
EVALUATION OF THE GACACA PROMOTIONAL CAMPAIGN IN RWANDA



REPORT OF MAIN FINDINGS

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS:

CSPRO	Census and Survey Processing
EAs	Enumeration Areas
IEC	Information, Education and Communication
JHU/CCP	Johns Hopkins University/ Center for Communication Programs
JHU/PCS	Johns Hopkins University/Population Communication Services
NURC	National Unity and Reconciliation Commission
ONAPO	Office National de la Population
RDHS	Rwanda Demographic and Health Survey
SNR	Service National de Recensement
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Context

The genocide that occurred in Rwanda in 1994 resulted in the death of hundreds of thousands of people, countless casualties and the widespread destruction of property. Thousands have been arrested and are awaiting or await trial on genocide-related charges. The classical judicial system has proved ineffective in resolving the problems associated with the genocide suspects and ensuring speedy trials. In an attempt to speed-up the trial of genocide suspects, ensure timely justice, promote reconciliation among the various groups in the country and foster a vibrant and peaceful post-genocide society, the government of Rwanda established the Gacaca judicial system. Gacaca is a communal judicial system that allows active participation of the community in the provision of evidence, trial and sentencing of genocide suspects. The gacaca jurisdictions have the mandate to try all cases that fall under categories 2 to 4 as defined by the Organic Law of 1996. Category 2 crimes include cases of those of perpetrators or accomplices of a homicide. Cases falling under category 3 are those that involve persons who committed crimes of aggravated assault without an intention to kill. Crimes covered under category 4 involve those relating to looting or destruction of property. Category 1 cases, those involving persons accused of organizing the genocide and those implicated in sexual crimes, will continue to be tried in the regular court system.

With funding from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Johns Hopkins University Population Communication Services (JHU/PCS) provided technical assistance to the Rwanda Ministry of Justice and Institutional Relations in the design and implementation of a communication intervention between 2000 and 2003. The overall goal of the intervention was to increase knowledge about Gacaca jurisdictions among Rwandans and to encourage active participation of community members in the process. As a preparatory step to designing project activities, JHU/PCS conducted population-based formative and baseline research activities in collaboration with the Center for Conflict Management of the National University of Rwanda to explore community perceptions about the Gacaca judicial system. Results from the studies that were conducted between June and October 2000 indicated that there

was minimal public awareness about Gacaca law¹. The follow-up survey described in this report further explored community perceptions about the Gacaca jurisdictions and assessed the levels of actual participation and participation intentions in the activities connected with the Gacaca jurisdictions. The purpose of the follow-up survey was to assess the effects of the communication campaign and to evaluate current community knowledge, attitudes and expectations of the Gacaca jurisdictions.

1.2 Project Interventions.

JHU/PCS started to implement Gacaca-related activities in Rwanda through a USAID-funded project in 2000. Qualitative formative research and a baseline survey were conducted to assess the knowledge, perceptions and expectations of Rwandans with regard to the Gacaca jurisdictions between June and October of 2000. It is important to note that the law establishing these jurisdictions was not in place until March of 2001. The accompanying law regarding a community work scheme in lieu of imprisonment (*Imirimo Nsiburagifungo*) came into effect towards the end of 2001.

Considering the evolving legislative environment and the implementation of the Gacaca laws and other national events, such as the grassroots elections of community leaders in the first half of 2001, JHU/PCS-Rwanda planned a phased campaign to include the following:

- A phase of informing Rwandans about Gacaca jurisdictions and encouraging them to participate actively.
- A phase of encouraging Rwandans to participate in the Gacaca elections.
- A phase to promote national reconciliation and social reintegration of both perpetrators and victims and to inform Rwandans about the community work scheme.

1.2.1 Purpose and Objectives of the Project

The purpose of this project, as expressed by USAID, was to assist the Ministry of Justice and Institutional Relations to educate Rwandans about the Gacaca jurisdictions and to encourage them to participate in the process so that justice could be rendered more effectively. The specific objectives of the project were as follows:

- To increase the level of knowledge of Rwandans in and out of prisons about the Gacaca jurisdictions.

¹ Gabisirege, S. and Babalola, S. Perceptions about the Gacaca Law in Rwanda: Evidence from a multi-method study. Johns Hopkins University Center for Communication Programs, Baltimore, MD. April 2001.

- To encourage the adult population to participate actively and positively in the elections of Gacaca judges.
- To inform prisoners of the advantages of confession and to encourage victims and witnesses to cooperate with the Gacaca jurisdictions.
- To foster the social reintegration of former prisoners and educate the adult population and prisoners about the community work scheme.

1.2.2 Implementation

To achieve these objectives, JHU/PCS implemented a phased communication campaign through the media and community channels to convey pertinent messages. Project activities included:

- Radio spots and talk shows.
- A publication entitled INKIKO GACACA and articles in regular news magazine/weeklies.
- Advocacy seminars and meetings.
- Social events to entertain and educate (theater, football and song competition).
- Billboards, posters and leaflets.
- Video film shows.
- Training for community opinion leaders and support for them to conduct group talks.
- Research on Gacaca related issues.

These communication efforts were implemented during the last 16 months of the project, and were intended to inform, motivate and encourage Rwandans to engage in positive participation in the Gacaca judicial system. As the project comes to the end, the time has come to assess the achievements and determine the extent to which project objectives have been attained.

1.3 Objectives and Organization of the Follow-up Survey

The goal of the follow-up survey was to assess the effects of the Gacaca promotional campaign on knowledge, attitudes and perceptions of Rwandans concerning the Gacaca jurisdictions and the process of reconciliation in the country. The specific objectives of the survey include the following:

- To assess knowledge and attitudes about the Gacaca jurisdictions, including different provisions of the Gacaca law, processes and the roles of the community in each stage.

