sensitive questions because of the “interactive naturalness” that is provided by speaking with someone in person (p. 542). Discussing notions of justice and reconciliation following the genocide is an incredibly personal and often potentially painful topic. Creating a comfortable and natural environment with which to speak may have helped respondents provide more concise and thoughtful responses to the questions I asked.

In-person interviews may also provide self-generated answers, or answers that provide explanation beyond what I anticipated, which can be extremely helpful when discussing abstract notions of “justice” and “reconciliation.” Because these issues have never been specifically researched among the Rwandan diaspora in Canada or the United States, the construction and creation of these terms based on the experiences and definitions of the diaspora is imperative. It is certainly possible that self-generated answers would provide different definitions than those typically provided by citizens living in Rwanda.

I found during the course of both in-person and telephone interviews, that many themes and topics emerged that I did not initially predict, specifically the current culture of Rwanda politics and how this affects both the diaspora socially, as well as impacts their notions of justice and reconciliation. I let participants essentially “lead” our conversations into areas with which they felt comfortable, as well as discussions that they felt were relevant. In every single interview, my specific interview questions were answered, but often through discussion of other, though related, topics.

Speaking for the “Other”

A discussion of speaking for the “other” is perhaps best started with the exploration of standpoint theory. Per Harding (2004),

The starting point of standpoint theory—and its claim that is most often misread—is that in society stratified by race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexuality, some other such politics shaping the very structure of society, the activities of those at the top will organize and set limits on what persons who perform such activities can understand about themselves and the world around them. (p. 43)

In other words, standpoint theory is the understanding that the knowledge that we have and the reality with which we identify is often created by those of power (Naples, 2003). It is not just about the belief in knowledge or reality, but about the actual activities the individuals participate in and what we know about them. Based on standpoint theory, the specific experiences and definitions of justice and reconciliation of the Rwandan diaspora is essentially created from their specific standpoint, which often is shaped by those in positions of power. Furthermore, it is not enough to simply understand justice and reconciliation from the standpoint of those remaining in Rwanda, which is often the case in academic research. These notions must be understood via the standpoint of the diaspora. Those remaining in Rwanda and those located in diaspora

throughout the world have very different experiences and positions, and to lump them together is to assume they have had the same experiences. While understanding the location and “standpoint” of those individuals I am researching is important, I must also understand my location and how it may affect my role as a researcher.

Researching the perceptions of justice and reconciliation among the Rwandan diaspora in Canada and the United States posed an interesting dilemma regarding my role as a researcher and the notion of speaking for others. This was also a consideration during expert interviews. The social location from which an individual speaks can affect both the meaning and truth of what is said, and that it is not truly possible to transcend that location (Alcoff, 1995; Ryen, 2002). As a Western sociologist researching the experience of a diaspora location in relation to an African genocide, my social location can potentially play a huge role in the collected data and in the evaluation of findings. It is not possible for me to truly transcend my location, and understand completely the contexts from which the respondents are speaking. However, this does not mean that I am unable to study this particular population, I must be aware of my limitations in fully understanding and identifying with the respondents experience.

Throughout the course of interviewing members of the Rwandan diaspora, I was keenly aware of my location and the particular context of my own experiences, particularly how different, and limiting, much of my life experience has been. If possible, I felt both closer to and farther away from participants. I felt closer to them and their experiences simply by the sharing of stories. I was deeply humbled, particularly considering the culture of silence that they chose to share their stories with me. I felt their trust in me and my work, as evident by their verbal statements, and the sense of

responsibility they felt in my work. They agreed on the importance of such work and sacrificed emotionally to share their stories with me. Subsequently, this process felt more like collaboration than the work of the single author.

Throughout this process I personally saw the ramifications of the betrayal of the Western world, a world in which I belong. I was overcome by an intense feeling of guilt at what was allowed to happen in Rwanda at many points during the interviews. I saw the visible, and could sense the invisible, scars the genocide left. Simply by being an American, I felt some level of responsibility and shame at what happened. This particular feeling was always present, and kept my location and personal context at the front of my mind.

Another issue often addressed when speaking for the “other” is objectivity—whether or not it is truly required to have meaningful and authentic research. In Naples’ (2004) discussion of the “other,” she notes that “traditional guidelines for ethnographic research include gaining entry, building relationships, and preserving objectivity. In my own experience, I find gaining entry and building relationships automatically interfere with the third guideline, preserving objectivity” (p. 378). Gaining entry and building relationships with participants is a vital and arduous process, specifically when dealing with a vulnerable population that has experienced a traumatic and horrific encounter and/or history. During the interview process, participants often share the most personal and painful details of their lives. Because of this disclosure, a deep level of trust and respect must be created and fostered, and this often leads into emotionality. I do not believe that being emotionally invested in my research, and the individuals participating in it, negatively impacts my work. Rather, I believe that it gives it an additional layer of

authenticity, and brings to the surface the human side of what I am studying. Rwandan genocide survivors are not simply numbers or autonomous research subjects. They are people with histories to share and stories to tell.

However, I do not have the ability or right to speak “for” people in a social context other than my own. This dis-empowers them, and encourages the ideology that people of the “third world” need to be spoken for, when they are quite capable of speaking for themselves. While the diaspora members that have been interviewed are current residents of a geographically West location, they are essentially “hybrid” in nature, assuming both Western identities but holding tightly to their identity as Rwandans. While I may identify with the “Western” part of their identity, I am in no way able to understand the experience of surviving genocide. Furthermore, their current location in the geographical west may have an impact on their understanding and definition of justice and reconciliation which may be quite different from those remaining in Rwanda and as well as in other diaspora locations.

The line between speaking “about” participants and “for” them is often blurry, and speaking about others can be interpreted as speaking for them. Alcoff (1995) suggests that “while there is much theoretical and practical work to be done to develop such alternatives, the practice of speaking for others remains the best option in some existing situations” (p. 111). To be clear, my intent is not to speak “for” the Rwandan diaspora. Rather, I intend to speak *with* them and *about* them, reporting *their* ideas and contexts. I see myself as the instrument through which their ideas are being reported, as a messenger of their stories. As Alcoff states, “Sometimes we do need a ‘messenger’ to advocate for our needs” (p. 116).

On a related front, the greater the difference between interviewer and interviewee is, in terms of race, religion, and socioeconomic status, the harder it may become to produce reliable interviews (Alcoff, 1995). In such settings, it may become easier to unintentionally misrepresent the data. These issues were dealt with through the practice of bracketing and journaling, as well as asking respondents for post analysis feedback. Bracketing is often defined as identifying the beliefs, values, biases, misconceptions, and assumptions that the researcher has about what is being studied (Tufford & Newman, 2012). To the extent that I recognized it, I bracketed throughout the course of research, identifying and acknowledging any potential bias. Additionally, I am a white, adult, American woman interviewing Rwandan diaspora members. These qualities were made apparent at the very onset of the in-person interview and were quickly noted during the telephone interviews—they certainly could have affected answers the respondents provided. Additionally, the differences in contexts of life experience were great, causing further separation between interviewer and interviewee. Respondents might have said things differently to me than if they had been interviewed by someone more similar in nationality, ethnicity, gender, and/or age. These qualities cannot be changed, but have to be noted and addressed.

In discussing efforts to minimize these risks, Briggs (1986) advises that “interviewers attempt to avoid such friction by drawing on the everyday sociolinguistic norms of the respondents in creating a ‘friendly’ atmosphere” (p. 28). These everyday sociolinguistic norms include acts such as introducing oneself and partaking in conversation before and after interviews. Correspondingly, I was open and honest with the respondents about why I was interested in their life stories and what I hoped to

accomplish through my research. I informed respondents about by my long-standing interest and prior research in this area; I have studied the Rwandan genocide in a variety of contexts for six years, and feel that I have a relatively thorough understanding of Rwandan history. This disclosure hopefully proved helpful in creating a comfortable interview environment and in doing so I hope to have minimized any sort of perceived differences, and promoted an environment of comfort and equality.

Mishler's (1986) discussion of the researcher's role in narrative analysis is particularly helpful here. While narrative analysis is not necessarily the objective of this research, his statement regarding research participation is applicable for the type of interviews I conducted: "The interviewer's presence and form of involvement—how she or he listens, attends, encourages, interrupts, digresses, initiates topics, and terminates responses—is integral to a respondent's account" (p. 82). By attentively listening, without excessive interrupting, I hope to have created an environment wherein respondents felt comfortable and at ease.

When discussing research in post-genocide Rwanda, as well as other locations, Thompson (2010) provides two excellent recommendations for researchers who work in highly politicized research settings, both to which she attributes her successes at gaining entry. First, treat participants as whole, complete individuals (Cassell, 1980). As Thompson states, "I took an interest in the whole person, not just the stories of life before, during, and after the genocide" (p. 25). This created trust among participants, and provided evidence that she did not simply view them as research subjects. I attempted to conduct my research in a similar fashion, speaking at great length with participants about things entirely unrelated to my research questions. I felt connected to them in ways that

transcended my research; I looked at them as complete human beings that were not simply individuals who possessed stories necessary for my research.

Second, Thompson (2010) credited her success to the fact that she *was* a foreign researcher and was able to create a space for ordinary citizens to tell their stories (p. 26).

She eloquently writes:

Several participants saw this as important to avoid future violence in Rwanda; others felt a sense of pride that a foreign researcher would spend so much time with them. Many voiced a feeling of anonymous security in sharing experiences with someone with no formal link to Rwanda. The sharing of secrets structured many of my interactions and for many of the people who eventually decided to let me record their life stories, the recognition that I was serious about listening to them meant that people “outside Rwanda” could learn about their everyday struggles and perhaps “another storm like the genocide” could be stopped and their children “won’t have to suffer like we are.” (p. 26)

I found this statement to be particularly applicable to my research as well. While it was painstakingly difficult to find individuals who wanted to participate, those that did were adamant that their participation was a result of their desire to not only have their stories told in a safe (confidential) outlet, but it was an opportunity to tell the world what happened and continues to happen. Additionally, there was also a deep sense of responsibility among participants to do all that they could to prevent a future genocide. For them, participating in my research was a way to accomplish this.

Sampling

At the beginning of my research, I anticipated conducting between 25 and 30 interviews, utilizing a snowball sampling method of recruitment. However, this became difficult due to the political and emotional components of my research. After approximately three months of attempting to recruit members of the diaspora in Canada, I had only identified two willing participants. At this point, I decided to open the

parameters of my research to include members of the Rwandan diaspora in the United States. I believe the sensitive and potentially traumatic nature of speaking about genocidal experiences, as well as the culture of silence due in part of current Rwandan politics, played a large part in why I was unable find 25 to 30 participants who were willing to share their stories.

Based on my past research regarding the Rwandan genocide, I have found Rwandans eager to share their stories (once they agree to do so) in an attempt to honor the memory of the genocide as well as prevent future genocidal occurrences. This remained the case with my current research. Participants were overwhelmingly willing to share information about all facets of their life after agreeing to participate. The difficulty existed in getting individuals to participate to begin with.

Frankly, it appeared people were reluctant to speak. Due to examination of existing literature, and the results of the eight members of the diaspora that I was able to interview, there appears to a culture of silence among members of the Rwandan diaspora that is perceived to be very real, and very misunderstood. It may be assumed that because members of the diaspora reside in locations that honor freedom of speech, they will speak freely of their opinions of justice and reconciliation among one another. I quickly learned, however, that to speak of justice and reconciliation is also to speak of the political landscape within Rwanda. For the majority of participants in this research, that carried very real potential consequences. There is a distinct fear that speaking out against the Kagame regime can have negative consequences for family members still in Rwanda. Additionally, there is a commonly held belief that the arm of President Kagame is far reaching and that there are governmental spies throughout diaspora communities.

Given these early experiences with recruitment, and the realization that serial interviewing might serve the project better, I returned to the qualitative literature regarding a more appropriate sample size. Literature regarding qualitative research, specifically interviewing, is fraught with discussion over appropriate sample sizes. In grounded theory studies, recommendations vary from 20 to 50 participants (Creswell, 2007; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Morse, 2000). However, phenomenological studies, such as my own, are often recommended to have between 6 and 10 participants (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Kuzel, 1999; Morse, 2000). Additionally, case study sample size recommendations vary from 3 to 10 specific cases (Creswell, 2007). As my research is phenomenological and could be considered a case study, my sample size meets the criteria as outlined above (Marshall, Cardon, Poddar, & Fontenot, 2013).

Crouch and McKenzie (2006) discuss the logic of small samples (defined as less than 20) in interview based qualitative research, specifically regarding in-depth interviews of “sensitive topics.” When defending the issue of smaller sample sizes for this type of research, the authors argue that

interview protocols in such research are best analyzed in ways which do not depend on delineated categories and the number of “hits” in them, but rather on thematic strands extracted from the material by dint of the researchers’ interpretive and conceptual efforts. (p. 488)

More specifically, the authors suggest that qualitative methodology should be more focused on finding out *what* things exist as opposed to *how* many such things exist. In addition, the authors suggest the in-depth interviews of sensitive topics can certainly be considered case studies, with each participant representing a separate case. They propose that each “case” can provide new layers of understanding and insight existing and future research (p. 493).

Furthermore, and perhaps most applicable to my own research and sample size, Crouch and McKenzie (2006) state that

a small number of respondents is in no way an approximation of the manner in which “ideally” research is to be done, given the excuse, as it were, of the laborious nature of the activities involved. On the contrary, they argue that this is the way in which analytic, inductive, exploratory studies are best done. (p. 496)

My research is certainly inductive and exploratory, and my sample size adequately provides new and significant insight into the perceptions of justice and reconciliation among the diaspora. Further, Sandelowski (1995), citing Morse (1994), suggests an appropriate sample size for phenomenologies focused on particular experiences, of at least six participants. Sandelowski offers a general principle regarding sampling that pertains specifically to my research:

An adequate sample size in qualitative research is one that permits—by virtue of not being too large—the deep, case-orientated analysis that is a hallmark of all qualitative inquiry, and that results in—by virtue of not being too small—a new and richly textured understanding of experience. (p. 183)

A large part of the debate regarding samples size is the result of saturation and generalizability concerns. O'Reilly and Parkers (2012) address these issues and suggest that researchers should be flexible with sampling and that the focus should be “less on sample size and more on sample adequacy” (p. 192). Specifically, the authors state, “Within qualitative research, sufficiency of sample size is measured by depth of data rather than frequencies and, therefore, samples should consist of participants who best represent the research topic” (p. 193). The authors address the specific constraints and difficulties for researchers with small sample sizes and suggest that this simply indicates that the phenomenon has not been fully understood, not that the data are irrelevant or invalid (p. 193).

Because I conducted in-depth interviews that were rich in information, I wanted to ensure that my sample size did not minimize my ability to conduct a “deep, case orientated analysis.” Furthermore, I needed to ensure that my sample size was not so small that it did not provide new understandings of the particular experience of the Rwandan diaspora in Canada and the United States and their quest for justice and reconciliation. Given such considerations, and in consultation with members of my dissertation committee, I revised my sampling goal to 10 and was able to achieve a sample size of 8. This was a small enough sample that it provided a richly descriptive, in-depth analysis. It was also large enough to allow me to contribute meaningfully to this area of study.

While methodologically sound, I supplemented the small sample of diaspora participants with an additional sample that consisted of four experts. These experts provided commentary regarding justice and reconciliation among the diaspora and, perhaps most importantly, spoke of the political climate in Rwanda and the culture of silence that this may create among the diaspora. They addressed how this culture of silence may affect research sample sizes for this particular population and provided important commentary regarding justification of my sample size.

Recruitment Efforts for Diaspora Interviews

As noted, Canada was originally selected for the site of recruitment not only because it contains a large documented Rwandan diaspora location in the Western world, but also because it is the location of the two “gatekeepers” with whom I had established contact going into this project. Additionally, it is geographically close to my residence and would provide for easier travel if needed. In 2008, I conducted my master’s thesis on

the psychosocial needs of children surviving the 1994 Rwandan genocide by interviewing members of the youth program, *Never Again Rwanda*, located in Kigali, Rwanda. I maintained a personal friendship with a staff member of *Never Again Rwanda*, and he introduced me to a professor of his who lives in Edmonton. That individual is currently pursuing a law degree from the University of Alberta and has close ties with several members of the Rwandan diaspora. I conducted approximately four telephone interviews with this contact. He explained my research to several members of this diaspora, as well as other contacts he had throughout Canada, many of whom had expressed interest in participating in my research. However, repeated attempts to schedule telephone or in-person interviews with other members of the Rwandan diaspora in Edmonton were unsuccessful. We discussed my going to Alberta and he informed me that he knew of three individuals who would participate in an interview. After approximately four months of communication, I was provided with the telephone numbers for three additional members of this diaspora who stated they were interested in participating in an interview. Numerous emails and text messages were sent and were reciprocated, but ultimately no interviews were scheduled.

Additionally, I had contact with an active senior member of the PAGE-Rwandan organization located in Quebec. He expressed interest in participating in my research and I conducted six telephone interviews with him. This specific contact worked as a judge in Rwanda prior to the genocide and before his relocation to Canada. He informed me that he had notified other members of PAGE-Rwanda about my research, and that numerous members had stated that they would be open to participating in both telephone and face-to-face interviews. Again, numerous attempts were made to obtain contact

information from these individuals, but this information was ultimately not provided. During my third telephone interview with this contact, he notified me that the people he had earlier mentioned were very hesitant to speak with a researcher due to the fear of ramifications for their families in Rwanda, should their participation become known. Additionally, I was informed that a few years back numerous members of the diaspora had participated in interviews with an unscrupulous researcher. Because of this negative experience, they were not very willing to participate. While not vocalized, I believe that recruitment was also difficult for confidentiality reasons specifically for the two gatekeepers. If they introduced me or referenced other members of the diaspora to me, then it would become known that they were participating in my research as well.

For research of this nature, snowball sampling was perhaps the only feasible, and appropriate, method to utilize. It is not possible to take a truly random sample of all Rwandan diaspora members located in Canada and the United States. Not only does a database of this information not exist, but many members of the diaspora lived through the 90 days of slaughter in Rwanda and are not particularly keen to relive this experience. Furthermore, trust is often an important issue with members of particular populations that are asked to divulge and relive very traumatic experiences. My gatekeeper in Edmonton was only willing to speak with me following the strong recommendation of my original contact in Rwanda. Additionally, for approximately six months, I maintained a very informal and friendly email communication with both individual gatekeepers. Such informal communication helped build initial rapport and may likely promote trust among future respondents (Trier-Bieniek, 2012). Over this time period, they had the opportunity to get to know me and asked me a variety of questions about my previous and current

research. It was only during the course of these interactions, and several months of them, that either indicated interest in connecting me with other members of the diaspora.

The starting point of sampling for members of the Rwandan diaspora in the United States was more difficult. I had no initial contacts or gatekeepers, and relied heavily on the Internet to initially identify potential subjects. I was able to locate a variety of Rwandan diaspora organizations and placed over 25 emails to different contacts within these organizations beginning in July of 2015. I did not receive any return emails and received four emails that stated that the email addresses were no longer functional. The Rwanda Diaspora Global Network (RDGN) is the largest diaspora organization, with many smaller organizations falling under its umbrella. The RDGN is located in Kigali, and, strikingly, Section II of its constitution states:

The Rwandan Diaspora Global Network shall have its registration and offices in Kigali, Rwanda. The network can open branches in other cities/countries or relocate its main office as may be decided by the Global Convention. It shall be governed by Rwandan Laws.

This statement from the constitution adds another glaring example at the attempts to control the diaspora from afar. Interestingly, I was unable to find any contact information for any Rwandan diaspora locations in the United States or Canada, and the RDGN website listed that links to such organizations were “under construction.” As of February 2016, the website section that listed diaspora organizations stated that it was still “under construction,” but a separate link in an unaffiliated section of the website provided the email address for a member of the Rwandan diaspora located in Dallas, Texas. I sent an email to this particular contact. While he initially expressed interest, email communication ceased and I was unable to secure an interview.

Through an extensive search, I was able to locate a contact through the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) in July of 2015. The AFSC partnered with the Dayton Refugee Justice Program to create local awareness of issues facing African refugee communities. I contacted the director and was put in contact with a Rwandan-born woman who currently works with the city of Dayton, Ohio, on African immigrant issues. She and I communicated rather extensively via email. I tried to highlight my research very generally, so as not to potentially scare her off. As she inquired further, I outlined my more specific research questions. At this point, she made it clear that she did not wish to discuss justice nor reconciliation, and would not discuss Rwandan politics. It should be made clear that at no time did I suggest that Rwandan politics would be a topic of discussion. Interestingly, through the course of interviews with other individuals many months after my contact with her, I was made aware that there existed a relatively large Hutu diaspora pocket in Dayton. This was information I was not privy to before.

A continuous and thorough search of social media identified a variety of Facebook pages that appeared to be representations of diaspora organizations in the United States and Canada. I placed 20 messages via Facebook to diaspora organizations or the organization leaders' private Facebook pages. I did not receive any return messages. I looked through publications and newspapers regarding public events for members of the Rwandan diaspora and took note of any names that were published. I identified contact information for six individuals who were noted in these publications and sent out emails to all six. I received one return email from a potential participant, a Rwandan professor at a university in an eastern province of Canada. He stated that while he still lives in Canada, he was currently visiting Rwanda. He requested that I provide

my questions to him via email, which I did in February 2016. I never received a return email.

I located the contact information of three different members of the Rwandan diaspora in Canada who were relatively vocal about their genocidal experience, either through public advocacy, radio, or music. I received a return email from one potential participant, but he had relocated to the United Kingdom. I received a return response from a female member of the Rwanda diaspora located in Canada who has published on her genocidal experience and operates a radio program. She agreed to participate, but outlined a fee of \$500, which I was unable to pay. She provided me with a “free” option, of answering one question, via email. I returned her correspondence and ultimately did not receive an additional email.

I also attempted contact with staff at the Rwandan embassy in both the United States and in Canada numerous times via email. I believed this might be fruitful, and contacts provided by the embassy would most certainly be individuals who tended to be pro-Kagame, which would help provide a balanced sample. I never received a return email from either embassy.

Grand Rapids, Michigan, is known for having a large immigrant and refugee population, largely as a result of the work of Bethany Christian Services and Lutheran Social Service agencies. Both agencies provide a variety of social services to immigrants and refugees in the greater Grand Rapids area and provide vital case management services. I contacted refugee case managers at both organizations and received a response only from a case manager at Lutheran Social Services. He stated that he would be willing to disseminate a flyer I had created about my research. At this time, I decided

to reword my recruitment language to state that I was interested in the particular experience of the Rwandan diaspora. I did not specifically outline the discussion points of gacaca, as I wondered if this was frightening potential participants due to its political nature. I followed up with this case manager three times. I was not contacted by any Rwandans and no interviews were scheduled. The case manager encouraged me to contact the local Seventh Day Adventist Church, as he believed there was a large Rwandan population who attended.

I attempted contact with four different clergy men and women at churches throughout Michigan in an attempt to identify potential Rwandan congregants. I received one return email from a pastor of a mid-Michigan Seventh Day Adventist Church. After two voice messages, I received a return phone call. I discussed at length my research and the pastor stated that he would be willing to provide his congregants with my information. He cautioned me, however, that he did not believe that many would be interested in participating in such research. He stated that the Rwandan members of his congregation had had a difficult time discussing the genocide even with him, their religious leader. Specifically, he stated that he believed they had feelings of remorse and guilt over the genocide. Although it was not specifically stated, this led me to believe that there may have been a predominantly Hutu population at this particular church. I never received any phone calls or emails from anyone from this particular congregation.

I contacted acquaintances that I had in Rwanda and inquired if they knew any members of the Rwandan diaspora in the United States or Canada who may be interested in participating in my research. One acquaintance connected me with a young Tutsi woman currently residing in New York. She was somewhat famous within the Rwandan

diaspora, as well as in Rwanda proper, as she has published poetry about her particular story of survival and faith. She maintains a strong presence within Rwanda and travels frequently between both countries to operate a Rwandan NGO that assists orphans. She almost immediately responded to my initial email, stating she would be happy to speak with me. However, not long after I received the initial email, I received an email from her organization in Rwanda, inquiring about the specific nature of my research and requesting a document outlining my research questions. I responded with a summary of my research agenda, although I eliminated mention of terms such as *justice/reconciliation*, and highlighted the lived experience of members of the Rwandan diaspora. Many weeks later, I received a return email and an interview was scheduled and conducted.

A graduate colleague within my university department worked at a religious university in the southwestern part of Michigan, a university known to have strong international representation. She connected me to different individuals throughout campus with ties to the international community, one whom provided two contacts that resulted in two successful interviews with one participant. This particular contact thought it was important for me to speak with others in the diaspora, but was very hesitant to refer me to anyone. Again, it seems that he did not want members of the diaspora, some of whom were close friends, to feel like he was “shopping” out their experiences. This colleague also had a Rwandan family member who resided in Michigan. She provided me with his email information and thought that he might be interested in participating in an interview. Email contact was attempted three times with this contact in February and March of 2016. I did not receive a return email.

Also during this time, my dissertation committee chair serendipitously met a local immigration attorney who has an extensive background working with members of the Rwandan diaspora. I made her acquaintance and over the course of several months in the spring and summer of 2015, we maintained contact via email and discussed much of my difficulty in recruiting participants. She overwhelmingly confirmed my experience, noting that members of the Rwandan diaspora seem more fearful than those of other nationalities that she works with. Specifically, she noted, there was a real sense of fear that anything that they said negative about the Rwandan government could affect their families who remained there. She remarked that this fear often hindered her work as their attorney, as their stories often changed. She stated that there was also a deep level of distrust among members of the diaspora, as they were often suspicious that others may be informants for the Kagame administration. Thankfully, through this particular acquaintance, I was introduced to one member of the Rwandan diaspora which resulted in a two successful in-person interviews and extensive email communication.

This participant and I kept in contact from May 2015 to the final writing of this dissertation. He was initially the most hesitant of all participants to speak, however ended up being the participant that was most helpful at assisting me with recruiting others. The majority of his friends and social circle are members of the diaspora, yet he was very selected about whom he referred me to. I think this was “vetting” on his end, essentially making sure he could trust those with whom he put me in contact. In February of 2015, he provided me with the contact information of a friend of his that worked at a religious university in Michigan. He stated that his friend had expressed interest in my research and had agreed to participate. I was provided with his contact

information. I attempted email communication with the potential participants three different times from February to March 2016 and did not receive a return email.

In early February of 2016, this participant provided me the contact information for three different members of the Rwandan diaspora throughout the United States. Interestingly, these potential participants were located in Baltimore, New York City, and North Dakota. All three of these locations were far removed from his own home location. Three emails were sent to each participant during February and March of 2016. I received one return email from the young Rwandan woman located in New York. A telephone interview was scheduled and completed in March 2016.

As evidenced above, it was a tumultuous task identifying members of the Rwandan diaspora who wished to participate in interviews. Not only is there no true formal network which identifies organizations or members, but the variety of potential issues within the diaspora itself proved problematic. Respondents were leery to refer me to others, as it would become known that they had participated. While they were painstakingly open about their experiences, it became evident that they did not want others within their specific diaspora community to know that they were disclosing their stories to me. Even the participant who did refer me to others only referred me to those who lived a great distance from his own location and after eight months of frequent communication.

I relied almost entirely on very random contacts to connect me to the diaspora. These contacts seemed to provide a middle ground, as they were not members of the diaspora themselves but either worked closely or had personal connections to them. It seems that for the majority of participants, this was the safest way to be “referred” to me,

by someone who was close to their diaspora group, but not a member of it. All but one of my participants was identified this way. The one exception was the respondent in Quebec, Canada, who, interestingly enough, is no longer an identified leader of the diaspora organization I originally contacted him through, nor does he live in close proximity to other organization members.

Originally, assumptions were made that sampling of diaspora members might prove difficult. It was understood that the trauma associated with genocide might prevent members from speaking out. Additionally, it was known that there was a small diaspora population in both the United States and Canada, and that there were no real formal networks or databases to access which would connect me with diaspora members. Further, the fact that there is no academic literature regarding this topic suggested that recruitment might be problematic.

However, the vast difficulty I encountered during recruitment was not entirely predictable. Dr. Harry Mika and myself, both of whom have previously studied various issues associated with the Rwandan genocide and have worked in Rwanda, assumed that snowball sampling from my primary gatekeepers in Canada would yield a relatively decent sample size. I did not anticipate to the degree to which members of the diaspora would be frightened, unwilling, or uninterested in speaking. I believe difficulty in recruitment is largely a result of political issues both in Rwanda and among the diaspora that I was simply not aware of. The methodological and substantive issues, as well as potential contributions resulting from this, will be discussed in later chapters.

Recruitment for Expert Interviews

In February of 2016, the sample size of diaspora participants was discussed with Dr. Angela Moe and Dr. Harry Mika. In an attempt to better methodologically justify my sample size, it was determined that expert interviews were a necessary component to my research. The decision to include expert interviews was done with support from Dr. Angela Moe and Dr. Harry Mika, Human Subjects Institutional Review Board (HSIRB) approval (Appendix E), and a separate and amended interview guide was utilized (Appendix D). As will be discussed in the following chapters, these expert interviews provided invaluable insight into sampling issues and provided a more nuanced understanding of Rwandan politics, justice, and reconciliation.

I began contacting experts in February of 2016, focusing heavily on academics who had published extensively on the Rwandan genocide, gacaca courts, and post-genocide issues of ethnicity and politics. I also attempted contact with the few academics who had researched the Rwandan diaspora in the United States and Canada, regardless of their specific research focus. Experts were identified via academic literature review and through my own research experience and previous knowledge of the Rwandan genocide. I attempted contact via email with approximately 15 identified experts in February and March of 2016. Four experts agreed to participate in telephone interviews and these were conducted in February and March of 2016. A detailed discussion of the selection of experts and the findings from their interviews will be provided in the following chapter.

