The Hugo Valentin Centre

Master thesis

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We are strong:

An analysis on the role of local forms of reconciliation through education in Rwanda

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Introduction

"There was little true dialogue happening, no deep inquiry into what was working for villagers and what they thought should be changed. I kept waiting for a true conversation to happen, but it rarely did. Rather, it seemed that many development officers arrived with a clear plan of what they wanted to accomplish and the results they desired without ever asking the villagers if they shared these goals. To make matters worse, most development projects did not include a basic education program the communities needed to effectively manage the projects once the so-called experts left. Without the knowledge of how to sustain the projects, they lay dormant, and years later, when representatives of the organizations returned, they would discover rusty vehicles, broken-down millet grinders and pumps, and nonfunctional health centers." -Molly Melching

Rwanda is known for two things: their tragic history in the 1994 genocide, and their dedication to reconciliation and unity in the post-genocide era. As Rwanda was in a fragile state after the genocide, international actors had come in and made their mark. One of the lasting imprints have been the alliance of local civil society organizations with international partners to create hybrid peacebuilding projects. Little research has been done on the effectiveness of these hybrid peace efforts when compared with the effectiveness of completely grassroots initiatives. This project attempts to do just that. More specifically, I will look into the impact these types of organizations have on reconciliation through peace education. With a representative from grassroots and hybrid organizations, I will evaluate the impact of their different takes on peace education programs.

Research problems and aims

Genocide studies has paid great attention to the initial outbreak of violence. Special focus is often on the political environment and ideology that is circling the group at risk. Efforts in transitional justice after ceasefire primarily focuses on the carrying out of international tribunals and sentencing. These tribunals are often seen as the first step in reconciliation for a community recovering from genocidal violence. Lately, other forms of international intervention have been developed to assist more to continue the process of reconciling. Debates have surfaced over how effective these internationally pressured, top-down reconciliation initiatives actually are in a post-genocide or post-war society. As an alternative, initiatives deriving from the grassroots as well as

global-local hybrids have been seen in a new light. Research has surfaced placing importance on addressing the root causes of violence as a means of reconciliation, a task requiring local knowledge. The number of organizations adopting hybrid operations is growing, making the research on their impact and effectiveness increasingly important.

In areas recovering from ethnic violence, such as Rwanda, attention should be paid to rebuilding trust and relationships in order to reconcile conflicting groups. Forgiveness is not the only goal; learning to empathize and re-humanize should be taught, making hate speech and ideology unlikely to re-emerge. Peace education has become a process in which communities with violent pasts can empower people to build towards a brighter future. The following study will take an in-depth look at reconciliation through peace education initiatives being carried out by grassroots and global-local organizations. The need for effective peacebuilding and reconciliation continues to rise, consequently, so is the need to evaluate current operations to ensure we are moving in the right direction.

Disposition

This paper will begin with a research overview. During this section, the reader will be provided with the context from which I have devised my research plan. Research from models of liberal peace, grassroots, and hybridity will all be addressed in how they contribute to post-conflict reconciliation. The limitations of liberal peace will be addressed, putting a greater focus on the need for alternative forms of reconciliation that include local actors. My primary argument will be that local actors have a greater sense of what is needed in their community, and they should not be dismissed in taking ownership of their own healing. Hybrid forms of reconciliation should not be dismissed entirely either, as they can make great contributions whilst respecting the culture and customs of the country they are working in. A discussion into the advantages and disadvantages of each of these organizations will be assessed in their ability to contribute to reconciliation via peace education.

In support of my argument I will take from local turn and learning transformation theory. Local turn will explain the importance of local participation in reconciliation, particularly when compared to efforts by purely external operations. Learning transformation theory will address the plausibility that peace education can contribute to positive peace.

In evaluating my findings, I will categorize my analysis into three primary sections: attitudes about the past, personality changes, and behavioral changes. Through interviews with recipients

from both grassroots and global-local organizations, I have analyzed and interpreted their answers in order to determine which has been more successful in influencing the new generation.

Research Overview

       In order to provide a thorough discussion on the importance of my project, an overview of peacebuilding and reconciliation processes must be addressed. First I will begin with an introduction to peace and the different approaches to peacebuilding. Secondly, I will discuss contemporary peacebuilding efforts by international actors and their implementation of the liberal peace model. Third will be the competing theories of purely grassroots and hybrid peace operations in working towards lasting peace. Finally, I will address the necessity of education in post-conflict countries and the types of organizations better suited to carry it out.

       According to theories by John Galtung (2002), peace has two deviations; negative peace and positive peace. Negative peace refers to an absence of violence. Positive peace is used to describe peace that comes with an "absence of violence, the presence of justice and the transformation of root causes of conflict."[1] Clearly, positive peace is more descriptive and should be strived for in looking at countries recovering from violence. In order to establish positive peace in countries recovering from conflict or genocide, various forms of peacebuilding have come to light. The first approach sees state building as central to the process. This involves heavy focus on constitution building, military, welfare and government operations. Typically, this type of peacebuilding represents a top-down approach. The second approach places more weight on "addressing the root causes of conflict by transforming relationships and making changes to social facets."[2] This approach to peacebuilding is more often considered to come from bottom-up processes. The first method of peacebuilding I will address is one centered around international intervention and most closely resembles the work of the state building approach.

       Coinciding with the end of the Cold War, violent intrastate conflicts in many parts of Africa and other developing parts of the world began to emerge. These intrastate conflicts popping up throughout Africa followed an upsurge of democratic transitions in many African countries.[3] After the Cold War, the United Nations was pushed into the arena of international security to become the

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[1] Emkic, Eleonora. 2018. Reconciliation and Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Anthroposcene: Politik-Economics-Society-Science. Springer International Publishing. Pp 20-24.

[2] Ibid., 21.

[3] Patrick, Tom. 2017. *Liberal peace and post-conflict peacebuilding in Africa*. Springer Nature publishing. p 34.

frontrunner for the prevention and resolution of conflict and maintaining peace. It was clear that transitional peacekeeping methods could no longer handle the collapse of statehood these countries were facing. Previously, there had been more countries facing interstate conflict (conflict between two or more governments, crosses state lines), meaning they faced different problems in the aftermath. Unlike intrastate conflict (conflict between parties within the same state), opposing groups in interstate violence were not living next door to their enemies. The risk of a continuance of violence, community distrust, and a more long-term approach towards sustainable peace had failed to be given significant attention before this time. It was not until the 1990s that the issue of lasting peace was brought up as and an area of focus for the United Nations. The United Nations Security Council convened on January 31, 1992 with the intentions of strengthening their pre-existing strategies of peacekeeping and peacemaking. It was as result of this meeting that Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali drafted *An Agenda for Peace*. This document shed light on not only efforts of peacekeeping and peacemaking, but introduced the concept of post-conflict peace-building. The document states that;

> When conflict breaks out, mutually reinforcing efforts at peacemaking and peacekeeping come into play. Once these have achieved their objectives, only sustained, cooperative work to deal with underlying economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems can place an achieved peace on a durable foundation. Preventative diplomacy is to avoid a crisis; post-conflict peace-building is to prevent a recurrence.[4]

It was in this document that the decision was made to trade in the traditional peacekeeping in favor of liberal peace. In 1994, Boutros-Ghali contributed *An Agenda for Development.* This document argued that development would pave the pathway to peace. Development as the cornerstone of peacebuilding would mean a focus on economic growth, human rights and democratization.[5] A focus on development would then produce the stable foundation necessary for lasting peace.

Liberal peace can be used to describe the objective of contemporary peace support interventions by leading states, international organizations, international financial institutions, and NGOs.[6] Liberal peace has become the standard for post-conflict peace building, appealing to many organizations and agencies globally. Despite good intentions, these projects are often misguided.

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[4] UN Documents. Forty-seventh session. *An Agenda for Peace, Preventative diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping*. Section VI. Post-conflict peace-building, point 57.

[5] Liden, Kristoffer; Ginty, Roger Mac; Richmond, Oliver P. *Introduction: Beyond Northern Epistemologies of Peace: Peacebuilding Reconstructed?* International Peacekeeping. Vol 16. Issue 5. Nov, 2009. Pp 589.

[6] Ginty, Roger Mac; Richmond, Oliver. *The Liberal Peace and Post-War Reconstruction: Myth or reality?* Routledge Publishing, 2009. Pp. 1.

They often focus on targeted projects concerning the implications of violent conflict, such as child soldiers or displacement, yet offer little support in the root cause. Without a solid foundation, these projects offer quick fixes, using problem-solving techniques that are generally short lived.

In recent years, there has been a growing distaste for liberal peace. There is a vast reasoning for this shift, one being the lack of results, or outright failures that have been piling in. The lack of successes has created "intervention fatigue" by global North states as they often face scrutiny for stirring the pot and leaving it to burn. International actors are being accused of taking advantage of a moment of high vulnerability in a post-conflict society in order to to establish complete transformation. An incredible setback for the liberal peace mode is the tendency for these actors to seek reconciliation as a problem-solving paradigm. Unfortunately, reconciliation is not one-size-fits-all, and what works for some countries could fail and be harmful to another. There is a tendency for international actors and organizations to focus on superficial issues and quick fixes with little attention paid to the root causes of conflict, or the everyday dynamics necessary to maintain peace.[7]

Roland Paris is known as an advocate for the continued use and reformation of the liberal peace model. Paris argues that the problems reflecting liberal peace operations are a reflection of a misunderstanding of what was needed to be done, and that the recent shift towards state building is a step in the right direction. More so, Paris is astonished by the willingness opposers of this model would have towards denying assistance to those countries requesting it. Lastly, Paris points out the lack of alternatives. Leaving the process of rebuilding to a war-torn community would be irresponsible. To put it frankly, "if the post-conflict society could organize its own governance arrangements without international assistance, there would have been no need or demand for peacebuilding in the first place."[8]

Paris reminds those favoring the local that Roger Mac Ginty, a leading researcher on the local turn, has warned about the dangers of "romanticizing the local" in his introduction of this approach. Paris references community-level efforts in Kenya that served to "deepen existing rifts between communities" and "reinforce divisions" and in doing so, undermined work being done at

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[7] Ginty, Roger Mac; Richmond, Oliver. "The Local Turn in Peace Building: a critical agenda for peace." Third World Quarterly. Routledge Publishing. June 2013.

[8] Ibid., 359.

the national level. A turn towards the local further complicates peacebuilding because locals vary; not all will have the same, positive effect in the community that others have.[9]

Neil Cooper, Mandy Turner, and Michael Pugh drafted a response to the Roland Paris where they point-by-point invalidated his argument. They point out Paris' failure to distinguish a distinction between "peacebuilding by invitation" and "peacebuilding after conquest". Peacebuilding by invitation is still widely viewed as a production of coercion. Cooper et al specify that "while specific operations may be conceived under very different conditions, they all reflect the exercise of hegemonic power"[10] from predominantly Western sources. Paris assigns the barriers of ignorance of local knowledge and operations to be "technical problems of implementation rather than design faults wired into the model."[11]

Opposing the methods of liberal peace and international intervention, the local turn has since made their mark as an alternative method to peacebuilding and reconciliation. The local turn, which I will now discuss in detail, has been perceived as following the transformative approach mentioned earlier. Roger Mac Ginty has been a leading researcher in the field of peace and conflict studies and supports opposing perspectives of post-conflict peace building focusing on the local. The "local turn" as it is called, aims to put local agencies and actors at the center for creating and maintaining sustainable and lasting peace. The proposition of including the local in peace building projects was not considered in the initial discussion. The word 'local' is absent from the UN published *Agenda for Peace* mentioned previously.[12] As of now, the liberal peace model does not leave space for local peace to take form.

Various influences have been attributed to the growing popularity of locally based initiatives. Perhaps the greatest driving force behind the shift towards the local is the growing voice and confidence of the local actors themselves. Many members of the global South have realized not only the incompatibility of the liberal peace framework, but the harm that can be done. For one, these programs are often limited with the time and resources that are allotted to them. Second, many staffers positioned in these countries have little to no knowledge of the history, culture, or norms for

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[9] Höglund, Kristine; Millar, Gearoid; Van Der Lijn, Jair; Verkoren, Willemijn; Björkdahl, Annika. *Peacebuilding and Friction: Global and Local Encounters in Post-Conflict Societies*. Routledge Publishing. 2016. Pp 34-42.

[10] Cooper, Neil; Turner, Mandy; Pugh, Michael. "The end of history and the last liberal peace builder: a reply to Roland Paris". *Review of International Studies*, Vol 37 Issue 4. 2011. Pp 1995-2007

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ginty, Roger Mac; Williams, Andrew. "Conflict and Development." Routledge Publishing. 2016. Pp. 103.

which they have asserted themselves. Lastly, more often than not, when these programs end or fall short locals are left to fall back on their own community resources.[13]

Unlike problem-solving paradigms and state building tactics, the transformative approach tends to work towards mindset changes within communities. This change in the minds and attitudes of people aims to support a worldview shift "from one that resorts to negative peace to one that appreciates positive peace."[14] Supporters of this approach believe that placing the focus on social reconstruction is of the utmost importance in societies torn by war or violence. This tactic will have the most profound impact if it is adapted and constructed to adhere to the needs of the locals. Transforming a society does not stop at addressing immediate behavior and attitudes but goes beyond to alter the context in which people think and act.[15]

Grassroot organizations are in a unique position in post-conflict peacebuilding. They have established themselves as a group sharing a common mission based off what they feel are the needs in their community. The benefits of a local turn towards civil society in reconciliation are clear. Actors in local civil societies are on the frontline and therefore have local knowledge about the history and culture, their initiatives are more cost-effective and expedient, and they are closer to the victims.[16] Being close to the victims of atrocity means that their efforts are more reflective and responsive to their needs, which otherwise could be blind to outsiders. Completely grassroots organizations, by definition, receive no help from donors abroad or government agencies. The freedom in working 'for the people, by the people' reduces the likelihood that they are working with a hidden agenda. Grassroots organizations in transitional justice have been described as being transformative, as they work towards reconciling relationships and building trust between communities torn apart by civil war.

Local turn in peace building theory is bridged to the critical approach towards the liberal peace model. The global South have played a significant role in the emergence of the local turn, although it has yet to be won over by the majority of scholars in the field of peace and conflict. Reasons for the pushback are many, and not entirely unjustified. Truth be told, when a country is under the magnifying glass and in need of reconciliation, it is not in its best state. When a country is

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[13] Ginty, Roger Mac; Richmond, Oliver. *The Local Turn in Peace Building: a critical agenda for peace.* Third World Quarterly. Routledge Publishing. 2013.

[14] Emkic, Eleonora. 2018. Reconciliation and Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Anthroposcene: Politik-Economics-Society-Science. Springer International Publishing. p 21.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Kochanski, Adam. "The "Local Turn" in Transitional Justice: Curb the Enthusiasm." Pp 2.

recovering from war or genocide their structures, agencies, and politics are likely in shambles. Critiques of the local turn have fixated on this flaw; vocalizing the dangers of leaving potentially corrupt local actors in charge of sorting through the ruins, consequently putting human rights at risk.

Consequences of a drastic shift towards the local are clear. Not all grassroots and domestic civil societies have pure intentions. Particularly in countries recuperating from ethnic conflict, divisions may still dominate and be reflected in the inclusivity, or exclusivity of group membership. Left to their own device, some groups holding detrimental values may persevere to become a leading voice. The existence of exclusive groups reinforces the divisions and hinders a society's ability to reconcile. More troubling, is that these groups can disguise themselves in order to acquire international funding from some unsuspecting, well-intentioned donor.[17]

Scholars tend to discuss the idealized version of local transitional justice that they want to work and tend to overlook important factors. Adam Kochanski warns that this masked understanding leads to the negligence in assessing the political agendas and biases of local-national power plays.[18] The bottom line is that attention should still be paid to the power of local elites and putting an end to seeing the local as a "romanticized power-free space".[19] Despite this, there is a continued belief that bottom-up initiatives are more locally legitimate and welcomed by, and serving to, the entire population.

Kochanski has made clear to outline the facts about, and the lack of research confirming, the successful uses of civil society in transitional justice and reconciliation. The debate between top-down versus bottom-up peacebuilding is closely related to the debate of transitional versus transformative justice.[20] Bottom-up processes have been linked to transformative justice due to their long-term commitment and their focus on altering attitudes to address the root causes of violence. Thus, transforming the community rather than transitioning it out of disarray.

The international community has latched on to civil societies as a means to support initiatives working towards promoting tolerance and reconciliation. A strong initiative with liberal values may lay the groundwork for democratic transition. This shift has encouraged the international community to "support training programs in the areas of 'citizen's participation and

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[17] Belloni, Roberto. "Civil society in war-to-democracy transitions," in *From War to Democracy*. Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp 182-186.

[18] Kochanski, Adam. "The "Local Turn" in Transitional Justice: Curb the Enthusiasm." Pp 2.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

empowerment, peacebuilding, participation and empowerment, gender awareness and human rights awareness'."[21] These areas generally call for more long-term presence than what was previously administered by international agencies. International interest in long-term transformative projects has resulted in the formation of hybrid partnerships.