- To understand the expectations and concerns of the population about Gacaca law.
- To document the sources of information and advice among the population.
- To determine the level of public exposure to project activities.
- To determine the level of retention of the project's messages.
- To determine attitudes and knowledge of Gacaca laws concerning confessions and guilty pleas.
- To document public participation in the Gacaca process.
- To formulate concrete and relevant suggestions for future interventions with similar objectives as the Gacaca promotional campaign.

The National Population Office (ONAPO) conducted the present survey on Gacaca jurisdictions in February 2003 as a contractor to JHU/PCS. This project was funded from support under Cooperative Agreement No. CCP-00-96-90001 from USAID.

1.3.1 Sample Design

The follow-up survey took place in six provinces of Rwanda: Kigali City, Kibungo, Byumba, Ruhengeri, Butare and Cyangugu. In preparation for the 2002 Rwanda Population and Housing Census, the government of Rwanda divided the country into Enumeration Areas (EAs) of roughly equal population size. Using this sampling frame of EAs, survey organizers selected the sample in two stages.

In the first stage, 76 enumeration areas (EAs) were selected with probability proportional to population size. Field workers then listed all the households in the selected EAs. In the second stage, a systematic sample of households was selected from each EA, with a sampling interval that is proportional to its size based on the results of the household listing operation.

In the selected households, all women and men aged 18 years and older were eligible to be interviewed. Thus, the Gacaca survey sample is self-weighting for the six provinces as a whole, but it is also self-weighting with each of the strata (province, urban/rural).

Some differences in the design of the baseline survey and that of the follow-up survey deserve mention. The baseline study covered the entire country (all provinces) whereas the follow-up survey focused on only six provinces. Also in the first (baseline) survey, eligible persons were aged 18-59, while the follow-up survey considered those

aged 18-96 as eligible respondents. Nonetheless, the techniques used for household selection are similar in the two surveys.

1.3.2 Questionnaires

Two types of questionnaires were used to collect the required data:

- **Household Questionnaire:** The household questionnaire served to identify the household and to collect basic information on characteristics of household members. It also helped to identify the men and women that were eligible for the individual interview.
- **The Individual Questionnaire:** this questionnaire was carefully designed to elicit information concerning:
 - a) Socio-demographic characteristics: The questions in this section helped to ascertain the sex, age, marital status, education, languages spoken and read, occupation and religion.
 - b) Knowledge and attitudes about Gacaca jurisdictions: The importance of this section was to reveal the level about knowledge and relevant attitudes of Rwandans regarding the Gacaca law. Questions related to knowledge about the provisions of the Gacaca law, including the role of the community, ethical standards and responsibilities of Gacaca judges, and advantages for the accused of confessing and entering a guilty plea. Questions also aim to elicit community concerns about the Gacaca judicial process. Other questions relate to knowledge and attitudes regarding public interest work in lieu of imprisonment.
 - c) Participation in the Gacaca process: The purpose of these questions is to evaluate participation within Gacaca jurisdictions relating to elections, external (local authorities & private sector) interference in elections, and intention to confess or to encourage someone to confess in Gacaca meetings.
 - d) Perceptions about compensation and reparation: These questions seek to determine Rwandan's perceptions regarding this provision of the organic law.
 - e) Social relations and exposure to the media: Questions in this section relate to sources of community information and respondents' advice on personal problems.
 - f) Exposure to the project activities: These questions seek to determine community exposure to project activities and messages, and determine actions taken subsequent to exposure.

- g) Perceptions about conflict: From this section, information was collected about community member perceptions regarding the causes of conflicts, concerns about the current situation in the country, perceptions about how to best solve existing conflicts, emotions related to the 1994 events, and personal experiences during the genocide.

1.3.3 Training of Fieldworkers

Training for the follow-up survey took place in January 2003. The training focused on general instructions for interviewing, field procedures, questionnaire review, and interviewing practices. The questionnaire pretest took place in three districts of the Kigali Ngali province: Shyorongi, Kabuga town and Nyamata. About ninety households were involved in the questionnaire pre-test. After the pretest, the questionnaire was further modified.

1.3.4 Data Collection And Processing

Data collection took place from February 9 to 27, 2003. The field-workers were divided into three teams and each team had charge of two provinces. Each team consisted of six interviewers, a team leader and a supervisor.

Completed questionnaires were returned to ONAPO for data processing. The processing operation consisted of office editing, data entry and editing of errors found by use of computer programs. Data entry, editing, and analysis were accomplished using CSPRO 10&11 and SPSS. Data processing started on 18th February and was completed on 3rd March 2003, while data analysis and report writing were conducted in March 2003.

A total of 1,140 households were selected to participate in the survey, of which 1,111 were effectively interviewed, yielding a household response rate of 97%. Rural and urban response rates at the household level did not differ significantly. Response rates were better in some provinces as compared to others (Ruhengeri, 93%; Kigali city, 100%). Within the selected households, 1,964 persons were identified, of which 1,756 were interviewed, yielding an individual response rate of 89%. The principal reason for non-response among eligible persons was the failure to find them at home, and given budget constraints, repeated visits were not always possible.

CHAPTER 2 SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

An understanding of background characteristics of the household interviewed in the survey and of the individual respondents is essential to the interpretation of the data. Additionally, this understanding provides an indication of the representativeness of the survey sample. Information on sex, household characteristics, sources of information and advice on social issues, and individual characteristics was collected during the survey. This information is presented in three sections in this chapter: household socio-demographic characteristics; socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents; and sources of information and advice.