Methodological Issues

While snowball sampling was an appropriate way in which to conduct this specific research, it was clearly not without its issues. Beyond the problems associated

with recruitment noted above, snowball sampling is also susceptible to selection bias. My gatekeepers, as well as those to whom I was referred to, may have entirely different experiences and notions of justice, reconciliation and potential divisiveness than those who are not a part of this study. Additionally, my sample is not representative of all the Rwandan diaspora locations throughout Canada and the United States and each diaspora may have distinct conceptualizations of justice and reconciliation. For example, one of my respondents in the United States encouraged me to attempt to identify diasporas in Ohio and Arizona, as there were large Hutu settlements there. There is no official information regarding this particular diaspora, and while he suggested I contact them, he indicated that he was not the one to refer me to them. Furthermore, I was entirely dependent on my gatekeepers in Canada to connect me to other members of the Rwandan diaspora in Canada. This resulted in no referrals and only two participants in Canada.

Additionally, seven out of eight respondents identified as Tutsi and I was only able to interview three female participants. It is reasonable to assume that the particular experience and ideas of justice and reconciliation are different for Hutu than they are for Tutsi. Similarly, the female experience for genocide survivors (including potential sexual assault and victimization) for members of the Rwandan diaspora in Canada and the United States most certainly will have different issues and challenges that I was unable to fully identify.

Furthermore, there are a variety of other Rwandan diaspora throughout the world, and my study did not include these, which will also limit the generalizability of my findings. However, the purpose of this research is not to provide a comprehensive and

representative sample of all Rwandan diaspora, but to provide an in-depth glimpse into the ideas and beliefs of one sub-set of an entirely neglected population.

Interviews: Consent, Confidentiality, and Coding

Telephone interviews were conducted from my home in DeWitt, Michigan. Each telephone interview lasted between 30 and 90 minutes. In-person interviews took place in a variety of public locations within Michigan, specifically at professional offices and coffee shops. Both the telephone interviews and the face-to-face interviews were recorded with each respondent's permission. I approached this topic from two specific angles: first, by inquiring if gacaca courts have helped them, as a member of the Rwandan diaspora, to achieve justice and reconciliation, and secondly, by inquiring about diaspora-specific apparatuses geared toward promoting justice and reconciliation (see Appendix C) . However, once my interviews began, discussion about their personal lives and Rwandan politics became primary discussion points because these issues fed directly into their perception of justice, reconciliation, and gacaca.

Prior to interviews, consent documents were mailed or emailed to each participant, which clearly stated the nature of the research. This document included a detailed description of the research, the process of interviewing, what the data will be utilized for, tentative length and time for each interview, explanation of confidentiality, and a clause stipulating that their participation is completely voluntary and that they may terminate it at any time. I did not begin telephone or in-person interviews until I had received a signed consent form from the participant or was provided with verbal consent (as was approved by my university's Human Subjects Institutional Review Board).

To ensure confidentiality, a pseudonym was assigned to each participant. French-sounding pseudonyms were given, as many Rwandans have French-sounding names. For the purpose of data collection, as the primary researcher, I was the only individual aware of the names of participants. Such confidentiality is required not only through HSIRB policy but also to facilitate honest and full-disclosures during the interview process. This is particularly important for the highly sensitive nature of the data and the hesitancy of participants.

The entirety of each interview, whether in person or via telephone, was recorded and then transcribed (using the audio recording and standard word-processing program) within 14 days. A graduate student colleague unaffiliated with this project conducted all transcription and understood the sensitivity and confidentiality necessary for this research. I re-read and examined each transcript to identify definitions, examples, and specific experiences regarding justice and reconciliation. I checked transcripts against handwritten notes, which were taken during each telephone interview. Handwritten notes were not taken during in-person interviews so as not to be distracting. I looked for any specific diaspora apparatuses of justice and reconciliation and searched for any statements that provided further clarification regarding these notions.

I coded by hand and did not utilize computer analysis software. I printed out the typed transcripts and coded “justice” and “reconciliation,” by highlighting all conversation that had to do with each of these issues and any other related concepts that seemed common. I compared these with any handwritten notes that were taken during interviews. I was aware that the interviews could have provided unanticipated social constructs and experiences and remained open to themes that developed. Expert

interviews provided additional context to the coding process, largely through more detailed discussion of Rwandan politics. Following each expert interview, I again reviewed each diaspora participant's transcript to ensure that I had not overlooked any potential themes.

Data Analysis

As noted, I primarily attempted to understand notions of “justice” and “reconciliation” during the interview process as a way of determining if these constructs have been achieved among the Rwandan diaspora located in Canada and the United States. I utilized Pozen et al.'s (2014) definitions of justice and reconciliation, as discussed earlier, while remaining open to alternative definitions and interpretations that arose during the interviews. As discussed previously, Simon (2012) demarcates reconciliation into “private” and “social.” Private, or personal, reconciliation refers to the specific psychology of someone involved in genocide. Public, or social, reconciliation, addresses the ability of individuals to coexist without a return to violence. Simon's discussion of social reconciliation is equivalent to Pozen et al.'s “thin” reconciliation. However, he does not demarcate between social reconciliation in such a way that allows for a more detailed understanding of the difference between peaceful coexistence and the creation of meaningful personal relationships among different ethnicities, which may represent a more authentic form of reconciliation. While I did not use Simon's terms of “personal” and “private” reconciliation during the course of my research, I believe that interviews addressed both the private and social aspects of reconciliation among the diaspora. Participants discussed both their personal feelings regarding reconciliation as well as the more broad social implications and struggles.

Again, my objective was to determine if members of the Rwandan diaspora in Canada feel that justice has been achieved, primarily through gacaca courts. More specifically, if this has affected/fostered justice within the diaspora, since it is possible that members of the diaspora were direct victims of the genocide whose perpetrators were tried and sentenced by the gacaca. Even for those who were not direct victims and had no specific experiences with the gacaca courts, this system may have a residual effect on their notions of justice and reconciliation. I further inquired as to any specific justice mechanisms that the diaspora utilizes separate from the gacaca courts. Unexpectedly, the discussion of Rwandan politics played a vital and central role in understanding not only their opinion of gacaca courts, but their ideas regarding justice and reconciliation.

I attempted to understand notions of “thick” and “thin” reconciliation by inquiring as to the nature, duration, and frequency of relationships among other members of the Rwandan diaspora, including those who identify as a different ethnicity (Hutu, Tutsi, or Twa). This allowed me to determine if peaceful coexistence occurred, or if true and meaningful relationships among those of different ethnic identities have transpired. Through this process, I asked respondents to voice their own specific meanings of reconciliation, as this may in fact be different than the definition of reconciliation that is often utilized by those remaining in Rwanda. Additionally, expert interviews shed light on the academic and practitioner perspective of justice and reconciliation among the diaspora.

Reliability and Validity

Reliability and validity have been addressed in various sections of this chapter; however, a few additional remarks are needed. Both reliability and validity can be

difficult in qualitative research, particularly in the life-story interview method. Because we assume that the person who is being interviewed is in fact the “authority” figure regarding his/her life experience and perception, this “demands a standard of reliability and validity that is appropriate to the life story interview as a subjective reflection of the experience in question” (Atkinson, 2002, p. 134). Atkinson further notes that because we are seeking the subjective reality of an individual, that it is more important that their story be “trust worthy” than true/factual. This was a particularly important issue in my research, specifically the perception of the Rwandan politics and the ability of the diaspora to be monitored by the Rwandan government. As will be outlined in the findings section, what is technically true/factual was not as important as what members of the diaspora *believed* to be true/factual.

Atkinson (2002) suggests that perhaps the most important measure for life-story interviewing is internal and external consistency, but that this consistency must also be understood subjectively. Atkinson notes that there are inconsistencies in life and that individual’s perceptions and beliefs change over time. The best way to check internal consistency is to check comments made by the respondent that might appear inconsistent with earlier comments. If I conducted more than one scheduled interview with a respondent, I checked for consistency during previous and later interviews. Internal consistency was checked during a single interview if comments made earlier in the interview contradict statements made later in that same interview. I clarified each statement with the respondent to ensure that I understand his/her meaning in its original context.

Atkinson (2002) further notes external consistency is not always a correct measure of validity because this style of narrative methodology is not necessarily seeking a historical truth, but the specific memories and experiences of an individual. Atkinson suggests that “the narrative approach to the study of lives places emphasis upon internal coherence as experienced by the person, rather than external criteria of truth or validity” (p. 135). Atkinson notes both corroboration and persuasion as two control measures of validity. First, the respondent corroborates and confirms what they have told the interviewer and persuasion addresses the “reasonable and convincing” nature of the story. In other words, is this particular account similar to others who have experienced a similar life-story?

Conclusion

This chapter provided a detailed outline of the methodology utilized for this project. This research is a phenomenological study, utilizing the life-story method of serial qualitative interviewing. Both telephone and in-person interviews were conducted and I have addressed the benefits and potential issues of both. Standpoint theory was employed to understand the specific experiences of members of the Rwandan diaspora in the United States and Canada. Considering this, the notion of speaking for the “other” was addressed. Additionally, discussion of issues associated with sampling, recruitment, reliability, and validity have been provided. Moving forward, the biographies of diaspora participants will be provided as an introduction to the findings of interviews.

CHAPTER IV

BIOGRAPHIES

Because of the relatively small sample size, and the significant time I spent communicating with each respondent, as well as the salience of each of their narratives to my larger research questions, I will begin my findings with a brief biography of each. These biographies vary in length, as some participants chose to disclose more information than others, as well as the obvious concerns over confidentiality involved with each individual. Some of them may also feel disjointed, with there sometimes being gaps of time and experience unaccounted for. This is not an uncommon characteristic in the recollections of mass atrocities (Minow, 1998). Given the complexity of stories, fractured memories, residual effects of trauma, personal decisions on what to share, and the pure lapse of time since the genocide, these biographies are, at best, incomplete. However, they do serve to familiarize the reader on the range of participants in this study as well as contextualize the thematic findings presented later.

To this end, I included all biographical information provided to me by each respondent in an attempt to provide a more complex and detailed understanding of the life-story of each individual and to honor their particular experiences. This is also done in an effort to personalize their statements about issues of justice and reconciliation among the diaspora. As will be discussed, their particular biographies appear to deeply affect these ideas and positions on Rwandan politics, the successes and failures of *gacaca*, and their ideals regarding justice and reconciliation among the diaspora.

The confidentiality of each participant was of great concern when deciding which parts of their biographical stories to share. I wanted to include as much information as possible, while still ensuring their safety and confidentiality. Each participant's name and specific geographical location has been redacted. Additionally, some occupational titles have been given more general names, instead of the specific titles that participants provided me. All other biographical information has been provided. Standpoint theory is employed to understand the specific experiences of members of the Rwandan diaspora in the United States and Canada. Moreover, and sadly, their stories are not entirely unique. Their detailed accounts of living through the genocide mirror accounts of thousands of other Rwandan survivors. Providing their specific genocidal experience does not put them at undue risk for possible identification.

Paul

During the recruitment process, I identified and contacted numerous diaspora organizations in Canada. Paul responded to an email that I had sent to a diaspora organization in an eastern province of Canada. Unbeknownst to me at the time, Paul no longer lived in that location nor was he an active member of the organization. However, he still had access to the organization's email account, and was intrigued by my email. Paul and I spoke five times over the telephone during the summer and fall of 2015. Our telephone calls ranged in duration from 30 minutes to 1 hour. We also communicated via email, sending approximately 40 to 50 emails to one another during that same time frame. Of all the participants in my research, I feel that I got to know Paul best. While he answered, in striking detail, all of my research questions, we also talked about a variety of topics unrelated to my research. He and I spoke of our families, our

schooling, American and Canadian politics, social justice around the world, books we enjoyed reading, and the difficulties of graduate school.

Early on in the interview process, Paul and I maintained a regular schedule wherein I would call him every Friday evening at 8:30 p.m. His children and grandchildren came over every Friday for dinner, and he suggested that I contact him afterward. One evening, I contacted him and his family was still visiting. I apologetically told him that I would be happy to call him at another time, and he quickly dismissed the idea. In fact, he put his 3-year-old granddaughter on the phone and I was able to speak with her briefly in my very broken French. I share this to say that Paul was insistent about the importance of my research and took time away from his family to participate.

Paul is a 60-year-old Tutsi male. In 1994, Paul worked as an attorney in downtown Kigali. He reported that it was customary for Tutsi attorneys to hire personal guards, and on April 7, 1994 one of his guards knocked on his office window and informed him that an armed soldier was waiting outside his gated building to kill him. Paul told his guard, for fear for the guard's life, to open the gate and allow the soldier in. Paul contacted a Hutu Colonel in the military, who had been a family friend for over 20 years. The Colonel immediately sent two soldiers to protect Paul and his family. The soldiers arrived before Paul or his guard was injured.

Paul returned to his home with protective custody. For the next two days, Paul and his family remained protected in their home. On the evening of the second night, Paul was informed by the two soldiers stationed at his home that Paul's family was to be attacked by the militia. Paul contacted his Colonel friend to request more soldiers, but

was told that there were none to spare. The Colonel himself came and retrieved Paul and his family, and they stayed briefly at the Colonel's house. From there, the Colonel transported Paul and his three oldest children to the middle of the country where he reported spending an unknown amount of time hiding in the bush. While in hiding, Paul found someone to help him hide and was able to leave Rwanda and enter Congo. Paul's wife and youngest children did not accompany him, and they found refuge in a camp in central Rwanda.

Following the genocide, Paul returned to Rwanda and was miraculously reunited with his wife and children. However, his extended family was completely wiped out. Over 100 family members, including his parents, siblings, aunts, uncles, and cousins were killed during the genocide. Paul reports he has only one half-sister and one sister-in-law that survived the genocide. Paul resumed his attorney duties following the genocide, and was quickly promoted to judge. He served as a Chief Judge in the traditional Rwandan criminal justice system, but did not work as a judge on gacaca courts. Paul sat on many cases from 1996 to 1998, and dispersed over 2,000 judgments. However, because of the complete decimation of the legal infrastructure, Paul stated that 100,000 accused remained in jail awaiting judgment during this time.

Paul was initially hesitant to discuss why he chose to leave Rwanda in 1998, but later stated that he feared for his family's safety as he was not willing to carry out his professional duties in a way that pleased the new RPF government. As a judge, Paul stated that he was often pressured by the RPF government to hand out unjustified sentences. He also wanted more opportunity, both financially and educationally for his family. He did not believe such opportunities existed in Rwanda. Paul and his family

left Rwanda in early July of 1998. They first arrived in Nairobi, and then quickly departed for Belgium. Paul vividly remembers when he arrived in Canada. He and his family landed in Montreal at 3:00 p.m. and he was immediately surprised by the weather. Paul was under the impression that it was cold year around in Canada, and humorously remembers the strange looks he got at the airport when passengers saw him in his heavy winter coat.

Paul has now lived in Canada for 17 years and has become a Canadian citizen. Both he and his children have reached remarkable achievements. Two of his children have earned bachelor's degrees and three have earned master's degrees. Paul has also earned a master's degree and currently teaches French at a Canadian university. He has begun working toward his Ph.D. and states that he has done this for three primary reasons. First, he wants to show his children that anything is possible for them. Second, he does it in remembrance for all those who died during the genocide—he feels that because he survived, he is obligated to do great things with his life. Lastly, and most importantly to Paul, he is working toward his Ph.D. so that he can help prevent genocide in the future.

Joseph

I was introduced to Joseph from an original contact that I had made in Rwanda when I conducted research for my master's degree in 2008. Joseph and I spoke three times via telephone from May to October 2015. We had scheduled additional phone conversations, but he ended up frequently unavailable at these times. Joseph stated many times that he had numerous individuals who were very interested in participating in my research. A trip to western Canada was scheduled in September, but I was unable to

confirm with the individuals who wished to participate, thus the trip never materialized. However, Joseph put me in contact with three members of the Rwandan diaspora in his area. Unfortunately, these interviews did not occur.

Joseph is a 39-year-old Tutsi male with a loving wife and five young children. Unlike Paul, Joseph did not discuss his experience during the genocide. However, this is likely because Joseph was a refugee living outside of the country at the time of the genocide. This was not entirely uncommon, as many Tutsi fled Rwanda during the genocide in the 1950s and became residents of Uganda and other neighboring countries. Joseph's family returned to Rwanda shortly after the genocide ended in July 1994. Like Paul, Joseph worked in a governmental capacity for the majority of his life. He first worked as a teacher, instructing military officers who had not finished high school. Following his work as a teacher, Paul worked as an Auditor for the Rwandan Revenue of Authority, which is similar to the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) in the United States. As part of a very competitive international program, Joseph was able to go to the United Kingdom and work toward his master's degree. He also took classes in Uganda, as students were able to work toward a degree while taking classes at participating universities. Following his graduation, he returned to Rwanda and continued his work with the Revenue Authority. Joseph effectively worked his way up within the organization and three years after completing his master's degree, he was assigned to the Office of the President. Joseph was given the position of Policy Analyst in charge of economics.

Joseph worked closely with politicians and policy makers, primarily in the Capacity Building Program. This program primarily worked to create organizational

effectiveness within the government, specifically with human services programs. Joseph was charged with ensuring that social and human resource type programs were economically effective and efficient. He worked in this position until he left for Canada in 2009.

Joseph relocated to a western province of Canada. His reasons for leaving were strikingly similar to Paul's. Joseph felt his family was particularly vulnerable in Rwanda, largely as a result of his disagreements with the RPF-led government. Joseph worked in very important and prestigious positions while in Rwanda, positions that were both socially and financially lucrative. When discussing his exodus, I inquired if this made it more difficult to leave, knowing that he would likely not have the same financial and societal positions in Canada. Joseph said that it was difficult to leave, but that morally, he did not feel he could stay in Rwanda. In the capacity of his employment, he said that he was asked to make decisions that would not help those that he was making decisions for. He stated many times that he was asked to do things that violated his moral compass, and the more he became aware of the activity of the government, the less he felt compelled to stay in Rwanda. Furthermore, Joseph felt that if he stayed in Rwanda and left his position within the government, his family would be incredibly vulnerable to potential attacks on their lives. Joseph has stated that at some point, he would like to go back to Rwanda to teach at the university level. However, he does not feel that this is an option with the current political climate.

Joseph has applied for citizenship and is preparing for Canadian citizenship. He is also working on a graduate degree and is employed with a non-profit organization in his province. Joseph's interest in politics has not wavered, and he is very involved with

the Liberal Party in Canada. Joseph is entirely devoted to his family and spends all of his free time with his children and his wife.

Jean-Paul

I was referred to Jean-Paul by an immigration attorney in Michigan. Jean-Paul was (initially) the most hesitant to speak of all the individuals I interviewed. He expressed great concern about confidentiality. At first, he was not even willing to discuss why he was in the United States. When I first began interviewing Jean-Paul, his attempts at neutrality was evident. He cautiously chose his words and would often look me straight on, silently, for numerous moments before responding. Even now, I am not entirely sure if this was done in an effort to compose his own thoughts, determine what he was willing to share with me, or preemptively gauge my response. In retrospect, it was probably all three.

After numerous email communications and two lengthy in-person interviews, he chose to disclose more personal information with me. Following our two in-person interviews in the summer and fall of 2015, Jean-Paul and I had continued to stay connected via email and in February 2016, he invited me to his home. This was not a formal interview and our discussion was not recorded. However, during our visit he continued to express interest in the importance of my research and we spoke at length about justice and reconciliation, and the current political climate in Rwanda. He reiterated many things that were covered during the course of our recorded interviews.

Jean-Paul is a 32-year-old Tutsi male. He recently became engaged to a young Rwandan woman who came to the United States only recently. Since 2012, Jean-Paul has split his time between Rwanda and the United States. However, he stated that he

currently spends more time in the United States and anticipates that he will remain here for the duration. In Rwanda, he works as an attorney and followed gacaca courts quite closely. Participation in gacaca, in some capacity, was essentially compulsory for all Rwandans, and Jean-Paul often participated in a variety of courts in different communities from 2004 to 2012. During high school, because of his interest in law, Jean-Paul was provided clerical and legal training and worked as an assistant to gacaca clerks and judicatory staff from 1998 to 2004. He obtained an undergraduate degree in Law and Development and also received a master's degree in Development. While in Rwanda, Jean-Paul was very politically conscious and was a popular blogger, particularly regarding the lack of support for genocide survivors, as well as his concern with the human rights violations of the RPF and President Kagame specifically. However, due to the current political climate and his vocal opposition, Jean-Paul states that he does not blog as frequently these days and is very cautious in vocalizing political interests. Interestingly, while he has a deep interest in Rwandan politics, he has never affiliated himself with a particular political party.

Jean-Paul's legal work in Rwanda focuses heavily on reparations and he works closely with individuals who had been injured in some capacity and are asking for monetary compensation from the Social Guarantee Fund. The Social Guarantee Fund was created to provide monetary compensation for individuals who were injured in a variety of situations, such as automobile accidents or injury on private property. He also was, and remains, heavily involved with advocating for the Genocide Survivors Fund, which is responsible for providing reparations (both monetary and social) to genocide survivors. Jean-Paul was vocally passionate, and disheartened, by the lack of distribution

of funds to genocide survivors. Jean-Paul also assists NGOs with helping genocide survivors find employment following their secondary education. He has worked closely with the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), although he would not elaborate regarding the type of work he performed.

Jean-Paul also has an impressive resume of work outside of Rwanda, including nonprofit organizations in the United Kingdom regarding genocide survivor funds, as well as partnering with organizations in Washington, D.C. In Michigan, Jean-Paul provides assistance to an immigration attorney. He is not an attorney in the United States yet, as the educational and testing requirements are quite different than in Rwanda. When I asked him about the particulars of his employment in Michigan, Jean-Paul was hesitant to provide details.

Jean-Paul discussed very little of his experience during the genocide. He told me nothing about his childhood or adolescence, or if he had family remaining in Rwanda. The only discussion of his particular experience during the genocide occurred during a portion of one interview when I inquired whether he believed that his perceptions and opinions regarding the diaspora were different than others. Stating that he believed his perceptions might be different than other professionals, Jean-Paul stated, “I lived the genocide. I was out there when they were hunting victims, I was there when they killed my people and I was there in the aftermath of the genocide.” It appeared that Jean-Paul likely had a harrowing experience, but was simply not able or willing to disclose it.

Pierre

I was introduced to Pierre by a staff member of a university in Michigan. Pierre and I communicated via email approximately 10 times and met twice to conduct two

lengthy in-person interviews during August 2015. In contrast to Jean-Paul, Pierre was the most willing to disclose information from the very start of our communication. In fact, his first words to me when we met were “I am happy to talk to you about this story . . . I promised God that should I survive I will spread word of what He has done for us.” Pierre elaborated that he felt that God spared his family and he felt it was his obligation to not only spread his religious beliefs, but to make sure that people did not forget about the genocide.

Pierre is a 60-year-old Tutsi male. Pierre’s father was an Adventist minister and he was raised in an incredibly devout home. When he was 9 years old, his family felt it was best for him to leave Rwanda because Tutsi were not allowed to attend school past grade four. Pierre attended school in neighboring Uganda where he, along with his older brother, attended primary and secondary school. Pierre stayed in Uganda until 1971, at which time Idi Amin took power. Pierre stated that during this time Amin began fighting with and killing students on school campuses. Because he was no longer safe, he fled to Zaire (presently Congo). He studied in Zaire for five years and earned his bachelor’s degree in English in the early 1980s. During this time, there was a perceived sense of safety for Tutsi in Rwanda. Pierre states that the government encouraged Tutsi’s in exile to return home without fear of oppression or violence. Since his parents had remained in Rwanda, Pierre decided this was a good time to return home.

In Rwanda, Pierre taught at a local church school from 1983 to 1989. In 1990, rumors began circulating that violence was eminent in Rwanda. Pierre recalled a particular harrowing memory in 1990 when he was living with his sister and working in Kigali. He was informed that an attack against Tutsi would occur that night, and he

managed to hide with a neighboring Danish family. The Rwandan police visited Pierre's sister's home, and took her to prison for five months. Pierre felt that from that time on, Rwandans were living in a state of war. In 1993 Pierre visited Taiwan, under the auspices of his church. Pierre's younger brother, who remained in Rwanda, called him while he was in Taiwan and informed him about how dangerous Rwanda was becoming. He begged him to stay in Taiwan but Pierre shrugged off his brother's concerns, feeling that because the United Nations was present in Rwanda, he and his family would remain safe. When Pierre returned, he continued to feel safe. He recalls that negotiations were occurring between the government and the RFP and there was a very visible presence of United Nations Peacekeepers. Pierre stated that he had no idea that preparations for the genocide were taking place.

Pierre vividly recalled the beginning of the genocide. He had recently gotten married and he and his wife were residing in Kigali, excited to have just found out that his wife was pregnant. On the night of April 6, 1994, Pierre heard a loud explosion coming from the airport. He did not know that it was the president's plane crashing after it was shot down. Because of the relative unrest within Rwanda, Pierre stated that hearing explosions was not usually cause for concern, and he believed that what he had heard might have been a grenade exploding.

Pierre and his wife soon found out that the explosion had been the crash of the president's plane and they were notified to stay in their homes. Pierre and his wife stayed there for three days, during which time they could see rebels and militia killing in the streets. On the fourth day, government soldiers removed Pierre and his wife from their home, unharmed, and took them to the nearest church building. Even now, Pierre is

amazed that the soldiers did not harm them. Pierre stated that as they were leaving they could see militia entering their home.

Pierre and his wife stayed at that particular church for an undisclosed amount of time and then left Kigali. Pierre did not discuss what occurred from April to July 1994. However, when discussing his faith, he stated how he believed God saved him during the genocide:

One time we were hiding and we saw a big group of militia coming toward where we were. They were chanting all kinds of terrible songs and they intended to come and kill everyone who was hiding. Then, we knelt down and we prayed to God to disperse these people and really, in a few seconds, a cloud of heavy rain gathered around and started pouring cats and dogs. Everyone dispersed and we never saw them again. This is one of the testimonies that draw us closer to God than ever before.

When the genocide ended in July, they returned home to Kigali. Both he and his wife's parents were killed during the genocide. He stated,

We went back to the city and it was a mess. It was a mess. It's not something that you can imagine. It was a mess. To be able to find a place to stay, you had to evacuate dead bodies from the building. That's what we did and slowly the city was cleaned and people started coming back. We went back to our jobs.

Pierre continued his work as a teacher and translator at his local church until 2003 when he received a student visa to study in the United States. Pierre, his wife, and two children moved to Michigan, in close proximity to his brother who resides in Indiana. Pierre works at a local Christian university and is working on his master's degree in Divinity. His two oldest children also attend college. Pierre and his wife were surprised eight years ago with an unexpected pregnancy. Their youngest son is in the first grade. Pierre and his family are all U.S. citizens, although Pierre often times feels more Rwandan than American. No matter how much time has passed, Pierre stated that he will

always feel Rwandan. What happened there and what he survived created penetrating roots.

Marie

As outlined in the methods section, I had considerable difficulty identify members of the Rwandan diaspora in both Canada and the United States. It was even more difficult to identify female members of the diaspora who were interested in sharing their stories. During the course of my literature review in July 2015, I stumbled upon an unpublished master's thesis from a university in the southeastern part of the United States. This thesis was a qualitative analysis of the Rwandan diaspora in Belgium. The thesis contained the author's name, but I was unable to locate her information on the university website or via social media. Her thesis committee chair's name was included and I was able to identify her contact information via the university website. I sent the thesis chair an email, inquiring if she might provide me with the author's email address. I received a response a few weeks later, informing me that she would forward my email to the author. The author of the thesis, Marie, promptly returned my email and we scheduled two telephone interviews during September and October of 2015. Marie was very excited to provide me with her experience, particularly that of a Hutu woman.

Marie is a 27-year-old Hutu female. She was very forthcoming in sharing her experiences both during and after the genocide. Within minutes of our first telephone interview, Marie freely discussed her experience during the genocide. At the time, she was six years old. Her father worked for the government (she did not elaborate in what capacity), but was not aligned with the ideology of the Hutu extremist government. In fact, Marie's parents, at great risk, helped Tutsis avoid slaughter during the genocide.

Marie's father was killed shortly after the genocide began. Her mother quickly relocated the remaining members of the family to a refugee camp. As her family was considered "moderate Hutus" or "Tutsi sympathizers," they were as unsafe and considered targets alongside Tutsi. Marie, her mother, her baby sister, and her aunt lived in a refugee camp for approximately a year and a half. Marie's baby sister died from an infection while in the camp, as they did not have access to the proper medication.

Marie had extended family in Belgium and was sent to live with them when she was 7 years old. Her mother was forced to stay behind to complete paperwork. Tragically, Marie's mother died while in the refugee camp. Marie completed her secondary education in Belgium, and found the disconnect between the older and younger generations of Rwandans troubling, specifically, the culture of silence regarding the genocide among the older generation and the desire of the younger generation to speak about their experiences. Marie also had to endure the stigma that comes with being a Hutu. This was particularly problematic, as her parents ultimately gave their lives because of their opposition to the Hutu government. Marie lived in Belgium until 2010, at which time she relocated to the United States on a student visa.

Part of Marie's decision to come to the United States was the result of tensions among her extended family. Because they had taken her in following the genocide, Marie felt they believed that she "owed" them. Marie wanted to find her own path, and believed that obtaining an education in the United States would allow her to do so. She completed her master's degree in the United States, and is currently working on her doctoral degree in sociology. She also works full time with the university's international studies program.

Therese

I was referred to Therese by a contact at a Christian university in Michigan. I first attempted contact via telephone. I received a text message from her approximately two weeks after my initial attempt. Therese was quick to apologize for her delayed response, stating that she remained quite busy with the non-profit organization that she spearheads in the eastern United States. Therese provided me with reference information regarding her biographical information in hopes that when we spoke via telephone we could dive right in to my research questions.