Hybrid peace is another dimension of the local turn, and will play a major role in the following study. Hybrid peace can best be described as the combination of international and local actors in developing and running peacebuilding programs. A term attributed to these hybrid organizations is global-local, or 'glocal'. Liberal peace did not leave room for local cooperation, hybrid peace, on the other hand, requires it. One may assume that this would be a happy medium between those in favor of liberal peace and those in favor of the local turn, however it is not without its backlash. In a nutshell, hybrid peace operations apply local knowledge and practices to a global model. The result is a program carried out by locals, many with content designed by the locals, with the organizational structure of the international partner. Supporters of purely grassroots initiatives would argue that locals would be forced to conform to practices, norms, and language dictated by the donors in exchange for funding. The liberal peace supporters could argue that this compromise undermines Western liberal norms and frameworks, and supports working with potentially corrupt agencies.

Mac Ginty lists four elements that must interact to create true hybrid peace: the compliance powers of the liberal peace, the incentive powers of the liberal peace, the ability of local actors to resist, ignore, or subvert liberal peace, and the ability of local actors to formulate and maintain alternatives to the liberal peace.[22] One of the troubling aspects of liberal peace was the inability for the host state to abandon or dismiss international peacekeeping once giving their consent to be there. Hybrid peace offers a supposed 'way-out' to terminate the partnership or reject propositions at any given time. There has been little research on the effectiveness of these partnerships, but scholars tend to take a critical view of it. Initially, local NGOs agreed to interventionist models that sought to establish a liberal society and state. Resistance from the community urged these agencies to prioritize local customs and traditions over the "white man's culture".[23] Hybrid peace has grown

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[21] Belloni, Roberto. "Civil Society and Peacebuilding in Bosnia and Herzegovina." Journal of Peace Research. Vol 38, Issue 2. 2001. Pp 163-180.

[22] Roger, Mac Ginty. "Hybrid Peace: The Interaction Between Top-Down and Bottom-Up Peace". *Security Dialogue*. Vol 41, Issue 4. 2010. Pp 398.

[23] Tom, Patrick. *Liberal Peacebuilding and post-conflict peacebuilding in Africa* in series "Rethinking Peace and Conflict Studies." Palgrave Macmillan UK. 2017.

from this, yet many scholars would argue that this is just a disguised liberal peace model. Glocal partnerships were originally considered as an unintended consequence of stalled or failed interventions, and has now become a desirable alternative to liberal peace. International actors can offer resources and legitimacy to grassroots campaigns, but they have a tendency to marginalize or exclude local groups that do not conform to international standards.

"Friction" is often used to describe the complex interactions between global and local agencies.[24] More importantly, friction helps to explain how these different actors interact with and what they bring to complex social systems. Peacebuilding and reconciliation is an incredibly intricate process, inclusion of actors from different backgrounds makes for further complications. The assumption is that a partnership between the local actors and the international backers will cause friction that hinders their ability to work together successfully. This friction is caused by the local actors trying to do their work in the community while meeting the standards imposed by those supplying the funding. As funding is dependent on the organization meeting certain criteria or set goals, local actors may feel restricted. Much of the hesitation and animosity associated with hybrid operations is rooted in the uncertainty of what a true partnership looks like. Since there is not significant research on the running of these operations it is hard to distinguish how much influence the international parter has over the local and vice versa.

Further disapproval of hybrid peace operations is their sustainability. Some would argue they can be just as unsustainable as entirely international actors, as their services can only continue as long as funding from abroad continues. When it comes to conflict transformation, i.e. with a mindset change, sustainability and durability of peace programs is essential. Grassroots, on the other hand, is free from these obligations and has the independence to follow where the work takes them.

Peacebuilding projects have absorbed billions of dollars from international actors and agencies. Support for civil society has become so popular for humanitarian and development projects as it is viewed as an essential proponent to "promote the healing of the wounds of war, to protect the peace."[25] Local actors fill the missing link for international cooperation in peacebuilding as they provide "on the ground" knowledge of the history, culture, and norms. As international

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[24] Höglund, Kristine; Millar, Gearoid; Van Der Lijn, Jair; Verkoren, Willemijn; Björkdahl, Annika. *Peacebuilding and Friction: Global and Local Encounters in Post-Conflict Societies*. Routledge Publishing. 2016. Pp 34-42.

[25] Belloni, Roberto. "Civil Society and Peacebuilding in Bosnia and Herzegovina." Journal of Peace Research. Vol 38, Issue 2. 2001. Pp 163-180.

agencies have developed a taste for promoting civil societies, there have been an increase of hybrid peace operations in post-conflict areas.

Robert Putnam (1993; 2000; as cited in Belloni 2001) has argued that a healthy civil society is key to making democracy work. It is important to note that the term 'civil society' is attributed to any community of citizens linked by common interests and collective activity. Therefore general references to civil society would include domestic as well as hybrid initiatives. Putnam states that not only can civil society nurture trust and reciprocity, but they also foster tolerance for diversity, which is essential for societies divided by civil conflict. In their participation with civil societies, individuals will be exposed to contrasting opinions that will broaden their social capital and toleration of others. Regardless of the aims of the groups, participants will form a hardened opinion based on the dominant voice presented. Putnam argues that "choirs, hunting organizations, bowling leagues, and more broadly sport clubs are all useful tools for developing trust among its members and tolerance for diversity."[26] Meaning that the group does not necessarily need to be political, advocating, or cultural in order to make an impact. In societies affected by ethnic violence where relationships and trust has been broken, the diversity and sociability of groups can have a profound influence.

Local networks within a community, meaning any form of social or civic engagement, can aid in bridging ethnic communities together or contribute to pulling them apart. Interactions within these networks can either be informal, everyday engagement and interaction; or through a formal association. According to research by Ashutosh Varshney, these networks and interactions are the most efficacious ways to explain the patterns of ethnic violence and peace. When civic links between ethnic groups are strong, this would explain why, even if government or political elites try to stir tension, they are unable to achieve this everywhere.[27] Varshney believes that informal gatherings should be considered an asset of civil society as long as "they connect individuals, build trust, encourage reciprocity, and facilitate exchange of views on matters of public concern".[28] These informal civic interactions can explain why some communities emerging from ethnic violence without formal association presence can live in peace. However, everyday engagement is not enough for some cities or villages to maintain peace and formal associations, either grassroots or

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[26] Belloni, Roberto. "Civil society in war-to-democracy transitions," in *From War to Democracy*. Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp 182-186.

[27] Varshney, Ashutosh. Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life : Hindus and Muslims in India. New Haven: Yale University Press. Accessed April 7, 2019. ProQuest Ebook Central. 2002. Pp 34-36.

[28] Ibid.

hybrid, become necessary. Formal associations will then be able to help facilitate and encourage reconciliation. According to Varshney, "When associational integration is available, the potential space for destructive violent action simply shrinks."[29] The availability of both informal and associational interethnic civic engagement helps to lesson the likelihood that violence will fester.

A society striving towards sustainable positive peace needs the cooperation of both bottom-up and top-down processes. Education policy and school curriculum, for example, is regulated and approved by the government and can be a direct reflection of the current political environment.[30] Although grassroots and civil society can use education as a tool for their mission, they cannot be successful if they were to directly contradict formal education curricula.

According to Peter Gallagher (2010), the use of language, history, geography, religion, and other national subjects are composed of strong identity factors and are often created according to political rules. The context of the curricula and the way in which it is taught, Gallagher argues, has a lot to do with the division and injustice that can be seen in the society.[31] Prior to genocidal violence, a widespread belief that the 'other' is lesser is engrained into people's minds. Education and media are common channels for this prejudice to take form. In order to reverse these effects, the same channels are in need of restructuring to change the narrative from division to reconciliation.

Peace education programs as part of formal education, or informal initiatives by NGOs, has become an effective tool in working towards positive peace and transformation. Peace education is a term used to describe,

> a range of formal and informal education activities undertaken to promote peace in schools
> and communities through the inclusion of skills, attitudes, and values that promote
> nonviolent approaches to managing conflict and promoting tolerance for diversity.[32]

In post-conflict areas, education plays an important role in erasing biased narratives that contribute to the continuation of unequal relationships. The World Bank's Conflict Analysis Framework (CAF), as well as other conflict analysis tools place education as an integral component for

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[29] Ibid., 47.

[30] Varshney, Ashutosh. Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life : Hindus and Muslims in India. Taken from (Bush/ Saltarelli 2000; Smith/Vaux 2003; Davies 2004; Tomlinson/Benefield 2005). New Haven: Yale University Press. ProQuest Ebook Central. 2002. Pp 44-28.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Buckland, Peter. 2004. *Reshaping the Future: Education and Post-Conflict Reconstruction*. The World Bank. p 60.

peacebuilding and reconciliation.[33] Education, including peace education operations, is an efficient and effective tool in addressing the root causes of conflict.

Peace education has been introduced in countries that have experienced high levels of ethnic or intergroup conflict. The goal of these programs is to "cultivate[s] the knowledge base, skills, attitudes and values that seek to transform people's mindsets, attitudes and behavior that have created and exacerbated violent conflict in the first place."[34] Common modules in peace education are teaching critical thinking, empathy, and empowerment. Peace education, if done correctly, can encourage people to become active members of their community and build a sense of ownership for problems at hand. If people acknowledge that they have a role in the direction their lives go, they are less likely to blame others for life's challenges; thus, being less susceptible to hate speech.

Criticism of peace education is largely related to the lack of evidence verifying their success in contributing to lasting peace and reconciliation. Attitude change, behavioral change, and mindset shifts of a society are a) difficult to determine and b) best represented with long-term studies.

Other critiques point out that if introduced by an international actor it can be perceived as an imposition of Western ideals, and not suited for all communities. Some peace education concepts may not resonate with certain audiences and wouldn't take. Opposing this critique is alternative that peace education curricula should be created and taught by local actors themselves, seeing as they could provide the cultural and historical context necessary. Heather Millhouse conducted a survey to observe the barriers peace educators face. Her conclusion found that "those who wish to use education as a tool for peacebuilding **must** look for localized solutions."[35]

The final claim is that peace education may cause recipients to feel heavy guilt towards their past and heritage. The burden of learning the dark details may lead people to blame their own for creating the conflict to start with. Scholars argue that peace education is intended to "prepare and empower individuals to promote changes in themselves and in society"[36] encouraging them to be "agents of change." Thus replacing momentary feelings of guilt with feelings of empowerment. Peace education, when applied to countries that have experienced genocidal violence, have the

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[33] Ibid., 32.

[34] Emkic, Eleonora. 2018. Reconciliation and Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Anthroposcene: Politik-Economics-Society-Science. Springer International Publishing. p 24.

[35] Millhouse, Heather. The Place to Peace. Peace Prints. South Asian Journal of Peacebuilding, 2 (1). 2009.

[36] Rodrigues, Adriana Casulari Motta. "Multipliers for Peace: How Peace Education Can Contribute to Conflict Transformation." European Inter-University Centre for Human Rights and Democratisation. 2016. p 22.

responsibility to teach the past without traumatization or bias. After learning this narrative, it then falls on the facilitators to inspire their students to take what they have learned and use it to build a brighter future.

In the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, education initiatives began to emerge in order to teach the history and ingrain processes of identity formation. A study conducted by Roland Kostić found that education initiatives were shown to be successful due to the support of "social networks" and their foundation of "strong non-material resources such as loyalty, authority, moral issues and solidarity."[37] These social networks are said to have significant standing in the community given their shared historic experiences. These networks serve as a platform whereas people can mobilize and engage in collective action.[38] This case serves as an example of how local-born education initiatives can engage a population in learning their shared history and promoting a common identity. Initiatives do not necessarily need large budgets and an abundance of resources to be effective. More integral to their work is the social network and legitimacy they have in the community. The education initiatives in Bosnia and Herzegovina had a shared religion, history, and language with those being taught. Having these values in common allowed for the initiatives to be successful in unifying people in collective action.

Multiple peace education initiatives have been implemented on a temporary basis in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Programs such as School and Community Fit for Children, Democracy and Human Rights, and Project Citizen have all been run by NGO CIVITAS.[39] Tens of thousands participated (despite ethnic differences) and outcomes were positive. Students had managed to initiate the adoption and amendment of youth-based laws; introduced inclusive education in schools; built playgrounds and youth centers; and implemented a range of humanitarian and environmental activities in their local communities.[40] These initiatives were locally based and seemingly autonomous, but obtained financial support from external international donors. Like many internationally-based operations, NGOs in Bosnia and Herzegovina are known to be project oriented and driven by donors.[41]

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[37] Kostić, Roland. "Education Movements, Power and Identity in Bosnia and Herzegovina". *Uppsala University*. 2005. Pp70.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Emkic, Eleonora. 2018. Reconciliation and Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Anthroposcene: Politik-Economics-Society-Science. Springer International Publishing. Pp 39-42.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibid.

Similar projects were implemented by international organizations, achieving overall positive results. Despite promising strides towards reconciliation, not all were satisfied with the organization and direction of these projects. Local teachers were frustrated with others explaining to them their history, politics, religion and culture; which they knew already. Instead they wished to be taught how to produce a new mindset that would allow them to take on a different perspective of their history and culture.[42] Additional complaints about disorganized or ill-planned activities and trainings frustrated the locals who saw this as a waste of their time. Reasons for these infractions were largely linked to the short duration and insufficient understanding of the local context.

In an area recovering from genocidal violence, is it really the place for an international observer to teach people how to forgive? Local actors, having a shared culture and history with their participants, should lead discussions on difficult topics. International assistance in these programs would need to be done carefully, leaving the local teachers autonomy in regards to how culture is applied to peace education. Grassroots, hybrid, and international NGOs may all have the motivation and capabilities to carry out peace education programs, but they can convey different messages. Local knowledge and an invested interest in the longevity and durability of programs will ensure they are carried out with the community's interest in mind.

In conflicts based off of ethnic divisions, the ability to teach the past while promoting a shared future is essential. Unifying the community through education can simultaneously help to facilitate an attitude change that strays from division and hate. Youth empowerment in war-torn societies is a growing phenomena, as previously youth had been seen as victims traumatized by the realities of war. Boyden and de Berry published their main critique that, "Too often programs for war-affected children are dictated by adults' perceptions of the impact of war on young people."[43] In contrast, they presume that programs would be better off if they originated from the youth themselves, allowing them to be active participants in their own healing.

Research Questions

There is an abundance of research on liberal peace, it's derivatives, and the major role civil society does, and should play in reconciliation. A multitude of studies have been addressed emphasizing the vast differences between the work of external, international organizations and the work of the grassroots. There is an apparent lack of research on the impact of glocal civil society,

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[42] Emkic, Eleonora. 2018. Reconciliation and Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Anthroposcene: Politik-Economics-Society-Science. Springer International Publishing. Pp 40-42.

[43] Sommers, Marc. *Youth and Conflict: A Brief Review of Available Literature*. USAID. p 8.

especially when compared to similar work being done at the grassroots level. Particularly in cases having experienced genocidal violence, there is a lack of a discussion on the different reconciliation initiatives taking place. Local forms of reconciliation are not clear-cut and simple. Whether they are completely grassroots, or glocal, they will face advantages and disadvantages. Both have access to local knowledge. The grassroots faces hardship in funding and resources, yet has the motivation to maintain long-term projects in the community. The glocal has the funding and the reach to target and influence a larger part of the population, however, their funding is tied to meeting certain goals and can be restricted to shorter timeframes. Preliminary research on strictly external, liberal peace models show me that there is a need to look at these alternative forms of peacebuilding.

My research will focus on these different forms of local initiatives in order to determine which is better suited to lead in reconciliation through education following genocidal violence. Will hybrid peace or the grassroots be more effective in their objective in enacting attitude change? What impact does education have on addressing the root causes of conflict? In order to answer these questions, I will take from local turn and transformation learning theory.

Theories

The aim of this section will be to discuss the theories I have chosen to be most applicable to answering my research questions. The study will take representatives from grassroots and glocal organizations to examine their efforts in reconciliation through peace education practices. These two types of civil society organizations can both be classified as local actors, just different variations. Local turn theory argues that greater emphasis should be placed on grassroots initiatives, and will assist me on determining why, presumably, the grassroots should wield better results than the glocal. Education, particularly peace education, has become increasingly popular as a form of reconciliation. As peace education seeks to transform minds and alter perspectives, it is best conveyed by using learning transformation theory.

Reconciliation can be defined as "acknowledging and developing a shared understanding of the past and of envisioning a common future".[44] During this process, opposing groups will begin to forgive and build trusting relationships with one another. Thus, attitude shifts and behavior changes are considered aspects of reconciliation. In examining my data, I will seek to identify whether the students interviewed have experienced attitude or behavior changes since their participation in the

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[44] Kostić, Roland. "Nationbuilding as an Instrument for Peace". Civil Wars, Vol 10 Issue 4. 2008. Pp 384-412.

civil society program. If their new perspective parallels the definition of reconciliation, it could help to determine whether the corresponding civil society has been successful.