Table 1: Selected socio-demographic characteristics of survey respondents		
Characteristics	Number	Percent
<u>Gender</u>		
Male	763	43.5
Female	993	56.5
<u>Age group</u>		
< 25 years	339	19.3
25 – 34	513	29.2
35 – 44	400	22.7
45 – 54	249	14.1
55 +	259	14.7
<u>Province</u>		
Butare	334	19.0
Byumba	254	14.4
Cyangugu	250	14.2
Kibungo	304	17.3
Kigali Ville	295	16.8
Ruhengeri	323	18.3
<u>Religion</u>		
Catholic	991	56.7
Other Christians	638	36.6
Moslem	32	1.8
No religion	32	1.8
Others	54	3.1
<u>Marital status</u>		
Single	291	16.7
Married	1144	65.6
Div./Sep./Wid.	309	17.7
<u>Place of residence</u>		
Urban	517	29.4
Rural	1243	70.6
<u>Level of education</u>		
None	614	35.7
Primary	881	51.2
Secondary	192	11.2
Post-secondary	32	1.9
Source: JHU/PCS Gacaca Follow-up Survey, Feb. 2003		

2.1 Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Households

The data show that while there are more females (53.1%) than males in the household population, there are more males than females among the population aged less than 15 years. The larger proportion of females in the household population is in harmony with what the results of the 2002 census demonstrate. The survey data further indicate that the Rwanda population is extremely young with about two-thirds of household members aged less than 25 years.

On average, the surveyed households contained 4.6 persons. Urban households (4.9 persons) were larger than their rural counterparts (4.5 persons).

2.2 Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Survey Respondents

This section describes the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents. The variables discussed include: sex, age, marital status, education, languages spoken, religion, occupation, residence and provinces. The data are presented in Table 1.

More than half of the respondents were women nearly two thirds were married. The results of the survey also reveal that while almost half of the respondents have primary educational, relatively few have post-primary education.

The respondents are predominantly Christians and more than half reported Catholic religious affiliation. Almost three-quarters of the respondents live in a rural area and the majority (more than 80%) have ever been married. Concerning the oral linguistic skills (data not shown), Kinyarwanda is the most commonly mentioned spoken language. Nearly all respondents (97%) speak Kinyarwanda while relatively few speak French or Swahili.

2.3 Media Habits

As seen in Table 2, more than one-third of the male respondents and nearly three-fifths of the female respondents do not have access to any of the three mass media channels investigated: radio, television and newspapers/magazine. Men appear to have better access to the media than women.

Table 2: Media Habits by Gender

Gender	No media	Listen to the radio at least once a week	Watch television at least once a week	Read a newspaper/magazine at least once a week
Male	36.4	62.8	11.4	4.2
Female	57.8	42.0	7.3	2.2

Source: JHU/PCS Gacaca Follow-up Survey, Feb. 2003

The data further show that media access varies by other socio-demographic characteristics in addition to gender. For example, 67% of the older respondents (aged 55 years or more) have no media access compared to only 42% of their younger counterparts (aged less than 35 years). Similarly, rural residents (55% with no access) have poorer media exposure than urban residents (31%). Media access is also a function of education and province of education. The proportion with no media access decreases monotonically with education (from 70% among those with no formal education to 6% among those with post-secondary education).

There are also significant regional variations in media access. Media access is very low in Byumba and Ruhengeri (more than 60% have no media access), moderate in

Butare, Cyangugu and Kibungo (about half reported no media access), and high in Kigali Ville (less than one-fifth reported no media access).

CHAPTER 3 EXPOSURE TO ACTIVITIES OF THE PROJECT

Starting from April 2000, JHU/PCS provided technical assistance to the Rwanda Ministry of Justice and Institutional Relations in the design and implementation of a Gacaca campaign. The campaign aimed to increase public awareness and understanding of the various facets and functioning of the Gacaca law, encourage widespread support of

Table 3: Percent that have seen/heard specific campaign materials or participated in specific campaign activities, by gender			
<i>Campaign Material/Activity^a</i>	<i>Male n=767</i>	<i>Female n=993</i>	<i>z(or t)/pr</i>
1. Campaign logo	22.2	11.8	5.84 / 0.001
2. Campaign slogan	41.1	28.5	5.52 / 0.001
3. Jingle on the qualities of Gacaca judges	21.9	14.8	3.85 / 0.001
4. Jingle on preparation for Gacaca Jurisdictions	42.0	29.7	5.35 / 0.001
5. Jingle encouraging the population to vote during judges' elections	60.1	42.3	7.41 / 0.001
6. Jingle encouraging women to vote during judges' elections	46.4	36.6	4.13 / 0.001
7. Jingle encouraging community participation in Gacaca jurisdictions	59.4	42.9	6.88 / 0.001
8. Jingle encouraging community participation in the installation of Gacaca jurisdictions	43.7	26.4	7.60 / 0.001
9. Jingle encouraging the population to testify before Gacaca jurisdictions	50.1	35.7	6.03 0.001
10. Jingle encouraging the population to tell the truth before Gacaca jurisdictions	53.5	38.3	6.41 / 0.001
11. Radio documentary on the confession and guilty plea process	21.1	11.6	5.45 / 0.001
12. Radio documentary on communal work scheme	17.8	10.9	4.20 / 0.001
13. Radio documentary on the law concerning Gacaca elections	13.6	7.1	4.53 / 0.001
14. Radio documentary on Gacaca jurisdictions	29.2	15.1	7.17 / 0.001
15. Town hall meeting on Gacaca	32.2	20.9	5.35 / 0.001
16. Billboard encouraging the population to testify before Gacaca jurisdictions	23.3	15.6	4.10 / 0.001
17. Poster encouraging the population to testify before Gacaca jurisdictions	15.9	9.3	4.23 / 0.001
18. Film encouraging the population to testify before Gacaca jurisdictions	3.1	1.9	1.64 / 0.101
19. INKIKO GACACA Magazine	4.2	1.2	3.95 / 0.001
20. Community meeting where genocide prisoners are presented to the community	8.6	4.2	3.79 / 0.001
<i>Any campaign material/activity</i>	<i>79.9</i>	<i>64.6</i>	<i>7.02 / 0.001</i>
Mean number of materials/activities exposed	6.1	4.0	9.19 / 0.001
^a Exposure defined as awareness about material (participation in activities) <u>and</u> recall of key messages			

Gacaca Jurisdictions, and mobilize individuals and groups to participate in the Gacaca Jurisdictions. Specifically, the project sought to sensitize the population about the election of Gacaca judges, setting-up of the tribunal, the advantages of the tribunals and testifying before the tribunal to facilitate the prosecution of certain categories of crimes related to the genocide.