Therese is a 30-year-old Tutsi female. Both of her parents were farmers, and she pleasantly remembers growing up in rural Rwanda, being responsible for getting drinking water from the local water well and watching over her younger siblings. She was nine years old at the time of the genocide. Both of her parents, all of her siblings, and the majority of her extended family were killed during the 1994 genocide. Therese was granted asylum in 1995, and moved to the United States to live with a family member. Therese began sharing her story publicly in 2001 after a particularly moving presentation in her school by another individual who had lived through a mass atrocity. Therese has both a bachelor's degree in political science and a law degree, and continues to live on the east coast with her husband.

Of all the individuals interviewed, Therese has been the most public with her experience. Because of her notoriety, visibility, and continued connection and frequent visits to Rwanda, I have included minimal biographical information. It is possible that any statements she makes that are less than favorable regarding the Rwandan president and administration could hinder her capacity to conduct her work. Therese founded a

non-profit in the United States that works to prevent genocide and support survivors. Therese's non-profit organization has built a community center in Rwanda that focuses on providing job training and social support to Rwandan youth. Therese's work takes her to Rwanda frequently. She has delivered hundreds of presentations and talks about human rights and genocide prevention at schools, churches, and non-governmental agencies. She has also spoken to high ranking governmental officials in a variety of countries. Therese has participated in interviews with many American media outlets and has received numerous prestigious awards for her work.

Marc

During the course of my research, I spoke with numerous experts regarding the apparent culture of silence that appears to exist in Rwanda and in the diaspora. One expert provided me with Marc's contact information, believing that he might be interested in participating in telephone interview. I initially contacted Marc via email and received a quick response stating that he was eager to assist in my research. Marc and I spoke twice via telephone during February 2016.

Marc is a Tutsi male in his mid-60s currently living in an eastern province of Canada. Unlike the other seven participants, Marc did not grow up in Rwanda. He was born in Rwanda, but he left as an infant with his family. He was part of the Tutsi refugee population that fled to Uganda in the 1950s as a result of violence against Tutsi within Rwanda. Marc was raised in Kenya and Uganda, and completed his undergraduate and graduate studies in Canada. He met his wife in Canada; both were students studying political science and sociology. Following completion of their graduate studies, Marc and his wife relocated to the United States and taught at a university in the South during

the late 1980s and early 1990s. In 1994, they immigrated to South Africa and both were lecturers at numerous universities throughout the country. Marc also worked as a lead strategist on banking development initiatives.

Marc stated that he was drawn to return to Rwanda and wanted to be part of rebuilding his country. He quickly moved up in governmental circles, and became one of President Kagame's closest confidants. He spent six years working directly for the president in a variety of administrative and policy capacities. Specifically, Marc worked on economic development initiatives. Marc reports that in 2009, things quickly changed and he became concerned regarding the dictatorship style of leadership that was occurring within the Kagame administration. He states that at first he believed that President Kagame was committed to ensuring justice and promoting reconciliation for Rwandans. However, the closer he became to the president and the more knowledge he garnered of the actions of the administration, the less he believed that this was the goal. Marc became somewhat vocal with his concerns, and quickly fled to South Africa due to threats on his life. Rumors were started that he was fired for drug and alcohol use, and he states that he was followed and monitored in South Africa. Ultimately, Marc and his family relocated to Canada as they felt it was the only location where their family would be safe.

Marc was the most outspoken and public of all participants regarding his beliefs about the actions of the Rwandan government as well as his ideas of justice and reconciliation. Marc is very public in Canada regarding his opposition of President Kagame. When I inquired why he was so publicly vocal, when so many others seemed afraid, he told me that he stated that he had seen and suffered much in his life, and had

nothing to lose. While all participants had suffered extensively throughout the course of their lives, I believe that Paul's outspoken nature is a direct result of his personal relationship with President Kagame and the manner in which his name has been publicly smeared by the administration. For Paul, the government certainly knows his vocal opposition and criticism. While other participants may still want to remain under the radar of the government, this is not his reality.

Marc's biography is noticeably shorter than that of other participants. This was largely the result of our speaking only one time via telephone. During our telephone call, it was evident that he was most interested in speaking about the specific topics of my research and informed me that I could obtain his biographical information online by conducting an Internet search of his name. I had done this previous to our interview, and he confirmed the information that I had was correct.

Monique

I was referred to Monique by Jean-Paul in March of 2016. Jean-Paul did not elaborate on his specific relationship with Monique. I contacted her via email inquiring if she would be interested in participating in a telephone interview and she quickly responded that she wanted to participate. She was provided with a consent form via email and an individual was scheduled and successfully conducted in March 2016. Monique and I spoke via telephone one time for 75 minutes. Of all participants, she was the most vocal about her concern for confidentiality and this was discussed extensively during the course of our telephone interview. In fact, as we discussed confidentiality and how she would be assigned a pseudonym she stated, "Oh, well, then I can tell you what I really think." It appeared that perhaps she had not read the consent form in its entirety, or

did not understand it, so we went over it in detail prior to me asking her any specific questions. She has written extensively on her genocidal experience, including the specific trauma she suffered, and wanted to ensure that no one would be able to identify her based on the information she provided during our interview. She was very specific about what information I could provide regarding her biography. I honored her request and only provided information that she was comfortable with.

Monique is a 36-year-old Tutsi female who lived in a western province of Rwanda. During the genocide, her father and three brothers were killed. Her mother and sister survived, and still live in Rwanda. Monique's cousin came to the United States in the 1990s, and Monique and another cousin followed in 2001. She currently resides in the eastern United States and is a college student. During the course of the interview, Monique nervously laughed following her response to every question I posed. Knowing the deep trauma that she has experienced and her concern for confidentiality, I did not find that surprising. Additionally, as will be outlined in the findings section, Monique responded to questions regarding Rwandan politics, justice and reconciliation, and the diaspora by noting the experiences of others. She would often state, "Well, that hasn't happened to me, but I know that it has happened to others." This was common regarding almost every question provided and was unique compared to the responses of other participants. Whether she has or has not experienced these things is unknown, and it may be that she felt more secure discussing the experiences of others as opposed to her own experiences.

Conclusion

The biographies have been presented as a way to introduce the reader to each participant and to gain a better grasp as to who they are and how they ended up in either Canada or the United States. Additionally, it is done to underscore the importance of each participant as an individual with a complete life story, not to simply view them by their post genocidal lives. I heavily considered the importance of including a chapter outlining each participant's biography, understanding that confidentiality could potentially be an issue. However, I think that it is imperative that the parts of their lives that they have chosen to share be presented in their entirety. I believe that failure to do so is to paint an incomplete picture of their experiences, experiences which directly feed into their beliefs and understandings about justice and reconciliation. I feel that I have provided their stories in such a manner that confidentiality is also ensured.

The following chapter will provide detailed responses from the participants as obtained during telephone and in-person interviews. Chapter VI will discuss general notions of justice and reconciliation in Rwanda and the diaspora, and more specific accounts as to why these issues are or are not occurring. Furthermore, a lengthy discussion will be provided regarding Rwandan politics and how it affects justice and reconciliation in Rwanda and among the diaspora. Telephone interviews with four experts regarding the Rwandan genocide, Rwandan politics and culture, and the diaspora will be provided as a supplement to participant interviews in Chapter VII. Note that the experts' biographies were not provided in this chapter so as not to pull away from the life stories of diaspora participants, whose experiences remain the focal point of my research. Biographical information for these experts is also included within Chapter VII.

CHAPTER V

PARTICIPANT INTERVIEWS/FINDINGS

The following chapter provides a presentation and discussion of findings, or themes, that emerged from the in-depth interviews that occurred with eight members of the Rwandan diaspora in the United States and Canada. The purpose of my research was to examine how members of the Rwandan diaspora located in the United States and Canada attempt to facilitate justice and reconciliation among one another following their relocation to the United States and Canada. More specifically, I originally sought to understand the impact that gacaca courts, located in Rwanda, had on the diaspora's perception of justice and reconciliation. Interestingly, opinions regarding gacaca courts were not heavily discussed by participants. Additionally, I attempted to identify any justice and reconciliation apparatuses that the Rwandan diaspora utilize among the diaspora population. Though my original research question did not include questions regarding Rwandan politics, participants spent significant amounts of time discussing current Rwandan politics, as they played a central role in participants' responses to questions of justice and reconciliation.

This chapter will consist heavily of direct quotes from these participants, as illustrations of their actual and direct voices are the most critical in understanding the convoluted and intertwined nature of my findings. The standpoint of diaspora participants, and their perspectives regarding justice and reconciliation, were best kept authentic by providing their exact words instead of my own. Discussion of these topics

was often complex and layered with additionally commentary. To fully understand their opinions regarding these issues, I found it to be important to include their full statements so as to not disjoint their responses.

As a supplement to findings from participant interviews, I will follow this chapter with the findings from telephone interviews that were conducted with four experts on issues associated with Rwanda, Rwandan politics, and post-genocide political identity, and the Rwandan diaspora. The expert interviews heavily reflected Rwandan politics, and the culture of silence that appears to exist among the diaspora. In addition, experts offered their opinions regarding issues of justice and reconciliation in Rwanda and among the diaspora.

Participant Interviews/Review of Themes

As outlined in the biographies, each participant has a unique life-story and genocidal and post-genocidal experience. They came from different parts of Rwanda and settled in a variety of locations within the United States and Canada. They have varying religious and political beliefs, and gender and ethnic identities. While they are very different in a variety of ways, they all have the shared experience of addressing the legacy of genocide, the trauma associated with genocide, and becoming a member of the Rwandan diaspora in the United States or Canada. Their unique life-stories shape their particular ideas about justice and reconciliation among members of the Rwandan diaspora.

At the start of each interview, definitions of justice and reconciliation were heavily discussed. All participants agreed that the terms are much easier to define in academia than in their specific reality, and they all agreed that ultimate justice, or

returning what was taken, cannot be achieved. However, they all suggested that this did not mean that attempts at other forms of justice should not occur. I also discussed at length with them, and received their input on, the operational definitions of “thin” and “thick” reconciliation. All eight participants agreed with these definitions and provided their input regarding which “type” of reconciliation they believe occurs in Rwanda and among the diaspora. The discussion of the definitions of justice and reconciliation led directly to the three major themes identified.

The first theme centered on perceptions of the current political landscape in Rwanda. Participants, to varying degrees, heavily discussed the authoritarian nature of the current Rwandan government (most notably, President Kagame). Participants suggested that this authoritarian government had fostered a culture of silence among those in Rwanda and residually among the diaspora. In other words, seven out of eight participants suggested that the vast majority of Rwandans, both in Rwanda and the diaspora, are afraid to honestly speak publicly about anything political and political divisive (re: justice and reconciliation), for fear that the Rwandan government may harm them or their families. This culture of silence also included discussion of monitoring among the diaspora, as well as a single narrative that exists both in Rwanda and among the diaspora.

The first theme, perceptions of the current political landscape in Rwanda and the culture of silence there and among the diaspora, fed directly into the second theme: attempts at justice and reconciliation in Rwanda. This heavily discussed topic included how the perceived culture of silence, as well as continued issues of ethnicity, directly affects attempts at justice and reconciliation. Because the Rwandan diaspora maintains

deep connections to their home country, participants had very detailed and strong beliefs about the current political climate in Rwanda—primarily, the attempts at justice and reconciliation in Rwanda and the relationship between the two. It became quickly apparent that one could not discuss justice and reconciliation without discussing Rwandan politics.

Likewise, the second theme led directly into, and heavily influenced, the third theme: justice and reconciliation among the diaspora. For participants, justice and reconciliation among the diaspora is inherently tied to justice and reconciliation in Rwanda. Surprisingly, participants spent the least amount of time discussing justice and reconciliation specifically among the diaspora. Only two participants offered discussion of what justice would even be for members of the diaspora. Even when prompted, participants overwhelmingly discussed justice as it relates to those remaining in Rwanda. However, participants spoke in great detail of reconciliation among the diaspora. They offered general statements regarding this issue, and three distinct subthemes appeared: lying about identity, the ability to move and the freedom of choice, and the “weeding” out of extremists.

As the discussion of themes unfolds, it becomes evident that certain statements include more than one theme, and thus could be placed in numerous sections throughout the findings. Opinions and statements about each theme are not mutually exclusive, but rather cumulative. Instead of dissecting statements to limit them to one theme, I placed them where they appear to be most appropriate.

Perceptions of the Current Political Landscape in Rwanda

When I began conducting interviews in May of 2015, I believed that they would center exclusively on notions of justice and reconciliation. It is known that issues of ethnicity and politics within Rwanda often have a residual effect on issues of ethnicity and politics experienced by the diaspora outside of Rwanda (Haider, 2014; Mohamoud, 2005; Owen, 2009). However, I was unaware to what extent current Rwandan politics would distinctly shape notions of justice and reconciliation for the diaspora. This occurred in distinct forms.

First, the majority of respondents (seven out the eight) stated that President Kagame, and the RPF-led administration, have not truly administered or facilitated justice (in any form) and reconciliation for those who remained in Rwanda, which created tensions among ethnicities that transcended geographical locations. This discussion point was not something that I anticipated addressing in great detail, but participants overwhelming brought it up. The organic nature of the rise of this topic directly fed into my research questions. However, one participant, Pierre, suggested that justice had not happened, but that reconciliation (both thin and thick) did exist for those outside of the political realm. Further, five out of eight participants felt the President Kagame's biggest goal was to maintain deep control and power within Rwanda, and silence any opposition. Second, the interviews reflected how anxiety over the current Rwandan political administration has created a culture of fear among the diaspora which has served to further divide individuals based on ethnic identity. Additionally, this culture of fear has created an intense silence among the diaspora, which has hindered attempts at justice and reconciliation.

Culture of Silence

All eight participants agreed that the Rwandan government is an authoritarian government, where freedom of speech was stifled. This view was not unexpected, and is heavily discussed within existing literature. However, they varied in the degrees of this belief, as well as their opinions about the utility of it. Generally though, all respondents spoke of the culture of silence among those in Rwanda. Specifically, they typically spoke of Rwandan politics and what is happening in Rwanda first, and then spoke of how such issues affect and exist among the diaspora.

I was first made aware of the negative perceptions of the current Rwandan administration among the diaspora when I interviewed Paul, a once prominent legal figure in Rwandan, and my first participant. When discussing what life may be like in Rwanda currently, he stated:

The problem is not among Hutu and Tutsi. The problem is under the dictatorship that is there. The Hutu and Tutsi are suffering together. His (President Kagame) problem is that he likes to maintain his power and that is what he is looking for.

Paul suggested that the ultimate goal of the Kagame administration was not to provide justice for Rwandans, but to exert political power by ensuring citizens are afraid to speak. He believed that this affects both Hutu and Tutsi negatively. While Paul acknowledged problems with ethnicity, he felt that the real problem lies in the Rwandan government, not among the continued (yet informal) separation by ethnicity.

Another participant, Marc, worked closely with President Kagame for six years and ultimately left Rwanda because he became vocal against the government and their policies. Because of his outspokenness, Marc feared for his life and fled first to South

Africa and then to Canada. When discussing fear and silence in Rwanda and the current administration, he stated:

One of the things with this regime is that is very hardcore. The (government) threatens, it is very careful about spreading fear and that's a fact. Beyond that, there is a reason why it is successful—part of it explains why there was genocide. It was genocide of neighbor against neighbor—the character of Rwandan people is that you obey. So when you are ordered, you do and you do not question.

Jean-Paul also spoke to the culture of silence among those in Rwanda. Because of the legal ramifications of talking publicly about ethnic identity, he suggests that there is still deep suspicion among Hutu and Tutsi, but no one speaks of it. Jean-Paul believed that this forced silence actually creates more animosity among ethnic groups, creating a “tinderbox” of anger. Joseph, in agreement with Paul's perception, went into more detail regarding politics in Rwanda. He suggests that the culture of silence has created a distinct, yet inaccurate, portrait of Rwanda to the world:

I'll tell you this and everyone knows who stays in Rwanda. Sometimes we choose to stay silent, to remain quiet. You may see the outer picture and everything, but it's not the country that you actually see the way it is. The inside of the country, what goes on in the leadership of the country and what happens, is not what people actually know about Rwanda. You may know some things but it does not reflect the reality of what goes on.

Joseph elaborated by discussing the involvement of the government in his occupation.

He stated that there were times during his tenure with the Office of the President that the administration wanted to push a particular developmental goal:

It is going to be a problem for you if you disagree, but you are going to be told to say and write whatever you are told to and then that kind of narrative is what goes out in the world. The truth is the country does have a lot of things happening and people have gained a new sense of life and again, if you want to have peace in Rwanda, make sure you don't involve yourself in politics. You don't criticize government and you have to do whatever you are told to do and don't question what you are told to do or you are going to have things happen to you.

Joseph has family remaining in Rwanda with whom he communicates frequently. He stated the fear that he has of the administration did not dissipate when he left Rwanda, as there are ramifications for those who remain in if someone they know well (e.g., family member, close friend) speaks out against the government:

You cannot discuss politics at all. It cannot have anything to do with politics. You can discuss family, how you are doing, but you cannot mention anything to do with politics. It has happened to one of my sisters-in-law. We kind of talked about political things and then she mentioned to me that they can't say anything and they have to watch what they say. We ended our conversation and the following day she was picked up and taken to the police. Our conversation had been tapped and she was asked to elaborate more on everything she discussed with me. They took her to jail for one month and three weeks.

Marc's narrative was similar to Joseph's. He felt that his family members who remained in Rwanda were unable to speak with him because of his vocal opposition to the Kagame administration. This also included relatives who resided in Canada. For Marc's family, there existed a belief that there would be consequences should they engage with him:

I had a sister here in Canada who would not even talk to me because of the regime there. About three months ago I lost my mother in Rwanda but you know that they can't talk to me there and I can't talk to them—we can't even talk. That's how it is.

Monique also discussed people being afraid to talk openly on the telephone. She outlined her general belief about this issue, as well as her own experience when calling her mother. She noted that it was not simply concern regarding the monitoring of phone calls by the authorities, but that one did not want regular citizens to hear what they might be discussing:

I know that this happens. I know that people are still cautious when talking on the phone. There are people who can't bring up anything and that's just a normal thing of talking. Even if it's not about criticizing the government or anything,

they are worried . . . you know they don't want to discuss certain things on the phone.

For instance, for my mom and my sister . . . I know there are things that I can't bring up or I just don't talk about. I have never brought up anything political, but I know there are things that I cannot just talk on the phone about with them. We know that we cannot talk on the phone about these things. You don't bring it up if you don't want anyone to hear because you don't know what can be taken out of context. You just don't want anything to be taken out of context.

Jean-Paul supported the statements of both Joseph and Paul. Jean-Paul spoke specifically about gacaca, but his statements support the general theme that the administration may have silenced Rwandans, both during gacaca and after. Jean-Paul explained why he believed people were afraid of Kagame and the RPF-led government:

They are afraid of the consequences or the repercussions of their (gacaca) statements. They are afraid of the government. Everything is monitored from the top level of the government to the lowest level of administration. Everything is monitored and people have to be silent.

Jean-Paul also stated that during the 2003 election, he worked as a volunteer commissioner in his village. He was in charge of the local voting center, and stated that many people thought that he would look at their ballots. He believed this was a common belief among Rwandans, and that many of them would vote for President Kagame because they feared the government would be notified if they did otherwise. Jean-Paul also worked with researchers in attempts to understand the effectiveness of gacaca and how Rwandans felt about the process:

They are not free to speak about anything. Myself and a bunch of researchers go to the deep villages in Rwanda and ask people what they think about gacaca. Everyone from Ruhengeri in the north to Butare in the south speak the same language, "Gacaca is good, and everything is good! We thank the president Kagame, we thank our leaders." That was the same language. Very few people tell you, "Okay, if you want me to tell you what I believe you should grant me anonymity . . ." Very few speak their mind, very few because of the regime in place and because there is still suspicion.

Marie supported the statement of others, suggesting that the Rwandan government has created a culture of silence among Rwandans in an attempt to create a sense of fear:

I think a lot of people silence themselves because we are afraid of the consequence of what may happen. I think once the government was able to establish a sense of fear it makes you think that they are watching us even though they can't watch everyone all the time. However, we still think they are doing it. I was reading a few months ago that, after the genocide it takes about five generations to reconstruct a stable society and to reconcile with what happened. Now, we are starting the second generation in Rwanda and things are not getting better. We distrust each other. Even among Hutus we don't trust each other because of the silence culture. Among Hutus and Tutsis it's even worse.

While all the respondents stated, in some capacity, that President Kagame and the administration were authoritarian, some felt that this was understandable to some extent. Jean-Paul outlined a narrative that suggests that following mass atrocity, this style of leadership is understandable:

I think that after the genocide, the way Kagame leads made sense in my mind. I understand him releasing hundreds of perpetrators, I understand him killing his opponents, and I could understand him putting limits on the freedom of expression because the experience was very recent. It made sense to do some limitations to the freedom of expression, but now we are two decades after the genocide. I think that now is the time to at least build something that is sustainable and what is sustainable is social creation of strong institutions. True reconciliation, true history about what happened in Rwanda. I think this is the rule of law. Human rights is a vicious cycle. You kill me or you chase me out because I criticize you. Kagame is killing people because some are criticizing him.

Therese discussed similar feelings to Jean-Paul, although she appeared to be more understanding of the continuing activity of the government:

People even going to the same park or the same church saying "hi" or "hello," whether it is sincere or not, that is a miracle. I think part of that is a result of having that strong government that doesn't allow certain things to take place, so I do think that from the beginning there was a need for a strong government and a leadership that was trying to curve everyone's hostile feelings which people had for good reasons. Obviously, it has been 21 years and people feel that some of that strong type of leadership needs to relax and people need to start talking about their grievances. Some of the criticism I do agree with, honestly. But sometimes

I feel like they do not take in the context and the reality on the ground. They say the government is not democratic and this and certainly there is a need for more political space and for people to disagree and voice their opinions, I do believe there is a need for that. But it is something that needs to be managed and it needs to take place slowly in the right space because it is something people are just not ready for, I have to say.

Monique has not lived in Rwanda since 2001, but she stated that she believed that people were afraid to speak publicly about certain issues for fear of retribution by the government. However, because she lives in the diaspora, she stated that she was unsure to what extent the government was utilizing force to silence citizens. She also noted that she feels she is more able to speak publicly about issues in the diaspora than she would be in Rwanda:

I think that to some extent, people are afraid to talk. Normally we don't talk about things very much, about the things that may put you into trouble. People don't talk about it when they know that this is something that, you know, will make you be in trouble. In Rwanda people have managed to find a way to see that there are things you can't talk about and just leave it alone. We are opening up here more than we are in Rwanda, so I don't think that the way I open up about things here is the same if I was living in Rwanda. For survivors in Rwanda, they feel like the only way to live peacefully is just to go along with what is going on in the country, so just forget about the stuff. Because I'm here, I'm not sure 100% if people disappear because of what they have said and so forth. I can't be sure about that, 100%. For survivors, I know there are some of them that have been killed coming from gacaca courts and nobody has followed up about these survivors getting killed and the disappearance. I know for some survivors after the gacaca court were getting killed. But, unfortunately there are things that I hear but, you know, I am not sure 100%.

Of all participants, Pierre was the most supportive of President Kagame and the tactics utilized by the government. Pierre agreed that there was extensive control by the government, but justified such actions as he felt Rwandans were "difficult" to govern, although he did not provide particular reasoning behind this belief. Pierre explained much of President Kagame's governing style as a result of his life experiences:

If we had a president with a civilian background, he would take things differently but beginning where he (Kagame) begun, beginning in the rebellion in Uganda, his background makes him who he is. The military wants their subject to do according to what the officers say so that is the type of leadership that is evolving there. A lot of it is positive; at least on the whole there has been security. However, at one point people fear that there is too much policing [laughs]. So you don't know.

As outlined in the literature review, the authoritarian nature of the Kagame administration (Clark, 2014; Hintjens, 2008; Reyntjens, 2010) is known throughout academe, as are its implications on justice and reconciliation in Rwanda. Rwandans appear to tell two stories, one that is politically approved and state sponsored, and one that they speak of while looking over their shoulder. It is therefore difficult to make definitive claims regarding what is—or is not—occurring in Rwanda. However, participants' statements, as outlined above, suggest that what is occurring in Rwanda, whether real or imagined, impacts the lives of diaspora members. Importantly, six out of eight participants spent the majority of their lives in Rwanda and had distinct experiences regarding the political climate within the country. Because of the deep connection with their home country, including previous residency, members of the diaspora are keenly aware of what occurs in Rwanda and have very particular opinions and beliefs regarding these occurrences (Marijnen, 2015; Owen, 2009).

Promoting Silence Through Monitoring

The culture of silence appears to transcend the physical location of Rwanda and spills over into the diaspora in the United States and Canada. As outlined in the methodology section, I had great difficulty securing interviews, as members of the diaspora were afraid to speak with me, believing either that their statements would become public knowledge and the Rwandan government would find out, or that I might

be a spy for the Kagame administration. These fears appeared to be partially a result of the perceived level of monitoring among the diaspora, which respondents felt could have very real consequences for them and their families in the United States and Canada, as well as their family remaining in Rwanda. When discussing this with Paul, he stated:

I know it's not easy (finding participants) to do because they don't know who the person is and they don't know what the person is going to do with their testimony. People are sort of scared of the government so it is not easy to get many people to talk.

I discussed in detail with Marc that I had difficulty identifying members of the diaspora who would agree to an interview with me even though confidentiality was assured. Marc did not seem surprised by this and stated, "It's because they are afraid, so I'm actually surprised you were able to find anybody (to talk with)." Marc believed that even among the diaspora, Rwandans were afraid to speak publicly about anything that might be considered negative against President Kagame. Marc stated that there is a very real belief among the diaspora that what they say publicly might reach the ears of the Rwandan administration. When discussing the fear among the diaspora of President Kagame, Joseph told me:

The only reason I am trusting you right now is because I know that you are handling this like a professional and everything, but I myself have to be cautious to discuss this with fellow Rwandans who I don't trust because we very much know how our government works, they have agents everywhere.

Joseph was also quick to inform me that he believed the diaspora in Canada was actually monitored by the Rwandan government. He informed me that he was approached by the government to monitor the diaspora when he moved to Canada. Joseph was unwilling to do so, but many others were:

I have friends that are watch police in hiding positions and we know there are officers somewhere and all around. For example, if you say something about the

government and the person whom you disclosed to texts an intelligence officer, they take it back to the government. If you happen to go back to Rwanda, this is how you may not come back because they will arrest you and keep you there. (Because of this), they (the diaspora) may not disclose anything about their government for fear of some repercussions coming to them because it may come to bite them when they go on Rwandan soil.

Marie also acknowledged the monitoring of the diaspora. When discussing the fear among the diaspora based on the monitoring activity by the Rwandan government, she discussed her personal experience. When she first arrived to the United States, she attempted to participate in diaspora based activities. She noticed that most Rwandans in her area were Tutsi, and she tried to create activities that encouraged Hutu to participate as well:

First, I got some emails . . . like not nice, threatening emails. I would get threatening emails from people who actually worked at the embassy. I went to a conference and someone came and he pretty much—he kind of pushed me around in front of everybody saying how I was promoting some type of genocide ideology myself and I was like, “No.” I was followed a couple times and things like that and I tried to put together a conference about the policy situation in Rwanda and I wanted to invite a couple scholars of Rwanda but among the scholars of government they are not approved so they are pretty much on the blacklist. That also got me into trouble.

Also, I had a class with someone who works at the embassy and at one point we were supposed to present and he brought a couple people from the embassy with him and they kind of made me understand that I better not say anything that wasn’t appropriate for our people

Out of all eight participants, it appeared that Marc had the most intense belief regarding the monitoring of the diaspora. This is largely a result of his former occupational ties with the Rwandan government as well as his outspoken nature about political topics. Marc was followed and monitored in South Africa, and he believes that this action of the Rwandan government continued when he relocated to Canada:

I first experienced that in South Africa. That is why I left because I could no longer sleep in my own house because of fear. So, of course I’m aware of what

happens. I cannot bear to sit at an event with Rwandans I don't know—they wouldn't have me anyway because I am an "enemy of the state," as they call it.

Additionally, Marie's family in Belgium had great concern for her, and was deeply afraid that she may be hurt by those working for President Kagame in the United States. They were most afraid that her research would make her a target:

It's actually one of the main concerns I had and some of my family members had when I was writing and talking about Rwanda and politics. They were saying, "Make sure we know where you are and where you are going. Have someone and one of the faculty members with your emergency contact information," and things like that. At one point they were right because I was getting phone calls and letters when I was doing my research. I'm away from Rwanda and I'm still young. I haven't made any remarkable contributions but I still get threatening letters from people who were trying to influence me.

Marie felt that these phone calls were a direct result of her vocal opposition to the Kagame administration, which resulted from her academic research of the Rwandan diaspora in Belgium. She did not disclose the specific content of these phone calls or emails.

When Monique and I discussed the possibility of members of the diaspora being monitored, she also agreed that it happens. She believed that it depends on where someone is and what they speak about. While acknowledging the possibility of monitoring, she also said that she hoped that this would change, as people needed to speak openly about their feelings:

I think there are people who are followed . . . it depends on where you are. There are people who are very cautious. It depends on who you are talking to because there are times when you can say things, but you don't know who else is there. I know that happens to some people. That has happened for sure. It has happened to people who have left Rwanda. You know, I used to worry myself about what I say. I don't talk politics. I talk about the things that are like women's issues. I care about those kinds of things. In the private places or in conversation, you have to be able to open up about certain things and tell people what you feel. Sometimes I feel like, for me, you know it's very scary, it can be scary. But sometimes it will be helpful for you to hear perspective from different people and

if it is taken in a good way it can help. I hope that will change. We will see what happens.

Monique also discussed that this fear leads to Rwandans not being interesting in speaking with researchers. She informed me that it was very rare for Rwandans to be willing to speak out about potentially political and divisive topics, and had I not guaranteed confidentiality, I would not have found anyone to speak with.