The theory of local turn, as mentioned previously, is the belief that durable and lasting peace must originate and be carried out by local actors and agencies. Although this theory tends to focus on completely grassroots, locally bred initiatives, hybridity is also considered a form of local peace. Albeit many scholars favoring the local turn look disapprovingly at hybrid peace, there is a lack of data from them to confirm or deny their impact. My support for the local turn is inclusive of the different forms of localized initiatives, whether they have international income or are strictly domestic. More importantly, the relationship between global and local partners is where I am weary. If the locals employed have autonomy on the content, and the matter in which the modules are taught, they may be more local than international. The greater question to be answered in this paper is whether or not the presence of external resources and support helps or hinders the organization's efforts in reconciliation after genocide.

Reconciliation is aimed at building relationships between individuals, groups, and societies so that said society can move from a divided past to a shared future.[45] Particularly in societies that have experienced ethnopolitical conflict, like in the case for Rwanda, trust has been lost and relationships damaged. With victims and perpetrators living in close proximity, the necessity to address root causes of conflict is of the highest priority. Without it, the risks of violence re-emerging will continue to fester, and people may feel validated in seeking revenge. Reconciliation does not necessarily lead to, or demand forgiveness. Some people may never forgive, but as long as they don't act out on it, then they are on the right path. Sometimes difficult for outsiders and international actors to comprehend, is the right not to reconcile. Reconciliation and forgiveness must come from the victims themselves, and cannot be forced or coerced by external pressures.

Conflict transformation theory, a broader aspect of transformative learning theory, emphasizes the necessity of altering the various manifestations of conflict by addressing the root causes. Attention should be paid to the structural, behavioral, and attitudinal aspects that may lead to violence.[46] Conflict transformation is not satisfied with elite-level peace agreements, rather it

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[45] Fischer, Martina. "Transitional Justice and Reconciliation: Theory and Practice". *Theory and Practice*. 2011.

[46] Fischer, Martina. "Transitional Justice and Reconciliation: Theory and Practice". *Theory and Practice*. 2011. p 415.

emphasizes the need to address the identities, attitudes, and education systems that nurture conflict.[47]

A goal for conflict transformation is to implement and embrace an overall attitude change in a society. Learning transformation theory helps to explain how that shift will take place. If a society emerging from genocide or war are still thinking in terms of perpetrators and victims, then they have not moved past the ideology that once turned them against one another. Violence will perpetuate indefinitely if a true transformation is not sought out. Therefore I will argue that an in-depth knowledge of local customs and history is essential in order to successfully transform a population's way of thinking.

Transformative learning theory is described as "the process of using a prior interpretation to construe a new or revised interpretation of the meaning of ones experience in order to guide future action".[48] One's meaning perspective is there general frame of reference, their world view and beliefs. Transformative leaning theory uses two different tactics of learning. The first is instrumental learning, which focuses on learning through task-oriented problem solving and determination of cause and effect relationships. Second is communicative learning, which is learning involved in understanding the meaning of what others "communicate concerning values, ideals, feelings, moral decisions and such concepts as freedom, justice, love, labor, autonomy commitment and democracy."[49] A new experience is absorbed and it either reinforces the perspective or "stretches its boundaries."[50] If the experience is radically different, and "cannot be assimilated into the meaning perspective, it is either rejected or the meaning perspective is transformed to accommodate the new experience."[51] The dilemma of learning something new or differing from a previous assumption will result in a perspective transformation. Mezirow's theory of perspective transformation focuses on what this produces: a world view shift.

Scholars such as Johan Galtung and Hugh Miall have argued that a significant barrier to reconciliation is people's attitudes and relationships post-conflict. Particularly in conflict regarding ethnicities or minorities, emphasis must be placed on building relationships and trust between the

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[47] Ginty, Roger Mac; Richmond, Oliver. *The Local Turn in Peace Building: a critical agenda for peace*. Third World Quarterly. Routledge Publishing. 2013.

[48] Mezirow, Jack. Taylor, Edward E. "Transformative Learning Theory -An Overview." 1996. p. 162.

[49] Taylor, Edward E. "Transformative Learning Theory -An Overview." p. 7.

[50] Ibid., 6.

[51] Ibid.

groups.[52] Arguably, one of the strongest channels in addressing behavioral and attitudinal change is through education.

An interpretation of Mezirow's theory of by Edward Taylor, 10 phases have been identified as a pathway to the acceptance and embracement of a new perspective:

1. A disorienting dilemma

2. Self-examination with feelings of guilt and shame

3. A critical assessment of assumptions

4. Recognition that one's discontent and process of transformation are shared and that others have negotiated a similar change

5. Exploration of options for new roles, relationships, and actions

6. Planning of a course of action

7. Acquisition of knowledge and skills for implementing one's plans

8. Provisionally trying out new roles

9. Building of competence and self-confidence in new roles and relationships

10. A reintegration into one's life on the basis of conditions dictated by one's new perspective.[53]

Peace education, as mentioned previously, is often implemented as a means of conflict transformation and reconciliation. These types of education initiatives fall under the learning approaches described in transformative learning theory. In order to lead students on the path towards reconciliation, they are first taught the history. For some, this will cause an internal struggle with what they had previously thought; others will have their perspectives expanded or altered to reflect the new information. Exposing students to the different aspects of the past intends to help them to accept their shared history in order to build a better future for their country. Being included in a forum of like-minded individuals, some that have already put in practice what they have learned, will reflect in their personal beliefs and actions. These education initiatives teach the history in combination with their leadership and problem-solving teachings. By the end of the program, students should attain the skills necessary to become a leader in their community and initiate projects of their own. Accepting a new perspective through transformative learning will, unequivocally, be reflected in their behavior. This shift is intended to leave students with better interpersonal relationships, a sense of unity and a more optimistic and positive outlook.

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[52] Fischer, Martina. "Transitional Justice and Reconciliation: Theory and Practice". *Theory and Practice*. 2011. Pp 417.

[53] Taylor, Edward E. "Transformative Learning Theory -An Overview". p 8.

There is little debate that reconciliation is a lengthy process, seemingly without an official ending. Generally, internationally based programs are not in it for the long haul, the local turn- they are committed for life. Although it is true that glocal projects can only run as long as international funding continues, the inclusion of locals in the running of the programs may help maintain its durability. Even if the particular program falls short, the initial project can spark a movement to then be continued by the community of civil societies that remain. However, a disappearing act played by the international backer may leave the locals struggling to maintain the program in a cost-effective manner. As shown from the example in Bosnia and Herzegovina, initiatives taking full advantage of non-material resources have been able to have a profound impact. With the help of transformative learning theory and local turn, this analysis will determine the difference in impact from a civil society that is completely grassroots versus one with an international base.

Methodology

This section discusses the methodology of my research design. It will examine the different types of actors striving towards reconciliation through peace education. I will discuss the method in which my research was carried out as well as possible biases or flaws in the design or implementation of my project.

In order to asses the impact of reconciliation through education by civil society in post-genocide Rwanda I will take from both 'local turn' in peace-building theory and transformative learning theory. Local turn theory will seek to explain the necessity of involving local civil societies in post-conflict peacebuilding processes. Learning transformation theory will address how a new perspective and attitude change can form through proper education. Education carried out within the society at the local level will produce the attitude change necessary for transformation and reconciliation of a society. Transformation cannot be conveyed without addressing the broken relationships between antagonists and other conflicts at the community and individual levels. An attitude change in reconciliation can be defined as,

> Adopting or resuming positive emotions and attitudes: mutual respect, compassion, love, a shared sense of identity or solidarity, mutual recommitment to a shared set of moral or communal norms, or mutual trust.[54]

Behavior changes can be defined as,

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[54] Radzik, Linda and Murphy, Colleen, "Reconciliation", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Summer 2015 Edition.

Changes in external behaviors: examples include a cessation of aggressive or insulting behaviors, increased ability to function in close proximity to the other party. Increased ability to cooperate with the other party, and renewed participation in shared institutions or practices.[55]

In designing my research project, I had first intended on collecting data from an external, internationally-based NGO currently working in Rwanda, as well as the glocal and local organizations. The inclusion of the externally based NGO could have provided a broader distinction between the external, glocal, and local peacebuilding projects. Much to my surprise, be it my delight, there was a lack of completely international players with their hand in reconciliation in post-genocide Rwanda. Instead I found a fair abundance of these hybrid glocal organizations. My research shifted, and instead my focus lay on measuring the impact of the reconciliation initiatives of glocal versus grassroots organizations. This work seeks to contribute to the debate of whether or not completely locally run, civil society organizations are best suited for establishing reconciliation. Much of the research on this topic focuses on the differences between externally based peace building and grassroots, whereas my data will reflect the comparison between grassroots and glocal. My research will center around reconciliation through education initiatives, which is one of the root causes I had identified as being at the heart of attitude change in a society. My intentions are to gather data from each of these organization types and evaluate the impact they have had on the communities they are active in. Impact and the state of reconciliation are difficult to measure, therefore there is no telling definitively what is working and what is not. However, I will without a doubt conclude what I see as possible with the information collected. Due to limitations of resources and time, my research is small scale, and could benefit greatly from gathering data from a larger portion of the region. Perhaps this study could be continued on and added to in a PhD project. This model, however, could be used in other forms of reconciliation or peacebuilding, instead of being limited to education. It is my belief that this model could also be reproduced and applied to other cases of post-conflict societies.

In my theoretical framework I hypothesize that the grassroots organization will be better equipped in addressing attitude change in post-genocide Rwanda. This is based off their sustainability as well as their social network and foundation. In order to test my hypothesis, I went to Kigali, Rwanda and conducted semi-structured interviews with staff and recipients from each of the two sectors: grassroots and glocal. Each interviewee was asked the same questions in the same order, but were open to different directions and follow-up questions. Each interview lasted an average of twenty minutes. Before beginning my interviews, participants were briefed on the focus

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[55] Ibid.

of my study and asked to give written or verbal consent prior to starting. All consented to having their interviews recorded for personal use in transcribing their responses. Their willingness to participate granted anonymity as I will not disclose names in referencing their responses, instead they have been assigned a number one through eight.

This project has used a qualitative approach due to the nature of questions asked to both recipients from the programs and staff. Interviews with staff were used to determine their objectives, their limitations and challenges, as well as the tools in which they carry out their programs. The data collected from these interviews will serve as a basis for determining what, if any, administrative factors aid in the running and success of their programs.

For the purpose of this study, grassroots will be regarded as an organization that is funded locally and is made up of 100% local participants. The funding is produced through events as well as through sales of bracelets and other small promotional items. The grassroots does not receive funding from any government bodies or institutions. As representative for the grassroots, I have chosen a youth based organization called Peace and Love Proclaimers (PLP). This organization grew from an initiative created by Rwandan students after the genocide and has a permanent presence in twelve schools and a non-permanent presence in seven more. During events such as Walk to Remember (their annual commemoration event), they are able to reach out and involve more, sometimes twenty to thirty schools that do not currently have PLP.

The glocal, or global-local, will be represented by a partnership between local Rwandan actors and an international, UK-based organization with funding coming from abroad. At the time of this project, 60% of the funding was coming from SIDA, a Swedish development agency. Other sources of funding include grants from the Netherlands, Belgium, and the United States. As representative of the glocal sector, I have chosen Aegis Trust. Aegis Trust is a UK based not-for-profit organization whose aim is at the education and prevention of genocide and mass atrocities. Their main office is located in Nottinghamshire, UK with a fundraising office in Chicago, USA, and a third registered office in Kigali, Rwanda. Their Rwanda office is also responsible for their outreach programs in Kenya and South Sudan.

Both Aegis Trust and Peace and Love Proclaimers offer education classes or clubs to youth in order to teach those born early on, or after the genocide, about the history of their country. The goal of these classes is to teach the history of the genocide without bias or traumatization, and engage students in critical thinking and inspire them to become "Agents of Change" in their communities. With this, they hope to breed a new generation of Rwandans free from hate to ensure

sustainable peace for Rwanda. As relates to my study, the impact created by these projects serve to contribute to an overall attitude change among the younger population.

Aegis Trust offers a few youth training programs which they call Youth Champions. These trainings are offered twice a year at the Peace School located at the Kigali Genocide Memorial in Gisozi. The primary training is a two-day education course where students are taken through the memorial museum and go through peace training. These trainings are centered around the idea of teaching through storytelling. In Rwandan culture, storytelling has been very popular, with great storytellers often being admired and honored. Adults narrate stories that teach morals, history, and other educational values. Storytelling is seen as both a way of teaching and entertaining, but also as to engage listeners in critical thinking.[56] During these trainings, students are engaged in lengthy discussions where fading into the background is not an option. Each student is highly encouraged to ask questions and contribute to the conversation. During these discussions, students share personal stories and relate teachings to things they see in their own lives. When asked about their main objective, Aegis Trust said it was "to equip young people with the knowledge, the know how and the skill to identify hate." This same employee reiterated that if the youth were not educated and taught leadership, that those that have faults or challenges in their lives can be recruited to radicalization. Most importantly, education opens up the room to critique lessons in a safe way while being presented with research they may not have previously been exposed to. According to an Aegis Trust employee, "Young people are free to ask and they get information with the truth."[57]

Peace and Love Proclaimers offers a variety of clubs for their members, including Kigicaniro, an event initiated with the purpose of educating the youth about the history of genocide, and to empower them to take action and get involved in the ongoing campaign of 'Never Again'. As per cultural tradition, the evening is built around a bonfire where people gather to talk about problems they face and share advice. This event inspires young people to learn from the history of genocide to discuss about how the post-genocide generation can get involved in fighting hate.[58] PLP puts on annual events aimed at engaging the community and fundraising for the cause. One of these events is called the Global Forgiveness Conference, where families can come together to talk things out. The most prominent event put on by PLP is the Walk to Remember. Since it's creation in 2002, Walk to Remember has gained national attention and has even welcomed the attendance of

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[56] Adekunle, Julius. "Culture and Customs of Rwanda". Greenwood Press. 2007.

[57] Interview. Employee from Aegis Trust. Kigali, Rwanda. December, 2018.

[58] Peace and Love Proclaimers Website.

President Paul Kagame. One of the PLP staff interviewed explained one of the great challenges with putting on these types of events, "At first the parents looked at this as a joke, they could not understand how kids who were not there [during the genocide] could come up with something like that."[59] Some people, he explained, even grew suspicious of their actions, "When you come up with a project the first thing they ask is 'Who sent you? Who told you these ideas and was too afraid to defend them?' Today, not only can people listen to us, but other people can get involved."[60] PLP began to realize that people needed a forum to forgive and remember, whether they were young or old. Although hesitant, the older generations attended and began to open up to the influx of young activists in their community. Now some PLP members point out that people are so supportive of their mission and the Walk to Remember that they have forgotten they were at first against it.

        In order to grasp the reality of what these organizations believe is their mission, their opportunity, and their goals, I began by interviewing staff members from each. Aegis Trust offered three staff members to be interviewed, all having some part in the implementation or design of their youth program, Youth Champions. Peace and Love Proclaimers set me up with two staff to be interviewed, both whom work closely with their recipients. The purpose of interviewing staff was to gather background information on their organizational structure and the tools in which they use in carrying out their youth programs. The primary focus, and what will make up the majority of my analysis, will come from interviews with recipients of these programs. Each organization then provided me with the names of students whom had participated in their youth education classes for me to interview. While in Rwanda, I was able to interview seven of the Youth Champions and four PLP recipients. With my limited sources and availability in Rwanda, the remaining interviews had to be done via WhatsApp. In total I have interviewed eight Youth Champions and eight PLP recipients. The recipients from each of these organizations are younger generation, with ages ranging from 19 to 29.

        In line with my theoretical framework, the analysis will demonstrate what differences, if any, there are between glocal and grassroots reconciliation efforts. These programs aim to teach the history of the genocide and create "Agents for Change". Being an Agent for Change is when someone takes what they learn and use it to influence change or build peace projects in their community. As mentioned previously, in teaching the history and promoting active reconciliation, these programs are enacting an attitude change for the young generation. A generation brought up

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[59] Interview. Employee from Peace and Love Proclaimers. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[60] Ibid.

with these morals should help to ensure sustainable peace for the future of Rwanda. As I spoke with recipients from the glocal and grassroots operations, I sought to determine whether an attitude change was taking place. I measure reconciliation by looking into the person's understanding and attitude about the past, as well as what, if any, behaviors have been changed. If the student expresses an attitude *and* behavioral change, they may be on the right path towards reconciliation.

The goal of these interviews was to evaluate whether or not participants achieved an attitude change after participation in these educational programs. I asked a series of questions to evaluate each student's attitudes and perspectives on the genocide before and after the program. The second measurement was their social and behavioral shifts. In order to determine this, I asked questions about social changes, optimism, and leadership activities. After reviewing previous research by Roland Kostić, Adam Kochanski, Martina Fischer, and Roberto Belloni, the categories of history and social/behavioral have been chosen for assessment in this study as they have been identified as being important in the reconciliation process. Knowing and accepting the history whilst continuing to feel optimistic about your role in society and the future for Rwanda are vital for the continuance of peace for future generations.