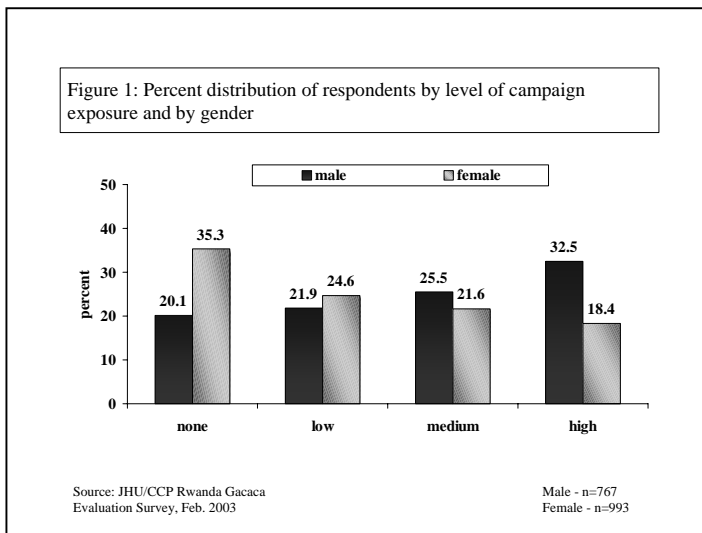
Campaign activities and materials were varied and included a campaign slogan, logo, radio spots, radio talk shows, radio documentary, community meetings, billboards, posters, video film and a publication entitled INKIKO GACACA

This chapter assesses exposure to the various campaign messages and activities, and identifies the socio-demographic factors that are associated with differences in campaign exposure.

3.1 Exposure to Various Campaign Messages and Activities

Four-fifths of the respondents reported that they heard or saw a piece of information about Gacaca jurisdictions during the last twelve months. Men (84.8%) were considerably more likely than women (76.3%) to report having seen or heard any information about Gacaca jurisdictions. The radio and community meetings were the main sources of information about the jurisdictions.

Concerning specific campaign activities and messages, the data are presented on Table 3. There were at least twenty different campaign materials and activities. To



ascertain exposure to each one, we asked two sets of questions. One question asked if the respondent had seen the specific material or participated in the specific activity while the other requested the respondents to recall the key messages. While this stringent definition may understate exposure, it helps to minimize the risk of overstating the impact of the campaign by

including in the exposed category those who are only aware of the campaign but have no knowledge of the messages.

The most popular campaign materials were the radio jingles, which were recalled by between 21% and 60% of the men, and between 15% and 43% of the women. Moderately high proportions of the respondents were exposed to the various radio documentaries. In contrast, very few demonstrated exposure to the documentary film, the *Inkiko Gacaca* magazine, the poster encouraging the population to testify before Gacaca jurisdictions, and community meetings where prisoners were presented to the population. By and large, exposure to the campaign is relatively high. The data show that four-fifths of men and almost two-thirds of women demonstrated exposure to at least one campaign material or activity.

We computed a variable that denoted the level of campaign exposure, based on the recall of the various campaign messages. The variable is divided into four categories denoting zero exposure, low exposure, medium exposure and high exposure. Figure 1 shows that most (58%) of the men have medium to high exposure whereas the majority of the women (60%) fall in the zero or low exposure categories.

3.2 Factors affecting exposure

Exposure to the campaign varies significantly by socio-demographic characteristics. Results of a logistic regression of campaign exposure on a set of socio-demographic variables (data not shown) reveal that the most significant socio-demographic predictors of campaign exposure are gender, urban residence, education, radio listening habits and province of residence. Specifically, the groups that were least likely to have been exposed to the campaign were women, rural residents, illiterates, people who do not listen to the radio regularly, and the residents of Ruhengeri and Cyangugu.

CHAPTER 4 GENOCIDE EXPERIENCE AND ATTITUDES.

4.1 Personal Genocide Related Experience

The variables related to personal genocide experience considered in this study include: presence in Rwanda during the genocide, loss of family members, having family members in prison for genocide related reasons; having experienced physical harm as a result of genocide; and loss of property (Table 3).

Indicator	Percent Reporting	
	Male	Female
Present in Rwanda during genocide	89.5	90.1
Lost a family member as a result genocide	45.3	49.9
Have a family member in prison for genocide-related causes	25.2	30.5
Experience physical injury during genocide	8.7	7.7
Lost material possessions during genocide	41.9	41.7

Source: JHU/PCS Gacaca Follow-up Survey, Feb. 2003

Like the baseline survey, the results of the follow-up survey show that the majority of the respondents were present in the country during the period of the genocide, and this

does not significantly vary according to sex, age or school attendance. Presence in the country during genocide does differ somewhat according to urban (83%) or rural residence (93%). The phenomenon of migration, which followed the genocide, could explain this difference. Nearly half of the respondents claimed to have lost a family member during the genocide. Probably due to recent migratory patterns, urban residents (61%) are more likely than rural residents (42%) to report loss of family members during genocide.

Similar to what the baseline survey revealed, 8% of the follow-up respondents reported that they received physical injuries during the period. The highest proportion of those who received injuries resided in urban areas (11%), whereas the lowest proportion of injuries (6%) were incurred by those with no education.

Twenty-eight percent of the respondents reported that they have close relatives (defined as husband, wife, father, mother, brother, sister or child) who are in prison for reasons connected with the genocide (this is nearly the same as the baseline report of 29%).

Finally, quite a substantial proportion (more than 40%) of the respondents reported loss of property during the genocide.