Joseph and Marc each discussed something very specific about the monitoring of both those in Rwanda and in Canada. There appears to be a very precise monitoring form utilized in Rwanda that may also be utilized in the diaspora. Joseph elaborated on how this system appears:

Rwanda's administration system, how monitoring works, is by what we call "numba cumbi." For example, every ten houses must have a RPF leader. One individual is in charge of those ten houses and communicates to the government what is going on there. If the President is in the area or something is happening, the leader must make sure that all the ten people are there. Every ten houses in Rwanda has their own leader.

Marc discussed this "10 house system" as well, but suggested that it is not just applied in Rwanda, but is also utilized among the diaspora:

Do you know how the system works in Rwanda? The smallest unit there is the one in charge of ten houses. It means that every village, every block, is organized as a unit of government so if anything happens in those ten houses it is reported. So you have the smallest ten houses which are cells, then provinces, then districts, and all of those are spy levels. It is how the government tracks everyone's house. It's here (in the diaspora) too. Every grouping has a mechanism of reporting. The next thing you know, if you move to another house, the ambassador calls the ambassador in Rwanda and then he tells Kagame.

During the course of the interviews with Jean-Paul, he heavily discussed the monitoring that occurs in Rwanda. However, he was less certain that this happens among the diaspora. Interestingly, Jean-Paul's narrative regarding the issue of monitoring also

touches on issues of lack of reconciliation among the diaspora, precisely because

diaspora based organizations may be seen as instruments of the Kagame administration:

I do not have any facts about that (monitoring in the diaspora). I am aware though that few people participate in Rwandan diaspora associations here (the United States) and in Europe because they mistrust those associations. Those who are believed to be pro-RPF (the ruling party) are the only ones that participate. This is why it's rare to see strong campaigns that bring together Rwandan diaspora living here, in Canada, and in Europe. There is a big suspicion and mistrust between Rwandans in the diaspora based primarily on the past history of genocide and political support or opposition of the current government. The formal Rwandan diaspora associations were established by the Rwandan embassies. Those who are active in those associations often get involved as a way of targeting political positions in the government or any other job.

Neither Pierre nor Therese talked about monitoring among the diaspora. This finding was not entirely surprising, as they appeared to be the most supportive, or at least neutral, regarding the actions of President Kagame and the RPF government. With both participants, this topic was brought up, and both quickly replied that they did not want to discuss this type of political topic.

When asking respondents *why* they felt the Rwandan government worked so hard to create such intense fear and silence among those in Rwanda as well as the diaspora (largely as a result of monitoring), the answers were varied. Some suggested that it was a necessity to ensure that genocidal ideology did not occur. Numerous participants suggested that it was done so that President Kagame could maintain his stranglehold of political power. Others suggested that the culture of fear was done to essentially create one approved post-genocidal narrative. More specifically, a narrative that paints all Hutu as “perpetrators” and all Tutsi as “survivors.”

Single Narrative

Legally, as outlined in the literature review, the elimination of ethnic categories has been utilized as a way of social reconstruction following the genocide (Hintjens, 2008). Rwandans are no longer allowed to publicly identify as Hutu, Tutsi, or Twa. This specific type of identification is considered “divisive” under Rwandan law and penalties for such public identification can result in imprisonment. However, a new form of labeling appears to exist in Rwanda. Instead of identifying oneself by ethnicity, Rwandans now are classified as “perpetrator” or “survivor.” However, it appears that it is a commonly held assumption among both those in Rwanda and those in the diaspora that Hutu are categorized as perpetrators/offenders and Tutsi as survivors. Basically, one label has been interchanged for another. This particular label appears to be a way to create a single, governmental approved narrative about who did what during the genocide. Five participants spoke specifically of a single narrative.

Marie was perhaps the most vocal about the single narrative created by the administration, likely because she identifies as an ethnic Hutu. Moreover, her family died as a direct result of their moderate political ideology and their refusal to commit genocidal acts:

So, the Hutus just disappeared out of the genocide and it just became Tutsi and you are like, what happened to all the moderate Hutu who actually died saving Tutsi? What happened to them? They had family members and their family members should be recognized. Like looking at my family, the oldest member of my family is only 39 years old. He’s the oldest member and I’m like, so what happened to them? What can’t I speak publicly that they were victims. That’s something I’ve been struggling with for so long, because the issue is saying that only the minority group were victims and everyone else wasn’t a victim because they don’t belong to that group. They (politicians, President Kagame specifically) are sending a message and what they are saying is, they are not looking for justice and reconciliation; what they are looking for is approval of their narrative itself. They are not trying to bring people back together.

Joseph also suggested a single narrative exists in Rwanda. It was audibly clear how angry it made him that only Tutsi were allowed to be “survivors” and Hutu “perpetrators,” particularly because he had Tutsi family members that killed Hutu. He provided a particular example:

I am going to give you an example, my own brothers I know—of course it was a requirement as refugees that everyone had to sacrifice two sons that were going to participate in the war for Rwanda. I know that it was my cousin’s brother that went to the place where our grandfather was killed and my uncle’s wife and six kids were killed and they decided to kill every Hutu that was in that area as revenge. These were Hutu that were killed and innocent people that were not fighting or killing anyone and I ask them sometimes why they killed these people and they ask me why they killed our people. So, there are so many incidents like that so this single narrative is just a joke.

Jean-Paul also discussed the inaccuracy of the single narrative, based specifically on the number of those who died during the genocide.

When we talk about a million people killed in Rwanda, we didn’t have a million Tutsi in Rwanda! That means the numbers that are accumulating like that are also the bodies of Hutu. Some of us have weaknesses and have hid bodies of the Hutus being killed and buried in masses because the UN was going to come and investigate the reported murder—the narrative makes it worse.

Marc outlined a single narrative that exists both in Rwanda and in the diaspora, and hinders reconciliation in both locations. He suggested that Hutu are essentially forced to ask for “forgiveness,” even if they did not participate in the genocide:

Reconciliation has not happened because Kagame has divided us—it’s confusing because on one hand they say we are Rwandans but on the other he has told the Hutu to ask for forgiveness. There is a program in Rwanda that asks Hutu to denounce what they did and ask for forgiveness which assumes all Hutu are perpetrators, even children—which is contradictory.

Paul outlined a single narrative, but did so in a somewhat indirect manner. He spoke of his occupation and how as a Chief Judge he was asked to render judgment on a variety of cases. Part of the reason that Paul elected to leave Rwanda was that he felt the

government wanted him to disperse judgment on one type of offender, Hutu. Paul spoke frequently of the difficulty he had being an officer of the law and not being “allowed” to hold certain Tutsi or RFP members accountable for their crimes. Furthermore, he suggested that those with political and economic connects to the RFP were not held accountable for their crimes. For Paul, this violated his moral and ethical standards.

This narrative has been successfully carried out, as evident by respondents’ statements and current Rwandan laws (outlined in the literature review) and is supported by some respondents. Five respondents spoke of the single narrative that exists in Rwanda, and suggested that this type of narrative hinders attempts at justice and reconciliation among those in Rwanda. Again, it appears that single narrative that exists in Rwanda has a residual effect on the diaspora. As will be discussed further, all respondents feel that justice and reconciliation have not fully occurred in Rwanda, and it appears that this is partially the result of the imposition of a single narrative that transcends Rwanda. This narrative created silence, and because of this silence, Rwandans are not free to truly express their feelings regarding the genocide or discuss how it affected them.

Justice and Reconciliation in Rwanda

The very purpose of my research was to understand justice and reconciliation among the diaspora. I found that this meant understanding what respondents thought justice and reconciliation were, both for those that remain in Rwanda and those who live in the diaspora. As in all themes, there was a residual effect on the diaspora in regard to what was happening in Rwanda. As such, a continuous issue during the course of interviews was trying to adequately understand what justice and reconciliation actually

meant for participants. Bringing the topics up was often met with long pauses and audible frustration with their own self-identified lack of comprehension of the terms. Respondents agreed with the academic definitions, but suggested that these terms become much more complex and nuanced when one has lived through a mass atrocity and must now act out the conceptual definitions. It was almost as if the technical definitions were missing some vital part of what justice and reconciliation actually mean, but they could not quite explain what it was. I wondered if perhaps it was because, while justice and reconciliation can occur on some level, what was lost will never be regained. What happened cannot be undone—no true justice or reconciliation is possible in the way that many think of those terms. The legacy of genocide continues simultaneously with the attempts at justice and reconciliation.

However, what appears to be a common theme among members of the Rwandan diaspora in the United States and Canada is the notion of “ultimate” justice, or the belief that justice is obtained by returning what is lost. All participants agree that this type of justice is simply not attainable, as their loved ones cannot return from the dead. However, all participants suggest that this does not mean other forms of justice are not attainable.

Justice

As indicated, I directly asked each participant about their opinions on the definition of justice according to Pozen et al. (2014), who define it based on procedural and judicial outcomes, specifically the perceived fairness of the judicial process as well as attitudes regarding the outcomes of the judicial process. Overwhelmingly, respondents did not feel that gacaca courts, traditional courts, or ICTR had achieved this operational

definition of justice. Furthermore, many did not feel that this was the goal of the Kagame administration. This continues to be of concern to them because, even though they are geographically separated from Rwanda, the crimes committed against them and their families, and those who orchestrated those crimes, remain in Rwanda. Thus, their personal feelings of justice and reconciliation are inherently tied with attempts at justice and reconciliation within Rwanda.

When discussing this, Pierre struggled, unsure of what justice would even look like:

It's terrible I mean how? How can you . . . [long pause]. If you have time, read more about the justice. For me . . . [long pause]. I would say that it is a word or an idea created in place of [long pause]. Nothing has been done? You see what I mean? For us, you cannot find a way to—there is no way what they did can be paid back, you can't . . . There is no way.

For Pierre, ultimate justice can't be achieved, but he felt that justice on another level should be attempted. He outlined a more holistic application of justice, forgiveness. He felt that justice could not be achieved, but forgiveness could be obtained.

That's why I was happy to not be there during the gacaca issues. For me, it would have been . . . [long pause] . . . the best thing is to get away from it and change your life and meet some new people. I was telling my boy, he asked me because next week they have a grandparent's day and so they have put in place of someone who does not have grandparents, a man or a woman in the place of the grandparents. So he asked me when grandpa died and grandma. He thought they died a natural death and I told him they died the same day. Then I told him that the bad guys killed them. So there is no justice that can bring back those people who died innocently. But what can be done as human beings is that mistakes were made, errors were made and people acted in error by doing what they did. I think the best thing to do is forgive them and probably hope that they recognize that what they did was not good and hopefully teach their children that this is bad and it won't happen in the future. When you ask how we can do justice to people, there is no way. You put them in prison? So what.

The justice that we would like is to see that something like that does not happen again because it's really too much and it creates a big vacuum in the social structure of the country. And so by forgiving, we allow people to have a second

thought—should I do this or should I not? That would be the justice. If something like that didn't happen again.

I discussed the concept of forgiveness with Jean-Paul, inquiring if he believed that this was, or could be, an alternative to justice. He was adamantly opposed to this concept stating, “When it comes to forgiveness regarding genocide, I think that concept is simply inappropriate, irrelevant, and almost an insult to the victims.”

Therese mirrored much of what Pierre suggested. She also felt that ultimate justice could not be obtained, but suggested that much of this was a result of the failure of meeting the needs of survivors. When asking her if she believed justice had been achieved in Rwanda, she stated:

It's hard to say yes or no, I think its somewhere in between. It's been 21 years since and I think even now they are still yearning in the survivor community for justice. I think that all of us recognize that there will never be a sense of complete justice; we will never have our families back. Most of the suffering that we've endured will live with us for the rest of our lives. There will never be complete justice and that is something that you need to accept and live with when there is something like genocide. But, at the same time there is some justice that can and should be done; people just shouldn't give up and say, “Well it's too much to handle.” I think that's what the new government in Rwanda is dealing with.

After the genocide there were so many people that participated and so you had thousands of people who had participated, a country that was broken down— institutions, infrastructure, everything like the country. It's not just that all those people were murdered. The country physically was in ashes. You have this government and you have an environment where survivors were living in the same villages with people that they just watched murder their families, so the government had a lot of competing needs to address; security issues and trying to have some type of stability and coexistence between the neighbors. I always tell people that one of the things that was destroyed by the genocide was trust, the type of trust that held people in the villages together. Because when the genocide began it wasn't strangers who were chasing you and hunting you and killing you, it was your neighbors and now you have to be in the same space again and you know, accept that.

For Joseph, justice in Rwanda is a direct reflection of the actions taken by the gacaca courts. He believes that the government operates under the assumption that

Rwandans no longer claim ethnicity. Joseph suggests that this is inaccurate, and that it played a heavy role in gacaca proceedings. Additionally, Joseph does not feel that justice has been achieved as those who worked for the gacaca courts have not had proper training.

But justice in Rwanda is justice that the government wants us to know and have as their justice. Right? Not the justice that is enjoyed or embedded in a United Nations kind of human rights and protocol dictated by the United Nations—no. Let's look at these gacaca courts, yes—some will argue it's the best way to solve a big load of cases and try as many people as possible. But the issue is: we wished it was like the way you have a panel of juries in the states or in Canada who are representative of the public. But you are going to have the jury which is mostly Tutsi and they are going to try the Hutu, right?; on the official assumption that the thinking of Hutu-Tutsi is over—which is just a joke. People cannot stop thinking in that way. I will never stop thinking that I am a Tutsi. A Hutu person will never forget that a Tutsi came and took over power and is now ruling their government and they are being ruled by these people. That's not going to work. Now you have a Hutu sitting in front of a Tutsi panel and they are trying their people so it is not impartial. You get a very, very partial justice and people are going to end up in prison. And besides that what kind of training do they have to even start judging others? They need to have some kind of formal training to understand the basics of law and then try to take out the bias they have by merely thinking these people have killed our people.

Jean-Paul believed that the lack of care provided to the survivors of genocide voided the notion of justice among survivors. He strongly felt that justice for survivors needed to include basic provisions:

We still have people who are suffering the fresh, physical wounds of the genocide. My fiancé lost her right arm and only got a prosthesis very recently out of my savings. Yet, her arm was cut during the genocide because of who she was...justice cannot provide a prosthetic arm for her or give her justice. The words are rhetoric and that's a very small example. We have women who were raped and contaminated for HIV/AIDS. They still struggle for medicine; they still struggle for three meals a day. What sort of justice can address the very consequences of this?

Therese mirrored much of what Jean-Paul stated, suggesting that it was difficult to believe that justice had been achieved when the plight of many survivors was so severe:

Basic needs haven't been met since the genocide; housing, there were people that were raped, there are people that are disabled and when you have basic needs that are not being met you don't have a sense of justice. When you are in a village and your arms were cut off and you are living next to someone that has your property and they are living there with their family, in that situation it is very difficult to believe that justice has been achieved. When we think about justice we also have to think about social justice and making sure that survivors have their basic needs provided. They have housing, medical care, education. That's when we can start talking about reconciliation and it's very difficult to talk about it when that hasn't happened.

For Paul, the notion of justice was of particular interest. As a chief judge, prior to gacaca, he was charged with supervising the administering of judgment through the apparatus of Rwandan courts. However, Paul felt that the justice of dispensing judgment was essentially muddled because of false confessions. Paul felt that justice came from honest confessions, something that he did not feel happened often. Paul frequently stated that he felt many perpetrators provided inauthentic confessions and did not feel real remorse for their crimes. In his view, reconciliation could not be achieved if justice was not achieved.

In justice, the committee has to charge a person and the judge has to decide but the person who committed the crimes has to recognize what he did. And when he doesn't recognize that what he did was wrong that can't make reconciliation.

Paul did not believe justice had been served in Rwanda. It was clear that, particularly for him, honest confessions would pave the way for real justice which would lead to true (or at least truer) reconciliation. During the course of our interviews, it was audibly apparent how frustrated he was with the process.

. . . in my mind justice has to be given to survivors. In order to prevent them from committing revenge, yeah. The people in my court had to judge people who committed genocide. I was not involved as the chief judge but my judges had to judge people who committed genocide. I was keen to hear them confess but they didn't. They didn't confess their crimes. If they had confessed I would have heard from my staff. But the problem was in front of the prosecutor and once in the court they refused to confess and it was only that I was waiting for them to confess. Even punishment was not as important as their confession for me but they refused.

Furthermore, Paul felt that justice carried out by the courts (punishment) was only applied to those who the Kagame administration felt were guilty. Justice was not served to members of the RPF who committed crimes during the genocide. In other words, Paul believed that the people who were presented to the courts were essentially handpicked by the government. He felt this created a lack of justice, because justice should be available to everyone. Paul suggested this same problem occurred in the gacaca courts. He believed that most confessions were inauthentic and that many perpetrators were not brought to justice because of governmental connections. Paul stated, quite firmly, that he did not believe that gacaca or ICTR helped facilitate justice and reconciliation in any capacity.

Paul and I communicated via email many times in addition to our telephone calls. Paul sent an email in July of 2015 that I found particularly striking. When discussing his perception of the lack of justice, he elaborated that he believes this can and does lead to continued ethnic violence: "Ethnic violence can still happen today in Rwanda. Indeed, despite the horrors of the 1994 genocide, the demons are not yet exorcised because of lack of real justice."

Marie's feelings about justice, similar to Paul's, were directly related to the acts of the RPF government, particularly President Kagame. Marie felt that the single

narrative of Hutu as perpetrator denied justice for those Hutu who had been injured during the genocide, and for the family members of Hutu who had died:

... for a lot of people who are anti-government, justice comes from changing Kagame's policy. Justice (needs to) comes for anyone who was a victim in the genocide. A lot of Hutus died in the genocide and it takes away their sense of victimhood. Also how they can reconcile with people and also having president Kagame and 90% of all people in the government don't allow a proper justice? You can't have a judge and a jury be the same person and that is something that bothers me and other people a lot.

Marc spoke extensively regarding what he identified as President Kagame's "branding." Essentially, he believed that Kagame created a brand that suggested that he supported attempts at justice and reconciliation. However, he felt that these were actually "deceptive brands" and not at all accurate. Marc discussed justice and reconciliation jointly, and suggested that neither had been achieved in Rwanda. He believed that that while President Kagame claimed that his goal was to support and facilitate justice and reconciliation, his actual goal was to assume complete and total control. For Marc, justice and reconciliation cannot happen with this sort of political leadership.

He specifically discussed gacaca courts in the capacity of what he identifies as President Kagame's "branding concepts." Marc felt that gacaca was a "brand" created by Kagame that appeared to be an instrument to promote reconciliation, but he felt that the reality of gacaca was not reconciliation:

The brand gacaca sounds good because the government couldn't try thousands of people suspected. So it sounds good, but in the practice it becomes an instrument of repression against the Hutu. It becomes the court to try and convict.

The closer I got the more I realized that the branding is the reverse of the reality. In fact, it was deceptive branding. It was all deceptive. Initially I thought of him as someone that could bring reconciliation through his "brands" but then I realized he would not. How can totalitarian government accomplish reconciliation and justice? It's not possible because his form of government is a one person government that has magnetized into a majority. Then he went on to

pursue the Tutsi that may be seen as a threat. Administering justice and reconciliation is the opposite of what he is pursuing. He doesn't just want to dominate the public and private states, but also the *personal* space of Rwandans. He wants to control *what they think*.

For all participants, there was not a real separation of justice and reconciliation. Many felt that one leads into another. Conversely, all participants encouraged me to use the term "justice" first and follow with "reconciliation." As noted earlier, participants agreed that ultimate justice, or returning what was lost, is not possible. However, if justice is defined as holding accountable those that have committed genocidal acts, then justice is more likely to be achieved than reconciliation. They explained that because of the problems associated with both traditional and gacaca courts, the lack of adequate care for survivors, and the culture of silence, justice has not been achieved. Furthermore, this lack of justice facilitates a lack of reconciliation. Any reconciliation among those in Rwanda appears to be forced, as also seems the case within the diaspora.

Reconciliation

Paul felt that reconciliation was the wrong term to use because he felt that it implied wrong doing on both accounts. In other words, reconciliation would require that Tutsi take some sort of responsibility for the genocide. For Paul, reconciliation is not possible, only tolerance can occur. One of Paul's greatest contentions was that survivors were often forced to live next to perpetrators. Whether perpetrators provided inauthentic confessions and had their sentences reduced, or spent their time in prison and returned home, Paul felt that living among those who committed the atrocities was not conducive to reconciliation:

I can't use the word "reconciliation" because it means something to people—everyone has something wrong against someone else. The violence in the genocide was on one side, Hutu and Tutsi so who reconciles with who? That is a

problem but they have to live together. They are close enough that they have to work together. Plus, reconciliation I think is a word that is an incorrect word; it is not the correct word to use in that situation. I would use the word tolerance because they have to live together. In order to have a peaceful life you have to tolerate what people have done. You can't forget but you tolerate it.

. . . victims have to tolerate their killers when they are punished, when they finish their punishment. They can tolerate them but no reconciliation can be possible because reconciliation means that each side has something to—each side has committed offenses. If victims are innocent, how can you use the word reconciliation? Victims are innocent. They did not fight. So, how can one say reconciliation? Who can be reconciled with whom? It's not possible.

The idea of “forgiveness” appeared in both discussions of justice and of reconciliation. I discussed with Paul the idea of forgiveness, and if it is an element of tolerance that can be separate from reconciliation. Paul was very firm in his belief that forgiveness is not possible: “How could you forgive someone who deliberately killed innocent people, including babies? Once their sentence finished, the only thing they deserve would be being tolerated in the society!”

Paul and I spoke regarding the definition of thin reconciliation, and while he notes that this term seems to apply to those in Rwanda, he still believes that reconciliation is the wrong word. Joseph mirrored Paul's statement, suggesting that reconciliation simply does not exist for those remaining in Rwanda: “When they tell you something they are doing with reconciliation, it is nothing like reconciliation at all. What you see is a forced reconciliation and it will go on and go on until something is done to change the situation.”

Additionally, Joseph used the example of intermarriage to illustrate the failure of reconciliation:

When it comes to reconciliation and unity, it is another nightmare. For instance, like you very well know, I am Tutsi and I know the very much the children on the streets where I work when they think I am Tutsi. They know that I am Tutsi and

they don't like me and the same with the Tutsis with my fellow countrymen. You know that because the government has forced everyone into reconciliation that you cannot say that I am Hutu or Tutsi. But you can go into their bedrooms and say that the dog is a Hutu or a Tutsi, meaning that people still have their tribe. And the biggest indicator that there is no reconciliation happening is if marriages are happening in Rwanda, if a Tutsi is marrying a Hutu. A Tutsi man marries his Hutu girlfriend I'm not going to go to that marriage, it doesn't happen. So that's the challenge we have in my country, Jen.

For Jean-Paul, reconciliation has not happened because there are still attacks on the lives of survivors. If reconciliation had happened, he reasons that these victimizations would not occur:

From the beginning of gacaca we have been documenting the abusers and the survivors and cases of forced testimonies against perpetrators and suspects. We have those documented and we had close to 500 survivors who have been killed. Just last year I personally documented 16 cases of survivors who have been killed simply because they annoyed the perpetrators that have been released. Perpetrators and survivors live side by side and at least those who participated in the genocide many outnumber the victims. They try whatever they can to eliminate the victims who bother them.

Therese also suggested that there were attacks on survivors, something that she feels directly hinders justice or reconciliation:

We've had a number of cases in the past few years of survivors being killed throughout the past 21 years. You hear every April about more Tutsis being killed and in most cases it is by people that killed their families in 1994. Maybe seeing them in their village bothers them because they are reminded of what they did, or they still have the hatred.

Jean-Paul further stated that victims and perpetrators are forced to live next to one another. He stated that this was the result of fear of the current administration. He suggested that Rwandans feel that if they are vocal about the lack of reconciliation, there will be repercussions from the government:

Reconciliation is a very hard concept. I think it is very hard, how do you measure it especially in Rwanda. We still have people being killed and very high suspicion. People are living together not because they like each other but because they fear the regime in place.

Therese mirrored this sentiment, suggested that reconciliation is a process that is being forced upon Rwandans by the government:

So for them I don't think they are happy with their reality, but they also know that this is their reality. They don't have a choice and I do feel that some of the reconciliation processes are forced in the sense that if you say, "I'm not interested in reconciling or I don't want to forgive" that is not something the government wants to hear. They want you to forgive and for me (reconciliation) can never be forced. It can't come from this law; it is a process and it is something that is a different process for different people. It means different types of things for different people. It is saying "I'm sorry" or just going and talking to people or saying "hi." There have been a lot of forced—not physical, but people have thought that if they express feelings that are contrary to what is being up in the media then they are somehow doing something wrong. To me that's another form of victimization. People should not be forced to do different things. Some things (reconciliation) just have to be done in a slow process through time and by people's own convictions.

Marie also suggested that reconciliation among Rwandans is being forced and that true reconciliation has to be a voluntary process:

I don't think reconciliation should be imposed; you shouldn't have to reconcile because someone told you to do it. In order to forgive someone for something they did to you, you have to go through the process of remembering it and understanding what happened. When someone comes and says, "You have to reconcile," I don't think that is a process that is applicable in the process of reconciliation.

Marc provided an additional narrative regarding thick reconciliation in Rwanda. While suggesting that reconciliation has not happened, he also elaborated on issues associated with reconciliation within ethnicities:

First of all, reconciliation—even when we talk about this, we must talk about reconciliation between whom. The conflict in Rwanda and the divisions in Rwanda now are not just the Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa—no. Even within the Tutsi there are divisions; there are Tutsi in Rwanda who suffered genocide and are second class citizens because the ones in power are the ones who came from outside because Kagame is from Uganda. So, the one's inside—the victims—are looked upon with suspicion. Some of their leaders are afraid and a few of them have been killed by Kagame and they have suffered along with Hutus because of these new rules imposed. They (Tutsi) are victims—they are isolated. So reconciliation does not happen.

As outlined previously, when discussing justice in Rwanda, both Therese and Jean-Paul suggested that justice could not be achieved as the basic needs of survivors had not been met. Therese, however, also suggested that reconciliation cannot truly occur because of lack of care for survivors:

These are prerequisites to reconciliation, it doesn't just happen. You have to make sure that people's needs are met; that they have food and education and they somehow achieve at least a decent level of living before you can even begin asking them and that doesn't always happen.

The single narrative, or the assumption that all Hutu are perpetrators and all Tutsi are survivors, was previously discussed. However, Marie went on to state that the single narrative which assigns Hutu as perpetrators and Tutsi as survivors has exacerbated tensions and hindered reconciliation:

As you mentioned, most people you talk to are Tutsi and don't have Hutu friends which is really fascinating because we are all supposed to be one big country and happy all together and be one ethnicity within the same country. I have Tutsi friends but I still don't trust them. Like I don't share all the information with them and I'm really, really careful when I share things with them. The whole single narrative and the whole aftermath of the genocide, I think crystallize these differences.

When discussing reconciliation in Rwanda, Monique stated that while the government has its own perception of justice and reconciliation, she believed that it was an incredibly complex issue. For her, reconciliation is a process that takes time:

You know, for me, of course it's a very difficult thing to answer . . . for me you know the survivors, when you go through the genocide, it's very tough and all of us having different views of how we see reconciliation and justice. For me, it's still a journey to me. For me, it's a long, long way when you come from genocide and losing so many people. So many people have been lost and so many bad things have happened. You know, healing takes a long time. For me, it's a long journey; it's (reconciliation) a great thing but it takes some time, especially since there are so many perpetrators all around who are not in prison for what they have done. So many survivors are not able to find the bodies of their loved ones and sometimes it's very tough and it takes some time. I think it's a long journey; I don't know how I can explain it in a better way. Of course politics and the

government have a certain way of looking at it, but for me as an individual it is a long journey, it will take some time.

Pierre was the only participant that suggested that reconciliation, in a true sense, exists among those who remain in Rwanda. Pierre's premise was that the genocide was a political creation, not a social creation, and so the "fabric" of the relationship between Hutu and Tutsi was never completely severed. As he recounted, "So, you want to know how far has reconciliation gone? Reconciliation among the common people is there because it was never totally broken." However, he suggested that reconciliation is more likely outside of Kigali and in more rural areas, as citizens depend on each other in a more functional way, day to day. For example, rural Rwandans are more likely to depend on their neighbors to help them with farming, harvesting, and child rearing. This is a level of dependence not seen in the more metropolitan areas of Rwanda.

Joseph mirrored this statement, stating that Rwandans who live outside of major Rwandan cities tend to work together, but he suggested that this is because they are required to for survival, not out of true reconciliation:

Everyone needs everyone so they can't ignore each other, for those who live in the country. For those who live in cities there is no problem. They don't have any contact because if they don't work together or if they don't share anything they are not interested in one another. But in the country everyone needs everyone so they have to work together.

Seven out of the eight participants suggested that "thick" reconciliation, or meaningful relationships created between different ethnicities (Pozen et al., 2014), has not occurred in Rwanda. Participants frequently discussed that Rwandans tend to associate in meaningful ways only with those of the same ethnic group, and that intermarriage between Hutu and Tutsi rarely, if ever, happened. It appears that "thin" reconciliation, or peaceful coexistence among different ethnicities (Pozen et al., 2014),

may occur among those in Rwanda. This is witnessed by different ethnic groups living among one another without violence. It should be noted that participants did note that violence occasionally does occur between the ethnic groups, but that it is not highly reported. However, this level of “thin” reconciliation seems to largely be a result of the perceived forceful nature of the current administration. Thin reconciliation, at least publicly, is a requirement. However, this does not suggest that this public display is authentic.