In order to determine whether or not an attitude change has taken place, recipients were asked a series of open-ended questions to determine the following: Did they show an understanding of the history of the genocide and claim to have come to terms with it? Did they have a previous belief that has been altered or changed after their participation? Do they describe a shift in personality after participation in the course? Do they report or show being optimistic about their futures and the future of Rwanda? Do they take an active role in reconciliation?

In order to analyze the answers to these questions I have outlined the factors I will take into consideration. Firstly, by looking into whether or not they have taken on an active leadership role since starting the program. If they haven't done anything with their newfound knowledge, has it really made an impact? Second, their self-reported attitude or behavioral changes will be taken into account. Since I don't have data collected over a long period of time, I must draw my conclusions based on the student's self reported answers. Give that fact, it will be easier to take data from attitude shifts versus behavior changes. As will be demonstrated in my analysis, more categories will fall under the personality section than in behavior due to the nature of this study and the questions asked. Side by side, I will look at the answers from recipients of the grassroots and glocal programs to determine which has been more successful in producing this change. I am aware that attitude change is generally something that takes place over a period of time, and that it can be difficult to compare grassroots continuous support versus the glocal two-day intensive course.

However, this falls in line with the different structure and operations of grassroots and glocal organizations. As stated in the research overview, a common criticism of glocal or international assistance is their short-term, quantity versus quality mentality.

Using QDA Miner Lite, I have coded my transcribed interviews to reflect attitude and behavior shifts. My data has been analyzed using the hypothesis-guided approach, meaning that the data is viewed as having a "variety of meanings according to the theoretical perspective from which they are approached."[61] This approach uses the raw data, the direct answers given, while investigating variables pertaining to my theoretical perspective. Therefore, the coding frame has been created based on this research project's hypothesis rather than being identified from surface meanings of the answers.[62]

As mentioned previously, attitude change often takes place over an extended period of time. In that retrospect, Aegis Trust is at a disadvantage as their program is built around a two-day extensive course rather than a continuous, long-term growth. PLP, on the other hand, has the longevity to work with their students for years on end, supporting their development. This discrepancy, however, is representative of the different organizational structure of grassroots and glocal level operations. Grassroots typically will be run long-term in a smaller area, while glocal will reach more in short-term increments.

Various factors may have influenced the outcome of my results. The Youth Champion interviews took place in the library behind Aegis Trust offices where interviewees were reimbursed for travel expenses and given a free lunch. Being that these interviews for Aegis Trust were conducted on Aegis Trust property, interviewees may have felt an obligation to answer in a particular matter. Perhaps if they viewed me as a representative of Aegis, they may have felt uncomfortable speaking negatively about the trainings. The PLP interviews were conducted at various locations where I would meet them. Some of the interviews took place in public locations where people may not have felt comfortable speaking what was on their minds. While most took place either in the library, or in nearly empty rooms, people may still have not been comfortable talking if they felt they were in proximity to someone listening in.

During these interviews there also appeared to be some misunderstandings about the questions, and although reiterated, did not always inspire the intended response. Interviews that took place over WhatsApp also ran risk of mishearing questions or responses due to technical

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[61]Jupp, Victor; Sapsford, Roger. *Data Collection and Analysis*. Sage Publications. 1996.

[62] Ibid.

difficulties. Interviews without face to face interaction may have also made respondents less, or more, inclined to share personal details. The in-person interviews conducted with Aegis Trust recipients was in the company of an interpreter as half of the people interviewed came from more rural areas and were told to have more limited English skills. That being said, it is worth mentioning that Aegis Trust has the capability of training people from more rural parts of the country while Peace and Love Proclaimers is somewhat restricted to the capital.

Biases that may have impacted the results should also be taken into consideration. At the time the interviews were held, I was an intern in the Aegis Trust office. The interviews with Aegis Trust Youth Champions were held on the same grounds that they came for their trainings and may have associated me as a representative of Aegis. This may have made students hesitant about speaking negatively or lead some to accommodate their answers to what they thought I wanted to hear. During these interview, a translator was brought in order to assist if communication barriers emerged. The presence of a translator may have made some uncomfortable or felt impersonal or distant from the interview process. Lastly, my standing as a white person from a Western country could have influenced what sort of information the students felt appropriate to disclose. international intervention from Western powers is not highly regarded in many countries. Considering the disastrous effect of colonization, and the failures of the international community prior to, and during the genocide, it is reasonable for students to be suspicious or cautious when speaking.

Historical context

Before beginning my analysis, I will provide background information on the transitional justice process that took place in Rwanda following the 1994 genocide. This will help to set the scene for what Rwanda was experiencing and where the healing process was going with the international assistance and with the government sponsored programs.

In April of 1994, Rwanda spiraled into the most destructive genocides the world has yet to see. With over 800,000 murdered in just one hundred days, and a large civilian participation in the killings, the state of Rwanda was in shambles. One hundred fifty-four humanitarian NGOs dug their teeth into the development of the country, all seemingly with a "self-serving attitude" and the idea that Rwanda was "a blank page on which they were the first to write."[63]

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[63] Prunier, Gerard. *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a genocide*. Hurst & Company, London. 2005. P 328.

France, being one that had operations in Rwanda prior to, and during the genocide, was surprisingly reluctant in their willingness to assist Rwanda in the aftermath. When pressured about the reasoning, France's foreign Affairs Minister exclaimed that,

> What is the Rwandese nation? It is made of two ethnic groups, Hutu and Tutsi. Peace cannot return to Rwanda if these two ethnic groups refuse to work and govern together. […] This is the solution France, with a few others, is courageously trying to foster.[64]

In order to bring peace and stability to the country, it was clear to all that reconciling the two groups needed to be a priority. Although, it is hard to believe that France, or any other international actor, had the power to do so.

In the years that followed, international organizations such as the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, World Bank, and the Red Cross came in to help rebuild and restore. The United Nations first step was the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) in order to find orchestrators of the genocide and hold them accountable. Along with restoring the order of law, tribunals were seen to, "contribute to the process of national reconciliation and to the restoration and maintenance of peace."[65] Despite their initial invitation, the Rwandan government objected to the creation of the ICTR calling it "the arrogance of the international community".[66] Dissatisfied with the procedure and the duration of the ICTR, the Rwandan government initiated Gacaca court proceedings. Reflective of historical customs, these courts were named "Gacaca", or "small grass" representing the times when elders used to gather on laws to settle disputes in the community. In the eyes of the international community, this "bottom-up" process was seen as a step in the right direction. It was clear that Rwandans wanted to do their part in finding justice and take control of their healing.

The Gacaca courts were the first instance of many that the Rwandan government would take in order to ensure peace and unity among Rwandans. In 1999, the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission was established in order to reunify conflicting parties. Ethnic tensions remained high and there was a vacuum for initiatives to play a part in rebuilding relationships and reestablishing trust. Are courts and tribunals enough? One survivor revealed their blatant desire for reprisal,

> I don't want to lie… I expect vengeance. I want revenge. I am hurting so much inside. And do you think it is going to stop because we are safe now? So much death, so much grief, so many families

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[64] Prunier, Gerard. *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a genocide*. Hurst & Company, London. 2005. p 339.

[65] Longman, Timothy. *Memory and Justice in Post-Genocide Rwanda*. Cambridge University Press. 2017. Pp 104. Quoted from Akhavan, "The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda."

[66] Ibid., 106.

> wiped out, and we are to forget about it. The fire is out, at least here in Kabuga; but not the fear. And what about the fire inside?[67]

Sentencing a perpetrator to jail time or community service does not extinguish the deep-rooted anger felt by those who suffered. The people of Rwanda were in need of social cohesion and reconciliation. With the majority of the population under the age of eighteen, a plan was needed in order to address the ideology that had been ingrained for so long.

In 1995 during the Conference on Policy and Planning of Education in Rwanda, the Ministry of Education stated that a new direction for Rwandan education would be implemented. The new policy declared that Rwanda would "produce citizens free from ethnic regional, national, and religious prejudices and who are committees to human rights and the society."[68] The education sector was given a role to the contribution of national reconciliation with the aim of "creating a culture of peace, emphasizing positive, non-violent national values and promoting the universal values of justice, tolerance, respect for others, solidarity and democracy."[69] As previous research suggests, successful reconciliation needs the mutual effort of both top-down and bottom-up processes. With the government declaring their commitment to national reconciliation, civil society and glocal organizations began to emerge in contribution to reconciliation efforts. With the Rwandan government's dedication to unity and reconciliation, space was opened up for civil society initiatives to do their part. Education initiatives have popped up all over Rwanda in order to teach the history and shape the new generation. When government and civil society initiatives align, the population has a better chance at reconciliation. The local initiatives will help to engage the communities to support the government programs.

Purely international organizations have had little influence on present day reconciliation and attitude change initiatives. The majority had been humanitarian organizations that do not have the interest, or the ability to serve a long term commitment. Any internationally based NGOs with long term interests in Rwanda have adopted the hybrid model and have teamed up with local actors. Hybrid organizations such as Radio La Benevolencia, Never Again, Prison Fellowship International all continue their presence in Rwanda for their continued efforts in reconciliation.

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[67] Prunier, Gerard. *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a genocide*. Hurst & Company, London. 2005. p 341.

[68] Mafeza, Faustin. *The Role of Education in Combating Genocide Ideology in post-Genocide Rwanda*. International Journal of Education and Research. Vol. 1 No. 10. 2013.

[69] Ibid.

The majority of grassroots initiatives maintain a fairly low profile and many times are run as small-scale community projects. As per tradition in Rwanda, problems in the community are generally handled by the community members themselves.

Twenty-five years after the end of the genocide, Rwanda has made great strides towards reconciliation. The attitudes of the young generation are being influenced by changes in their formal education curriculum as well as the multitude of reconciliation initiatives they encounter. The following analysis will seek to examine a small percentage of this young generation to understand the impact formal programs are having.

Results, Analysis and Interpretation

Root causes of conflict in Rwanda were the ethnic divisions and inequality that erupted into genocide in 1994. In order to reconcile the people of Rwanda, the attitudes of division and superiority had to be addressed. As mentioned previously, peace education is one of the increasingly popular methods for influencing attitude and behavioral changes of those having experienced genocidal violence. Educating the youth on the dangers of these divisions will help to ensure that the people of Rwanda will instead develop national unity. In order to sustain peace, it is optimal to teach the youth early, as they are more impressionable and more likely to adopt this change.

In Rwanda, it was the youth that were the main participants in carrying out the genocide. In the post-genocide era, the youth are being groomed to be agents of change in their communities. The objective for these NGO peace education initiatives are to teach the history of the genocide whilst promoting critical thinking and a sense of responsibility in working towards a better future. According to a staff member interviewed from the glocal organization, "Peacebuilding is coming in the aftermath of, but in order to prevent violence from happening again you need the right education. Hate is taught."[70] This same staff member emphasizes the importance of being able to work with the younger generation in these programs and sharing the teachings when they are at their most impressionable.

Interviews with staff members sought to provide insight on the objectives and necessities of these programs and the tools in which they carry them out. Both Aegis Trust Youth Champions and Peace and Love Proclaimers have made it their mission to focus on youth empowerment and their

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[70] Interview. Aegis Trust employee 1. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

role in reconciliation. A barrier for youth to take control of their own healing has been the judgement by the older generation. The main challenge described by PLP staff members is their struggle to be taken seriously. As many of their members and staff are born after the genocide, or very early into it, the older generation does not believe they have the right to speak about it.

Trauma can be passed from parents to their children, and this is a concern for the desire for sustainable peace. Although not seen on the surface, wounds are still fresh. As one staff member from Aegis Trust explains it:

> Outside the house everyone acts nicely. You come home and see your mother traumatized. True feelings are reserved for the home. But visitors come over and your mother puts on her lipstick and smiles, then the visitor leaves and mom cries. Children see that and want to do something about it, to stop the hurt. Trauma is passed on by those that see it.[71]

All of the students interviewed were either born after the genocide or were very young at the time. This does not mean that they are not effected. Those born early after the genocide are at risk of secondary traumatic stress. In order to combat this, it is vitally important to educate the young generation about the history and help them come to terms with it. More importantly, to help them feel as if they can play an active role in today's society. It is important that the youth are given an accurate depiction of the events leading up to the genocide and what transpired during those 100 days. Knowing and coming to terms with the history is one aspect that can advance a generation to move past and build a future. Many people that were born early on or after the genocide have family members with first-hand experience during the genocide. Therefore they may bare witness to the sufferings of these family members, causing feelings of anger or helplessness. These feelings, if not addressed, may result in a generation intending to avenge their family. To combat this, both Aegis Trust and Peace and Love Proclaimers have given youth a more active role in reconciliation. The underlying objective for both organizations is to breed a generation of problem-solvers and peace-makers.

The path to transformation through peace education can be seen as a three step process. Progression is dependent on the success of the previous stage. The first step is learning the history of genocide and what factors influenced people's actions. Coinciding with this step is the willingness of the recipient to embrace and accept the information given. The second step has to do with shifting your attitude to reflect the new information, becoming more optimistic or empowered to make change. The last step is implementing those changes. It is one thing to become inspired by

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[71]Interview. Aegis Trust employee 2. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

someone's words, but the sign of true transformation is being able to take everything you have learned and adopt them to your lifestyle.

In order to analyze my student interviews, I am basing my assumptions off of the student's answers; their self-reported behavior and attitude changes. Attitude change is difficult to measure as it can be superficial. Therefore it is important to not only listen to what someone is saying, but also to look in to what that person is doing. Unfortunately, this data has only included one-time interviews and conclusions must be drawn from recipient accounts of behavior changes rather than observed changes over a longer period of time.

The first discrepancy observed between Youth Champion (glocal) and PLP (grassroots) recipients is the matter of how they managed to become program participants. An overwhelming number of students from the Youth Champions had joined because a friend, family, or community member told them to. Their participation in the program was still voluntary, but it seemed that they did not seek it out themselves. Given that these trainings are not necessarily advertised in schools or somewhere they can be easily in view of their target group, word of mouth referrals is a valid way to acquire attendees. The weight carried by the Aegis Trust name, there is also the possibility that students participated in trainings in order to enhance their resumes. When compared with the answers given by PLP students, motivations to join PLP appeared to be more intentional. The main aspect of PLP is their presence in schools, so it would make sense that it would draw in more of a crowd. In competition with other school-sponsored clubs, PLP has made a point of being a unique option compared to your typical sports or theater club.

History: Attitudes, Understanding, and Acceptance

The first change I seek to identify is the understanding and acceptance of the past. In order to distinguish whether or not an attitude change has taken place, I will look into the following categories. First I will be examining whether or not participants felt a perspective shift when it came to the past. Second is if students describe an understanding of the history of the genocide. Lastly, if they feel as though they have accepted the past and if they attribute their coming to terms with it to the program attended. If students report feelings of unity over division, it would demonstrate a trend that the root cause of conflict, i.e. ethnic tensions, have been, or are, being addressed. This attention to distinguishing the role of ethnic tensions is not the sole work of these civil societies, rather it could be coming from a multitude of angles. Understanding and accepting the past is the initial step on the road to reconciliation.

One of the consequences of the genocide in Rwanda is that it left a population struggling to understand what had transpired, let alone being able to share their story with their descendants. The fear of being re-traumatized or traumatizing their children left them with one choice: silence. As one participant pointed out, "it is not a conversation that happens on a daily basis, people talking about genocide…it is not a conversation."[72] Many recipients from both organizations reported silence from their families and communities about their experiences during the genocide. A common belief was that it was of no concern of theirs, and that they had no right to ask about it.

Both Aegis Trust and Peace and Love Proclaimers have prided themselves on breaking the silence in speaking about the genocide. A unique characteristic of each program is their being a platform for young people to ask questions and have discussions free from judgement. Outside of these platforms, youth run the risk of being met with silence or worse, hostility. According to that same student, "it was maybe the first time that I was to such a thing. Where they were talking about history openly, saying everything open. It was the first time, and it was just, woah."[73] The teaching styles of Aegis Trust Youth Champions and PLP demonstrate the tactics of learning described by transformation learning theory. One way these programs use instrumental learning is by engaging students in task-oriented problem solving, such as teaching students to initiate peace projects to resolve issues in their communities. Communicative learning tactics encourage students to speak freely about their feelings and concerns in order to establish empathy and understanding.

People born after the genocide often held the misconception that they had no place at commemoration events or activities. On the opposite side of the spectrum, children born after genocide could also be seen calling themselves survivors. Families and the community play a major role in the way a child is brought up. Those raised in silence are potentially in a better position than those given a biased teaching. A staff member from the grassroots outlined some of the trouble they face in that area,

> There is an organization in school for student survivors. To the point now we see a student of twelve or thirteen still call themselves survivors because their parents are. If you call that student a survivor, you are calling a student coming from a family of perpetrators a perpetrator. No matter how old.[74]

As an organization working in these same schools, they have to try to voice themselves without judgement, and try to respectfully transform the minds of those who join to one of unity. Parents and grandparents of this generation were raised with ethnic differences. These feelings and tensions

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[72] Phone interview. Aegis Trust recipient 8; female, city. Uppsala, Sweden. February 2019.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers employee 1. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

are not easily dropped just because the government has banned the use of ethnic groupings. As one student reiterated, "being born after the genocide doesn't mean that those divisions doesn't effect us."[75] Therefore, it is the primary concern of the upcoming generation to be raised differently. When performing my interviews, the premier factor was to determine whether or not these students' mindsets differed from what their families were brought up with.