4.2 Perceived improvement in social relations

The survey data suggest that despite the suffering and disintegration of social cohesion that resulted from the genocide, Rwandans are gradually moving beyond the horrible genocide experience and rebuilding social capital. For example, the majority of the respondents (91%) believed that gestures indicating community solidarity, participation in communal events and activities, providing assistance to the sick, and joint resolution community problems were more common than a few years ago. Seventy-four percent of respondents perceived that there has been a reduction in feelings of insecurity among Rwandans, 72% perceived a reduction in the mistrust between ethnical groups, and 59% believed that psychosocial problems were less prevalent than before. Additionally, about two-thirds of the respondents perceived that interethnic marriages are now more common. The overwhelming majority (91%) of the respondents agrees that Rwanda is on the way to building a country where different ethnic groups will be able to live together in peace. Furthermore, a large proportion of respondents (89%) believe that Rwanda should continue to do more to prevent a reoccurrence of genocide.

There appears to be a positive link between campaign exposure and optimism about the future of the Rwandan society. For example, 96% of the respondents with high campaign exposure compared to 80% of those with no campaign exposure believed that Rwandans of various socio-cultural and ethnic origins would be able to live together in peace in future. Similarly, 98% of the respondents with high exposure compared to 81% of their counterparts with no exposure believe that Rwanda is on the way to building a sustainable peaceful society.

4.3 Emotions connected with the Genocide

Several years after the genocide took place, emotions related to the unfortunate events are still relatively strong. Overall, less than half of the respondents (45%) declared that they were not currently experiencing any specific emotions attributable to the genocide. Melancholy, cited by 23% of the respondents, tops the list of genocide-related emotions.

The data show that there is a definite change in the pattern of reported emotions compared to baseline. At baseline, fear of repeated occurrence of genocide was the most frequently reported emotional problem, reported by about two-fifths of the respondent. At follow-up, fear of repeated genocide occurrence was cited by only 8% of the respondents.

Moreover, very few (12%) of the baseline respondents reported that they had no genocide-related emotions.

As observed during the baseline, genocide-related emotions vary by genocide experience. Ironically, the respondents that were present in the country and therefore witnessed the genocide (46%) were more likely to report no specific emotions than their counterparts that were not in the country during the genocide (33%). In contrast, loss of a family member during the genocide is associated with increased chances of reporting current negative emotions: 35.4% of those who lost a family member compared to 52.8% of their counterparts that did not lose a family member reported that they currently experience no specific emotions. Understandably, melancholy is a particularly common emotion among those that lost a family member.

The data show an interesting relationship between campaign exposure and genocide-related emotions. Results of a logistic regression that controls for age, gender, urban residence, province of residence, education, religion and genocide experience, show that campaign exposure is associated with a 49% increase in the odds of reporting melancholy. While the reason for this relationship is not clear, it is possible that exposure led to increased knowledge about the genocide events and helped to bring back to the surface some painful memories.

CHAPTER 5 PERCEPTIONS ABOUT AND PARTICIPATION IN GACACA JURISDICTIONS

Introduction

The level of knowledge and perceptions of the population about the Gacaca jurisdictions are in most cases closely related to socio-demographic characteristics and genocide experience. The analysis presented in this chapter focuses on: knowledge among respondents about Gacaca jurisdictions; the perceptions of the population about Gacaca; the level of participation in the Gacaca process; perceptions about the community work scheme; and perceptions about restitution and compensation as reconciliatory tools.

5.1 Knowledge and Attitudes about Gacaca Jurisdictions

5.1.1 Knowledge about Gacaca Jurisdictions

Almost all the respondents (96%) have heard about Gacaca jurisdictions. This represents a significant increase from what it was at baseline (81%).

Slightly more than half (54%) of the follow-up respondents knew that the primary function of the Gacaca jurisdictions was to try crimes connected with the genocide. Men (59.5%) are more likely than women (50.9%) to know the primary function. The proportion that knew the primary function of Gacaca jurisdictions increased steadily with campaign exposure.

Table 5: Percent that demonstrate knowledge about the categories of genocide crimes that GJ will try – baseline and follow-up by level of campaign exposure

Campaign Exposure	Percent Reporting Knowledge		
	Male	Female	All
Baseline	75.9	61.1	68.0
Zero Exposure	75.9	70.1	71.0
Low Exposure	89.3	87.7	88.3
Medium Exposure	97.9	88.4	92.9
High Exposure	96.0	98.9	97.2

Source: JHU/PCS Gacaca Follow-up Survey, Feb. 2003

We explored knowledge about the categories of genocide crimes that Gacaca Jurisdictions are designed to try and the results are provided on Table 5. The data clearly show that this knowledge indicator has improved since baseline. Moreover, the follow-up data show a positive relationship between exposure and this knowledge item.

It is however pertinent to mention that the follow-up data show that misinformation about the jurisdictions is still widespread. For example, more than four-fifths of the respondents erroneously believe that the jurisdictions will try crimes of rape

during the genocide. Similarly, almost all the respondents (96.1%) do not know that the

Table 5: Score for knowledge about Gacaca jurisdictions by selected socio-demographic variables	
Characteristics	Knowledge Score
<u>Gender</u>	
Male	6.7
Female	5.9
<u>Province</u>	
Butare	7.0
Byumba	5.8
Cyangugu	6.4
Kibungo	6.5
Kigali Ville	6.6
Ruhengeri	5.3
<u>Marital status</u>	
Single	6.1
Ever Married	6.3
<u>Radio listening habit</u>	
Listen regularly	6.9
Does not listen regularly	5.6
<u>Level of education</u>	
None	5.6
Primary	6.6
Secondary	7.0
Post-secondary	6.9
<u>Level of campaign exposure</u>	
Zero	4.9
Low	6.3
Medium	6.8
High	7.4
Source: JHU/PCS Gacaca Follow-up Survey, Feb. 2003	