Justice and Reconciliation Among the Diaspora

The most primary question of my research was how members of the Rwandan diaspora in the United States and Canada facilitate justice and reconciliation among one another. However, this particular portion of the findings in the shortest. Participants spent the majority of time during interviews discussing politics, as well as justice and reconciliation, in Rwanda. Almost always, when I inquired about justice and reconciliation among the diaspora, participants initially (and heavily) discussed these issues for those in Rwanda. Inadvertently, issues of justice and reconciliation among the diaspora were addressed when discussing politics, justice, and reconciliation in Rwanda.

I believe this occurred because, for all participants, justice and reconciliation in the diaspora is not an entirely separate construct from justice and reconciliation that is occurring in Rwanda. Their beliefs on these concepts are deeply tied to what is happening in Rwanda. During the course of interviews, only two out of the eight respondents provided a diaspora specific idea of justice. Even when prompted, the majority referred back to discussing justice as it relates to Rwanda. Although they no longer live there, they take the failures and successes of apparatuses such as gacaca and

the acts of the government at administering justice quite personally. If they do not feel that justice has been administered in Rwanda, they feel, as members of the diaspora, that justice has not been served for them. However, there was one discussion point that revealed that in addition to justice being served in Rwanda, justice for the diaspora might be more symbolic.

As noted above, part of the problem is that reparations for victims have been halted and that many survivors of genocide are struggling to obtain the very basics to survive (food, medication). It stands to reason that it is easier to begin “healing” and attempt to practice forgiveness when one has social and economic safety. Remaining in a state of crisis limits the ability to address issues other than basic survival. That is not necessarily the case with the diaspora. As members of the Rwandan diaspora in the United States and Canada, they have access to public and social services if needed and they all suggested that this type of “justice” is not necessarily relative to their particular narratives. Furthermore, all eight members of the diaspora feel they have a much more solid and secure economic future in the West than in Rwanda, largely as a result of their commitment and dedication to continuing their education. Moreover, while it became clear during interviews that there is not a particular form of justice among the diaspora; interviews suggest that it is intrinsically related to justice that is administered in Rwanda.

When discussing justice specifically among the diaspora, Jean-Paul outlined a more symbolic form of justice for diaspora members. However, he was quick to connect this need with those who remain in Rwanda:

There are people like me here who have the basics; can have three meals a day and drive cars. We want something more symbolic. We want symbolic reparation. I don't need money but I'll be happy to see something from the state because the genocide was conducted by the state, using the payroll of the state.

The state was the driving force behind everything so I would very much like to see a certificate or a garden somewhere where victims can go and cry or just a documentation about the genocide or a certificate that says “we apologize because your people have been killed by so and so and the government and we deeply apologize.” Maybe I can be happy with that but the person who I told you was raped and doesn’t have anything to eat or shelter; she needs reparation in a different way.

When I inquired about justice for the diaspora, Monique provided a very unique response. Monique was unable to define what justice might be for other diaspora members. However, for her, justice equated to sharing her story and educating others. This appeared to be a very specific form of private reconciliation. She felt that justice meant closure:

To me now, with justice . . . I see it as . . . the reason I feel peaceful or even able to find a way to talk to someone I know who is Hutu—for me, I think, my justice is to be able to speak openly about what happened, to be able to be a voice for others. That is some sort of justice for me because I know these perpetrators might not be able to be in prison or held accountable. But for me, being able to at least have the courage to talk about what they have done and to let people know what happened, that’s a way of justice to me. It’s closure for me.

In addition to the concept of justice, reconciliation among the diaspora is certainly tied to what is occurring in Rwanda. However, participants did discuss reconciliation, or lack thereof, specifically among the diaspora and it appears that reconciliation can be an active construct among them. In other words, while reconciliation in the diaspora is heavily tied to reconciliation in Rwanda, participants felt that it is possible for it to exist, though it rarely does. Seven out of eight participants agreed that “thin” reconciliation existed among the diaspora, and only one participant suggested “thick” reconciliation had occurred. The following section will outline the specific notion of reconciliation among the diaspora, as discussed by participants. Interviews suggested that the political ideology and culture of silence transcends Rwanda to include the diaspora and that this

has very real consequences for how members interact with one another. This includes the single narrative of only Tutsi being survivors and Hutu being perpetrators. This is to say, the deep divide that appears to exist in Rwanda between Hutu and Tutsi also appears to exist among the diaspora. Because of this deep divide, some participants suggested that Hutu in the diaspora in the United States and Canada have actually lied about their ethnic identity as to avoid the stigma of being labeled a perpetrator.

Reconciliation

When generally discussing reconciliation among the diaspora with Paul, he was very quick in his response that it simply does not occur. When I asked him about different diaspora groups, he said that they were very separate and that they organize according to ethnicity. He stated, “There is a group (Hutu diaspora group) within the community but we don't meet or talk to each other so we have nothing in common.” I asked him, to the best of his knowledge, if Hutu and Tutsi diaspora members separated themselves from one another in other locations. He emphatically stated that they did and suggested that that was the case everywhere.

Joseph outlined a similar statement, suggesting that lines are clearly drawn in the diaspora based on ethnicity. Joseph stated that many Tutsi members of the Rwandan diaspora in Canada were unhappy with the regime of President Kagame, but that Hutu diaspora members would not see them as allies:

No Hutu whatsoever, even if it is a Hutu right here in Canada . . . There is no Hutu ever that would believe that I am on their side. They cannot believe that. I can't explain it to them because that's how we grew up.

Jean-Paul is an extremely intelligent man, who was (and continues to be) very cautious about vocalizing his beliefs regarding Rwandan politics and issues of justice and

reconciliation. While he was a public blogger in Rwanda, he did not feel that he wrote politically polarizing or inflammatory pieces and worked quite hard to maintain an informed and balanced position. He continues to project that sense of neutrality. When discussing lack of reconciliation among the diaspora, he offered the following response:

I would work quite easily with any people or ethnic group, but simply when I am here (United States) or when I am in Europe, people from a different ethnic group don't identify with me. They sort of don't want to talk to me, even though I want to approach them.

When generally discussing reconciliation among the diaspora, Marc stated that this does not happen. However, he felt this was a direct result of the Kagame administration. His beliefs regarding the involvement of the Kagame administration are reflected in his statement regarding attempts at unifying the diaspora, and his belief that ethnicities tend to stick together:

Of course there are some efforts (to unify); there was just one in National Congress. I could go to something like that (because the National Congress is very critical of Kagame). However, the community diaspora organizations are split. I wouldn't go to them that are they because they are dangerous . . . They are an extension of the regime.

Jean-Paul further outlined that members of the diaspora did not often socialize with those of different ethnicities. He explained how members of the diaspora try to figure out someone's ethnicity almost immediately:

They try to figure out your ethnicity first and before they speak to you they want to know who you are and of course because of your appearance they make assumptions of whether you are Hutu or Tutsi but here communities are divided. We may have a birthday or a wedding and it's very rare that a Tutsi comes to my wedding if I am a Hutu and vice versa but in Rwanda some pretend, some pretend.

Pierre was the only participant who suggested that thick reconciliation existed among the Rwandan diaspora in the United States. He discussed his own diaspora in Michigan and how they frequently come together:

You will notice we have a lot of Hutus and Tutsis. We all come together. As I told you, Rwanda is a small country and most of us knew each other and many of us were friends and were on good terms. When we came over and found ourselves here, there is nothing of animosity between us.

Marie and Therese also suggested that reconciliation had not occurred among the diaspora. They, however, outlined very specific reasons why this was occurring which will be discussed below. Additionally Therese felt that reconciliation might occur in some locations, but that it typically does not. The remainder of the chapter will outline more specific reasons that participant's provided as to why they feel that thick reconciliation (with the exception of Pierre's statement) has not occurred among members of the Rwandan diaspora in the United States and Canada. Three primary themes emerged during the course of interviews that help explain lack of reconciliation: lying about ethnic identity, freedom to make choices (including the ability geographically move), and the "weeding" out of extremists.

Lying about identity. Paul was previously a member of a Rwandan diaspora organization in an eastern province of Canada. He stated that the organization worked very hard to unite Tutsi and Hutu. He believed that uniting them would create a form of social support that not only helped Rwandans acclimate to a new country and culture, but also help them achieve their goals of creating genocide awareness and honoring those lost. As he explained, "We tried but it was not possible. We were helped by the Canadian community who was there before the genocide. They tried to gather and reunite together and talk, but it was not possible."

Paul went on to say that he believed the difficulty in uniting Hutu and Tutsi in Canada was largely a result of the negative stigma associated with those who identify as Hutu. In an attempt to shed the Hutu label, Paul suggested that some Hutu actually denied that ethnic identity. He also believed that this stigma influenced some Hutu to deny the genocide outright. When discussing this, he stated:

In my opinion it is because it is not easy to bear the name of the “genocidaire” and as a consequence they deny the genocide and survivors. Deniers can’t have the same ground. I think that’s the problem but I can be wrong. I’m not sure.

. . . it is very difficult to be named as Hutu because when someone hears the name “Hutu” what they hear is “genocide” and it is easier for them to deny it because if they accept that genocide was committed, it is a confession that they committed genocide themselves and that is very hard. As I said it is very hard to be a survivor because of remembrance, but it is much harder to be called the name of a genocide doer.

Joseph’s sentiments supported this statement, suggesting that lying about ethnicity is a common occurrence.

It is very, very common. Because of the stigma associated to being a Hutu you find someone telling you “my mom was a Hutu but my dad was a Tutsi” because in Rwanda and Africa, the child is assumed to take the tribe of the father so they tell you, “yeah my mom was a Hutu but my dad was a Tutsi so I am a Tutsi but my parents passed away.” There are so many people that are going to hide their identity.

Jean-Paul also outlined a similar narrative to Joseph’s; however, he acknowledged that many Hutu saved Tutsi lives during the genocide. Thus bearing the mark of a genocidaire may be particularly painful and divisive for those who identify as Hutu:

I think that happens. I know a close friend here and I have friends in Rwanda who pretend to be something else who are Hutus and were not comfortable with being identified as Hutu because of that stain that is on Hutu. I mean not all the Hutus, objectively speaking committed genocide. There were very many Hutus who rescued Tutsis and have done heroic work but it is true there have been many Hutus, especially young people, who do not want to be Hutu. I know many. Even though they are really innocent.

Therese also suggested that some perpetrators have entered the United States, changed their name, and refused to identify as a particular ethnicity. However, Therese suggested that this was done primarily by members of the diaspora who actually participated in genocidal acts. Therese suggested that this affects both justice and reconciliation.

We are all aware that there are people here who participated in the genocide and you know they have commanded a lot of high levels of the genocide. But even on that list there are still people that are wanted and changed their names and came here. We are aware of that reality so to say that justice has been achieved you can't accept in that context.

Monique, similar to Therese, suggested that there are those who have attempted to change their ethnic identity to escape prosecution for genocidal acts. When I inquired if she believed people lied about their ethnicity, she outlined a particular example within the United States:

Yeah it's true! There is a case of a woman in New Hampshire, I don't know if you've heard about it. It's not only her, there are some that lie about it because they think that if people know that they are Hutus then they will follow their background and find out that they were a part of the genocide. There was a woman who lied and recently they found out that she was a part of the killings in the genocide. This was one of the cases that were talked about in the media recently, but she is now serving her time in prison. Knowing someone in Rwanda and their real name, there are so many people that can help you find out what they have done and who they are and where they came from. It's so easy. So some of them have changed their names.

We see here that Therese's and Monique's statement regarding justice among the diaspora is tied directly to justice in Rwanda. If there are members of the diaspora who in fact committed acts of genocide and have escaped facing the gacaca or traditional Rwandan courts, then justice is seen to have been skirted for. The belief that there exists those who lie about their ethnicity further exacerbates ethnic tensions.

An additional commonality among some participants was the discussion of the ability of members of the diaspora to geographically move and how this affected reconciliation. In other words, they were able to pick up and move if they elected not to live next to certain ethnicities. This luxury is not a possibility in Rwanda, where individuals are essentially forced to live and work among those with whom they have not reconciled. Not only did participants discuss the ability to move, but also the freedom associated with living in the United States and Canada. In these two locations, there is no pressure or governmental action that forces them to reconcile.

Ability to move and freedom of choice. Participants provided interesting commentary regarding another example of the lack of thin or thick reconciliation. Specifically, they have the ability to geographically move. This speaks to the desire of living separately from certain ethnicities and ties into the deeper discussion of freedom of choice. Members of the diaspora have more choices than those in Rwanda regarding with who they interact.

Jean-Paul outlined a narrative that speaks to the ability of diaspora members to not be forced to reconcile, largely as a result of the mobility they have.

I think here it is a bit different. In Rwanda, people are condemned to live together. They don't have much choice. Whether they like it or not they must live together side by side. We are 19,000 square miles that exist, they don't have a choice other than living together. But here in Michigan, tomorrow I will be in Seattle if I want . . .

When speaking of the ability to relocate, he also noted that he believes there is not a relationship among the diaspora.

Here, survivors of the genocide or those that left, they don't want to live close to each other. They want to live separately. So they do so, because they can. I don't have evidence that they hate each other but the communities are very separate. Hutus are there and Tutsis are there and they prefer not to have strong

relationships. Some young people are trying to break the ice but for all the generations, there is this divide. In Rwanda whether they like it or not, you farm together and you are going to the same classes.

Similarly, when discussing reconciliation among the diaspora, Marie stated that Rwandans in her location tend to affiliate according to ethnicity. She suggested that part of the reason there is little reconciliation among the diaspora is because they are not forced to do so:

When it comes to diaspora, yes we don't have an obligation to do anything. If we don't want to see someone we just move or we don't talk to them so there isn't an incentive to reconcile. If you look at the different diaspora we are actually grouped by our ethnicity, Tutsi Rwandans are in DC, other places are Hutu Rwandans. We all move in our own ethnic flocks. We don't have to reconcile. We can do our own thing. We don't have to do anything if we don't want to.

Therese agreed that members of the diaspora have choices that do not exist in Rwanda. She suggested ethnicities tend to stick together, but that there is some unification among the diaspora. In her experience, there is a relatively active diaspora throughout the United States. She also remarked how Rwandan politics are affecting one particular diaspora community:

Here in the U.S. people have choices. You don't have to reconcile with anyone in terms of ethnicity. I always tell people whether we are going to the picnic, a child naming, or a wedding, most conversations will eventually lead to the genocide. You have people now that have all types of political views because there are a number of groups in the U.S. and that's all becoming very divisive within the diaspora which is very interesting. You have communities like in Portland, Maine, that is a big community. There are people that love the government and then people in opposition, and that's tearing the community apart. But people here, in New York, even within the discourse here, we say we are all Rwandans.

Joseph provided an interesting discussion regarding reconciliation among the diaspora. He stated that he has Hutu acquaintances, but that this is not a common occurrence. Considering that thin reconciliation is essentially a requirement in Rwanda, it tends to occur less in the diaspora where people are not held to any such requirements.

However, Joseph suggested that whatever reconciliation that occurs in the diaspora is of a more authentic nature. When diaspora members make the choice to reconcile and create a peaceful coexistence, it is of their own choosing. Joseph was quick to point out, however, that reconciliation is “thin” and that meaningful relationships, such as intermarriage, still do not exist.

Additionally, Monique stated that she had a Hutu classmate that she considered a friend. I asked her if she thought this was common within diaspora, and she stated that she did not believe so:

Among the survivors we actually talk about it, so not all people understands that the same way. We always discuss this and some of them say, “I don’t think I am capable of having Hutu friends.” That’s an example. They might talk to the person but I wouldn’t consider that a friend. Maybe they will say, “If someone is okay or authentic and we are open, it’s okay.” Not everyone is the same but among us, we talk about how different we feel and I think it helps if we can help someone who is struggling to get close to a person like that. I think that’s the reason why it’s so good for all of us to be different so that we can help each other.

“Weeding” out of extremists. Numerous participants suggested that the diaspora tends to weed itself out of those who proclaim extremist ideology. For example, participants have suggested that pockets of the diaspora have separated themselves from others because of their extremist ideology. It has been suggested that there is no “middle ground” for the diaspora. If one harbors extremist ideology, they tend to relocate themselves along with their family. Pierre suggests that reconciliation has happened among the diaspora, but states that this is largely because Hutu extremists have moved and created their own diaspora networks:

What happens here is that if someone is really bad he doesn’t even talk to you. We know some extremists who lived here and because they could not interact with us—for example, every year at the end of the year the diaspora community meets and we dance, we eat, we do a lot of partying. But those extremists they

never come so for them to feel happy they have to go away. They go to other states like Arizona; there are a big number of extremists here.

Michigan is good. We have a good number of Rwandans. Also, Massachusetts is okay but Ohio is not and Arizona is not. Reason being that the population in Ohio and Arizona were picked from refugee camps outside of Rwanda. Camps in Tanzania, Uganda, Congo. They were Hutu populations who fled because they were afraid of what they had done so they still have a lot of animosity. They are not violent but we are not so close as with people who live in Michigan.

Jean-Paul also shared similar observations about extremists within the diaspora.

He stated that members of the diaspora are more honest about their feelings, which leads to the identification of extremist groups:

In the diaspora, we don't have people who are neutral. We have only the extremes. Very few people are neutral and very few people here . . . how do I describe this? People here are true about themselves. Here, Hutus who have been involved in one way or another in the genocide, they disseminate all types of propaganda to the young generation and they do everything to cover up what happened. Tutsis who are survivors and Tutsis in general, they also speak what they believe in and they identify as Tutsis and others identify themselves as Hutus. Of course there are a few categories of Hutus who are a bit nervous about what happened and also Tutsis, especially those who are in opposition and have tendencies to do whatever they can to over-throw the regime in Kigali. Some have tendencies to even associate themselves with people who deny genocide, especially Tutsis who came to Rwanda from abroad and are now in opposition.

Monique also suggested that extremist groups exist among the diaspora and that they tend to occupy their own space. She stated that there are certain areas she will not go to because she feels unsafe:

They (extremists) form their own groups and they keep talking about the extreme hatred among themselves. It happens a lot. You know that you should just not even go there because you are not safe. For instance, I started talking publicly about my experience and I noticed that I was going to put myself in danger if I was around them so I can't even do that.

Joseph also discussed extremists in the diaspora and suggested that they hinder reconciliation, but he also suggested that extremism may occur because they have

freedom of speech, something that is withheld in Rwanda. Joseph's statement also alludes to the issue of the single narrative that has been created in Rwanda:

If you exit and become a member of the diaspora you are exposed to all this material and now you can remember what you are being told, right? And now, you can read and make your own decision. That is what is happening, so that's why when most people come to these countries, their eyes are open and they say, "Oh my goodness this is what is happening." When you are in Rwanda, there is a mandatory truth there and you are going to believe this truth.

An additional discussion point that frequently was discussed during the course of interviews was that the process of reconciliation is simply something that takes time. Participants outlined how the process of reconciling following the atrocity of genocide is not something that can be forced and it can't have time frames. The issue of time was something that appeared to be an undertone of participants' discussion of reconciliation. They made very clear statements about political and ethnic tensions and its effect on reconciliation, and suggested that these issues exacerbate the long process of healing and reconciliation.

Conclusion

Throughout the course of interviews, diaspora participants heavily discussed current Rwandan politics, their opinions of President Kagame (largely negative), and the impact Rwandan politics has on the diaspora. This was most evident in the discussion of the culture of silence and the attempts at creating a single narrative. Diaspora members also report the monitoring of the diaspora by Rwandan governmental officials and suggest that this affects attempts at justice and reconciliation. Overwhelmingly, participants suggested that neither justice nor reconciliation has occurred in Rwanda or among the diaspora. More specifically, it appears that justice among the diaspora is

inherently tied to the administration of justice in Rwanda. However, reconciliation among the diaspora, while heavily influenced by reconciliation in Rwanda, may be its own construct.

Interviews suggest that thick reconciliation (the creation of meaningful relationships among different ethnicities) rarely occurs among the diaspora in both the United States and Canada. If reconciliation does occur, it appears to be thin reconciliation, as evident by lack of physical attacks of members of the diaspora and the ability to coexist relatively peacefully. While some semblance of reconciliation is forced in Rwanda, it appears that less reconciliation occurs among the diaspora, largely as a result of their ability to choose their relationships. Participants are not “forced” to reconcile, as they are in Rwanda. Many discussed in detail the ability to geographically move and the frequency with which diaspora members who propose “extremist ideology” tend to relocate themselves. When reconciliation does occur among the diaspora, as outlined by Pierre and Monique, it appears to be genuine, precisely because it is not forced upon them by governmental bodies. A more detailed summary of these findings will be offered in Chapter VII.

CHAPTER VI

EXPERT INTERVIEWS/FINDINGS

As explained in Chapter III, due to sampling difficulties, and to better understand why members of the Rwandan diaspora in the United States and Canada may be reluctant to participate in interviews, I attempted contact with 15 experts who have studied, in some capacity, the culture and politics of Rwanda, the Rwandan genocide, gacaca courts, Rwandan immigration to the United States or Canada, and/or justice and reconciliation in Rwanda. I also wanted to speak with these experts about their perceptions of justice and reconciliation in Rwanda, as well as among the diaspora. Experts included those who have published on, and/or spent significant time studying these topics, as well as those who have worked with Rwandans in Rwanda or the diaspora in a professional or academic role. Four experts identified agreed to participate in an interview. Each expert was interviewed via telephone one time and each interview lasted between 60 and 75 minutes.

Dr. Helen Hintjens and Dr. Filip Reyntjens were approached, as they are two of the most prominent scholars on Rwandan politics and genocidal studies. Numerous attempts were made to contact Dr. Phil Clark, the most pronounced expert on the successes and failures of gacaca courts. Though Dr. Clark and I communicated via email numerous times, I was unable to secure an interview with him due to his sabbatical travels and the birth of his new son. Moreover, Dr. Hintjens, Dr. Reyntjens, and Dr. Clark are three of the most published authors of academic material related to Rwanda,

gacaca, and post-genocide politics. Dr. Reyntjens is often credited with being extremely critical of the Rwandan government, whereas Dr. Clark is thought of as more supportive of the Kagame administration and their attempts at transitional justice. Dr. Hintjens is relatively more moderate in her approach to Rwandan studies. These experts vary in their beliefs and perceptions of what is happening in Rwanda and its effect on the diaspora. Because of their breadth of perceptions, they were specifically chosen in an attempt to bring balance to the discussion.

Dr. Gerald Caplan was sought after as he is a prominent genocide scholar in Canada who has actively worked with diaspora in a variety of capacities. More specifically, he has assisted in the creation of a national remembrance for the genocide in Canada, and has actively engaged with members of the diaspora. As Dr. Caplan has worked directly with the diaspora and is located in Canada, he was a clear choice for an expert interview. Additionally, attorney Maia Storm was selected because of her work with the Rwandan diaspora in the United States, primarily as an immigration attorney for asylum cases. Out of all experts identified, she perhaps has the most experience working directly with members of the diaspora and can personally attest to the culture of silence that appears to exist among them. Her perceptions and knowledge are invaluable in understanding their particular experiences.

Dr. Caplan, Dr. Reyntjens, and Ms. Storm were provided with a consent document, and they provided verbal consent to utilize their statements in my dissertation as well as any future publications. Dr. Hintjens contacted me prior to creation of a consent form or HSIRB approval. However, we discussed that any information shared during the course of the interview would be utilized for my dissertation and all future

publications, and Dr. Hintjens provided her verbal consent. All four experts were aware that no confidentiality would be assumed and that their legal names would be utilized.

Dr. Helen Hintjens, International Institute of Social Studies in the Netherlands

Dr. Helen Hintjens, Assistant Professor of Development and Social Justice at the International Institute of Social Studies in the Netherlands, has published extensively on post-genocide politics, particularly in Rwanda. She is considered one of the leading experts in post-genocide studies of Rwanda, particularly identity politics. I emailed Dr. Hintjens in early February of 2016. Dr. Hintjens replied to my email via an unscheduled telephone call. She stated that she would be out of the office for two to three weeks, and wanted to speak with me before she left. We were only able to speak by telephone that one time, during which I outlined my research goals and my difficulty with securing interviews. As I had not yet received HSIRB approval to conduct these additional interviews with experts, our telephone call was not recorded. Because of this, Dr. Hintjen's interview is perhaps the least detailed; however, she did give me verbal consent that anything discussed in our telephone call could be utilized for my dissertation and corollary projects.

I began by discussing with Dr. Hintjens what my interviews were reflecting and that there existed a perceived fear among the diaspora to speak with researchers, in large part because they feared ramifications for their families in Rwanda as well as for their personal and familial safety in their locations in the geographical West. Dr. Hintjens acknowledged the difficulty in securing interviews with members of the Rwandan diaspora in the United States and Canada, but questioned my use of the term "culture of silence."

She suggested that while she believed that diaspora members might be afraid to speak because of the Kagame regime, she believed that the likelihood of the administration to actually follow and monitor them was unlikely. She also suggested that the failure to speak may be due to cultural norms. More specifically, Dr. Hintjens suggested that the trauma of the genocide and the deep impact that it has prevents individuals from wanting to speak with researchers and essentially “rehash” what happened.

To the extent that members of the diaspora feared speaking out against the Rwandan government, Dr. Hintjens suggested that there may be fear of speaking in relation to the Kagame administration, but also because of diaspora based relationships. She stated that diaspora members might fear speaking because they are afraid of other diaspora members. This certainly was evident in my work. It was quite common for participants to say that they wanted me to speak with other members of their diaspora, but that they did not feel comfortable referring me to them.

When discussing sample size, Dr. Hintjens did not appear entirely surprised with the few number of participants I had identified. She inquired if I had contacted the embassy of Rwanda in both the United States and Canada. I informed her that I had attempted email contact, and she suggested that I go to both locations in person. She thought that staff might introduce me to individuals who might wish to speak, certainly those who maintain a pro-Kagame stance. In addition, Dr. Hintjens suggested that when attempting to identify participants, I should act very naïve regarding Rwanda and my topic. She thought expressing naivety might garner more interviews.

Dr. Filip Reyntjens, University of Antwerp, Belgium

Dr. Filip Reyntjens is a Professor of African Law and Politics at the Institute of Development Policy and Management at the University of Antwerp, Belgium. He states that sometimes his work acts as “action-research,” believing that his research leads him to take particular stances on certain issues. For example, Dr. Reyntjens volunteers with Amnesty International and has written for over 30 years on the geopolitics of the Great Lakes region in Africa, most specifically on Rwanda, Burundi, and Congo. He participated in the controversial 2014 BBC documentary, *Rwanda’s Untold Story*, which explores the ethnic makeup of those who died during the genocide, as well discusses the possibility that it was Kagame who shot down President Habyarimana’s plane (both issues that the current Rwandan administration vehemently denies). Dr. Reyntjens most recent book, *Political Governance in Post-Genocide Rwanda*, published in 2013 addresses the issues within the political structure in Rwanda. I reached out to Dr. Reyntjens via email in February of 2016 and he quickly responded that he was interested in being interviewed. A 60-minute telephone interview was conducted that same month.

Similar to my conversation with Dr. Hintjens, I discussed with Dr. Reyntjens the difficulty I had in identifying members of the Rwandan diaspora in the United States and Canada who wished to participate in my research. Initially, Dr. Reyntjens and I discussed how participants had suggested that they were uncomfortable connecting me with others, as it would become known that they were speaking out. This led to discussion of the separation that exists among the diaspora and his belief that the separation exists largely due to a lack of shared history. Dr. Reyntjens also suggested that he believed this divisive issue might be improving:

That is certainly an element. I hear from people. . . . I know that you will have Hutu and Tutsi cafes in Brussels or pro-RPF cafes, because a number of Tutsis have fallen out with the RPF so they can't go to the other Tutsi cafes, and that of course people only go to cafes when they meet equally minded people. So there isn't much of a dialogue is there?

That is one of the major problems that I discussed with someone else who is actually working in South Africa on reconciliation. . . . What I was saying is that one of the problems of Rwanda is that they don't have a shared or common reading of history. Of course there are more problems but making it dichotomous, there are two stories and I would hesitate to say the Hutu and Tutsi story but the two stories, the several histories just simply don't overlap. And it is impossible to even start devising a common reading of history because history has to do things. Facts are facts and you have to agree on facts. But these are just facts of history; there are also the perception of history and what history means. Of course that becomes more subjective and it may become more difficult and maybe impossible to develop a perception of history. If they could just agree on the facts of history that would be a good start but that is not happening at all. There is one positive thing by the way, thanks to the fact that increasing numbers of Tutsi are falling out with the RPF. That makes it seem less ethnic—it makes it political rather than ethnic. This encourages inter-ethnic coalition based on political issues and not ethnic issues. For instance, they must find an alternative to the RPF and start thinking about a political alternative. Of course, a number of Hutu do support the RPF and that can't be based on political considerations; it may be sheer self-interest and access to privileges and perks. So the more Hutu and Tutsi you have on both sides of the divide, the better it is because then the ethnic dichotomy may be replaced by the political dichotomy and that would be tremendous progress.

I outlined that the majority of those I had interviewed suggested that members of the diaspora might be hesitant to talk about potentially political topics like justice and reconciliation because of their fear of the Rwandan government. He supported this statement, stating, "Oh absolutely . . . and the reach of the government or at least a perception of the reach, as well as the whole culture of Rwandan politics in the diaspora is very strong." He elaborated further on the silence among the diaspora and stated that while the diaspora *believed* they were being monitored, he had doubts regarding the actual ability of the Rwandan government to effectively police the diaspora from so far away:

I think maybe the fear is unjustified, the fear that the arm of the RPF is very long. I think this fear has two parts. First, they feel threatened even in democracies. This is because a few people, not many, but a number of people have actually been killed abroad. Of course, that contributes to the feeling that it can happen to anyone. The second thing is most of those people have members of their family living in Rwanda and they fear that they can be victimized for what they say and I think that that may be an overreaction. I don't think the Rwandan government is following everything that everyone says. It is impossible and it wouldn't be useful to them. The Rwandan regime is concerned about expressions of dissent that might be picked up by the press or that might influence the policies of the donors. But what someone says in a bar in Brussels or in Montreal doesn't interest them that much. But there is this phenomenon of what they call spies. Those are not always government sponsored spies. Those are people that genuinely support the RPF and they would then go to the embassy and talk to the guy there and say, "I heard that guy in this bar saying nasty things about the regime." That might happen. But in general these things don't have consequences for people, but I think that there is a great deal of paranoia around as well.