Part of the difficulty in transitional justice after genocide is the creation and promotion of an official narrative. These narratives are often over-simplified with a clear determination of "victim" and "perpetrator". This may lead some to believe they are being falsely categorized or blamed, even among those who were not yet born. Although the Rwandan government commitment to unity and reconciliation is the forefront of their campaign, it does not play a role in everyday interaction. Civic engagement and social networks through organizations or informal gatherings are more effective in contributing to the adoption of this mindset change.

Attitudes

Key similarities that can be seen are that the majority of students from both organizations did not hold particularly negative or antagonistic views towards members of opposing groups. This can be explained by various factors including their age, the time that has passed, or other government sponsored initiatives. Another similarity is that these organizations appear to have been these students' first introduction to their role in the reconciliation process. The main difference that could be identified are slight variations in a student's response to similar scenarios. Each organization had a student admitting to having not attended commemoration events, and each organization had a student having membership to the student association for survivors. The examples provided will show the differentiation of each of these examples, which I will outline at the end of this subsection.

The general trend seen in the answers from PLP students was that they did not enter the program with particularly negative views about the past or conflicting group. Two out of the eight PLP students interviewed reported explicitly that they held negative views that changed after their participation. One student reported being formerly involved in the student association of survivors before relinquishing it for PLP. One additional student reported not being able to watch or listen to commemoration activities out of fear of what they would hear. One declared that they did not have the mindset of divisions before and with that felt that the program did not alter their perspective in

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[75] Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 4. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

that way. The majority felt the strongest perspective change being that they did not believe at first that they had a role in the reconciliation process.

The PLP student that reported the greatest change first described that before engaging themselves in the club, they "used to before have these things of tribes in my head, as a person who cannot talk to a person of this tribe or kind since 1994."[76] Because of this, the student reported having difficulties cooperating with people and would end up spending most of their time alone. This student reported their greatest takeaway from the program is that they have forgone the fear they had of talking with people and asking questions. The mindset of division is the primary perspective that is sought to be changed, and in this example it appears that this student has done just that. This student has abandoned their feelings of tribes in favor of unity and reconciliation. They went so far as to say that, "if they [PLP] were not here, this thing of tribes in head of these people would continue."[77] Their change has been attributed to the lessons and support received from PLP and appear confident in their new perspective.

The other PLP student, when asked whether anything learned through PLP has contradicted previously held beliefs, it was met with laughter. The student explained that the meetings and teachings they got through PLP has given them an eye-opening experience, "The first thing I remember I told myself, I have lost a lot of time."[78] Although this student did not go into details about what their former beliefs had been, their answers suggest that the divisions among the ethnic groups had been present in their life. As these programs are sometimes the first chance students have at speaking openly about the past, it is not uncommon that they will experience a moment of clarity. This moment will either alter their perspective completely or expand the boundaries of what they once believed.

There was a student from PLP that had been involved in the association of student survivors. This student, however, described that they "used to" be in this other club, implying that they had abandoned membership in favor of PLP. This student explained that after learning more about the history from the survivors club, they went looking for ways to get involved in working towards unity and reconciliation when they found PLP. This particular student is 21-years-old, meaning they were not yet born when the genocide occurred.

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[76] Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 1; female, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 4. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

The resulting answers from the Youth Champion students followed similar patterns. Again, two out of eight students interviewed reported having negative views of the past or conflicting groups. Two additional Youth Champion students stated that the trainings had helped them to not judge others. Although they did not specify in *how* they used to judge their peers, it is entirely possible, perhaps likely, that they were referring to ethnic groups. One student explained that they never attended commemoration events because they felt it to be unnecessary. Two students declared that the trainings did not change their perspective, rather gave them a better understanding. Once again we see that the majority altered their perspective in now viewing their role in reconciliation to be valuable, despite their ages.

The Youth Champions student with the greatest change reported that they "didn't want to be with the colleagues that came from the people that did the genocide"[79] even though this same student admitted to not knowing the entire history during that time. This member was the oldest of the group interviewed, at age 29 they were five-years-old when the genocide took place. This student became involved with Youth Champion trainings because they said they wanted to learn ways to keep peace since they were a survivor. Although this student demonstrated a want for unity and a country where one is not judged based on ethnics, they still self-reported themselves as a survivor. This student also mentioned that they are a part of the association of student survivors. This discrepancy may lead to the conclusion that this particular student may not be completely transformed.

The other Youth Champion student was rather reserved and not as vocal about her beliefs prior to the trainings. Instead, this student kept repeating that they "did not know the truth of what happened before."[80] After this participant left, the translator and I discussed some of their mannerisms and answers. The translator and I came to a consensus that we believed that the student had been given negative or conflicting information prior to their training. This student now reports that they went on to teach their friends the new information they had been given.

One of the students who said they did not experience an attitude change: "Not great change, but deep understanding of what the genocide was about and how people were discriminated, how they were killed." Even though they did not experience a change, the student acquired a deep understanding of the past. Whether or not a student had originated with negative opinions does not dismiss the impact of learning and understanding the history.

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[79] Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 7; male, countryside. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[80] Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 4; female, countryside. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

The majority of students believed that they had no role to play in the reconciliation of Rwanda. Reconciliation and forgiveness was perceived as something for the older generation, those that were alive and have real-life accounts of what happened. With the majority of Rwanda's population being under the age of eighteen, it would be detrimental to the nation if they were not active participants in advancing the future.

A Youth Champion student mentioned that,

before coming to Aegis Trust I never got into touch with the past that much. I had the routine I was used to. Wake up, go to school, do something for myself. I never thought of looking at the other side, learning about people that were effected by the past, by the history.[81]

This student, like many other people their age, did not pay much attention to what they could be doing to help build up the country. One student listed this change as one of the most beneficial things they learned, "My takeaway was this journey is not only for certain people, the one's who are directly involved like the survivors or the perpetrators, it is for all of us, no matter what age."[82] Another student with this mindset said that "before he believed he did not need to do anything, but after the trainings he learned to step up."[83] By motivating the youth to take part in reconciliation, Aegis has began opening the minds of another generation able to assist in building the country. As referenced previously, the research of Boyden and Berry emphasize the importance for youth to take ownership over their own healing, and the healing of their country.

If we pull examples from the two students that reported a lack of attendance during commemoration activities, we can see some differences. Both organizations had students unwilling to participate in commemoration activities prior to their participation and both students have altered this perception.

There was one PLP student that also admitted to being absent from commemoration activities, yet they had a different reasoning. After joining PLP, they started to hear about the Walk to Remember, a very popular commemoration activity hosted by the group. Prior to their role in the group, this student recalled that, "Before that, I couldn't even switch on the TV for a commemoration or radio. I was too scared for that."[84] This person is 19-years-old and therefore we can presume that whatever fear or trauma held that kept her from these events was acquired secondhand. This fear could have developed after watching family or community members during

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[81] Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 5; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[82] Phone interview. Aegis Trust recipient 8; female, city. Uppsala, Sweden. February 2019.

[83] Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 1; male, countryside. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[84] Phone Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 2; female, city. Uppsala, Sweden. February 2019.

these periods. Now this student has taken an active role in the preparation of Walk to Remember and has claimed that PLP made them *want* to learn the history.

The Youth Champion recipient admitted to not attending these events in favor of sleeping in. Their reasoning was, that she "thought it something simple, it is not very necessary to attend."[85] After taking part in the Champion Humanity training, they felt a responsibility to attend "as a future generation of this country."[86] Not only does this student attend, they now advocate to their friends to do the same. In this response, it shows that a change has taken place. Taken at face value, the student that once did not attend now does. As one of the objectives for Youth Champions is for their participants to be "Agents of Change" this student also demonstrates that they are working on changing the minds of their peers to encourage their attendance.

In the end, both of these organizations were effective in changing the attitude from each of these students to convince them to attend commemoration events. Although, the PLP student had first to overcome their fear in order to partake, whereas the student from Youth Champions was merely convinced of the importance of attending.

When evaluating the overall changes about the perspectives of the history, there are few differences. Most significant is the differentiation among the two students who had been members of the student survivor association. The student that relinquished their association to the group has, in a sense, moved from the position of survivor to an advocate for unity. The Youth Champion that remained in the association came from a district in the Northern Province of Rwanda, where tensions are felt stronger than in the capital, where the PLP student resided. Another important distinction is their age. The Youth Champion student from the countryside who remained in the association was twenty-nine, versus the PLP student at age nineteen. The older student, having been alive during the genocide, is not wrong in their declaration of being a survivor. The younger student, however, had had their 'survivor' status passed down from their family. Despite this, if the overall goal is to evolve into a world without ethnic differences, the membership and continuation of survivor associations may do more harm than good.

Interviews with the Youth Champions included the two students that reported the program helping them in "judging less". If those are taken into account, Youth Champions influenced a perspective change in five out of eight students opposed to the four out of eight students from PLP. However, there were two Youth Champions claiming no change versus the one student from PLP.

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[85] Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 6; female, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[86] Ibid.

These discrepancies could have been influenced by some students not willing to disclose their previous beliefs, or their environment prior to the program.

The interviews showed that the majority of people reported or showed a greater understanding of the history and the past, rather than a full shift in their attitude about it. The students that did not report having a noticeable shift in how they viewed the past may have not had a negative attitude at the start. From what has been gathered, we can presume that an overall attitude shift is emerging among the young generation in Rwanda. Although this is a small sample in the grand scheme of things, it is still worth noting that the majority of students did not hold negative attitudes to begin with. As these students were chosen somewhat randomly, we can deduce that a fair percentage of like-aged individuals maintain similar views. Nevertheless, the presence of formal organizations for peace education reinforce these attitudes to contribute to the formation of positive peace.

Understanding

As set by the definition of reconciliation, an understanding of the past is important in order to move forward. Especially for those born early on or after the genocide, they must be taught in a way for them to fully comprehend the environment that surrounded those events. Knowing that a genocide happened is not the same as understanding what drove people to do what they did. If you understand *why* someone was driven to kill, you are able to re-humanize and forgive.

Some students knew very little about the history, due to the silence or the feeling that it did not belong to them. This lack of knowledge about the events of the genocide lead some students to learn how fresh in people's minds it remains. Understanding is not restricted to learning the details of the genocide. Rather an understanding shows that they have a deeper knowledge of how things progressed and how people are effected now.

Youth Champions and PLP provide a platform to discuss the genocide in an attempt to provide participants with a greater understanding. For many, this was the first chance they had to learn the details and feel free asking questions and speaking out about it.

Similarities that can be found in this section would be that an overall consensus was held that students from each organization left their program with a greater understanding of the past. Both organizations had students that had not been given a previous in-depth look into the events prior to, and during, the genocide. Differences are primarily seen in the methods in which these organizations seek to teach this understanding.

When asked if the program helped them to gain a better understanding of the past, the consensus was that it did. Eight out of the eight PLP students interviewed reported a greater

understanding of the past after participating in the programs. Two students said it was something they had always wanted to know, whether they were afraid to ask or were kept in the dark from it. Three students said that they had a different understanding about the past (from family or the community) prior to what they learned in the club. Two said they did not realize how fresh the wounds were for people.

Before diving into examples of their understanding, it is important to explain what tactics PLP uses in order to engage students. One student described the process in which PLP works in unity and reconciliation:

> There are various PLP clubs in different schools, so the different schools may organize themselves and go to visit the memorial center, either at Gisozi or any other memorial center. So after the visit to the memorial, there are unity classes, like facilitators help them understand what they have seen and help them to learn and use what they have seen to build a better future. And in another way, PLP has organized weekly meetings, we gather together and discuss. One of us prepare a topic so that we may discuss it. We get views from different persons so in a way I think it helps us to understand.[87]

Another student explained the difference between learning through PLP versus through government sponsored events or formal teachings. The teaching style of PLP is more interactive as one student explains it, "You just go through an activity, you interact, you engage, and at the end of the day you reflect and you learn."[88] When attending other learning experiences, like some community talks, this student confided that "every testimony is going to be like, 'they did this to me' like for us, because I was born after the genocide, it looked more of a, I'm sorry to say, like a movie."[89] Rather, this student prefers the opportunity to engage in one-on-one conversations that allow you to connect and reflect. These 'out of classroom' engagements help students understand the impact and the history on a deeper level.

The PLP student who first reported being afraid to listen to or watch commemoration events reported that engaging themselves in the club made them want to learn the history. The student explained, "I needed to know what really happened. So what I learned from PLP is to not have this fear of talking to many people and asking many questions so I can know really what I want to know."[90]

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[87] Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 4; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[88] Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 7; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Phone Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 2; female, city. Uppsala, Sweden. February 2019.

Another student that had an absence of understanding before referenced an activity they participated in with PLP:

> As we went through an orphanage, as we went to visit mothers who lost their husband, yeah so I now connected. For me it was a personal story. For my family they did not tell me anything. So like everything that happened before, they never talked about it. I never questioned that, it was none of my business. So now I start thinking maybe my father is also going through this sort of thing and I don't even know.

Prior to this experience, the student did not grasp the reality of what had taken place and how it effected those around them. This student has opened their eyes to their surrounding and been enhanced by a proper understanding of what those around them are going through.

One student told me that PLP has helped to clarify things, "We are all born after the genocide, so we had no adequate information of what happened. So I think PLP has helped us to know exactly what happened."[91] Being born after the genocide, and with parents or community members unwilling or unable to give an accurate and reliable account of what happened leaves the younger generation vulnerable. This particular student, although not reporting negative opinions about the past (not meaning that they did not exist), admitted experiencing feelings of guilt after listening to stories about the genocide. "First of all it made me feel guilty. Guilty of what happened, and it also had me concerned with the feelings."[92] According to Taylor's pathway to acceptance, self-examination with feelings of guilt are common.

One of the PLP students said that they were "born in genocide" and therefore heard a lot of stories from parents and the community. When asked if anything they heard contradicted what they learned in PLP they said:

> In the community, there is a different history. Sometimes you hear different people from the community saying that the government is lying, there is something behind what they are saying. But actually we really just try to help them, convince them, so they can understand what the government is saying.[93]

Adopting an official narrative does not omit people's experiences, although some may feel glossed over or betrayed. This student did not hold negative attitudes towards others or the past, but had heard conflicting perspectives from their community before coming to PLP. Peace education wants to help people learn from different perspectives, and encourage them to move forward and grow themselves. The student has taken what they learned and now tries to encourage their community to

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[91] Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 3; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[92] Ibid.

[93] Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 5; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

accept things for how they are. This lesson can teach people that even though they may have different versions of the past, everyone should come together to build a better future.

Proper reconciliation required the ability to see things through the eyes of the other and understand differing perspectives. According to one student, the PLP meetings,

> help us to understand the history, that is what I was saying you understand the reason which was behind the people who did genocide. What made them do that. By understanding that, it has opened my eyes and I have seen those kind of divisions should not effect us anymore.[94]

Learning and understanding what drove people to kill is not easy and some may refuse to accept any excuses. The different activities PLP students are engaged in have offered a multi-faced approach to encourage empathy and understanding.

One PLP student recalls a rather hostile way in which they began to understand the gravity of the work they were doing. While they worked a table fundraising for Walk to Remember, people would confront them saying, "You are young, you don't know what you are talking about."[95] The student explained how this confrontation became a learning experience:

> So that time I get to understand like these things are real, because is is someone come who is just passing by, he is not prepared to tell you something so he is just telling what he feels for real, if someone is just passing and stopping because they mean it…So I got to understand how deep this is, how strong for people. And also get to understand, even though they said reconciliation and everything, it is not yet totally done, there is a lot of things to do. But at least they can stop and talk, there are others who could not even stop, there are others that just go home and they think about it. That's why I got to learn a lot of things and connect and understand…Even though it was aggressive, people felt.[96]

The Youth Champion answers showed that eight out of the eight interviewed reported a greater understanding of the past after the trainings. Two said they had always wanted to know more about the past, but never had the opportunity to ask about or discuss with others. And the same two whom showed negative views said they had a different understanding of the past from community or family members.