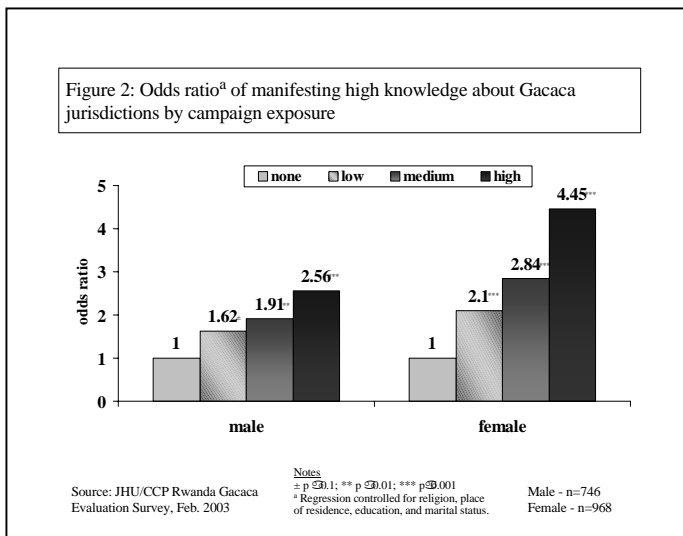
jurisdictions will not try those who masterminded the genocide while only half of the respondents understand that communal work scheme will be voluntary. Furthermore, slightly more than half of the respondents (53%) erroneously believe that only testimonies that inculcate will be accepted and almost the same percentage (51.5%) erroneously believe that only testimonies that exonerate will be allowed in Gacaca courts. Nonetheless, some aspects of the jurisdictions are well known. For example, the majority (93%) of the respondents know that failure to testify in Gacaca courts is a punishable offense; and an equal percentage know that those found guilty of false accusations will be punished.

Using the follow-up data, we computed a composite score for knowledge about Gacaca jurisdictions based on the twelve knowledge items, by attributing a score of 1 if a specific response is correct and 0 otherwise. The scores on the individual

knowledge items were then summed to obtain the composite score. Overall, the knowledge score ranges between 0 and 11 with an average of 6.3. The score indicates that men (6.7) are significantly more knowledgeable about Gacaca jurisdictions than women are. Other socio-demographic characteristics associated with high knowledge about the jurisdictions include post-primary education, regular radio listening habits, and residence in Butare, Kigali Ville or Kibungo provinces.

The data clearly illustrate a positive relationship between campaign exposure and knowledge about Gacaca jurisdictions. The score for knowledge increases monotonically with the level of campaign exposure and it was more than 50% higher among the respondents with high exposure compared to their counterparts with no exposure.

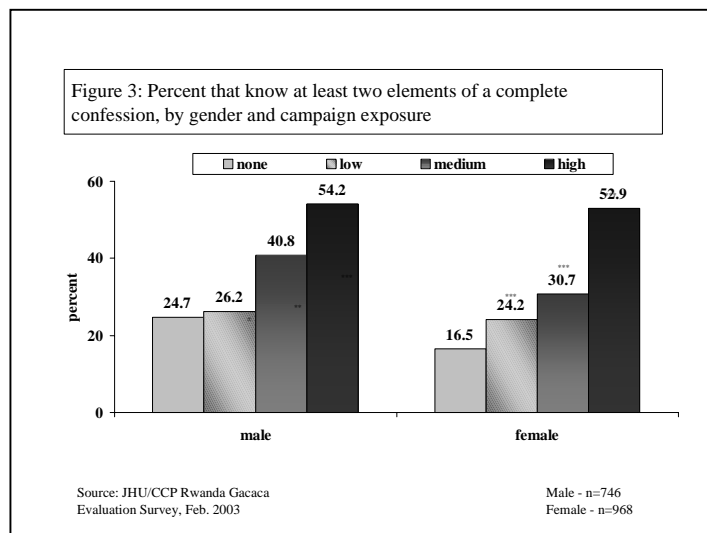
We estimated a logistic regression to assess the net relationship between knowledge and the campaign while controlling for the confounding influences of place of residence, radio listening habits, marital status, education and religion. The dependent variable in the estimated models was obtaining above median score for knowledge. Separate analyses were done for men and women. The results show that, for both men and women, campaign exposure is clearly associated with increased knowledge about Gacaca jurisdictions. Moreover, there appears to be a sort of dose-response relationship between campaign exposure and knowledge about Gacaca jurisdictions: the higher the



level of exposure, the higher the level of knowledge. Among men, the effects of exposure are hardly significant whereas medium or high exposure make a lot of difference (Figure 2). The men with high exposure are more than twice as likely as their peers with no exposure to manifest high (above median) knowledge. The campaign appears to have made

greater impact among women compared to men. Among women, even a low level of exposure makes significant difference in terms of knowledge. Compared with low exposure, high level of exposure is associated with more than a four-fold increase in the odds of exhibiting high knowledge about the jurisdictions.

The follow-up data show that knowledge about the four elements of a complete confession (when the crime was committed, against whom, where, and with whom) is still low but varies significantly by campaign exposure.



About one third of the respondents could mention any two of the elements while only 4% knew all the four. Men are significantly more

knowledgeable than women about what constitutes a complete confession: 38.7% of men compared with 29.1% of women knew at least two elements of a complete confession. Among both men and women, this knowledge indicator increases steadily with campaign exposure (Figure 3).

Less than two-thirds (62.9%) of the respondents know that the key advantage of confession and guilty plea is sentence reduction. This knowledge indicator varies by gender, and increases by education and level of campaign exposure. About 71% of men compared with only 56.8% of women demonstrated knowledge about the key advantage of confession and guilty plea. The proportion demonstrating this knowledge increases steadily from 39.2% among those with no campaign exposure to 74.7% among those with medium exposure and 83.1% among those with high campaign exposure.