Dr. Reyntjens elaborated and suggested that while the current Rwandan government might not have the ability to actively monitor the general diaspora population, they certainly actively monitor those who are considered "dangerous." Interestingly, he also discussed how Tutsi may be followed more closely than Hutu.

Well, they feel that it could happen and they also probably don't have an accurate understanding of the reach of the regime. It is a regime that is concerned about security, control and intelligence. They spend a lot of resources on gathering intelligence and (identifying) which people might threaten them politically or otherwise. Even for a regime that tries to police the Rwandan population abroad so closely, that (the idea that every member of the diaspora was monitored) would be exaggerating the regime's capacity and willingness or will. They have to make choices about who to monitor.

For an example, there was this former RPF defense force major that fled Rwanda and started talking about the operation in South Africa. He talked to the press and this was published in the New England Guardian. He would be considered, and he was considered by the state security in Belgium as under threat and he was protected. Now I think he has moved to the United States because he feared for his life in Belgium. So those people would be under an actual degree of threat and I know I could mention at least 20 or 25 people who had publicly engaged—and most of those people are actually former RPF. They are considered traitors and dangerous people because they know all "the secrets" and they have been accused of involvement in the genocide, but they are considered more dangerous

than Hutu opponents today. There have been victims inside Rwanda lately, too, against the president, generals, all those people—they are all Tutsi. So what I see and what started to become visible from 2010 and onwards—those singled out for whatever reason either assassination, character assassination, arrest and conviction after a fake or phony trial, they all tend to be Tutsi.

During the course of my interview with Dr. Hintjens, as noted above, she discussed that speaking publicly about emotional and painful topics in Rwanda is not a cultural norm. I addressed this topic with Dr. Reyntjens, and inquired if he believed that the culture of silence could be an effect of something other than political pressure:

I would say that there is a strong cultural reluctance in Rwanda—to speak out—but that reluctance has been reinforced in the extreme by the way in which the current regime deals with dissent and with dissenting voices, in all sorts of ways. Of course there are legal ways and laws against genocide ideology and that has served in essence to preserve the RPF but also in more shadowy ways; people being threatened, being followed, being called by strangers and being arrested and then released, and then threatened again, and then freed, and then assassinated in Kampala or Johannesburg. So, although it has been there for a long time and this is being reinforced, no doubt, by what I would call a heavy handed regime.

In addition to our discussion of the political regime in Rwanda and its ability to monitor and frighten members of the diaspora in speaking out, Dr. Reyntjens and I discussed “thin” and “thick” reconciliation and how these occur in Rwanda and among the diaspora. Specifically, we discussed the possibility that some respondents had suggested that reconciliation is actually less likely to occur in the diaspora because it is not forced. I asked Dr. Reyntjens if he was surprised by that finding:

No, it’s not that surprising. Enforced reconciliation isn’t working. On the face it seems to work because people don’t chop each other’s heads off, but we have a wealth of field research data that tells us—I mean Rwanda has been a heavily researched country over the last 20 years or so but again, that goes back to the issue of the hidden and public transcript. The public transcript (single narrative) is that reconciliation is complete and they have a barometer to measure that [laughs]—I mean which is the Rwandan fashion to do so: “We have reached a reconciliation rate of 93%.” They are always extremely precise about these things while of course it is impossible to measure that in such a fashion.

On the one hand there is an obligation to reconcile in Rwanda and that doesn't exist abroad because the reach of the regime is not such that it can impose that, but whether it is more successful in Rwanda, I wouldn't be so sure about that. Within Rwanda there might be more possibilities of reconciliation if the state remains aloof. For instance, research shows that the people will say "gacaca are behind us so now we can start reconciling." So people are willing to do it on a personal level, but what the RPF imposes is group reconciliation. That became extremely clear when Kagame told all the Hutu to acknowledge guilt for genocide committed in their name and they were all supposed to seek pardon. That of course is not what Tutsi and Hutu want; they want clarity.

At the conclusion of our interview, Dr. Reyntjens and I discussed the issue of "opaqueness" in Rwanda and the diaspora, and how it was sometimes difficult to understand the reality of what was going on in both locations and among both sets of Rwandans. From a research standpoint, we discussed frustrations regarding making definitive claims. While he outlined the opaqueness that occurs in Rwanda, it is clearly applicable to the diaspora, as what happens in Rwanda continues to appear to have a residual effect on the diaspora:

I absolutely agree with you. What I have seen, for instance in my latest book on post genocide Rwanda, what I have done there is simply try to render facts; to find facts, to corroborate. It's an extremely empirical book but those are the facts that I know and those are the facts from within the system. Rwanda is run by an inner circle. Major decisions are not debated in parliament or in the courts. When, for instance, the regime decides to recruit, arm, and train rebels—that is a decision that Rwanda obviously denies flatly, but that is not something that would be discussed in the cabinets. That happens in the inner circle and we can imagine a number of names—I can imagine 5 or 6 people involved—but what happens inside is something we don't know and that is a major gap. Of course we can't know everything but what we do know is that inside that circle there is a great deal of debate. The RPF is a learning organization; they change policy if it doesn't work, they try something else. So there is a lot of debate going on but you only see it when one of them falls out of the inner circle.

Dr. Gerald Caplan, Chair, International Advisory Board for the University of Toronto Centre for International Health's HIV/AIDS Initiative for Africa

Dr. Gerald Caplan is a leading Canadian authority and an internationally recognized scholar on the Rwandan genocide and genocide prevention. He speaks around the world regarding such topics and is a senior consultant for the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. He has submitted reports to UNICEF and the African Union regarding the state of children in Africa, as well as authored "Rwanda: The Preventable Genocide," a report submitted for the International Panel of Eminent Personalities to investigate the genocide in Rwanda. He founded and was co-coordinator of a major international initiative called "Remembering Rwanda: The Rwanda Genocide 10th Anniversary Memorial Project." In this capacity, he has worked closely with members of the Rwandan diaspora in Canada. Currently, Dr. Caplan is the volunteer chair of the International Advisory Board for the University of Toronto Centre for International Health's HIV/AIDS Initiative for Africa.

Dr. Caplan and I communicated through email, and spoke via telephone for approximately 75 minutes in February 2016. After describing my research and background, Dr. Caplan provided me with information regarding his own experiences as well as his opinions on these particular topics. He began by outlining that he believed the majority of Rwandans in Canada were Tutsi, at least those with whom he had the most consistent contact with. He stated, "People like me to refer to them all, because Rwandans that are in Canada are almost always Tutsi, if you happen to meet them. Where the hell the Hutu are is a mystery to me; I assume they're here." This statement and further discussion hit not only on the ethnic makeup of, and the division among, the Rwandan diaspora in Canada, but also on issues of reconciliation.

Dr. Caplan discussed reconciliation, but in a different context than I had. Essentially, his view is that the diaspora “reconciled” the fact that there was no reconciliation. He discussed that the ethnic groups literally separate themselves physically and have very little, if any, contact among one another. This would partially explain his lack of exposure to Hutu members of the diaspora. He also provided discussion of reconciliation in an additional context, one that included their responsibilities as Rwandans, which includes the requirement of silence: “They have been reconciled almost since the time they came over here, to know that it is none of their business to ask awkward questions. It is their business to be positive ambassadors to the government.”

I inquired if Dr. Caplan had any recommendations regarding how to identify members of the diaspora and informed him of the vast amounts of time I had put into identifying potential participants. He suggested that first, I include in my findings “how extremely difficult a relatively easy thing has been” and that “this is a whole society in the US and Canada that won’t let itself be discovered.” Interestingly, his advice was the opposite of that offered by Dr. Hintjens. Whereas she recommended that I approach members of the diaspora naively, Dr. Caplan suggested that I appear knowledgeable. He also discussed diaspora based organizations. He stated that while they existed, they were incredibly difficult to penetrate:

There are networks; how you find them out and get in touch with them is beyond me. There are all kinds of websites, of course in Kinyarwanda, so somehow you’d have to find someone that can get you into that information. God knows how you do it.

Dr. Caplan also discussed at length the existence of spies among the diaspora that work for the Rwandan government and how this perception could impact my work:

I know for a fact—actually, it was never much of a secret here—that there is always some kind of RPF who watches over and is active in Rwandan activity here. In Toronto, there is a guy who is RPF, anybody could have told you here that he was an RPF stooge who reports back regularly. There is not a question in my mind that this stunted conversation and that if anyone wanted to have a conversation, the fact that he was there, ready to tell somebody back home, made them reluctant to talk even if they wanted to.

All of this makes your paper particularly untimely as you know, because the government at home has never been more paranoid or menacing than it has been now. There is nobody in the Rwandan community or others who follow that know going on, that don't know that they send out punishers from Kigali when they feel the need.

Dr. Caplan offered additional commentary regarding why it may be difficult to secure participants for my particular type of research. He discussed expectations among the diaspora and how these essentially limit who and why people would participate:

It's not just that these are sensitive topics, there are expectations . . . you are not supposed to dissent on anything. You are not allowed to think that Kagame had a role in the wars in the Congo. You are not allowed to say that the government had any role in assassinating some of the dissidents of South Africa. You are not allowed to say that our friend from *Hotel Rwanda* is really a good guy; you have to say that he's a fraud. On just about every topic there is a reason that you are not allowed to have a position different from the government's line. So what's left to talk about? Not a whole heck of a lot. What is the benefit of speaking to anybody?

I discussed some of the preliminary findings with Dr. Caplan, specifically that five out of eight diaspora members were quite critical of the Kagame administration. He was very surprised by this, and stated that he found it promising. He attributed his alternative experience to his connections in Rwanda and his previous statements about the positive things he believed were occurring there:

I have never met someone from the Rwandan-Tutsi diaspora who has challenged a single one of what I would call "crimes of the Kagame government." I'll go further and tell you this: I have made points over many years, but the truth is I have stressed the positive progress (in Rwanda) over the negative human rights problems. I'm sorry I've done that, but when I started to change my tune, which was on the 20th anniversary (2014) when I spoke to the Toronto Commemoration

meeting, I was very outspoken. I said it was time Rwanda opened up its space for far more democracy and human rights. No one has spoken to me since that day—not a single person either in Rwanda or here, where I’ve been so well connected. That’s a simple fact.

Dr. Caplan discussed the idea of “opaqueness” in Rwanda, or the idea that no one ever “really” knows what is going on because the lack of true transparency. When discussing his experience with members of the diaspora in Canada, he remarked:

I never knew if I was being told the truth or not, even by good friends. I never had any way of knowing because the next person said the exact same thing, so maybe there was some kind of skill set where everyone knew exactly what to say. You know that Rwanda itself is known, and is happy to be known, for its opaqueness. It is hard to know exactly what is going on at a given time and I think the people in the diaspora are happy to have the same reputation; outsiders never really do know.

I found this discussion of opaqueness to be particularly powerful in relation to both what is going on in Rwanda as well as the diaspora. As my research progressed, and participants continued to bring up lack of reconciliation and justice, as well as the culture of silence, I began to reconsider the majority of what I had learned about Rwanda. Until this point, I had spent the majority of time researching the restorative justice aspects of post-genocide Rwanda, and had actually spent little time on post-genocide identity politics. As interviews progressed and I delved deeper into the literature about human rights violations and the lack of political space in Rwanda, I was amazed at the complete juxtaposition of what was being reported. Even among scholars, there appears to exist a deep divide regarding what is “believed” to be occurring in Rwanda. Some suggest a developing, transitional nation with an understandably limited democracy and impressive economic growth. Others highlight gross human rights violations and lack of political space against a background of over exaggerated infrastructure based progress.

Additionally, research regarding the outcomes of gacaca reflects something relatively similar. As discussed previously, in their 2011 survey research of 504 Rwandans, Pozen et al. (2011) found that the majority of respondents believed gacaca had achieved its goal of creating an accurate history, exhibited fairness of punishment to offenders, and brought reconciliation and justice to victims. However, this same body of research also reflected that the majority of respondents expressed concern regarding security issues, false testimony, and inauthentic confessions. Additionally, half of all respondents suggested that these issues caused increased tension between and among families. This leaves one to ask, What is *really* going on?

At the conclusion of our interview, I inquired if Dr. Caplan felt that my use of the term “culture of silence” was appropriate for the lack of willingness to be identified or to speak among the diaspora. He stated that he felt the term was absolutely correct. Furthermore, Dr. Caplan suggested that the fact there is no research in this field 22 years after the genocide was itself significant to support the notion of a culture of silence.

Maia Storm, Attorney at Law

Maia Storm is an immigration attorney who has worked primarily in the western part of Michigan with refugees seeking asylum. She passed the Michigan bar exam in 1998 and has worked with Rwandans for approximately 14 years. Not only does she work on asylum cases, but she operates and runs a housing facility for asylum-seekers. Lemkin House opened its doors in Grand Rapids, Michigan, in January of 2012 and in 2015 opened a location in Kalamazoo, Michigan. According to the Lemkin House website:

Many asylum-seekers who are held in detention centers while their applications are processed could leave the detention centers if they had somewhere they could legally go. This is where Lemkin House steps in. Lemkin House provides asylum-seekers in West Michigan a safe and welcome place to stay and prepare their cases while they undergo the difficult legal and mental transition from asylum-seeker to asylee. It also provides legal assistance to asylum seekers who do not need a place to stay, but who lack financial resources.

Ms. Storm and I spoke via telephone in March 2016. Of all the experts interviewed for this research, I was the most interested in Ms. Storm's perception regarding the Rwandan diaspora in the United States, particularly the culture of silence that appears to exist among them. Ms. Storm has directly worked with approximately 36 Rwandans during her tenure as an immigration attorney and as Executive Director of Lemkin House and, out of all experts identified, has witnessed the phenomena of silence most directly. It must be noted that her experience lies specifically with members of the diaspora within the United States, and she has not acted as an attorney for any members of the Rwandan diaspora in Canada. Furthermore, the experiences of members of the diaspora seeking asylum may be entirely different from those not seeking asylum. However, while her legal expertise focuses on those Rwandans seeking asylum, she has also witnessed the actions and interactions among non-asylum seeking members of the Rwandan diaspora.

At the onset of our interview, Ms. Storm and I discussed the difficulty I had with finding members of the diaspora who wished to participate in my research. More specifically, I discussed that there appeared to be a strong link with this difficulty and their perceptions of the Rwandan government having spies among the diaspora. Ms. Storm supported this claim and stated:

When I first started working with Rwandese mostly it was with asylum cases, but they were very hesitant to tell me, and fearful, to tell me their story. One guy in

particular was living in my asylum shelter in Grand Rapids and he had to go to the library to work on his personal statement. He was afraid to do that because he was afraid that Kagame's people could come and look over his shoulder and view what he was writing. I thought that was pretty over the top paranoia. However, I wouldn't laugh at that now if someone told me they were afraid of that; I would not think they were being over the top like I did then because I get it . . . I get it. They all knew stories of people who had left Rwanda under some sort of political cloud—and some of them were famous and had been in the news—but there were others as well who had been tracked down and murdered in other countries.

I inquired, as confirmation of the above sentiment, if she believed that this gentleman was simply being paranoid, or if this was a commonly held belief among the diaspora. She stated that this was very common among the diaspora and provided the following response:

Oh yeah, absolutely. I mean . . . and if it's not a fear it's at least an understanding that that *could* happen (monitoring) and they have to be very careful. Now I have an asylum house here in Kalamazoo and it's all Rwandese and it's a beautiful, lovely house—this old farmhouse with big windows. Instantly, they got in there and they closed all of the shades and the curtains and I had to beg them to open them when I had an open house for a few people. It's out in the boonies. It's difficult to track down. There is no advertising about it and we didn't do any news release or anything, right? But they want all the curtains closed—that's just kind of the way they live.

Ms. Storm stated that even if members of the diaspora were not actually followed, it was a widely held belief that this frequently occurs. She consistently works with members of the diaspora as a result of her profession, which requires that Rwandans seek her out for legal assistance. However, my relationship with members of the diaspora is a direct result of me seeking them. Ms. Storm suggested that the culture of silence among the diaspora also includes the futility in participating in a research project on highly political topics. In other words, what do they get out of it? Why take the risk? Working with Storm provides them with assistance and legal protection. Working with a

researcher may be viewed as an endeavor with no potential benefits—only negative possibilities.

Storm and I discussed the concept that Dr. Hintjens had suggested that the culture of silence could not be attributed solely to the political climate in Rwanda or the perceived monitoring conducted by Kagame. I inquired if Storm believed there was a cultural narrative of not speaking out about personal issues. She suggested that it may be a combination of cultural norms, political pressure, and the traumatization of genocide:

It's absolutely political; you could not say it's not political. However, culturally they are pretty . . . they are pretty closed mouth. Even the folks who are in the house together are not all related and I can never assume that one of them has transferred some information to the other person. Normally if you live in a house together you are going to chit chat, but they don't. Who knows what came first (cultural norm of silence or political pressure of silence). What they went through was so horrific that they've learned to keep their mouth shut right? I think that's really hard to tease out.

We also spoke of the relationship among members of the Rwandan diaspora.

Based on her work as an immigration attorney as well as the Executive Director of the Lemkin House, she has direct observations of issues of reconciliation among the diaspora. Ms. Storm as very clear in her statements that she does not believe that reconciliation has occurred. However, she did note that a Hutu colleague had actually married a Tutsi woman. She stated that this was not typical, and sadly the couple has since divorced. The Lemkin House in Grand Rapids has held both Hutu and Tutsi Rwandans, and Storm stated that the authorities were called numerous times based on altercations between the two groups. She provided an additional example of an exchange between a Hutu man and numerous Tutsi men:

I was meeting a Hutu friend at a local Starbucks parking lot to give him something and a couple of my Tutsi friends showed up. I introduced them and I just got out of there because I did not want to see the interaction. I asked later

how that went and the Tutsis made some other comment about . . . they didn't like something he had said. He acted like he had knew everyone in Grand Rapids and they knew that that wasn't true.

When further discussing reconciliation among the diaspora, we discussed the differences between “thin” and “thick” reconciliation. While she states that thin reconciliation appears to exist, she does not believe thick reconciliation is something that is frequently achieved. More specifically, she supported the statement that reconciliation (or at least the public appearance of it) may be less likely to occur among the diaspora simply because it is not forced like it is in Rwanda:

I mean, there is nothing forcing them together; I totally agree with that. Even my Tutsi-Hutu marriage has fallen apart. It's pretty sad. There's just nothing that facilitates that. There is nothing that could make them seek out the other. They are just so . . . they want to make sure they know who the person is that they are being approached by.

She and I also discussed some of the reasoning that participants had provided me regarding why there might not be reconciliation among the diaspora. I informed her that I had been notified that some members of the diaspora believed that Hutu had entered the United States and Canada and had attempted to pass themselves off as Tutsi. She supported this claim and outlined what Rwandans have told her:

Then, there were also the rumors going around that—and I honestly don't know how widespread this is but the rumors are that Hutu have come here and then transposed themselves into Tutsi but they are really Hutus, they are really genocidaires but they are passing themselves off, I guess successfully, as Tutsi. I had been told by one of my guys that there are those folks here in Michigan who have done that, but that's as much as he would talk about that.

As a further example that reconciliation may not be occurring among the diaspora, she noted that the Rwandans she has worked with seem to be very cautious about interacting at all with one another. With other population, her experience is that refugees who live in their new country for some time are easy to connect with new

refugees as a source of support. This does not appear to be the case with members of the diaspora. Storm stated:

Another thing is that in my naivety in the beginning, I expected if I called one Rwandan and said “I need some help with another survivor. Can you help?” The answer would be no. It would just be tip toeing and tip toeing and you would have to know someone who knew them back in Rwanda before they said they would be open and willing to help. That’s not usually true in my other communities. I know I can find people to help pretty fast. They are very afraid to meet other people from Rwanda because they have no idea who they are.

As noted above, Storm discussed how the lack of connection among the Rwandan diaspora does not appear to be the norm for other immigrant communities. We also discussed in further detail how else the Rwandan diaspora might be considered unique— if there was something about this particular diaspora that she felt was different from the others she worked with.

It seems to be—maybe it’s just because I know them better, but honestly they all seem to be traumatized in one way or another. We had a young Rwandese in town who kept trying to commit suicide and I dug his name out of the paper and asked around to see if I could find him. There was a group of us that tried to help him but he successfully killed himself. Even now, with the people at the home (Lemkin House) I see that, I’m sure they all have PTSD in one sense or another. I’m sure other people who have been tortured have suffered from PTSD too, but they are a different group because the people who survived are . . . you know . . . there was not torture. People weren’t arrested and tortured in prisons. They were just hacked to death, right? So, the people that I know have seen their loved ones hacked to death in front of them. I don’t know how you go on after that. Then you add the layer on top of that with them being afraid of the government. So yeah, they are a pretty unique community in my way of thinking because of what they have gone through.

Our interview concluded with Storm and I discussing what would have to happen for reconciliation among the diaspora. Noting that what occurs in Rwanda has a residual effect on the diaspora, she thought that a more democratic government or true freedom of expression might facilitate justice and reconciliation. Additionally, she notes that reconciliation is a long and arduous process:

I think thick reconciliation is going to take a long time because the society has to become more open. When that happens, people in the diaspora will feel more relaxed. Right now, why would they seek out Hutu friendships because they don't have anything to gain by it . . . (The thinking is) "Maybe that person is a spy." So they don't have motivation to do it. Maybe once the tension in the country—like maybe if there was an uprising and Kagame was thrown out—and they actually had democracy, it would, but it's a long term . . . I think it's a long term goal. It's not going to happen very quickly.

Conclusion

The expert interviews outlined very clearly why, for a variety of reasons, members of the Rwandan diaspora in the United States and Canada may be reluctant to speak to researchers regarding concepts such as justice and reconciliation. Additionally, all four experts stated that they were not surprised by the small sample size I obtained. Three of the four experts agreed with the notion that there was a culture of silence among the diaspora, whether real or imagined, that heavily influenced the likelihood that they would speak. The fourth also admitted that this was at least part of the answer. More specifically, they outlined the authoritarian nature of the Kagame administration and the resounding perception that his rule is not limited to Rwanda. The experts agreed that diaspora members believe that their public statements may prove harmful for their families who remain in Rwanda, and that there is an intense fear that the diaspora is in fact monitored by the Rwandan government. Implications of speaking out have perceived consequences for them, as well as their families. Two experts did suggest, however, that much of this fear may be unfounded as it is unlikely that the Rwandan government has the resources or the proclivity to engage in such a large project. In other words, they felt it was unlikely that the diaspora was actually monitored, but agreed that this belief is closely held by the diaspora.

An additional concept was offered by Dr. Hintjens regarding the “culture of silence” and she suggested that silence is not necessarily a reflection of a heavy handed government, but a cultural norm that exists in Rwanda and has a residual effect on the diaspora. Ms. Storm and I also discussed this concept, and while she agreed that Rwandans tend to be more closed mouthed regarding personal issues, she believed that it was political as well. In other words, she stated that it is difficult to tease out the two narratives.

Similar to diaspora participant interviews, a more detailed summary of expert interviews will be provided in the following chapter. This summary will provide further analysis of statements, including connections between expert and diaspora participants’ interviews. This is done so that a more comprehensive understanding of the culture of silence, justice and reconciliation in Rwanda, and justice and reconciliation among the diaspora may be developed.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The following chapter will provide a summary of findings that resulted from in-depth interviews with eight members of the Rwandan diaspora in the United States and Canada. Specifically, how political salience and the culture of silence hinders justice and reconciliation among the diaspora and whether this particular issue is real or imagined. I will also discuss justice and reconciliation among the diaspora, and how these issues are tied to what is occurring in Rwanda. Following will be a summary of expert interviews as they related to responses provided by participants. Additionally, methodological issues and limitations will be discussed, as well as the theoretical implications of this research. The chapter will conclude with contributions of this project, as well as directions for future research.

Summary of Research

From May 2015 to March 2016, I conducted telephone and in-person interviews with eight members of the Rwandan diaspora in Canada and the United States. Three participants identified as female and five as male. Seven respondents identified ethnically as Tutsi and one as Hutu. Two participants resided in Canada and six participants currently live in the United States. Six participants were interviewed via telephone and two participants in person. Two participants took part in a singular telephone call and six participants were interviewed in-person or via telephone between two and six times.

Initially, my primary research question was: “How do members of the Rwandan diaspora in Canada attempt to facilitate justice and reconciliation among one another?” More specifically, I was interested in their opinions on the specific forms of “thin” and “thick” reconciliation (Pozen et al., 2014). However, after approximately four months of attempted recruitment, I had only found two willing participants. These participants had initially stated that others would be interested in participating, but later informed me that members of the diaspora were not keen to speak about such political topics as justice and reconciliation. It was determined that I needed to open my geographical parameters in an effort to obtain an appropriate sample size. In July of 2015, I received HSIRB approval to include members of the Rwandan diaspora in the United States. My research question was updated to include the attempts at justice and reconciliation among the Rwandan diaspora in both Canada and the United States. My focus on “thin” and “thick” reconciliation remained.

As previously outlined in the literature review, virtually no academic research regarding this specific topic exists. As such, I decided upon very general questions as a guide for semi-structured interviews (provided in Appendix C). However, discussion of Rwandan politics occurred organically with participants and ended up being a pivotal point of my research. Politics in Rwanda and its residual effect on the diaspora was not part of my original research question. However, this particular topic became central to notions of justice and reconciliation among the diaspora.

Additionally, I originally believed that my research would focus heavily on participants’ opinions and beliefs regarding gacaca courts in Rwanda, and if they felt that this apparatus (or the ICTR) would be an important variable regarding their opinions on

justice and reconciliation among the diaspora. Because of the parameters of gacaca (nationwide), compulsory participation, and the vast amount of literature on it (Clark, 2009, 2014; Harrell, 2003; Hintjens, 2009), I assumed that gacaca would take a central role in participants' opinions about justice and reconciliation among the diaspora. Strikingly, gacaca courts were not a central discussion point among participants. While they acknowledged their role regarding justice and reconciliation in Rwanda and among the diaspora, it typically appeared as a caveat to the larger issue of politics in Rwanda and the culture of silence that exists there.

Furthermore, I believed that my research would include discussion of diaspora specific organizations that may be utilized to facilitate justice and reconciliation. I assumed that diaspora organizations may have had played a part in the attempts at justice and reconciliation based upon the number of organizations that I identified online. However, this was largely a non-issue for participants and it was clear that these organizations did not address issues of justice. When discussing diaspora specific organizations regarding reconciliation among the diaspora, it appeared that these organizations were largely separated by ethnicity and while early attempts had been made at reconciliation, they were largely unsuccessful.

Rwandan Politics and the Culture of Silence

All eight participants discussed, in varying levels of detail, current Rwandan politics and more specifically, the culture of silence it creates. Six out of eight participants spent the majority of their lives in Rwanda and spoke of personal experiences they, or their family members, had that supported such claims. Marc, who did not spend most of his life in Rwanda, did spend six years working directly for President Kagame

and ultimately fled because of his vocal opposition to the government. Marie left Rwanda when she was seven years old, shortly after the genocide, but was an active member of the Rwanda diaspora in Belgium. She noted the extreme hostility toward President Kagame that existed there. All eight participants stated that President Kagame and the RPF-led administration governed Rwanda in an authoritarian fashion which severely limited freedom of speech. This belief that the Rwandan government has a stranglehold on freedom of speech, and passes laws with severe consequences for ambiguous “divisive” speech and action, is supported by academic literature and non-governmental publications (Amnesty International, 2010; Beswick, 2010; Oropo, 2015; Reyntjens, 2010). Participants, however, varied in their beliefs regarding the appropriateness of such actions.

I found that respondents had conflicted opinions of President Kagame. Kagame is often considered a “donor darling” (Reyntjens, 2010) or the “savior of Rwanda” in the Western world, largely as a result of his ability, as the leader of the RPF, to effectively end the genocide and lead Rwandan toward vast improvements in its economy, education, health care, and general infrastructure. While acknowledging the positive economic and infrastructure changes the Kagame administration has achieved, participants were also well versed in the authoritarian nature of his administration.

Six participants outlined very strong feelings about the Rwandan government and its control, and believed that this severely hindered attempts at justice and reconciliation for those in Rwanda. For these participants, the lack of honest public discourse and fear of the government made issues associated with ethnicity worse. People have opinions and thoughts, but are not allowed to express them. Interestingly, both Jean-Paul and

Therese acknowledged that, following genocide, this sort of intense politicking was understood. However, both felt that the time had come for more freedom and political space. Essentially, it was time for Kagame to loosen the reins. Pierre was the only participant to justify the actions of President Kagame, suggesting that Rwandans were difficult to govern and that because of his military background, this sort of leadership was expected.

The culture of silence appears to have a residual effect on the diaspora, most notably through the perception that it is monitored by Rwandan governmental officials, or by Rwandans who will report back. Participants suggest that this culture creates a sense of silence and fear among them, understanding that public statements may have consequences for them and for their families remaining in Rwanda. In fact, four participants stated that they were either surprised that I had found anyone to speak with, or explained that stated that they only reason that they were agreeing to speak with me was because they trusted me.

Marc and Marie outlined how they personally had been monitored by the Rwandan government, and Joseph stated that he had been approached by the Rwandan government to do so, but was unwilling. Monique believed that it happened to others, but stated that it had not happened to her. Jean-Paul did not have concrete experience that monitoring among the diaspora occurred, but commented on diaspora organizations which spoke to this issue. He stated that few members of the diaspora participate in formal organization, as it is believed they are pro-RPF and established by the respected Rwandan embassies in each country. In other words, diaspora organizations might be used as a monitoring tool. Neither Pierre nor Therese, even when prompted, spoke about

the specific issue of monitoring. This was not entirely surprising, as both remained more neutral in all of their statements than the other six participants.