A staff member from Aegis Trust explained how one of their modules on re-humanizing the perpetrator is vital to helping people understand: "Inherent evil is not to be forgiven, but when you

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[94] Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 4; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[95] Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 7; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[96] Ibid.

see *why* someone did what they did, then you can understand better. Doesn't necessarily dismiss what they did, but it helps you forgive and understand."[97]

With so many students (one student mentioned forty in their group), and only a short period with each group, I was concerned about the ability for Aegis to reach each student. Two days is not a long time to change someone's perspective, and it would be incredibly impressive to influence a student to adopt a lifestyle change in this amount of time. When I asked a student if the large group meant that some were not actively involved, this is how they responded:

> You can not leave Aegis without taking one speech. It is not possible, they make you speak. And also it is enjoyable how those trainings are planned it is an exchange of words. It is pretty cool so you can not leave without speaking.[98]

Another described how the training they attended encouraged and taught them how to create and lead in peace initiatives of their own:

> They come to learn about peace, peacebuilding; they learn to make small projects. And the second day they create groups and study a project they can so in their community and get feedback from the trainers if that can help or the inputs they can add. And then the third day they learn the presentation of the project and they can input from the trainers.[99]

One Youth Champion student admitted that the training did not change from how they felt about the past, rather it taught them more than they knew previously. Although this student did not have opposing views that contradicted the teachings, they drew attention to their necessity in the community. As people will continue to be born after the genocide, they will continue to need to be taught the history and there is the fear that, "without emphasizing this program of unity and reconciliation in Rwanda there is nowhere to study that history."[100]

One of the students had lost both parents in the genocide and said that the past was something they always wanted to know. "It changed us cause before coming here we don't have that understanding of our history."[101] This student said that they did not know the orchestration of the genocide or the reason for it prior to their training. They explained that, "It is good for me to know the history and to change how our thinking, our thinking before that something happened."[102]

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[97] Interview. Aegis Trust employee 1. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[98] Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 6; female, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[99] Phone interview. Aegis Trust recipient 8; female, city. Uppsala, Sweden. February 2019.

[100] Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 6; female, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[101] Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 2; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[102] Ibid.

Even the students that did not have contradicting perspectives to what they learned still gained a greater understanding of what these divisions mean to people. As one Youth Champion explains it:

> I don't think I had negative thoughts about what I can be or what it means, but being part of the program made me realize some people still consider their ethnic groups, it is not something you can abolish in one day. Some people have wounds, others feel rejected in the community maybe because what their family members had done.[103]

One Youth Champion had attended commemorations and memorials before taking part in the training, and goes into detail of how it felt to gain an understanding after the fact:

> Sometimes, especially when you are at commemoration, and you start to think about what happened. And sometimes you don't understand what happened. But when you get a training you try to change mind, and we need to build our country for our future. I changed, I changed something. Like, when I was in Southern Province at memorial site, I have so many things differently where we can see, and other genocide memorials. I was back in 1994. I just started to think, why these things happen. After I came to the training here they told me the reason we can't ignore things like that, and we learn. And everyone can say never again. Many of us, not only me, have changed minds.[104]

Seeing the memorials and hearing the horrific acts that took place there can leave some people upset or frustrated. Without proper context, this student may have been left confused and at a loss of what to do with this information. Youth Champions peace education has provided an understanding that would allow them to feel as though there is something they can do to ensure history does not repeat itself.

After hearing tapes from the radio station inciting violence and listening to perpetrator testimonies, this student gained a better understanding on the dangers of isolating groups:

> On the first day of the Youth Champion training we learned the tapes that brings people of genocide. I didn't know those tapes before. From those tapes I learned many things that firstly people comment and make a group that is apart from other people and that told me things. That people should not be isolated. Groups may be the cause, or the root of something that is bad. After it is not like it changed me from what I had in the past but it has improved me about things I did not know before.[105]

Again we can see ways in which the organization can help to foster reconciliation through re-humanization. Reconciliation does not force forgiveness, rather it encourages people to see the reasons behind people's actions. The younger generation are impervious to the kind of hateful

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[103] Phone interview. Aegis Trust recipient 8; female, city. Uppsala, Sweden. February 2019.

[104] Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 7; male, countryside. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[105] Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 6; female, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

ideology that once enveloped the country. Hearing these spiteful messages that ordered murder can provide a glimpse into the environment that pinned people against one another.

Overall, we see that all participants of Youth Champions and PLP programs have an understanding of the history and genocide of Rwanda. After speaking with members from both organizations, I would conclude that there is little or no distinguishable difference between the two in helping them to understand the history. Both organizations have been able to provide something extra in their teaching of the history that differs from a standard lesson in a classroom. The missing piece to their understanding had been that there was no adequate teachings or free spaces where they would feel comfortable speaking out and asking questions. More importantly, these programs have taught the history in a way that encourages their students to be proactive in the way they handle life's problems. More of the outcomes of this will be presented in the personality and behavior sections.

According to Edward Taylor's interpretation of Mezirow's theory, the pathway to accepting a new perspective begins with "a disorienting dilemma." More commonly in this batch of interviews you can see a broader perception of what happened that is easier accepted into their current meaning perspective. After hearing this new knowledge, students then had to determine whether or not they would accept the new information and come to terms with the past. Despite not all receiving conflicting information, each student may have had to go through this process, which will be addressed in the following subsection.

Acceptance

Once people show a willingness to embrace the new information, it is important to know whether they have accepted and come to terms with it. Accepting the past does not necessarily mean that all is forgiven, rather, they understand what happened and are willing to move forward. According to the definition of reconciliation I am using, the initial goal is to acknowledge and develop a shared understanding of the past. According to what I have found in the previous section, all students reported having this understanding. If the students embrace the new information then they can move onto accepting it, thus altering their perspective. The platform for teaching the history offers the opportunity for these students to learn the history and ask questions freely. The purpose of this open forum is not merely to study the past, which they could do in an ordinary classroom. These discussions provide a new perspective in hopes of helping students to accept what happened, and encourage them to build a future.

Many attributed the act of learning and understanding the different aspects and sides of the genocide has helped them accept it for what it was. Commemoration events, for a long time, were

believed to be only for survivors, former perpetrators were not welcome. The more the country works towards unity and reconciliation, and re-humanizing one another, the greater the change. Those born after the genocide still had something to accept and forgive. Families were affected, the absence is still felt. Students are encouraged to engage themselves in the community and play a more active role in reconciliation.

Compared to others, this section is fairly short. Reason being that since I only had one round of interviews with the participants, all that was done to determine acceptance was a single question taken at face value. In order to determine whether someone has accepted the past, it is easier to look at their behavior and interactions. If they have embraced the new information provided, it will become more noticeable in the ways in which they have altered their behavior after the program. This section will show that nearly all participants reported having come to terms with the past, the difference being that opposed to a consensus for each, one Youth Champion said they had nothing to come to terms with.

The PLP student that was previously a member of the student association of survivors explained that even after learning about the past, "It was so not easy to accept or to get what happened. I listened to many stories from people that survived, what happened, from parents, from friends or some other people."[106] Being engaged in PLP has given additional support that has helped them to accept the past. Joining a group of like-minded and same-age individuals is what helped this student move forward, as described below:

> But going in PLP I met other people in my age who have the same thinking like me. You know, someone who's not in 40s or 30s, who is happening right now. So if you join within the people in your generation you find yourself in a situation where you are free to talk, where everyone is able to understand you.[107]

This example demonstrates PLP's use of communicative learning, whereas this student felt able to speak freely about their feelings and thoughts in order to share ideas and gain perspective. Another student explained that "PLP is the best way to tell you to just forget and move on and make a better world."[108]

One PLP student could not fathom having a world that could allow for the continuance of such hate. After their engagement with PLP and learning all they have about what drove people to kill, they have learned the importance of acceptance and unity,

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[106] Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 8; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Phone Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 2; female, city. Uppsala, Sweden. February 2019.

But it is not just we create reconciliation among us, we can't just rule the country. Imagine if we still have that mind of racism in the next 20 years. Imagine how. It would be another genocide. Because already in their mindset people are hating each other, they don't love each other. How the country would be broken.[109]

All but one of the Youth Champions said that the program has helped them come to terms with the past.

With the assistance of a translator, this student said that the training helped him to accept and move forward, "It taught him to accept the past and to try and live a good life and move on and experience a better life."[110] Another student with a similar mindset said, "I think the good thing is to know after the history that this is genocide, what we have to do is to look to the future and to build peace and never go back to this horrible time in Rwanda."[111] These students demonstrate that they have accepted the past, and are willing to look towards a future, peaceful Rwanda.

One Youth Champion explained how the storytelling methodology helped, "For the first time you can't understand. But second time, you start to understand, and especially when someone is teaching you with typical examples, that is when you understand."[112]

The Youth Champion that said the program did not help explained that it was because they did not feel there was anything to accept.

I can't really say it made me come to terms, with the new programs of saying everyone is Rwandan. If you don't have to consider your ethnic groups, sometimes the youth don't even know what ethnic group they belong to. Parents don't want to talk to them about it.[113]

This person is an exceptional example of someone who has grown up in with surroundings so focused on unity, that they have dismissed the idea that people still hold onto these divisions.

As the majority of both PLP and Youth Champion students said that the programs have helped them come to terms with the past, I can not determine that one had outshined the other in this aspect. These programs allowed the student an open forum to share ideas and feelings. As many did not hold terribly negative feelings to start with, they more so needed to know what it takes to move forward.

Key points

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[109] Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 5; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[110] Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 1; male, countryside. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[111] Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 2; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[112] Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 7; male, countryside. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[113] Phone interview. Aegis Trust recipient 8; female, city. Uppsala, Sweden. February 2019.

As mentioned previously, the younger generation had a need to be taught the history in a method that does not traumatize nor hold bias. Aegis Trust and PLP were successful in this as all students appeared relatively well-versed on the details of the past while remaining neutral. Those who had reported negative attitudes about the "other" have claimed to have evolved to become more accepting to all. Although difficult to determine true feelings based on self-reported answers, it is my belief that these were for the most part, honest answers. Some students from more rural parts of Rwanda tended to hold stronger attachments to the terms 'survivor' and 'perpetrator'. In the end, the majority of students reported an understanding and acceptance of the past which is the first step towards reconciliation.

Personality: Growth, Optimism, Empowerment and Unity

This next section will be one of the primary determinants of my study. Peace education programs teach the history of genocide and the differing perspectives surrounding it. History lessons can be administered pretty thoroughly in a short period. Changes in personality and attitude, which are one of the main objectives to peace education, are more challenging to influence under a strict timeframe. In this section I will evaluate the answers to the questions that were tasked with determining changes in personality.

Personality shifts are an integral aspect of someone's attitude change. Although not something specifically taught, these education programs can influence personality as they allow for sharing of personal details and ideas. Sharing stories and perceptions can help to alter one's opinions about their peers, their community, and themselves. For the younger generation, empathy can help them to understand why family and community members acted certain ways and feel for those who are suffering. Contrary to an ordinary class, these programs aim to inspire the youth to be kind, become an advocate, and live a good life. If they are successful, you will be able to see personality shifts in how people view others and the world.

Growth

PLP and Youth Champion recipients, as a whole, can be reported as having a positive shift in personality. However, a greater percentage of PLP recipients reported explicitly, and enthusiastically, the changes they experienced. Youth Champions, on the other hand, were more divided with a few stating that the training had not influenced their personality whatsoever.

PLP students can be seen as having a positive personality shift with seven reporting specific positive attitude changes with the last one not explicitly implying one way or the other. In order to

help students understand and accept the ramifications of the genocide, PLP organizes "empathy visits". During these visits, members visit orphanages or struggling communities to learn first hand the effect the genocide has had on people. After attending one of these visits one student said, "I connected more, I understood more what they are going through and what is my role in this."[114] After this eye-opening experience, the student had this to say; "I now started connecting with people, empathizing with people, understanding that others are going through some things and also I am going through some things so we have to connect."[115] This student reports a positive change as they feel connected to people in the community and understand what it means to be there for someone. This same student reported that the program has helped them in dealing with what comes at them, "I built a sense of ownership from the problems you are facing."[116] One of the root causes of conflict are that people will blame others for their problems. This student demonstrates that they are in control over their lives and what they can do to better them.

Another student explained how PLP has allowed them to empathize with their peers, "You feel free, feel like everything is fine. Because maybe you see people in the way they are thinking."[117] The ability to see from another's perspective, as described by these students, combats the destructive ideology that can make one group feel that they are superior to another. As Rwanda was inching towards genocidal violence, a dominant "us versus them" ideology was present. The inferior group were seen as inhuman "cockroaches", unworthy of life. Teaching the new generations to empathize and see their peers as their equals, despite differing opinions, will train them to squash any attempts at pinning one against the other.

Students emphasized the impact PLP has had on learning morals and how to be the best version of yourself. One student explained it as, "There is something about being involved in humanity, having the skills to be a good human, and to interact or just talk about your person and see to the next level."[118] The long-term commitment PLP has to their members, often following them through high school and into university, gives them the opportunity to shape attitudes in a way unreachable to other programs.

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[114] Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 7; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[115] Ibid.

[116] Ibid.

[117] Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 8; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[118] Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 5; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

A final example I'd like to introduce comes from a student who has been a member of PLP for the past seven years:

> I learned that holding grudge or being mean to people make you a bad person, being nice is like therapy. I learned that the world needs to be a better place. We are always laughing and we are always being happy, I've never seen it anywhere else. And I think it is because of what we learn and how we take it. So yes, PLP I always say they helped me grow.[119]

This comment is particularly interesting in a few ways. Firstly, they mentioned being nice as having a therapeutic aspect. This shows how PLP is gifting them with the knowledge that healing can be taken into their own hands. Secondly, most programs where youth are learning the history of genocide are not typically described as a fun place where everyone is always laughing and happy. This demonstrates how PLP has used their different projects and their young-aged sociability to create an environment that people *want* to be part of. Lastly, this person attributes these characteristics to being how they take what they learn. As teaching the past is something parents and scholars have feared could be traumatizing to the youth, PLP has found a way to teach in a way that takes the trauma of the past, and turns it into an opportunity for growth.

Personality changes among Youth Champions were more divided, although generally positive. Four mentioned that they had experienced a positive shift, two did not mention anything or left it unanswered, and two reported that the program had little effect on their personality.

Two students mentioned how the trainings influenced the way they view others and how they think about their role in society. When asked how they felt about the work Aegis Trust is doing in their community, one Youth Champion said that, "The programs help too much. If they can manage to help change how people think, people to change in society and helping each other."[120] Another student told how the trainings helped them to broaden their perspective:

> It has helped me and made me grow. In terms of wisdom and knowledge, but also in social cohesion. Every day when you realize you have responsibilities, not only your own responsibility, but in the country then it is obvious you have grown. When you come from not even interacting with people, not learning from people, then you know you have grown.[121]

Both students show that they believe the programs have the power to influence change in attitudes. We can see that these students describe a mindset change. Instead of thinking in terms of how to better things for themselves, they show concern for others and the state of Rwanda. Being able to

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[119] Ibid.

[120] Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 3; male, countryside. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[121] Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 5; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

take the well-being of others into consideration shows a willingness to assist others in handling tasks or problem-solving.

One of the primary objectives of Youth Champion trainings is instilling "Ubumuntu", or humanity for their participants. Reflecting this, two students mentioned learning humanity as a positive influencer on how they view the world. One student mentioned that their greatest takeaway was gaining "the spirit of humanity."[122] Another mentioned that, "the training gave him that humanity and made him understand more the importance of humanity in people because without it people tend to do more things like what happened during the genocide in Rwanda."[123] As this lesson of "Ubumuntu" is in accordance with the Aegis brand, it is possible that students were reminded of it, and felt a need to state it, while they were on Aegis Trust property. Additionally, this type of answer could be subject to my position as a representative of Aegis Trust during this time.

When asked if this training helped them in understanding and interacting with their peers, one student said,

> Not this training in particular. After getting some knowledge so much in the trainings, I joined the Never Again, as well and got some trainings from them and they gave some trainings about critical thinking. Thinking not only in your perspective, but in the other perspectives of your colleagues. Understanding them, understanding the other's point of view. I learned to interact with people, to know them more.[124]

This student accredited his going to seek out further training to his initial Aegis Trust training, they admit that Aegis did not aid in their having this change. Rather they attribute this change to Never Again, another glocal organization in Rwanda.

The Aegis Trust Youth Champions have less of a social context than PLP clubs so it is understandable to see fewer changes in this category. More importantly is to determine if even with this distinction that Aegis Trust can manage to instill optimism and empowerment in their students, as these will reflect their future actions.

Optimism and empowerment

Feelings of optimism for one's own future and the future of Rwanda are also key elements in the process of reconciliation. Students were asked whether they feel optimistic that something they had learned would be beneficial to their future. Optimism about the future of Rwanda has been

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[122] Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 3; male, countryside. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[123] Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 1; male, countryside. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[124] Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 5; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

determined by their other dialogue during the interview. In coding answers related to optimism, it was evident that these feelings are often intermingled with feelings of empowerment.

Key similarities in this subsection are the overwhelming number of participants, from both organizations that reported being optimistic and empowered due to the services received. Students from both organizations attributed these shifts to the understanding about the past they had received. PLP, more so than the Youth Champions, placed an emphasis on the community surrounding the program to take credit for influencing them to make bigger changes. Answers differed in the terminology used. PLP students tended to refer to themselves being "empowered" whilst Youth Champions often referred to their "responsibility" to act. Examples and a more in-depth comparison will be provided at the end of this subsection.

Eight out of eight PLP students answered that they were optimistic that something they had learned from the program will benefit their future. In demonstrating their optimism, the same students illustrated feelings of empowerment to build a better Rwanda.