5.1.2 Attitudes towards Gacaca Jurisdictions.

The survey tool explored perceived response-efficacy of the Gacaca jurisdictions and concerns about the jurisdictions. The data show that more than a third (35.5%) of the respondents expressed specific concerns about the Gacaca jurisdictions. This proportion represents a significant increase from baseline: 25%. Interestingly, expression of concerns about the jurisdictions increases with campaign exposure (Table 6). The positive relationship between campaign exposure and concerns about Gacaca jurisdictions is not surprising considering that the baseline data had shown a positive

Table 5: Percent that expressed specific concerns about Gacaca jurisdictions– baseline and follow-up by level of campaign exposure

Campaign Exposure	Percent Expressing Concerns		
	Male	Female	All
Baseline	30.1	20.6	25.0
Zero Exposure	20.8	20.8	20.8
Low Exposure	32.1	32.0	32.0
Medium Exposure	40.3	39.1	39.6
High Exposure	50.6	53.5	51.8

Source: JHU/PCS Gacaca Follow-up Survey, Feb. 2003

relationship between knowledge about the jurisdictions and the expression of concerns.

By and large, the concerns that the follow-up respondents expressed had to do with the possibility that some people might refuse to testify, false witnesses, corrupt judges,

lack of witnesses in some districts, and what might happen when culprits have their prison sentences reduced and are released. These were also the concerns that were most prevalent at baseline.

The perceived response-efficacy of the jurisdictions is quite high and appears to have increased since the baseline. For example, 72.3% of the respondents were very confident that the jurisdictions would succeed in resolving the problems connected with

Table 7: Percent that report high level of confidence in the efficacy of GJ under specific circumstances by expression of concerns – follow-up data

Response-efficacy of GJ for	Concern	
	Expressed	Not Expressed
Resolving the problems of genocide prisoners	65.2	76.2
Resolving the problems of genocide survivors	61.5	74.8
Leading to sustainable peace	69.2	77.4

Source: JHU/PCS Gacaca Follow-up Survey, Feb. 2003

genocide prisoners while 70.1% were very confident that it would help to resolve the problems connected with genocide survivors. Similarly, about three-quarters were very confident that the jurisdictions would lead to a lasting peace in Rwanda compared with 41% at

baseline.

As expected, concerns about the jurisdictions appear to dampen the perceived response-efficacy of the jurisdiction: the respondents with specific concerns about Gacaca are less likely to indicate confidence in its efficacy (Table 7). Nonetheless, it appears that the campaign has helped to attenuate the negative effects of concerns about Gacaca jurisdictions on the perceived response-efficacy of the jurisdictions. Actually, although campaign exposure is associated with increased likelihood of articulating concerns about the jurisdictions, the respondents that are exposed to the campaign are more likely to express confidence in the jurisdictions. For example, after adjusting for the confounding effects of age, religion, province of residence, education, marital status, gender and concerns about the jurisdictions, campaign exposure is associated with more than a two-fold increase in the odds of expressing confidence in the efficacy of Gacaca jurisdictions for sustainable peace.

5.1.3 Communal Work Scheme.

Less than half (48.3%) of the respondents have ever heard about the communal work scheme recommended by the Gacaca law. Males (57.9%), those with some education (69.6%), and those living in urban areas (56.6%) are the most likely to report awareness about the scheme. Another variable associated with differences in awareness about the scheme is personal genocide experience. For example, 54.1% of those who lost a family member to genocide compared with 42.8% of those who did not lose a family member demonstrated awareness about the scheme. Finally, exposure to the campaign

makes a lot of difference for awareness about the scheme: the proportion reporting awareness increases from 29.2% among the respondents with no campaign exposure 53.6% among those with medium exposure and an impressive 76.5% among those with high campaign exposure.

More than nine respondents out of ten (95.2%) of the respondents that are aware of the communal work scheme expressed support of the scheme.

5.2 Participation in the Gacaca process

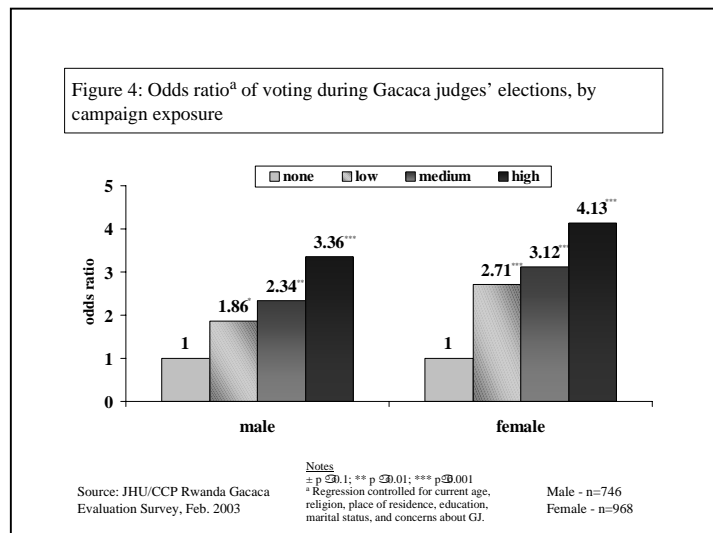
5.2.1 Participation in Gacaca elections

More than three out of four respondents (75.9%) participated in the selection of Gacaca judges. This proportion is rather on the low side considering that more than nine out of ten (94.7%) indicated the intention to vote in the baseline survey. Electoral participation varied by specific socio-demographic characteristics. For example, it was higher among men (77.9%) than women (74.3%) and in rural (78.6%) than in urban areas (69.4%). Similarly, the respondents with some education (77.6%) manifested higher electoral participation than their non-literate counterparts (65.6%). Participation was also higher in some provinces (Butare - 83.5% and Cyangugu - 83%,) than in others (Kigali city - 65% and Ruhengeri - 66%).

There are also significant variations of those present in the

country during the genocide. The respondents that were present in the country during the genocide and who probably witnessed the genocide first-hand (77.7%) were significantly more likely than others (59.9%) to have participated in the judges' selection.