Because this topic was unexpected, I spent considerable time discussing with participants why they felt it happened. More specifically, why they felt President Kagame ruled so authoritatively and how this control extended to the diaspora. Responses were varied, with no real consensus among participants. However, one general theme appeared that I did not anticipate—the single narrative. Five participants spoke of this, indicating that they believed the push to impart and reinforce this narrative was a large reason behind the tactics of the Rwandan government.

It is known that many Hutu died during the genocide as a result of their moderate political stance and for their attempts to rescue and protect Tutsi. However, the five participants made clear that this was in violation with the national narrative that President Kagame has created around the genocide. While the Rwandan government now professes that ethnicity (and ethnic differences) does not exist with public ethnic identification being illegal, a new labeling system has replaced it. This system indicates quite clearly that only Tutsi may be considered as survivors of the genocide and Hutu as perpetrators.

Marie was the most outspoken regarding the single narrative, likely because she ethnically identifies as Hutu. Moreover, her family died as a result of helping their Tutsi neighbors, yet she does not feel that she is allowed to be publicly acknowledged as a survivor. Joseph also discussed the single narrative and provided specific examples of how it was essentially nonsense. Joseph shared a story of his family members killing Hutu that were innocent of genocidal crimes. It was audibly clear during our

conversation how embarrassed Joseph was by these occurrences. For Jean-Paul, the single narrative existed, but was debunked simply by the logistics of the genocide. Simply put, numerically, not all victims were Tutsi. Marc spoke of the single narrative in relation to Rwandan programs that require Hutu to publicly apologize for the genocide and to ask for forgiveness, even for Hutu children born after the genocide. He stated that programs such as this foster and promote the notion that only Tutsi can be victims of the genocide. Paul spoke of the single narrative, but did so through a judicial lens. For Paul, the single narrative existed simply because members of the RPF were not held accountable following the genocide, nor were others with political and economic connections (largely Tutsi) to the RPF or the president. By not holding those accountable (regardless of ethnicity or affiliation) for genocidal acts, the government created a narrative that only Hutu could be perpetrators.

When discussing the culture of silence and monitoring among the diaspora, the four experts interviewed provided important commentary. All suggested that the Rwandan government is authoritative and stifles free speech and press, with very real consequences for those who do speak out. They all agreed that a perception among the diaspora exists regarding monitoring, but were split in their beliefs whether this was real or imagined. Dr. Reyntjens and Dr. Hintjens stated that while members of the diaspora believed they were being monitored, they had serious doubts regarding the actual occurrence. They were unsure if the Rwandan government had the desire or the capacity to engage in such an endeavor. Dr. Caplan and Ms. Storm, however, stated that they believed actual monitoring occurred. Interestingly, Caplan and Storm live and work directly among the diaspora in the United States and Canada, whereas Reyntjens and

Hintjens do not. They are in good position to know whether the fear of monitoring is real or imagined.

Additionally, Dr. Reyntjens and Dr. Hintjens suggest that if monitoring does exist, it is probably directed at those members of the diaspora who are considered political, divisive, or considered dissenters. Dr. Reyntjens suggested that some are more likely to be monitored than others, particularly those who are considered “dangerous,” usually by political activism, previous governmental work in Rwanda, or level of intimacy (inside knowledge) with the Rwandan government. This was a statement that I spent a significant amount of time considering. It led me to wonder if participants in this research would be considered political, divisive, dangerous, or dissenters.

Clearly, Marc is considered a dissenter and he spoke freely about being monitored by the government. Additionally, Paul and Jean-Paul worked within the legal system in Rwanda and left because of their refusal to carry out the specific wishes of President Kagame. Joseph also worked within the government, and left the country because he disagreed with the politics of the president. Marie is a politically outspoken member of the diaspora who has conducted her own research on issues associated with the diaspora in Belgium. I believe these five could be considered “dangerous” and they all spoke extensively on the culture of silence among the diaspora.

Therese, Monique and Pierre would likely not be considered political, divisive, or dissenters. Both Therese and Monique have published on their genocidal experiences, though they have refrained from political discussions. Even during the course of interviews, they were much more guarded in their responses and spoke much more generally than other participants. They write books and give public speeches on the

importance of healing and unification, but they do so without talking about the governments' successes or failures at attempting justice and reconciliation, and steer clear of public diaspora politics. Additionally, Pierre did not hold any sort of governmental or political position when in Rwanda, nor did he leave under any sort of political cloud. To the contrary, he often stated that he was a preacher's son, a religious man, and just wanted more opportunity.

Based on the biographies of the participants, as well as expert input regarding who may or may not be monitored, it is interesting to note that those participants who could be considered political and divisive were the ones who spoke the most passionately about Rwandan politics, the culture of silence, and the ability of the Rwandan government to monitor the diaspora. Hintjens and Reyntjens may be correct in assuming that only particular members of the diaspora are followed. Ultimately, whether or not monitoring of the diaspora does happen, what is important is the *perception* that it does in fact happen. If it is perceived that everyone is monitored, that no one is safe from the long arm of the Rwandan government, than that belief has very real implications for diaspora members. Specifically, it feeds into the notion that they cannot honestly discuss their feelings about ethnicity, justice, and reconciliation.

Justice and Reconciliation in Rwanda

Following the discussion of politics and the culture of silence in Rwanda and among the diaspora, interviews typically turned to the discussion of justice and reconciliation. When I first began interviews, I believed that participants would talk about how these issues played out among the diaspora. In each interview, and with each participant, when this topic was brought up, the discussion primarily occurred within the

context of Rwanda. This was extremely telling regarding the diaspora connection to the home land.

All participants stated that justice has not occurred in Rwanda. However, they varied in their responses as to why they felt justice has not been achieved. The concept of “ultimate justice,” or returning what was taken, was a point frequently made. All suggested that this simply cannot occur, those who were lost cannot be brought back. If the application of justice is determined by ultimate justice, then its failure to be achieved is not a political failure, but simply the spoils of war. Participants suggested that just because ultimate justice could not be achieved, this did not mean that other forms of justice could not be implemented. They outlined additional ways that justice could be achieved, but all reported that even these alternatives had also not been met.

I used the definition of justice offered by Pozen et al. (2014), which suggested that justice is based on procedural and judicial outcomes, specifically the perceived fairness of the judicial process as well as attitudes regarding the outcomes. This definition was selected as it is largely agreed upon by genocide scholars and I believed that it was particularly appropriate as my initial research questions were geared more toward the perceptions of gacaca courts and its impact on justice and reconciliation. While I still maintain that this definition was most appropriate for my research, and participants often spoke of justice regarding legal outcomes, they also offered a variety of other definitions. Because interviews were semi-structured in nature, it allowed participants ample opportunity to outline their own definitions.

Participants provided a variety of narratives that spoke to what they felt would determine justice. Pierre believed that justice in any form was simply not attainable, but

remarked that forgiveness might be an alternative. Jean-Paul and Paul, however, stated that forgiveness was not possible and was an assault to the memories of those lost as well as to survivors. Joseph directly tied the lack of justice to the outcomes of gacaca courts, specifically their inability to correctly train gacaca staff. Similarly, Paul felt that justice had not been achieved based on inauthentic confessions provided at gacaca. Both Marc and Marie discussed the failure of justice as it relates to the political actions of President Kagame, including the procedural issues associated with gacaca as well as his general political actions. For them, justice cannot begin to occur while he remains in power.

Jean-Paul and Therese spoke specifically of the needs of genocide survivors. They both stated that justice did not exist in Rwanda because the needs of survivors had not been met. The concept of justice in Rwanda was a particularly difficult topic for Monique. As outlined in the findings, she struggled to vocalize what justice would even be. She repeatedly stated that concepts of both justice and reconciliation are issues that will take extensive amounts of time to address and that enough time had not yet passed to determine if either of these was possible. However, she did state that justice might not exist as there are still attacks on the lives of survivors.

For all participants, there was not necessarily a separation between discussion of justice and reconciliation, and one typically fed into the other. All participants appeared to believe that justice, in any form, had not been administered in Rwanda. This lack of justice appears to heavily affect their beliefs about reconciliation in Rwanda. Seven out of eight participants stated that “thick” reconciliation had not occurred in Rwanda. Additionally, these seven suggested that “thin” reconciliation appeared to exist, largely as a result of it being forced by the Rwandan government. However, two participants

suggested that while thin reconciliation exists among the general population, there are still accounts of survivors being attacked, which suggests that even thin reconciliation may not be completely achieved.

When discussing reconciliation within Rwanda, Paul was perhaps the most vehement in his response, stating that not only had thick reconciliation not occurred, but that the word “reconciliation” was inaccurate. For Paul, reconciliation meant that both Hutu and Tutsi were guilty in the course of the genocide. He suggested that thick reconciliation is unattainable and the best that could occur would simply be tolerance. He and I discussed that tolerance may be a component of thin reconciliation, or peaceful coexistence. He agreed, based on this discussion, that thin reconciliation was the only legitimate form of reconciliation that could, and was, occurring in Rwanda. Marc noted that thick reconciliation has not occurred, and suggested that divisiveness existed not only among different ethnicities, but also within ethnicities.

Joseph, Jean-Paul, and Marie all noted that only thin reconciliation exists in Rwanda, and only because it is forced. Joseph stated that reconciliation may appear to exist, but that what is really occurring is unification for survival. In other words, some Rwandans (especially outside of metropolitan areas) may be forced to work with one another within an agricultural capacity, but that this does not mean that true reconciliation has occurred. Jean-Paul suggested that people live next to one another, not because they have reconciled the horrors of the genocide, but because they don’t have any other choice. Marie suggested that the single narrative, of Hutu being perpetrators and Tutsi survivors, essentially crystalized the difference between ethnicities and hindered any form of thick reconciliation. These three participants all emphasized the importance of

reconciliation being a voluntary process, and that by the simple fact that is forced, it is unattainable, or at least unauthentic. Furthermore, they suggested that attempting to force reconciliation actually has the opposite effect, that it may cause further division and anger.

Similar to their discussion of justice, both Jean-Paul and Therese suggested that thick reconciliation has not occurred because there continues to be attacks on the lives of survivors. For both Jean-Paul and Therese, if true reconciliation had happened, these sorts of things would not occur. Additionally, both Jean-Paul and Therese suggest that reconciliation cannot begin to occur until the needs of survivors have been met. The idea and practice of reconciling may prove to be difficult if the very basics for survival are not provided.

When discussing justice in Rwanda, Monique emphasized the importance of time in attempting both justice and reconciliation. Like her response to the issue of justice, Monique felt that thick reconciliation does not exist because perpetrators are still present in Rwandan communities. Monique stated that perpetrators who have escaped legal judgment or provided inauthentic testimony or confessions are active members of Rwandan communities. Because of this lack of justice, she does not feel that reconciliation can happen.

Pierre was the only respondent who suggested that thin and thick reconciliation had occurred for those in Rwanda. However, he did suggest that this type of reconciliation was much more common outside of Kigali. He stated that because he believed the genocide was political, that the bond between Hutu and Tutsi neighbors was not destroyed. In other words, he felt that Hutu and Tutsi developed meaningful

relationships with one another and had reconciled because the trust among them was never completely broken.

Justice and Reconciliation Among the Diaspora

The issue of justice and reconciliation among the diaspora was the foundation for my research. As outlined above, however, this often was the last topic that participants would discuss. Almost always, issues of politics and its effect on the diaspora were first discussed, followed by issues of justice and reconciliation in Rwanda. Justice and reconciliation among the diaspora was often discussed last. I believe this was because, for participants, issues of Rwandan politics and the culture of silence, as well as issues of justice and reconciliation in Rwanda, had a direct impact on their beliefs about justice and reconciliation among the diaspora. Even though I initially asked about justice and reconciliation among the diaspora first, participants always discussed the other two issues before addressing the diaspora. When prompted about specific attempts at justice among the diaspora, only two respondents provided feedback. It was clearly a topic that the participants were either hesitant to discuss at all, or had nothing to say as a response. Either way, this was meaningful for my research regarding the state of justice and reconciliation amongst the Rwandan diaspora in Canada and the United States.

Jean-Paul outlined a symbolic form of justice for the diaspora, noting that something as small as a certificate or a public garden where diaspora members could mourn would be a starting point. For Jean-Paul, it appeared that acknowledgement of his experience would equate to some sort of justice. Monique also provided a diaspora specific form of justice. She stated that justice for her was having the ability to share her story and educate others. While she acknowledges that this mechanism of justice is not

necessarily applicable to other diaspora members, this freedom provided her with some sense of justice.

Interestingly, both Jean-Paul and Monique's narratives of what justice may be like for the diaspora have a striking similarity. While neither specifically stated so, it appears that justice for them is public freedom and acknowledgment, something that they might not get in Rwanda. They want recognition from the government of their victimhood, a public space where they may mourn how and when they choose, and the ability to publicly talk about their experiences in a somewhat uncensored way. It appears that, for these two members of the diaspora, justice equates to having choices.

Six participants did not address diaspora specific definitions of justice. For them, justice in the diaspora appears to be inherently tied to justice in Rwanda. In other words, if justice has not been administered in Rwanda (prosecuting all genocidaires, inclusive court systems, freedom of speech, and support for victims), then justice has not been achieved for them. While Jean-Paul and Monique discussed what justice might be for the diaspora, they also heavily discussed that justice in the diaspora is tied to justice in Rwanda. This speaks heavily to the ongoing connection between the home country and those members of the diaspora in the United States and Canada. When I inquired about particular mechanism at administering justice among the diaspora, all respondents replied that no such apparatuses existed. In fact, they seemed confused and surprised with this question. It was if the idea of justice for them as a community outside of Rwanda was not something they had thought about.

While justice among the diaspora was not something that was heavily discussed, reconciliation among the diaspora was. For them, while reconciliation seems to be

deeply affected by issues of reconciliation within Rwanda, it also exists as its own construct. This played out in distinct forms. First, unlike in Rwanda, there is no governmental or political pressure to reconcile. They are not forced to live and work next to and with members of other Rwandan ethnicities if they choose not to. All participants agreed that, similar to within Rwanda, thin reconciliation seems to exist among the diaspora. Hutu and Tutsi that *do* live next to one another seem to do so relatively peacefully.

Second, because of freedom of choice, there may be less reconciliation (both thin and thick) among them, simply because it is not required. Interviews suggested that many Hutu and Tutsi do not live next to one another, thus making thin reconciliation less of a contention than in Rwanda. Additionally, participants stated that the political and ethnic issues that seem to occur in Rwanda have a residual effect on the diaspora. In other words, even though they live thousands of miles away, they are keenly aware of the division and separation that exists in Rwanda. That division and separation carries over to the diaspora, and plays a distinct role in how they view reconciliation themselves. Seven out of eight respondents stated that thick reconciliation does not occur generally within the diaspora, although some participants noted that a form of thick reconciliation may exist among certain pockets of it.

With the exception of Pierre, all other respondents stated that thick reconciliation has not occurred. While Pierre believes that thick reconciliation has occurred among his specific diaspora in Michigan, he did admit that this might not be the case in other locations. Therese suggested something similar in that she believed that thick reconciliation occurred among some diaspora populations, but it was not common

generally speaking. As outlined above, seven of the eight participants talked heavily about how Rwandan politics have created a culture of silence, which has exacerbated tensions among the diaspora. These participants provided a variety of commentary that members of the diaspora in the United States and Canada tend to group themselves according to ethnicity and very rarely interact with members of different ethnicities.

Five participants spoke specifically about Hutu lying about their identity in the diaspora. It is believed that Hutu living in the United States and Canada may attempt to lie about their identity and ethnicity for two reasons. First, it is suggested that they may be covering up genocidal acts that they committed in Rwanda. Second, it has been suggested that simply bearing the name “Hutu” may be extremely stigmatizing. Even among the diaspora, it appears that the single narrative exists. For innocent Hutu who live in these locations, it may be easier to change their identity than to be linked to those who have committed genocide. All five participants suggested that lying about ethnicity directly impacts attempts at reconciliation among the diaspora.

Jean-Paul stated that thick reconciliation does not exist because members of the diaspora have the freedom to relocate geographically if they wish, something that is not a reality in Rwanda. Additionally, Marie and Therese suggested that there is freedom among the diaspora to choose who one interacts or spends time with. Because of this freedom, it appears that Hutu and Tutsi do not often elect to create meaningful relationships with one another. Interestingly, Joseph noted that he has Hutu acquaintances, but that this is not common. Monique provided a similar narrative, stating that she has a Hutu classmate that she considers a friend, but that this is not common among the diaspora.

An additional discussion point effecting reconciliation among the diaspora emerged as the belief that extremists, or those that hold genocidal ideology, tended to “weed themselves out” from general diaspora locations. Even Pierre, who stated that thick reconciliation has occurred, noted that at time there were extremists in his location. He reported that they quickly relocated, and that Ohio and Arizona are known to have large pockets of extremists. Jean-Paul, Monique, and Joseph also outlined beliefs that extremist populations exists among the diaspora. They suggested that these populations tend to be majority Hutu and that the simple existence of these sorts of populations hinders reconciliation. Interestingly, one might think that because “extremists” form their own communities, that reconciliation among the remaining diaspora might be more frequent. However, it appears that this has not been the case. The belief that extremists exist among the diaspora seems to go hand-in-hand with the view that division and separation is static.

As outlined above, Pierre appears to be an “outlier” of sorts regarding his beliefs about Rwandan politics and justice and reconciliation in Rwandan and among the diaspora. The only variable that I could identify that might potentially explain his differing opinions about these topics could be his outspoken religious beliefs and affiliation. Pierre identifies as a member of particular faith that encourages forgiveness, and Pierre often alluded to the fact that his faith required him to forgive. Furthermore, he stated during the course of interviews that he promised God during the genocide that if he survived, he would do all he could to prevent genocide in the future. Perhaps for Pierre, belief of reconciliation is honoring that promise.

In addition to Rwandan politics and the culture of silence, the expert interviews yielded important discussion regarding justice and reconciliation among the diaspora. While this issue was not addressed with Dr. Hintjens, it was discussed with Dr. Reyntjens, Dr. Caplan, and Maia Storm. All three stated that they did not believe that thick reconciliation existed among the diaspora and provided a variety of reasons as to why they believed this has not happened. Dr. Reyntjens stated that he was not surprised by this finding, and also alluded to the fact that tensions do not simply exist among ethnicities anymore, but within them. More specifically, those Tutsi who oppose Kagame and the government in Rwanda. Dr. Reyntjens suggested that, perhaps, the division among those in Rwanda and the diaspora was beginning to be political and not simply ethnic based.

Dr. Caplan and I discussed this topic in more detail and he provided a statement that I found to be particularly telling, that the diaspora “has been reconciled to not reconcile.” In other words, he feels that they know (and are expected) to not ask questions and to be positive ambassadors of the government. This means conducting themselves as they would in Rwanda. Dr. Caplan stated that he believed that members of the Rwandan diaspora in Canada separate themselves physically and have very little contact among one another. This suggests that thick reconciliation is not occurring.

Of all experts, Maia Storm might have the most detailed knowledge regarding the Rwandan diaspora in the United States. She has spent a significant amount of time working directly with this population, both as an attorney and as the executive director of asylum shelter that houses Rwandans. Storm was very clear that she did not believe thick reconciliation existed among the diaspora, and in the expert findings sections, provided

very specific examples. For Storm, nothing facilitated reconciliation among the diaspora; in her view, diaspora members felt no need or desire to reconcile. It is simply that they are not interested in.

To conclude, the political climate in Rwanda clearly has a residual effect on members of the Rwandan diaspora in Canada and the United States, according to my study. Because of the salience of Rwandan politics, there is a perceived culture of silence (most notably by the perception of monitoring) among the diaspora that appears to make them hesitant to speak about potentially political or divisive topics, such as justice and reconciliation. This directly affects participants' beliefs about justice and reconciliation in Rwanda and among the diaspora. In terms of justice, in and of itself, members of the Rwandan diaspora in the United States and Canada, does not appear to perceive or experience a specific form of justice among them. Justice is directly contingent on the experiences of those still in Rwanda. If justice has not been served there, than they do not feel that they have justice as members of the diaspora.

Reconciliation among the diaspora appears to also be intrinsically tied to reconciliation in Rwanda, but may also be its own construct, unlike notions of justice. This appears to primarily be because reconciliation is not forced among the diaspora. While some participants stated that they had friends of different Rwandan ethnicities, they stressed that this was uncommon. It is possible that these friendships occurs simply because they are not forced, and that this is indicative of a more authentic form of reconciliation. Nevertheless, the four experts interviewed confirmed that thick reconciliation does not seem to appear among the diaspora, and offered additional commentary (including and beyond the political culture) for why members of the

diaspora may be reluctant to speak. In particular, they noted the trauma associated with surviving genocide and a non-political “culture of silence.”

Methodological Issues/Limitations of Research

When this research began, I did not entirely realize the difficulties that would emerge regarding finding members of the Rwandan diaspora in the United States and Canada who wished to participate in my research. While I understood that issues associated with trauma could potentially limit my sample size, I imagined that finding interested participants would be relatively easy, as I had two primary gatekeepers who stated that they knew of others who might have been interested in participating.

Additionally, at the beginning of this research, I was not wholly aware of the political climate in Rwanda and how this might affect the diaspora. This snowball sampling did not pan out in the way that I imagined, and I subsequently spent over 200 hours over the course of 10 months trying to connect with and identify other diaspora members. While sample recruitment was an unforeseen roadblock to my research, it also was symbolic of a larger issue among the Rwandan diaspora, one that I had not anticipated before I started: members of the Rwandan diaspora in the United States and Canada seemed to be afraid to speak.

This perceived fear of the Rwandan government and the alleged action of monitoring among the diaspora directly led into the largest methodological issue of this research, sample size. There are approximately 320 million people living in the United States and 35 million in Canada for a combined population of 355 million people. The Rwandan diaspora in Canada totals 5,600–7,000 members and 7,000 members in the United States (UNHCR, 2014), for an estimated total of approximately 12,600–14,000

members. Members of the Rwanda diaspora in the United States and Canada make up approximately 0.00004% of the total population of both countries. This small number, combined with the fear of the Rwandan government and the trauma following genocide, make it incredibly difficult to find individuals who want, or feel free, to speak about the highly politicized and emotional topics outlined in my research questions.

While I feel my sample size is adequate for the purpose of this dissertation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Kuzel, 1999; Morse, 2000; Sandelowski, 1995), and adds fruitful and important findings for understudied topic regarding an incredibly sensitive topic (Crouch & McKenzie, 2006), there are certain methodological issues that arise from such a small sample. I cannot claim that these statements are representative for the entire Rwandan diaspora in the United States and Canada. I was only able to interview two members of the diaspora in Canada and six in the United States. I am unable to delineate any differences among the diaspora in the United States and Canada regarding their perceptions of justice and reconciliation. By no means can I claim to have empirically based support to suggest generalizability for either of the diaspora in these geographic locations. Furthermore, I cannot make claims regarding reaching saturation. However, it should be noted that the majority of the participants shared similar beliefs regarding politics, justice and reconciliation in Rwanda and among the diaspora, regardless of their age, ethnicity, or gender.

Additionally, all participants were well educated men and women. Two participants worked in the judicial capacity, specifically as a lawyer and a judge. Two participants worked in high powered positions within the government, one having worked directly for the president. All have (or are working toward) advanced degrees. It is likely

possible that the experience and perceptions of well educated, highly skilled Rwandans in the diaspora are very different from those who do not have the same educational or vocational backgrounds. However, many Rwandans who are members of the diaspora may have similar qualifications, as these qualifications make it easier to immigrate. Importantly, four of eight participants worked in legal capacities within Rwanda, and were very outspoken regarding their contempt for Kagame. Additionally, these four respondents ultimately left Rwanda for fear of their own safety. It is possible that their critical perspective might not be shared by other members of the diaspora.

Only one Hutu was identified and agreed to participate in this research. I was not entirely surprised by this, and both experts and participants of this study suggested that Hutu tend to be extremely reluctant to speak to researchers regarding such political topics. Because of this, I am unable to accurately discuss the Hutu perspective in a comparative way with Tutsi respondents. Initially, I believed that I would hear very pro-Kagame stances from the Tutsi with whom I spoke. I was very surprised (as was Dr. Caplan) that Tutsi respondents spoke so vehemently of the president. Frankly, I assumed that the only participants that would state that justice and reconciliation were not happening would be Hutu respondents. However, six out of the seven Tutsi participants outlined beliefs regarding Rwandan politics, justice, and reconciliation that were similar to the only Hutu participant.

Additionally, participants who agreed to participate may be inherently different than those who elected not to, or those that I was unable to reach. Members of the diaspora who were willing to share their stories might have completely different life-stories and ideas about justice and reconciliation than those who did not participate. I

also attempted (via contact with participants and lengthy internet searches) to identify members of the alleged “extremist” diaspora. I worked diligently to try and identify members of this particular population as I believed that it would provide a more balanced sample. However, I was unable to locate any members of such diaspora groups that wished to participate in my research.

While I support (based on participant interviews) the notion that the largest reason for my small sample size was the fear of speaking, I do not deny that there are other reasons diaspora members might not wish to speak. They may simply be uninterested in speaking based on historical cultural (non-political) norms of silence and because of the trauma associated with genocide. The combination of the two may certainly limit members of the diaspora from speaking about such potentially political topics as justice and reconciliation.

To that end, it has been suggested that publicly discussing private or emotional topics is not a widely held cultural norm in Rwanda (Pham, Weinstein, & Longman, 2004). In a way, however, this is paradoxical, as *gacaca* and mandatory participation in annual memorials explicitly requires the rehashing of private and traumatic events. Second, the direct trauma of surviving genocide and/or living with its legacy is an emotional and traumatic experience in and of itself. Survivors frequently experience depression, post-traumatic stress disorder, and a variety of other psychological issues (Munyandamutsa, Mahoro Nkubamugisha, Gex-Fabry, & Eytan, 2012). Reliving these experiences or issues, as a result of participating in interviews, may also be a reason why members of the diaspora were not keen to participate.

However, based on interviews with respondents, it appears that the most prominent issue regarding silence among the diaspora is the political influence of President Kagame and the belief that speaking publicly about potentially divisive issues can result in harm to them or their families, both in Rwanda and abroad. This particular issue was suggested by the four experts as well. All agreed that there were also non-political cultural norms that existed in Rwanda that discouraged Rwandans from speaking about sensitive or political topics. Participants suggested something similar, but almost always framed it as a result of the political climate in Rwanda. In other words, when this topic came up, participants rarely alluded to the trauma of genocide as a primary reason for silence.

When discussing this with Dr. Reyntjens and Ms. Storm, both suggested that it is difficult to note which came first—the non-political culture of silence, or the politically created culture of silence. I’m inclined to support the notion that while there is a cultural norm to remain relatively quiet about divisive issues, this has been absolutely exacerbated by the current administration. It is no longer simply a cultural norm, but something that has legal ramifications. This issue clearly has a residual effect among the diaspora and likely explains such a small sample size.

Theoretical Implications

This project was an inductive attempt to research a topic among a population that has not yet been academically studied. It was a starting point for understanding notions of justice and reconciliation among the Rwandan diaspora in the United States and Canada. For that reason, I feel any definitive theoretical claims are simply not possible

and, at best, premature and at worst, reckless. This is not to say that this project cannot provide valuable contributions.

It is my hope that future researchers will be able to provide more substantive theoretical contributions, confirming or refuting, and otherwise expanding upon what I found here. I also believe that this project can contribute theoretically to the topics of standpoint theory (specifically geared toward transnational populations) and the general application of restorative justice. As outlined previously, standpoint theory is the understanding that the knowledge that we have and the reality with which we identify is often created by those in positions of power. It is not just about the belief in knowledge or reality, but about the actual activities the individuals participate in and what we know about them. Based on standpoint theory, the specific experiences and definitions of justice and reconciliation of the Rwandan diaspora is essentially created from their specific experiences and perception, which are shaped by those in positions of power (Harding, 2004).

I found this to be particularly relevant during the course of my research. First, this population has simply not been studied, specifically their beliefs about justice and reconciliation. However, Owen's (2009) work regarding issues of ethnicity among members of the Rwandan diaspora in Ottawa, Canada, was particularly helpful, more specifically, her utilization of standpoint theory. When discussing justice and reconciliation, existing research has consistently done so through the lens of those who remain in Rwanda. The diaspora has very specific beliefs about justice and reconciliation that may be heavily influenced by their own geographical and social location separate from Rwanda. They are a unique community with a unique position in the world. While

their beliefs are inherently tied to what is occurring in Rwanda, they certainly expressed specific beliefs about what is going on in the diaspora. More specifically, that they believe reconciliation may occur less in the diaspora because it is not forced. In the same vein, when reconciliation does it occur, it is more likely authentic because it is not out of need or force.

Furthermore, their beliefs are largely shaped by those in positions of power, most notably President Kagame. The culture of silence that has been created in Rwanda has a residual effect on the diaspora, which clearly helps shape their beliefs about ethnicity, justice, and reconciliation. Much of what they have been taught and believe, particularly about ethnicity, is historical and fostered through a national narrative. Any future theoretical discussion of the attempts at justice and reconciliation among the Rwandan diaspora in the United States and Canada would certainly encompass standpoint theory, and I believe my research shows the importance of understanding diaspora communities as their own distinct voice. Perhaps most importantly, this research outlines the lengths that are taken to create and maintain a power structure that influences the beliefs and values of specific populations (Amnesty International, 2010; Beswick, 2010; Oropo, 2015; Reyntjens, 2010).