One student could not single out one particular skill that has benefitted them, rather thinks they have changed overall: "I'm that kind of person who is now changed. It will help me in the future, wherever I'll be I'll be that kind of guy that can influence people to bring social change."[125] They said that being around "a community of change makers"[126] has inspired them to become active in their community. Another student added that, "They give me the inspiration to be a part of the team. I can give my inspiration to the other people that come after me."[127]

This student was not the only one feeling this way. Another student detailed how they now see the changes all around them, "Everywhere I go I can see someone who is going out of the humanity things. Not giving to someone who has to get the thing and stay quiet. I will take action to him, try to give the best what I learned."[128] This student said that the first few times they attended PLP clubs, they felt inspired, "Somehow being when you want to take an action, you feel responsible. You see them working and you think, I want to make an impact on society."[129]

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[125] Phone interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 3; male, city. Uppsala, Sweden. February 2019.

[126] Ibid.

[127] Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 5; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[128] Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 8; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[129] Ibid.

All of these students felt that the community created by their membership to PLP is what encouraged them to bring social change. Being surrounded by others who have or are currently transforming, can aid in the process of accepting a change of their own.

Others emphasized the influence learning about the past has had on their ability to look forward. As one mentions,

> I have seen that when we use the past well, we understand the ways people used to live, and what reasons drove them to do such things. Positive or negative, we can construct, or mix them to make a better future.[130]

A few mentioned the power that youth have on making a change. One stated that it is their role to accept the past and lead future generations to a peaceful future, "When the youth goes beyond, beyond what happened and focus on a better Rwanda, a loving Rwanda."[131] Another mentioned that they can do their part in reconciliation through education,

> I think the role of youth in reconciliation is first of all, to know what happened. To know where the country came from and where the country is going. Secondly, I think the role of youth is to keep the energy. To know what happened and tell the truth of what happened, to keep learning.[132]

After speaking with these PLP recipients, it is apparent they all have strong feelings of empowerment and optimism. The life teachings have impacted the way these students view themselves, and their role in society, something that is necessary in creating positive peace. When asked what their greatest takeaway from PLP was, one student said that they learned "to keep in mind that we should be the change we want to see in the community."[133]

Youth Champion answers also showed that the students felt optimistic that they had learned something beneficial to their futures and felt optimistic about the path Rwanda is on. All students felt empowered or a sense of responsibility to do their part for the benefit of their country.

As Aegis Trust trainings focus on initiating peace building projects, they must inspire and empower their participants to take action. They teach that peace is something that should continuously be worked on. Students showed an understanding of this lesson as one reiterates,

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[130] Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 4; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[131] Phone Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 2; female, city. Uppsala, Sweden. February 2019.

[132] Phone Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 3; male, city. Uppsala Sweden. February 2019.

[133] Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 6; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

If I want to live in a bright future Rwanda I should build today. Building today is not for me only since I will not be the only one to live in Rwanda, but it is me with my colleagues and my friends. And the youth that we should put together our heart and be ambitious to one thing.[134]

Another student feeling empowered by the teachings at Aegis Trust to be united to take action against injustice, "We need to learn to think critically, we need to learn to forgive, to be active bystanders. We can't just say violence is happening and I can't do anything because I am not involved. We need to be there for each other."[135]

Again, we can see that students reflected the teachings of the history and translated that into building for a better future. One Youth Champion puts it simply, "It was taking a long time to organize it to make people hate other people. If you want to build peace we have also to plan and organize it. Those who organize genocide took a long time."[136] This student demonstrates an understanding that building peace is a process that needs continuous work in order to achieve. Giving students information on the deep roots of animosity between groups could lead some to feel helpless to combat the ingrained hatred that has such a long standing in their country. When done correctly, peace education can encourage students to make positive steps, despite the long road that lay ahead.

Many students felt that the trainings inspired them to be active in the community. One Youth Champion expressed that, "After the trainings I learned so many things that I couldn't let it down and sit with those skills and sit there, I wanted to use them in my daily life."[137] Other students talked about the impact they are capable of making and being a role model for others:

When you start working, not for only you but for other people something you are doing might impact. You change cause you want to be the best you can so some people can learn from you. So you can make a better example for the people that can see you, since you are trained to build in the society you live in.[138]

Four students said the trainings made them feel a sense of responsibility in serving the community. One Youth Champion explained that the trainings taught them that, "You have to understand your responsibility in the evolvement of the country in trying to make a change, to help whenever you can."[139] Coming from a position of being a passive member of society, this student

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[134] Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 6; female, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[135] Phone Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 8; female, city. Uppsala, Sweden. February 2019.

[136] Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 2; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[137] Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 6; female, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[138] Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 5; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[139] Ibid.

now feels responsible for the direction the country is going. Another student had a similar mindset, when asked about a feeling he had had after participating he shared that,

> He felt really happy but also a really big sense of responsibility. In his heart he felt like he had to do something. He said 'I have to do something.' Like he had all this responsibility on him and he had to all these things for the sake of his country. But he says the general feeling was being happy that he has acquired all this information and knowledge.[140]

A third student believed that, "After the Youth Champion training I felt like it is my duty, it is my responsibility as a future generation of this country"[141] for them to to participate in commemoration and reconciliation activities.

Taking responsibility for the future of their country can help youth feel as though they have a role in building the world they want to live in. Letting student know they are in control can teach them to take problems they face into their own hands. Paired with the information they receive on building peace projects, students are equipped to handle life's difficulties in non-violent and constructive manners.

Students from both organizations showed feelings of empowerment and optimism. We start to see how learning the history impacts their personality in examples from both groups. Students regularly mentioned how seeing what their country has come from motivates them to work towards peace.

One difference that I had noticed in the answers is the use of the word responsibility that can be seen repeating in the Youth Champion interviews. Rather than using the term "inspired" or "empowered", the term responsibility was frequently used to describe how they felt about their role in reconciliation. Responsibility differs from empowerment in that they have different motivations. The Youth Champions use of the word responsibility leads me to believe that their actions after the training could be motivated by someone telling them they should, rather than feeling empowered to do so on their own. One recipient from Youth Champions even mentioned this when discussing what about the program could be improved:

> I think it shouldn't be about a person or one person joining this society to make a change…Cause united we all stand, when we are united you can do something bigger, bigger than we do. But when they leave you to go struggle in making some impacts, you make that small impact you can. People in groups they do bigger stuff.[142]

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[140] Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 1; male, countryside. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[141] Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 6; female, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[142] Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 5; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

Feelings of unity

Addressing unity amongst Rwandans has been the frontrunner for conflict transformation since the establishment of the National Unity and Reconciliation Committee in 1999. Showing feelings of unity are key elements in establishing a changed mindset from the past. Although there were not explicit questions about unity, many students referenced it during their interviews so it is worth mentioning.

Due to an absence of questions directed at determining unity the following excerpts came up naturally in the course of conversation. Serving as an example of the advantages and disadvantages of holding semi-structured interviews is that the conversation tends to be taken in different directions. Thus we are left with a somewhat unbalanced set of examples. References to unity were only made by PLP recipients.

One student who started a PLP club in their school asserted that this was one of their main principles in opening their club,

> you know when people are at school they come from different places, different homes, different backgrounds. So some people may think like the parents think, like we don't have to be united, those are our enemies, and then one kid can come at school with that mindset. So what's what we wanted to change.[143]

This same student reported that some of their colleagues had the "mindset of divisions" that they worked to change.

> We learned that we are all the same, we are all Rwandans. Where we have to focus is about the future we have to make, and about moral values I was talking about, we need each other. We all have to live in love, loving each other for the future of our country. All together we should completely erase what happened. So when you are in PLP you grow up thinking that way, it has been now eight years I'm in PLP, eight or nine. So I grew up having this mentality because what they use to teach.[144]

The continuous reassurance of unity by PLP has followed this student into their adult life. The social network that PLP has created allows for their members to grow from one another and be the builders of their futures. Their lessons could be more likely to stick since the lesson has been continuous over many years being reinforced by being around other individuals sharing the same ideals.

A student that had first felt guilty over what had happened said this about their engagement in PLP, "I got to know who I was and my common identity, we are all Rwandans, no more

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[143] Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 6; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[144] Phone Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 2; female, city. Uppsala, Sweden. February 2019.

divisions."[145] It is apparent by these answers that the students feel a sense of common identity, allowing them to feel more united in working towards reconciliation and peace.

In searching through answers given by Youth Champion recipients, I could not find many references to unity or divisions. One of the interviewees mentioned a project of "building a house for the genocide survivors"[146] and that "even people who have contribution to genocide"[147] had assisted in the project. The example given demonstrates the ability for the two sides to come together, however, the person telling it still references the division. As said by Karen Broneus in her dissertation, *Truth and reconciliation commission processes: learning from the Solomon Islands*, tensions are often held on tighter by those living in more rural areas, as this student came from. The lack of responses may also have been attributed to other biases or faults in the gathering process that have been laid out in the methodology and biases sections.

Key points

When it came to personality changes, PLP students experienced more, and more drastic changes compared to Youth Champion participants. General attitude changes and feelings of unity were dominated by the grassroots while both shared comparable results for empowerment and optimism. However, a discrepancy was still found with the use of the word 'responsibility' being repeatedly mentioned by Youth Champions. This could have been due to lack of better wording, given the language barrier, although the context and other answers lead me to believe it was a difference worth noting.

Behavior: Sociability and Leadership Roles

The final category I will address will identify behavior changes amongst the recipients. During these trainings youth are being made aware of the elements that foster and progress violence and the ways in which they can combat them. The personality section outlined what feelings and attitudes students experienced as result of their program, this section will look into whether or not those personality changes translated into their behavior. Transformative learning requires people to implement changes into their lives in reflection of their newfound perspective.

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[145] Phone Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 3; male, city. Uppsala, Sweden. February 2019.

[146] Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 7; male, countryside. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[147] Ibid.

The two categories of behavior that I have chosen to evaluate are sociability and leadership. I have chosen these because they can both be results of participation in peace education. Sociability implies that the recipients do not experience trouble interacting with their peers, including peers that may have come from differing ethnic groups. An essential aspect of peace education, particularly in the organizations represented in this study, are on teaching the youth to become active agents in peace and reconciliation initiatives. Therefore, an evaluation of whether students have taken what they have learned and implemented it into their lives is of high priority. Each organization sought to build the confidence of their recipients so they can take the skills they have learned to contribute to their communities.

Sociability

Key similarities in sociability are that both organizations pulled examples of students that felt free to speak to whomever they encountered, despite any differences in backgrounds. Considering not all students reported having difficulties in this area prior to their participation, this may not necessarily be attributed to the program. What differentiates PLP recipients from Youth Champions is that more students from PLP reported having a great impact on social skills, including but not limited to, their ability to speak in front of a crowd.

Sociability, including the ability to speak in front of others, is an indicator of confidence that can be a result of participation in peace education trainings. Seven out of eight PLP recipients reported improved sociability had resulted in their engagement, while the last one did not mention it. Three students referenced improvement speaking in front of others. The following examples are taken from students that explained how their participation in PLP has given them the confidence to speak in front of others and become more sociable.

The student who had reported having the mindset of division said they "used to be the person who cannot cooperate with people, I used to be alone at most."[148] Now this same student enthusiastically described the feeling they had while holding a speech for high school students, "The best feeling was talking to those young generation. It made me feel good, like I can do something so that I can develop the minds of this young generation."[149]

One of the students who created their own program details how this opportunity has improved their performance in school and how they work with others:

> The leadership roles has helped me in doing various things. For example, here at school I have been able to be more eloquent at presenting and defending class projects. At the level of interacting with

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[148] Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 1; female, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[149] Ibid.

people, it has built my team working spirit. I can be a model to others who are not involved in PLP so they can unify their forces and talents so they may come to a better outcome.[150]

Youth Champion responses to sociability were less unanimous. Three students said their sociability has improved after the program, three did not mention a change, and two said that it did not influence it. The students that did not mention a change provided different answers to the same question, potentially due to misunderstandings or that they did not associate sociability with the trainings received.

To demonstrate the students that experiences positive sociability I will take examples from the students that reported judging peers less in their interactions. One of the students from the countryside reported that the trainings "taught him to interact more without any judgement with the youth and other people."[151] The other student said that the trainings taught them to listen more to the opinions of their peers and base character assessments off that, rather than where that person came from.[152]

The final student with improved sociability is the student that had originally stated being cautious about who they surrounded themselves with, and did not want to be with "people that did the genocide." Now this student gratefully proclaimed that that is no longer the case, and they have been taught "how we can live with the other peacefully."[153]

One of the students who revealed that the training did not influence their social behavior explained it was due to them not being hindered in the first place,

> I don't think I had didn't talk to anyone saying this one is this or this one is this, I never did that it is not a thing with me or for our generation. It is not something you can notice, 'oh I can't talk to this person' because some of us we weren't even born. We go to school we talk to everyone, we go to work we talk to everyone.[154]

Because the student did not feel barriers in their sociability prior to the training, they do not acknowledge social skills as something they have taken from the program.

Again, we can see that the students that came from more rural parts of Rwanda tended to have more drastic changes or conflicting opinions during the program. More on this will be addressed in the analysis section.

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[150] Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 4; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[151] Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 1; male, countryside. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[152] Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 3; male, countryside. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[153] Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 7; male, countryside. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[154] Phone Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 8; female, city. Uppsala, Sweden. February 2019.

Leadership Roles

Recipients from both organizations reported high levels of empowerment, although that is not necessarily a direct translation on behavior. This subsection will provide examples of various leadership roles recipients have taken part in since participation in their designated program.

Similarly, recipients from both organizations explained that they were given the skills necessary to carry out projects of their own. Other similarities were that each organization had recipients going on to teach what they learned to others in the community. Key differences are that PLP recipients had continuous support in implementing their projects while some Youth Champions mentioned that was something they were lacking. In the end the data showed that more leadership roles were taken on by PLP recipients than by Youth Champions.

As one of the main characteristics of PLP is the creation and implementation of projects, all students interviewed were able to describe at least one leadership role they had played. Three said they were head of an organization team, two said they were mentors, and four created programs of their own under PLP.

One student felt empowered by the domino effect their initiatives had on impacting society,

So I have learned the more initiative we start, the more impact we make. That's from the experience I got from PLP. I chose to start my own initiative and inspire others to start their own initiative.[155]

Being a smaller organization, their ability to reach people is considered a barrier to success. Their social network appears so strong that each member has the confidence to recruit and continuously grow the boundaries and increase the number of students they can reach. An example in how contagious, and visible, PLP's behavior shifts have been, the student told me how it caught the attention of school officials:

It comes to the extent that administrators from dean of discipline called one of us from the community of PLP that said please help us to change that student, he or she is not behaving well so it is better if you can change them. Ask him or her to join PLP so they can change, or try to change him, start a relationship or friendship and try to bring them in.[156]

This same student added that, because of their leadership role in their school's club, "I was so committed, I was like a parent."[157] When a student feels so strongly connected that they feel the group to be family, it is clear that the association runs deep. This was not the only familial reference

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[155] Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 6; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[156] Ibid.

[157] Ibid.

when talking about PLP. Another student made the assertion that, "most people wouldn't call it an organization, because PLP is more of a family."[158]

A student who initially reported knowing next to nothing about the past and its ramifications went on to become a leader organizing empathy visits.

> And the impact, the change within myself, I started discovering it. I did not realize it at first, it was only as I was growing, maybe level 6, because I was now being one of the leaders for others. I was now organizing things like an empathy visit to visit these kind of people. That time because I was a leader I was now it was a reality, it was not like a joke training them.[159]

No matter their role in the organization, it appeared that each student had found a way to become a leader. Their social skills improved accordingly and many attribute their successes to the skills they had learned.

The Youth Champion recipients showed a fair amount of leadership, although did not quite reach the numbers that PLP did. Four created initiatives, four said that they began teaching what they learned to friends and/or family members. Four said that they wished they could receive further assistance or financial support in order to carry out projects.

One student that originally held the misconception that they had no role in building and maintaining peace said that the trainings have helped them in multiple ways. This student reports that the training has taught them to interact better with their peers without judgement and to become a leader,

> It taught him to integrate into the society and have a change because he was elected as being an example as a person and he has used the skills of trying to build peace between families that have had disputes in the village so it has been a huge experience for him having those trainings because he is now implementing them into his community.[160]

A few Youth Champions mentioned that they have taken their trainings and have been teaching family or community members to help them understand as one described, "I'm helping young people in Northern Province in this district. I have a student in the group is youth I am helping with school. We have a peace project, this is my contribution."[161]

This student felt empowered by learning their part in reconciliation and details how accepting this has altered their behavior:

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[158] Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 7; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[159] Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 6; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[160] Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 1; male, countryside. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[161] Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 7; male, countryside. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

So that was the change, when you learn that you are among the people that should impact. That you have to play a part in the reconciliation of the country. So when you learn that, you start acting differently towards other people. You try to be the best you can, I start working with other youth initiatives so that I can build a bigger change. I make a bigger impact, through all that I tried to interact good with people, learning from them, trying to help.[162]

Those Youth Champions that reported a behavior change have praised the program for teaching them those skills. Successful leadership skills by far dominated the behavior change seen, which is a direct reflection of the program objective. When asked how Aegis Trust could improve, one student explains that,

sometimes people go out there and they don't use anything they learned in the trainings. I think they should do more for a follow-up. What they should do is group them, so even that simple element that does not have the capacity to provide some change can come and learn from the group and make some change, at least participate.[163]

Lack of continuous support or follow up has been one of the critiques of international organizations, which may be hinted at in this example.