Additionally, this research highlights the necessity of grassroots level restorative justice practices. My initial interest in this topic was largely a product of my ongoing work in restorative justice, more specifically, my interest in gacaca courts. Gacaca has been suggested to be one of the largest experiments in restorative justice that the world has seen (Roche, 2006). I was interested how members of the diaspora viewed such a mechanism, and how it impacted their own attempts at justice and reconciliation. What I

quickly learned was that, for them, gacaca was not truly a restorative justice apparatus. Gacaca is a state initiated program and participation was essentially a requirement. Furthermore, participants stated that it is a creation of the Rwandan government and meant to impose a single narrative—one that did not allow for honest confessions or for grieving by Hutu. A variety of procedural problems with gacaca have been outlined in other works which speaks to the argument that the system was not truly restorative in nature (Hintjens, 2008; Thompson, 2011). Additionally, Dr. Reyntjens, during the course of interview, suggested that some Rwandans are claiming that actual reconciliation may begin now because the state-mandated gacaca has ended. This speaks to the issue of reconciliation as a grass roots level process, not a state sponsored mandate with time frames.

Reconciliation is not something that has a start and end date, and all participants talked about the process of reconciliation. While seven out of eight participants stated that reconciliation had not happened, they all outlined that the restorative process is something that takes time, and it appears that no amount of state coercion will change that. Furthermore, those who suffer mass atrocity need to be free to speak their truths and grieve as they wish. In Rwanda, public grieving (for Tutsi) was allowed at gacaca and is almost publicly forced during the month of April through remembrance activities. It is almost as if the Rwandan government feels that they can monitor and enforce what reconciliation is or should be. This is simply not the case. Reconciliation must occur organically, and in an environment that promotes honesty and safety. Furthermore, forcing people to live next to one another and claiming that their working together implies reconciliation is hardly the full story. It implies that people have no other choice.

It must be noted that there are certain aspects of gacaca that are certainly restorative in nature (Clark, 2009) and research is mixed regarding the perceptions of those in Rwandan regarding its ability to promote justice and reconciliation (Hintjens, 2015). The ability for the victim, offender, and perpetrator to come together in a public environment to address crime is certainly an important aspect of restorative justice. Furthermore, healing that may occur from public expression, as well as the ability to employ alternative forms of punishment, is of vital importance in a restorative justice apparatus. However, from the start, gacaca has been riddled with procedural issues that completely undermine its attempts at true reconciliation. While I am cognizant that following such an atrocity, there may have been few alternatives, I believe that my research suggests that the top down approach and political manipulation of gacaca severely hindered its ability to be truly restorative.

The interesting paradox of findings among the diaspora must be noted here. Interviews suggest that reconciliation among the diaspora (or versions of “thick” reconciliation) may be less likely among the diaspora simply because they are not forced. However, participants report that when reconciliation *does* happen among the diaspora it is more likely to be authentic because *it is not forced*. This dilemma may lead one to suggest that if reconciliation is forced, at least it is more likely to happen. However, anytime that reconciliation is forced, authenticity is an issue. Hutu and Tutsi may spend more time together in Rwanda, but it is largely a result of political pressures and the simple inability to separate. It is impossible to force people to have meaningful relationships with one another. As discussed by participants, when meaningful relationships are created among the diaspora (though rare) it is by the choice of each

individual. It is not done in an attempt to survive or because the cloak of reconciliation is politically required. For future theoretical development of restorative justice practices, it may be fitting to delineate the nature of state run mechanisms and those that are created independently at a community level. Additionally, it might be theoretically helpful to look further into thin and thick reconciliation, and how these issues are addressed by restorative justice apparatuses.

Contributions/Directions of Future Research

As outlined above, this research provides contributions to standpoint theory for transnational populations, as well as to the discussion of the application of restorative justice apparatuses. Additionally, this research adds to our understanding of the cyclical relationship between home country and diaspora populations. As noted in the literature review, the majority of research regarding diaspora focus almost solely on its role in fueling insurgency, as well as further promoting or negating conflict and division within the respective home country. This narrow focus is problematic in the context of Rwanda, as issues of ethnicity and politics *within* Rwanda often have a residual effect on issues of ethnicity and politics experienced by the diaspora (Haider, 2014; Mohamoud, 2005; Owen, 2009). My research clearly supports this claim, as reconciliation for diaspora members is heavily influenced by what is transpiring in Rwanda.

Political silence exists in Rwanda, and to a lesser extent among the diaspora. As outlined in the expert findings, there is a layer of “opaqueness” that exists, that impedes our understanding of what is really going on. While speech in the diaspora is stifled, it appears that more honest conversations can exist there than in Rwanda. Thus, understanding the diaspora may help us more clearly understand what may be occurring

in Rwanda. Future research on diaspora populations should consider the cyclical nature of the relationship between the home country and the diaspora.

Similarly, we continue to see mass violence and crimes against humanity throughout the world. The international notions of “Never Again” regarding genocide are political lip service, as we see genocide continuing to occur in Darfur, Iraq, Somalia, Nigeria and other locations throughout the world. As such atrocities continue, we can assume that genocide survivors will take refuge in various countries, increasing worldwide diaspora populations. Understanding the relationship between home country and diaspora, as well as how the Rwandan diaspora in Canada and the United States facilitates justice and reconciliation, may provide a model for other diaspora throughout the world.

In addition to stressing the connection between home country and diaspora, my research also outlines the differences in justice and reconciliation among the diaspora, and particularly discusses the nuances of reconciliation among them. This provides further support of the necessity to study diaspora as their own specific entities. Future research should continue to attempt to locate and identify members of the diaspora in the United States and Canada to obtain a more complete and detailed account of their experiences and perceptions of justice and reconciliation.

Participants, as well as expert interviews, suggested that there is an underlying political narrative that exists among the diaspora. It may be that, as suggested by participants, there are also issues of divisiveness within ethnicities as they begin to take “pro-Kagame” and “anti-government” stances. Future research may address this issue more specifically, focusing on political beliefs of participants. These beliefs may work as

an additional contention among the diaspora, or possibly serve in the process of unification.

I believe the biggest contribution of this research is simply the sharing the stories of participants who entrusted them to me. While this certainly speaks to standpoint theory, it is important that it is presented in a way that is not simply theoretical. The world ignored them as they suffered, survived 90 days of genocide. The world continued to ignore them as they relocated to the geographical west. I am presenting stories on not only how they survived one of the most horrendous events in history, but how they attempted to rebuild their lives afterwards. I asked them whether and how they found justice, reconciliation, and forgiveness. Asking such questions required understanding their experiences, and all the nuances of them, on a more personal level than I thought I would. In the process, I found myself grappling with my own guilt of being part of the world that left them to die and continues, in large part, to ignore them.

Sharing their stories, their beliefs about Rwandan politics, and opinions on justice and reconciliation in Rwanda and among the diaspora is the very least that can be done. It is my hope that important light has been shed not only on their experiences and opinions, but that I have highlighted the personhood behind the stories. I have attempted to provide their stories in such a way that, while ensuring safety and confidentiality, the reader is forced to look beyond the “participants as research subjects” and to understand the humanity behind their stories. These are real people. Joseph, Monique, Jean-Paul, Marc, Paul, Marie, Therese, and Pierre are likely the bravest people I have had the pleasure of knowing. They took the time to speak about painful and potentially dangerous topics in an effort to help a researcher that they knew nothing about. They took a

chance and told me their stories, stories that some did not feel always feel that they could safely tell themselves. I hope that sharing their stories and being recognized, even by a simple graduate student, somehow helps in their journey toward healing and reconciliation. It is the least I could do.

REFERENCES

- 80 attend Itorero 2010 in Belgium. (2010, October 17). *The New Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.newtimes.co.rw/section/article/2010-10-17/82790>
- African Diaspora Association of Canada. Retrieved August 2014, from <https://africancanadiandiaspora.com/en/home>
- Akhavan, P. (1996). The international criminal tribunal for Rwanda: The politics and pragmatics of punishment. *The American Journal of International Law*, 90(3), 501-510.
- Alcoff, L. M. (1995). The problem of speaking for others. In J. Roof & R. Weigman (Eds.), *Who can speak? Authority and critical identity* (pp. 97-116). Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Amnesty International. (2010). *Safer to stay silent: The chilling effect of Rwanda's laws on 'genocide ideology' and 'sectarianism.'* Retrieved from <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/AFR47/005/2010/en/>
- Atkinson, R. (2002). The life story interview. In J. F Gubrium & J.A Holstein (Eds.), *Handbook of interview research* (pp. 121-140). London, UK: Sage.
- Barker, G. (Writer & Director). (2004). Ghosts of Rwanda [Television series episode]. In G. Barker (Producer), *Frontline*. Arlington, VA: Public Broadcasting Services.
- BBC News. (2011, May 14). *Rwanda: How the genocide happened*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13431486>
- Berg, B. L. (2004). *Qualitative research methods*. Boston, MA: Pearson.
- Beswick, D. (2010). Managing dissent in a post-genocide environment: The challenge of political space in Rwanda. *Development and Change*, 41(2), 225-251.
- Bradley, M. (2012). *Displacement, transitional justice and reconciliation: Assumptions, challenges and lessons*. Oxford, England: Refugee Studies Centre, Oxford Department of International Development, University of Oxford. Retrieved from <http://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/publications/displacement-transitional-justice-and-reconciliation-assumptions-challenges-and-lessons>
- Briggs, C. L. (1986). *Learning how to ask: A sociolinguistic appraisal of the role of the interviewer in social science research*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

- Brubaker, R. (2006). The 'diaspora' diaspora. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28, 1-18.
- Burnett, J. E. (2008). Injustice of local justice: Truth, reconciliation, and revenge in Rwanda. *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal*, 3(2), 173-193.
- Caarls, K., Fransen, S., & Ruben, R. (2012). Can migratory contacts and remittances contribute to reconciliation and reconstruction in Rwanda? *International Migration*, 51, 98-117.
- Cassell, J. (1980). Ethical principles for conducting fieldwork. *American Anthropologist*, 82, 29-39.
- Clark, P. (2009). The rules (and politics) of engagement: The gacaca courts and post-genocide justice, healing and reconciliation in Rwanda. In P. Clark & Z. Kaufman (Eds.), *After genocide: Transitional justice, post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation in Rwanda and beyond* (pp. 297-320). New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Clark, P. (2014). Negotiating reconciliation in Rwanda: Popular challenges to the office discourse of post-genocide national unity. *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, 8(4), 303-320.
- Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Crouch, M., & McKenzie, H. (2006). The logic of small samples in interview-based qualitative research. *Social Science Information*, 45(4), 483-499.
- Dallaire, R. (2003). *Shake hands with the devil: The failure of humanity in Rwanda*. New York, NY: Avalon.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 1-32). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Drumbl, M. A. (2013). 'She makes me ashamed to be a woman': The genocide conviction of Pauline Nyiramasuhuko, 2011. *Michigan Journal of International Law*, 34, 559-603.
- Duthie, R. (2012). Transitional justice and the reintegration of displaced persons. In R. Duthie (Ed.), *Transitional justice and displacement*. New York, NY: Social Sciences Research Council.

- Gourevitch, P. (1998). *We wish to inform you that tomorrow we will be killed with our families: Stories from Rwanda*. New York, NY: Farrar, Straus & Giroux.
- Government of Canada. (2014, July). *Facts and figures*. Retrieved from <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/statistics/facts2012/permanent/11.asp>
- Haider, H. (2014). Transnational transitional justice and reconciliation: The participation of conflict generated diasporas in addressing the legacies of mass violence. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 27, 207-233.
- Harding, S. (2004). Rethinking standpoint epistemology: What is strong objectivity? In S. N. Hesse-Biber & M. C. Yaiser (Eds.), *Feminist Perspectives on Social Research* (pp. 39-64). New York, NY: Oxford Press.
- Harrell, P. E. (2003). *Rwanda's Gamble: Gacaca and a New Model of Transitional Justice*. New York, NY: Writers Club Press.
- Hintjens, H. (1999). Explaining the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 37, 241-286.
- Hintjens, H. (2008). Post-genocide Identity Politics in Rwanda. *Ethnicities*, 8, 5-41.
- Hintjens, H. (2009). Reconstructing Political Identities in Rwanda. In P. Clark & Z. Kaufman (Eds.), *After Genocide: Transitional Justice, Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Reconciliation in Rwanda and Beyond* (pp. 77-100). New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Hintjens, H. (2015). 'As if there were two Rwandas': Polarised research agendas in post-genocide Rwanda. In H. Hintjens & D. Zarkov (Eds.), *Conflict, peace, security and development: Theories and methodologies* (pp. 133-149). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Horn, F. (2014). How Ethiopia spies on its diaspora in Europe. *The Wall Street Journal*. Retrieved from <https://www.hrw.org/news/2014/04/01/how-ethiopia-spies-its-diaspora-europe>
- Human Rights Watch. (2014). *Repression across borders: Attacks and threats against Rwandan opponents and critics abroad*. Retrieved from <https://www.hrw.org/news/2014/01/28/rwanda-repression-across-borders>
- International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. (n.d.). *Status of cases*. Retrieved from <http://www.unictr.org/Cases/StatusofCases/tabid/204/Default.aspx>
- Jentleson, B. W. (2007). A responsibility to protect: The defining challenge for the global community. *Harvard International Review*, 28, 18-24.

- King, C. (2012). Can there be a political science of the Holocaust? *Perspective on Politics*, 10(2), 323-341.
- Koopmans, R. (2013). Multiculturalism and immigration: A contested field in cross-national comparison. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 39, 147-169.
- Kuzel, A. J. (1999). Sampling in qualitative inquiry. In B. F. Crabtree & W. L. Miller (Eds.), *Doing qualitative research* (2nd ed.) (pp. 33-45). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Lahiri, K. (2009). Rwanda's 'gacaca' courts: A possible model for local justice in international conflict? *International Criminal Law Review*, 9, 321-332.
- Laslett, B., & Rapoport, R. (1975). Collaborative interviewing and interactive research. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 37(4), 968-977.
- Le Mon, C. (2007). Rwanda's troubled gacaca courts. *Human Rights Brief*, 14(2), 16-20.
- Liberian government denies spying on Liberians in diaspora. (2009, November 1). Retrieved from Voice of America website: <http://www.voanews.com/content/a-13-2007-12-19-voa8/336729.html>
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalist inquiry*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Marijnjen, E. (2015). Dealing with dissent across borders: The 'presence' of the Rwandan government in the Rwandan diaspora(s). *L'Afrique Des Grands Lacs: Annuaire 2014-2015*: 287-305.
- Marshall, B., Cardon, P., Poddar, A., & Fontenot, R. (2013). Does sample size matter in qualitative research?: A review of qualitative interviews in IS research. *Computer Information Systems*, 54(1), 11-22.
- Mazzetti, M., Schmitt, E., & Savage, C. (2011, July 24). Pakistan spies on its diaspora, spreading fear (Foreign Desk). *New York Times*, p. A1.
- Melvern, L. (2006). *Conspiracy to murder*. New York, NY: Verso.
- Mgbako, C. (2005). Ingando solidarity camps: Reconciliation and political indoctrination in post-genocide Rwanda. *Harvard Human Rights Journal*, 18, 201-224.
- Miller, R. L. (2000). *Researching life stories and family histories*. London, UK: Sage.
- Minow, M. (1998). *Between vengeance and forgiveness: Facing history after genocide and mass violence*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Mishler, E. G. (1986). *Research interviewing: Context and narrative*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

- Mohamoud, A. A. (2005). *Mobilising African diaspora for the promotion of peace*. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: African Diaspora Policy Center. Retrieved from <http://www.diaspora-centre.org/DOCS/MobilisingAfricanD.pdf>
- Morse, J. M. (2000). Determining sample size. *Qualitative Health Research*, 10(1), 3-5.
- Munyandamutsa, N., Mahoro Nkubamugisha, P., Gex-Fabry, M., & Eytan, A. (2012). Mental and physical health in Rwanda 14 years after the genocide. *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology*, 47(11), 1753-1761.
- Naples, N. A. (2003). *Feminism and method: Ethnography, discourse analysis and activist research*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Naples, N. A. (2004). The outsider phenomenon. In S. N. Hesse-Biber & M. C. Yaizer (Eds.), *Feminist perspectives on social research* (pp. 373-381). New York, NY: Oxford Press.
- Nnaemeka, O. (2007). Re-imagining the diaspora: History, responsibility, and commitment in an age of globalization. *Dialectical Anthropology*, 31, 127-141.
- Oduro, F. (2007). *What do we understand by 'reconciliation'? Emerging definitions of reconciliation in the context of transitional justice*. Ottawa, Ontario, Canada: Ottawa International Development Research Center.
- Office of the United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees (UNHCR). (2014). Retrieved from <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49e491336.html>
- O'Reilly, M., & Parker, N. (2012). 'Unsatisfactory saturation': A critical exploration of the notion of saturated sample sizes in qualitative research. *Qualitative Research*, 13(2), 190-197.
- Oropo, K. T. (2015, August 16). Only 10 Rwandans oppose a Kagame third term. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.ngrguardiannews.com>
- Owen, W. (2009). *Rwandans in Ottawa-Gatineau, Canada: Interactions and relationships within the diaspora* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Carleton University, Ottawa, ON.
- PAGE-Rwanda. (2014, June). Retrieved from <http://pagerwanda.ca/>
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Pham, P. N., Weinstein, H. M., & Longman, T. (2004). Trauma and PTSD symptoms in Rwanda. *JAMA, The Journal of the American Medical Association*, 292(5), 602-612.

- Pozen, J., Neugebauer, R., & Ntaganira, J. (2014). Assessing the Rwanda experiment: Popular perceptions of gacaca in its final phase. *The International Journal of Transitional Justice* 8, 31-52.
- Quinn, J. (2009). *Reconciliation(s): Transitional justice in post-conflict societies*. Montreal, Quebec, Canada: Queen's University Press.
- Rafti, M. (2004). *The Rwandan political opposition in exile: A valid interlocutor vis-à-vis Kigali?* Antwerpen, Belgium: Institution of Development, Policy and Management—University of Antwerp. Retrieved from <http://www.ua.ac.be/objs/00153471.pdf>
- Rettig, M. (2008). Gacaca: Truth, justice and reconciliation in post-conflict Rwanda? *African Studies Review*, 53, 25-50.
- Reyntjens, F. (2010). Constructing the truth, dealing with dissent, domesticating the world: Governance in post-genocide Rwanda. *African Affairs*, 110, 1-34.
- Reyntjens, F. (2016). (Re-)imagining a reluctant post-genocide society: The Rwanda Patriotic Front's ideology and practice. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 18(1), 61-81.
- Rimmer, S. H. (2010). Reconceiving refugees and internally displaced persons as transitional justice actors. *Contemporary Readings in Law and Social Justice*, 2(2), 163-180.
- Roche, D. (2006). Dimensions of restorative justice. *Journal of Social Issues*, 62, 217-238.
- Ronayne, P. (2001). *Never again? The United States and the prevention and punishment of genocide since the Holocaust*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Rwandan Edmonton Diaspora. (2014, July). Retrieved from <https://groups.yahoo.com/neo/groups/rwandanedmontondiaspora/info>
- Ryen, A. (2002). Cross-cultural interviewing. In J. F. Gubrium & J. A. Holstein (Eds.), *Handbook of interview research*. London, UK: Sage.
- Sandelowski, M. (1995). Focus on qualitative methods: Sample size in qualitative research. *Research in Nursing & Health*, 18, 179-183.
- Sarkin, J. (2001). The tension between justice and reconciliation in Rwanda: Politics, human rights, due process and the role of the gacaca courts in dealing with the genocide. *Journal of African Law*, 45(2), 143-172.
- Shuy, R. (2002). In-person versus telephone interviewing. In J. F. Gubrium & J. A. Holstein (Eds.), *Handbook of interview research*. London, UK: Sage.

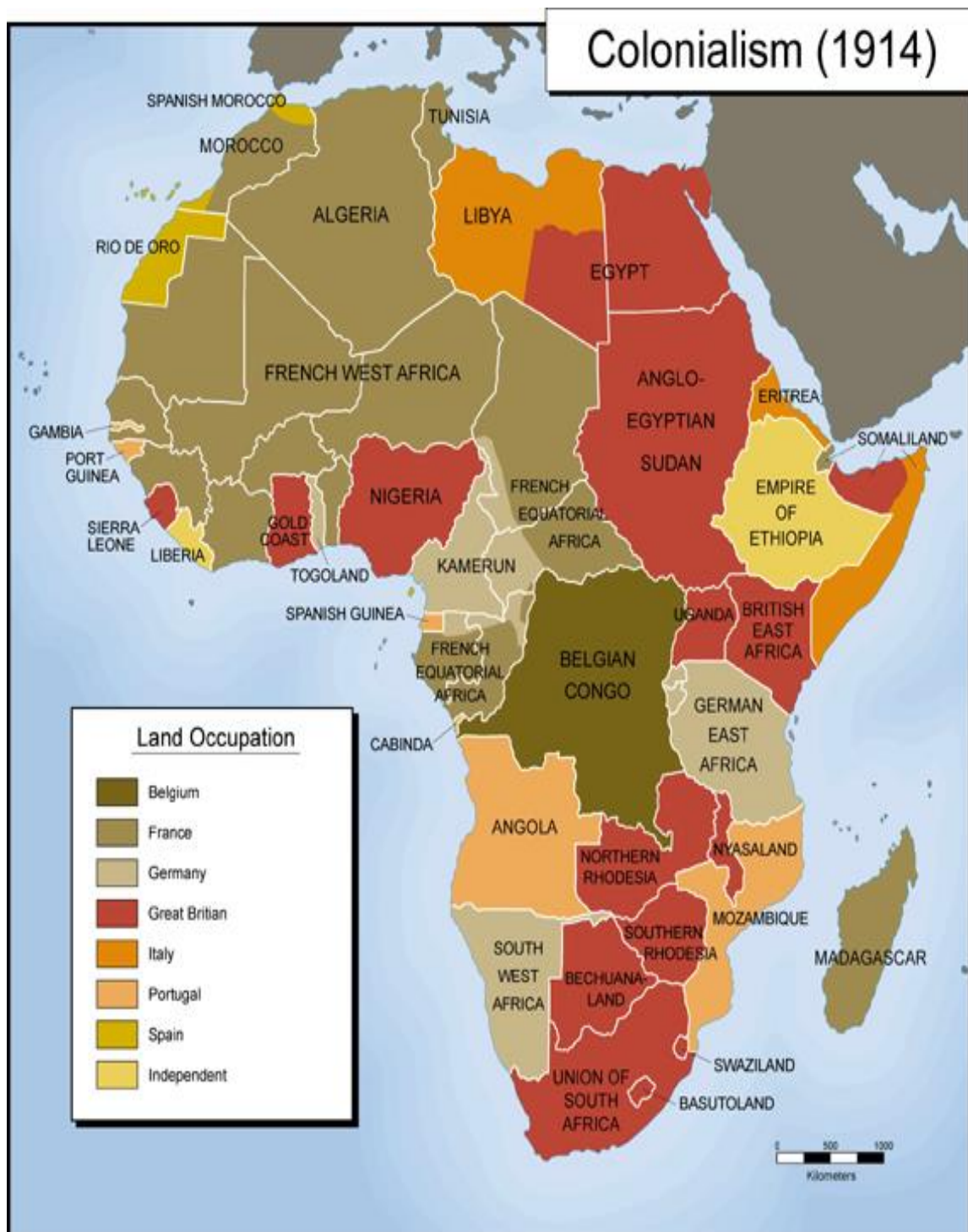
- Simon, D. (2012). The challenge of social reconciliation in Rwanda: Identity, justice, and transformation. In A. Jones (Ed.), *New Directions in Genocide Research* (pp. 254-273). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Stevenson, B. (2014). *Just mercy: A story of redemption*. New York, NY: Spiegel & Grau.
- Straus, S. (2006). Rwanda and Darfur: A comparative analysis. *Genocide Studies and Prevention*, 1(1), 41-56.
- Sullivan, D., & Tifft, L. (2006). *Handbook of restorative justice*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Sundaram, A. (2016). *Bad news*. New York, NY: Doubleday.
- Tettey W., & Puplampu, K. (2005). Border crossings and home-diaspora linkages among African-Canadians: An analysis of translocational positionality, cultural remittance, and social capital. In W. Tettey & K. Puplampu (Eds.), *The African diaspora in Canada: Negotiating identity and belonging* (pp. 149-174). Calgary, Alberta, Canada: The University of Calgary Press.
- Thompson, S. (2010). Getting close to Rwandans since the genocide: Studying everyday life in highly politicized research settings. *African Studies Review*, 53(3), 19-34.
- Thompson, S. (2011). The darker side of transitional justice: The power dynamics behind Rwanda's gacaca courts. *The Journal of the International African Institute*, 81(3), 373-390.
- Tint, B., Chirimwami, V., & Sarkis, K. (2014). Diasporas in dialogue: Lessons of reconciliation efforts in African refugee communities. *Conflict Resolution*, 32(2), 177-202.
- Trier-Bieniek, A. (2012). Framing the telephone interview as a participant-centered tool for qualitative research: A methodological discussion. *Qualitative Research*, 12, 630-644.
- Tufford, L., & Newman, P. (2012). Bracketing in qualitative research. *Qualitative Social Work*, 11(1), 80-96.
- Turner, S. (2013). Staging the Rwandan diaspora: The politics of performance. *African Studies*, 72(2), 265-284.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2014). *The foreign born population from Africa: 2008-2012, American Community Surveys brief*. Retrieved from <https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/publications/2014/acs/acsbr12-16.pdf>

Young, L. A. & Park, R. (2009). Engaging diasporas in truth commissions: Lessons from the Liberia Truth and Reconciliation Commission Diaspora Project. *The International Journal of Transitional Justice*, 3, 341-361.

Zehr, H. (2002). *The little book of restorative justice*. Intercourse, PA: Good Books.

Appendix A

Map of Africa 1914



Appendix B
Map of Africa 2014



Appendix C
Diaspora Interview Guide

Diaspora Interview Guide

Focus: To understand how members of the Rwandan Diaspora located in Canada and the United States achieve justice and reconciliation among one another.

Coding: Coding will be done based on the following four points. Justice will be coded based on discussion of gacaca and the respondents' personal remarks regarding justice/punishment. Reconciliation will be primarily coded based on discussion "thick" and "thin" reconciliation.

- 1) **Demographics:** age, gender, marital status, education level, ethnicity (Hutu, Tutsi, Twa), current residence, location of residence in Rwandan, family size
- 2) **Start of Life-Story:** life in Rwanda, family remaining in Rwanda or located elsewhere, occupation in Rwandan, when they came to Canada/United States, how long they have been in Canada/United States, why the selected Canada/United States, occupation in Canada/United States, genocidal experience, issues of ethnicity while in Rwanda
- 3) **Justice:** definition of justice, knowledge and perception of gacaca and justice, personal experience with gacaca, belief that gacaca affects the diaspora, diaspora specific notions/ideas/beliefs regarding justice
- 4) **Reconciliation:** definition of reconciliation, knowledge and perception of gacaca and reconciliation, do reconciliation efforts in Rwanda affect the diaspora? diaspora specific attempts at reconciliation, relationships with those of other ethnicities (Hutu, Tutsi, Twa)?, "Thin" and "Thick" reconciliation? What are future hopes for reconciliation and justice?

Appendix D
Expert Interview Guide

Expert Interview Guide

Focus: To understand the salience of political issues in Rwanda among the diaspora in the United States and Canada. To better understand reasons as to why members of the diaspora may be “afraid,” uninterested, or unwilling to speak about issues of justice and reconciliation. To obtain information regarding expert opinions of justice and reconciliation among the diaspora.

Coding: Political issues will be coded based on discussion of President Kagame, the Rwandan government, monitoring by the Rwandan government, and the identified “culture of silence.” Additional reasons for silence will be coded by any discussion of silence not attached to political issues. Justice will be coded by discussion of gacaca or other judicial mechanisms. Reconciliation will be coded by discussion of “thin” and “thick” reconciliation.

- 1) **Employment History:** current occupation, current location, publications/research regarding Rwanda, post-genocide politics, restorative justice, transitional justice, gacaca courts, the Rwandan diaspora.
- 2) **Rwandan Politics:** opinion of current Rwandan politics, perceptions of Kagame as a leader, culture of silence in Rwanda, culture of silence among diaspora, ability of the administration to monitor members of the diaspora, impact of Rwanda politics on sampling among the diaspora, additional sampling issues regarding silence among the diaspora.
- 3) **Justice:** discussion of gacaca, perception of gacaca, perceptions of justice in Rwanda, perceptions of justice in the diaspora, relationship between Rwanda and diaspora.
- 4) **Reconciliation:** discussion of “thin” and “thick” reconciliation, discussion of reconciliation in Rwanda, discussion of gacaca as it effects reconciliation in Rwanda and the diaspora, perceptions of reconciliation in Rwanda and the diaspora not associated with discussion of gacaca.

Appendix E

Human Subjects Institutional Review Board Letter of Approval

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY



Human Subjects Institutional Review Board

Date: March 11, 2015

To: Angela Moe, Principal Investigator
Jennifer Marson, Student Investigator for dissertation

From: Amy Naugle, Ph.D., Chair

Re: HSIRB Project Number 15-02-43

This letter will serve as confirmation that your research project titled "The Rwandan Diaspora in Canada: Reconciliation and Justice" has been **approved** under the **expedited** category of review by the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board. The conditions and duration of this approval are specified in the Policies of Western Michigan University. You may now begin to implement the research as described in the application.

Please note: This research may **only** be conducted exactly in the form it was approved. You must seek specific board approval for any changes in this project (e.g., ***you must request a post approval change to enroll subjects beyond the number stated in your application under "Number of subjects you want to complete the study."*** Failure to obtain approval for changes will result in a protocol deviation. In addition, if there are any unanticipated adverse reactions or unanticipated events associated with the conduct of this research, you should immediately suspend the project and contact the Chair of the HSIRB for consultation.

Reapproval of the project is required if it extends beyond the termination date stated below.

The Board wishes you success in the pursuit of your research goals.

Approval Termination: March 10, 2016