Key points

Improved sociability was seen higher in PLP recipients which could be accounted for by many different factors. PLP clubs are formed in schools, where club members have the probability of interacting with one another almost daily. The trainings held by Aegis Trust take place at the Kigali Genocide Memorial, meaning students from various backgrounds and areas will convene, meaning that participants may not socialize with one another much after completing their course. Additionally, due to structural differences of the two programs, PLP recipients are more likely to have increased sociability due to the longterm investment members have to the organization. Despite some Youth Champion students reporting social improvements, the fact that the question was left unanswered or disregarded means that sociability was not at the forefront of Aegis Trust teachings. Considering almost all PLP recipients reported improved social skills we can see that sociability may be a primary focus for the program. The Aegis Trust teaching is a two-day long intensive course where they have to be methodical about what they can realistically accomplish.

Prior to beginning my analysis, I had made a point to take what the students have told me at face value. As I did not have the opportunity to conduct multiple interviews over time, or see how students behaved on their own, I had to be careful with the conclusions I have drawn. Even so, I

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[162] Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 5; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[163] Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 5; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

find it important to note that despite some students' claim to be working in their communities, I was not sure I believed some of them. There were a handful of students that would volunteer information on projects they started, almost to an extent that they used the majority of their interview to promote what they were working on. The majority, however, could not or would not, provide details on projects they were involved in since completing their training. Compared to the number of students that felt empowered to create projects or work towards reconciliation, the resulting leadership roles is disappointing. When looking at the answers provided by PLP recipients, they are dominated by stories and antidotes of various projects and activities they couldn't help but share.

When it comes to behavior, PLP recipients reported more concrete examples of changes they have implemented in their lives. Just as personality and attitude change benefits from longterm support, a visible impact on one's behavior may require even more. In order to influence behavior, one must first experience a change or shift in attitude in order to make the effort to add something new to their routine. PLP has the advantage of being a springboard for initiatives, allowing student to obtain support for their projects, at the very least in the form of reassurance and manpower. Aegis Youth Champion trainings give students the skills necessary to create and implement projects, but without follow-up or support, some ideas will never get off the ground. Aegis has had successful cases of students taking what they learned and sharing with friends and family, and at the very least, it is still spreading the word of change. With successful work in empowering and encouraging their students, Aegis just falls short in supporting students to go that extra mile into implementing what they have learned.

Room for Improvement

The final questions asked were pertaining to how the program could be improved. At the end of each interview, students were given two questions: if they felt anything were missing, and what they thought could be improved.

PLP responses for improvement were largely focused on ways to better their publicity or expand their audience. Common topics brought up were: wanting to give more attention to PLP activities that are not only the Walk to Remember, to offer PLP in more high schools and universities, and to do more to engage elders.

As stated previously, Walk to Remember is their most famous event. It is where the majority of their funds are raised and the event regularly pulls in tens of thousands of participants. As this is their most publicized event, a lot of organizing and effort goes in to making sure it runs smoothly.

More than one student mentioned that the same excitement and work that goes in to Walk to Remember could be transferred into their other projects.

> I think for the youth in PLP they should focus on the other activities in PLP because they also help. Walk to Remember we walk, we remember, we commemorate; but we also need to look beyond that and think for the future and our healing or therapy. I think PLP should work on that one.[164]

PLP clubs currently only exist in high schools, and many will graduate and then find themselves unable to meet up with their former club members. Club meetings and activities remain open to their attendance, but they are more difficult to attend once moving on to the next phase in their lives. Students expressed interest in having the opportunity to open PLP clubs in universities to continue their activities. Other students were saddened by the thought that some high schools, particularly ones outside the city, were unable to experience being a part of PLP. One student explained that PLP has a large alumni group but that the trouble lies when people lose touch with their PLP family when they are older and more resourceful to enacting change.

PLP began as an initiative focused on the power of the youth, where young people can get together to learn the history and engage in activities to better the community. A few students referenced that, although PLP is great for students, they can do more to engage older generations. As one student puts it, "Generations are changing, so we shouldn't focus just on that specific generation, we should go beyond and make PLP more broad."[165]

Youth Champion responses were generally made up of people that wanted the program to last longer, and having more support opportunities once their trainings were over. In the behavior section, the want for continued support from Aegis was first introduced. Adding to this, some mentioned the value of having follow-ups. When asked how things could be improved one student reported that, "She thinks there should be a follow up, coming into their communities and following up with how they are implementing what they learned."[166]

Others expressed some disappointment in the length of the trainings, answers varying from extending it to three days to one week. According to one student, "We did it in two days. I think it is not enough time. Cause everything we learned was short because of the time. I think if they do it more than two days, maybe one week it could do more."[167] This same student hinted that they could have benefitted from having continued contact. After his first answer I asked if his questions were

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[164] Phone Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 2; female, city. Uppsala, Sweden. February 2019.

[165] Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 4; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[166] Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 4; female, countryside. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

[167] Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 2; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

answered or if there was anything missing content wise. He responded by saying that, "When we were there, the questions we had they answered it, but we get a new question and the training was over."[168]

When looking at the various comments for improvement taken from each group, the categories of fixes are different. PLP had more people wanting to improve by expanding their current services or putting more effort into work they already do. Although recipients from Aegis Trust thoroughly appreciated and valued the trainings, their comments for improvement were more structurally-based. In order to lengthen the trainings and provide follow-up or support, Aegis would need to spend more time and money on a single group instead of reaching the numbers they currently take in. This restructure would have to go through their donors and be given concrete reasons for this change. As far as I can see, there is not enough evidence of necessity for them to change their programs from how they are currently run. PLP is more representative of people taking control over their own healing, a method encouraged by the findings of Boyden and de Berry.

Analysis

This section will reflect how my findings can be explained with the theoretical framework chosen. Using local turn and learning transformation theories, I hypothesized that the grassroots organization would have a greater impact on their recipients than the glocal. Considering my primary focus was on establishing attitude transformation via peace education, Peace and Love Proclaimers had the advantage of being a longterm project in a more confined region. Aegis Trust, on the other hand, modeled their teachings on short-term intensive courses with the ability to reach a wider audience. This discrepancy can be argued as an unfair comparison, although I would argue that this is representative of the structural differences between grassroots and glocal organizations.

After reviewing my findings, it is evident that the grassroots has had a great impact on the community they serve. Based on this initial study, although they maintained similar impact on teaching the history, when it comes down to personality and behavioral changes, the grassroots outshined the glocal. What this shows is that a shift towards local actors in reconciliation is a viable option in the case for Rwanda. Following genocidal violence, a plan for reconciliation is necessary; yet each case is unique. What works in Rwanda may wield very different results somewhere else. Nevertheless, as scholars such as Roger Mac Ginty have mentioned, shifting towards a heavier

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[168] Ibid.

emphasis on local actors may be the future of peacekeeping.[169] Despite this, Mac Ginty is against romanticization of the local and outlines the dangers it could cause; just as they can be promotors of reconciliation, they can do the same for division. To understand where the line for international intervention crosses from helpful to hurtful, more research should be done on the necessity, the success, and the durability, of international peacebuilding and reconciliation programs. Additionally, further research should be done on the impact of grassroots organizations in carrying out their own programs in order to determine which cases are better left to local actors.

Transformative learning through peace education has shown to be an effective tool in producing attitude change in assisting reconciliation. As mentioned previously, peace education seeks to transform perspectives and attitudes by teaching the history of genocide while promoting unity, critical thinking, and positive peace. Coinciding with the definition of reconciliation, peace education programs should be regarded as an essential reconciliation tool for countries recovering from genocidal violence. As referenced by the work of Eleonora Emkic, and as confirmed by my own findings, local participation and ownership over the teachings are vital to maximize impact.[170] Civil societies in particular, can have their own social networks and legitimacy to gather support and achieve results. Purely local civil societies, or grassroots, however, are in a unique position to develop and maintain peace education programs suitable for their needs.

Alternative explanations for my findings must also be put into perspective. For one, half of the recipients from Aegis Trust came from outside the capital, while all recipients from Peace and Love Proclaimers were from the city. Students from the city may live with more diversity, where some students in the countryside may live in villages that are predominantly (former) Hutu or Tutsi. As discussed previously, informal interactions on a daily basis with members of conflicting groups can help to increase social cohesion and reduce tensions. Robert Putnam (1993; 2000)[171] Students from more rural areas may have different experiences in school and upbringing, or further out of reach from other unity and reconciliation projects.

Another explanation can be that when talking about oneself, we typically view ourselves in a positive light. According to a study by Kristen Renwick Monroe, it is the perception of one's self

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[169] Ginty, Roger Mac; Richmond, Oliver. "The Local Turn in Peace Building: a critical agenda for peace." Third World Quarterly. Routledge Publishing. June 2013.

[170] Emkic, Eleonora. 2018. *Reconciliation and Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina*. The Anthroposcene: Politik-Economics-Society-Science. Springer International Publishing.

[171] Belloni, Roberto. "Civil society in war-to-democracy transitions," in *From War to Democracy*. Cambridge University Press. 2008.

in relation to others that is crucial. People classified as bystanders of violence "see themselves as passive people, lacking in control and low in efficacy."[172] Bystanders, and even perpetrators, had the sense that they did what they had to do and there was no other way. Similarly, so did the rescuers. They held a strong sense of empathy; viewing the suffering of others as suffering themselves, hence their determination to help others even at the cost of their own lives. The value of human life was an integral aspect of the rescuer's worldview, a variable absent from bystander and perpetrator perspectives.[173] The students that showed a sense of ownership for personal, as well as communal, hardships are better suited for "rescuer mentality." It is extremely difficult in one step interviews without longterm observation to evaluate whether or not the students' worldview would classify them as bystanders or rescuers if it came down to it. Given that I had limited time and resources, I am forced to accept the answers the students provided. It is entirely possible that when asked, people portrayed the type of person they want to be, rather than an accurate depiction of who they are. In this scenario, or in the case that their change is superficial, it could mean that if put into a situation with pressures to do wrong, they could cave in.

Influenced by the work of Stanley Milgram, researchers such as Christoffer Browning and Albert Bandura have looked into what turns seemingly ordinary people into killers. Their studies show the degree in which situational pressures and even mild exposure to de-humanizing propaganda can have on one's ability to carry out atrocities.[174] Peace education, means to address this two-fold. First, they wish to diminish any feelings of de-humanization against the "other" that may still be present. Second, the teachings attempt to transform participants to where they can identify hate, and actively resist it. If students are instilled with the confidence to go against the norm, then they could have a stronger defense against attempts to incite violence. On the other hand, if their change is superficial rather than a thorough transformation, they may be swayed more easily. In pressured situations it is easier to become a bystander, or even perpetrator, than to be part of the resistance. As with other peace maintaining tactics, it is near impossible to test whether or not participants of peace education would resist societal pressure to act. The lack of violence is positive, but there is little validation that anything had been prevented.

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[172] Monroe, Kristen Renwick. *Cracking the Code of Genocide: The Moral Psychology of Rescuers, Bystanders, and Nazis during the Holocaust*. Political Psychology, vol. 29, No. 5. International Society of Political Psychology. 2008. P 700.

[173] Ibid.

[174] Valentino, Benjamin A. *Final Solutions: Mass Killing and Genocide in the 20th Century*. Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp 44-51.

Conclusion and next step

As previous research and my own analysis concur, it is apparent that there are certain aspects of reconciliation that are better served by local grassroots initiatives. Reconciliation can be divided into two parts: an understanding and acceptance of the past, and envisioning a common future. As demonstrated by conflict transformation theories, importance also lays in the ability to address the root causes of conflict to ensure sustainable peace for future generations. Attitude and behavioral change to reflect progress and peace have been seen as necessary attributions to these goals. In accomplishing an attitude and behavioral change, they are without a doubt addressing root causes of violence.

The glocal organization in this study was successful in aiding their students in the understanding and acceptance of the past in order to envision a common future and a better Rwanda. However, certain answers by participants have entertained the idea that they have been impacted less than the grassroots group. References to survivors and perpetrators, a lack of enthusiasm, and a strong feeling that I was being told what I wanted to hear, have all played a role in this. Even so, in my analysis I conclude that when it comes to teaching the history, the two organizations are comparable. As Aegis Trust employs only locals to teach the past, they have the local knowledge and customs in order to do so successfully. The differentiation was more apparent in personality and behavioral changes.

A common criticism for external organizations is their being task focused rather than relationship focused. As an example, one Aegis Trust employee referenced the "3% rule" as something that helped them validate the change they could make. The 3% rule states that if 3.5% of a population has these inherent values and would stand up against bad ideology or dictatorship then there would be sufficient resistance. This is a valid strategy, but puts more emphasis on the task of educating a quantity versus relationship development. In contrast, there were many references to PLP as "a family" rather than a program by their members.

Miraculously, Aegis Trust has been successful enough for the national curriculum for education to adopt aspects of peace education; thus allowing for country-wide exposure with minimal upkeep. The student trainings they conduct that have been the center of this study are more in-depth lessons with a focus on creating peacebuilding projects. These trainings typically last two days and they try to gather students from various parts of the country. The task of training as many students as possible at two-days at a time could account for the lack of a relationship maintained. The grassroots is run in the capital, Kigali, and is therefore restricted to those schools. As there were

no students from rural Rwanda interviewed from PLP, it is difficult to determine whether or not they would have had a more profound impact on a student with stronger, conflicting views. Nevertheless, PLP's repetitive efforts lead me to assume that their model would be more beneficial. PLP works with students on a regular basis for years and therefore has a much higher chance at forming relationships with the students.

Although no match for the grassroots, this particular glocal organization is doing no harm to the students of Rwanda. On the contrary, they have taken great strides in ensuring the education of the past in a multitude of ways. Their resources allow them to reach students where it is arguably more necessary. The two-day sessions have been great resources for students to learn the history and assist them in coming to terms with it. Attitude and behavioral changes are difficult to obtain in that short of time, but the trainings can provide a therapeutic aspect for those taking part.

As demonstrated by previous research and my own study, a turn towards the local is a viable alternative to the liberal peace model. Each case is different, and a completely lassie faire attitude for every post-conflict society may adhere to dangers of their own. Barriers for international organizations is the inability to see how their programs spark real initiatives. These projects will often dominate over grassroots and be heard louder, although not necessarily fixing deep rooted problems, as if the people themselves came up with it. Employees and recipients of these glocal organizations may also fear what could happen when the money stops coming. I propose that further research should be done in order to measure the impact of grassroots and glocal projects. Local forms of reconciliation and peacebuilding are a more sustainable alternative to liberal peace, and should be promoted as such. As demonstrated by the grassroots in this study, they are capable of doing great things. One of the students said it best, "We have strength, we can work. We are strong."[175]

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[175] Interview. Aegis Trust recipient 3; male, countryside. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

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 Phone Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 3; male, city. Uppsala, Sweden. February 2019.

Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 4; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 5; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 6; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 7; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

Interview. Peace and Love Proclaimers recipient 8; male, city. Kigali, Rwanda. December 2018.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Employee Interview Questions

	Question 1	Question 2	Question 3	Question 4	Question 5
Background	How long have you worked at this organization?	What made you decide to work in this field?			
Logistics	What do you believe are the limitations you face in doing your job?	How do you devise your policy? What factors influence your decisions?	How large is your team? How many of the staff members are local versus international?	Is funding for the organization raised mainly externally or domestically?	Is funding conditioned upon achieving a set of goals and reporting back to the donor?
Impact	What is your objective? What tools do you use to achieve this?	Why did you choose to use education/media policies to influence reconciliation?	What objective for engaging in this community is appropriate and realistic?		
Impact	Do you collect feedback? What do you do with your results?	Over the time you have worked here, what changes have you noticed in the community? In the field of reconciliation?	What kind of impact do you expect to see?	Is the risk of violence declining or increasing?	What is your long term goal in carrying out this project?

Appendix B: Recipient Interview Questions

	Question 1	Question 2	Question 3	Question 4	Question 5	Question 6
Background	How old are you?	How did you learn about this organization?	What is your level of education?	Male or female?	Rural or urban? City or countryside?	
General	How long have you been a benefactor of this organization?	What type of services did you receive?	What made you get involved in this program?			
Impact of reconciliation	Have your attitudes about the past changed after your participation?	Has participation in this program helped you come to terms with the past?	Have your attitudes towards others you interact with changed since your participation?	How do you feel about the work that is being done in your community?	Are you optimistic that you learned something and that this will be helpful to you in the future?	Does anything you have learned contradict any previously held beliefs? How did that make you feel?
Reflection	What do you think is the greatest takeaway you have from this experience?	How did you feel after your participation in this project/course?	Can something be added to this program/course? Do you feel that something is/was missing?	How could it be improved?		