The data clearly show that campaign exposure is associated with increased electoral participation. Among men, the proportion reporting electoral participation increased steadily from 63.0% among those with no campaign exposure to 84.3% among those with high exposure. A similar trend is observed among women. We estimated the independent relationship between campaign exposure and electoral participation through a logistic regression that controlled for the confounding effects of age, marital status,



place of residence, education and concerns about Gacaca jurisdictions. The results confirm that campaign exposure is associated with increased electoral participation and indicate a dose-response relationship between the campaign and electoral participation (Figure 4). For example, compared to no exposure, high campaign exposure is associated with more than a three-fold increase among men and more than a four-fold increase among women, in the odds of electoral participation.

5.2.2 Perceptions about the Election and the Elected Judges

In general, the respondents perceive the election as free and fair. Most of the respondents believe that the elections were free from the influence of the government (74.5%) or interest groups within the community (74.3%). Perceptions about the election vary by gender. For example, men (80.8%) are more likely than women (69.7%) to believe that the election was free of undue influence from the government. There are also noticeable variations by province of residence. The respondents from Kigali Ville and Ruhengeri are more likely than their counterparts from other provinces to perceive governmental and interest group influence in the election. The data also show that campaign exposure is associated with perceptions that the election has been free and fair. The proportion that believed that the election was not unduly influenced by the government increased steadily from 57.4% among the respondents with no campaign exposure to 86.6% among their counterparts with high exposure.

Concerning perceptions about the quality of the elected judges, the data show mixed results. Less than two-thirds (63.9%) of the respondents reported that all or most of the elected judges in their sector satisfied the required qualities. The perception that the elected judges meet required standards is a function of gender: men (68.1%) are more likely to hold such a perception than women (60.7%) are. Considerably fewer respondents in Kigali Ville (41.0%) believe that all or most elected judges meet the required standards. The data further show that the higher the level of campaign exposure, the more prevalent the perception that elected judges meet the required qualities: from 50.1% among the respondents with no campaign exposure to 69.1% among those with medium exposure and 73.1% among those with high exposure.

5.2.3 Participation in Gacaca meetings

At the time of the follow-up survey, Gacaca tribunals had already started operations in at least one sector of each district in the country. In the affected districts, the

Table 8: Percent that report participation in Gacaca jurisdictions' meetings by level of campaign exposure

Campaign Exposure	Percent Participating
Zero	46.3
Low	48.3
Medium	51.9
High	64.0
Number of Respondents	197

Source: JHU/PCS Gacaca Follow-up Survey, Feb. 2003

Gacaca jurisdictions have only held preliminary meetings, and activities only involved establishing the list of the residents in the community at the time of the genocide and compiling the list of the genocide victims. The survey tool included a few questions designed to explore community participation in the Gacaca tribunals.

Only about one-tenth (11.2%) of the

Table 9: Percent that report the intention to participate GJ's meetings, by level of campaign exposure and gender

Campaign Exposure	Percent Reporting		
	Male	Female	All
Zero	67.8	67.1	67.7
Low	87.8	87.2	87.4
Medium	89.7	91.2	90.5
High	95.6	93.3	94.7
Number of Respondents	893	670	1563

Source: JHU/PCS Gacaca Follow-up Survey, Feb. 2003

respondents reported that Gacaca jurisdictions had already started meeting in their sector. Among these, a little above half (54.8%) indicated that they had participated in the meetings. The data indicate that the campaign is associated with increased participation in the Gacaca meetings (Table 8).

The majority (83.9%) of the respondents that were yet to participate in a seating of Gacaca jurisdictions express the intention to do so in the future. Participation intention is somewhat lower in Kigali Ville (74.3%) and Ruhengeri (76.4%) than elsewhere (92% in Butare, for example). Men (86.7%) are more likely to express participation intention than women (81.8%) are. In addition, participation intention increases steadily with campaign exposure (Table 9). Nearly all the respondents with high campaign exposure intend to participate in the Gacaca jurisdictions meetings.

5.2.4 Testifying in Gacaca courts

More than three out of five respondents (61.6%) express the intention to testify before Gacaca jurisdictions. This is lower than what was observed during the baseline survey where more than eight out of ten of the respondents (86.4%) indicated willingness

to testify. One fifth of the follow-up respondents say that they do not have any testimony to provide while a little over one-tenth (12%) declare that they are not willing to testify.

The intention to testify before Gacaca jurisdictions varies significantly by key

Table 10: Selected ideational variables concerning testifying before Gacaca jurisdictions by level of campaign exposure

Campaign Exposure	Percent Reporting...		
	<i>Intention to participate</i>	<i>Discussion of testifying with others</i>	<i>Encouraging someone to testify</i>
Zero	47.3	4.7	3.9
Low	56.1	7.7	3.9
Medium	70.8	15.6	9.2
High	75.0	34.2	18.0
All Respondents	61.6	15.2	8.6

Source: JHU/PCS Gacaca Follow-up Survey, Feb. 2003

socio-demographic variables. It is significantly higher among men (66.4%) compared to women (57.9%). The indicator is also considerably lower among the respondents with post-primary education (50.0%) than among their primary-educated or illiterate counterparts (63.5%). Other socio-demographic variables

that are correlated with the intention to testify include rural residence and living in Butare or Cyangugu provinces. There is a clear positive relationship between campaign exposure and the intention to testify. After controlling for the confounding influences of the key socio-demographic variables in a logistic regression, compared with no exposure, medium exposure is associated with a three-fold increase in the odds of intention to testify, and high exposure with more than a four-fold increase.

A few respondents reported they had discussed about testifying in Gacaca courts with someone while less than one out of ten respondents (9%) of the respondents had encouraged someone to testify (Table 10).

The data further show that the respondents that were exposed to the campaign were more likely to have discussed the issue of testifying with other people and to have actually encouraged someone to go and testify before the jurisdictions (Table 10).

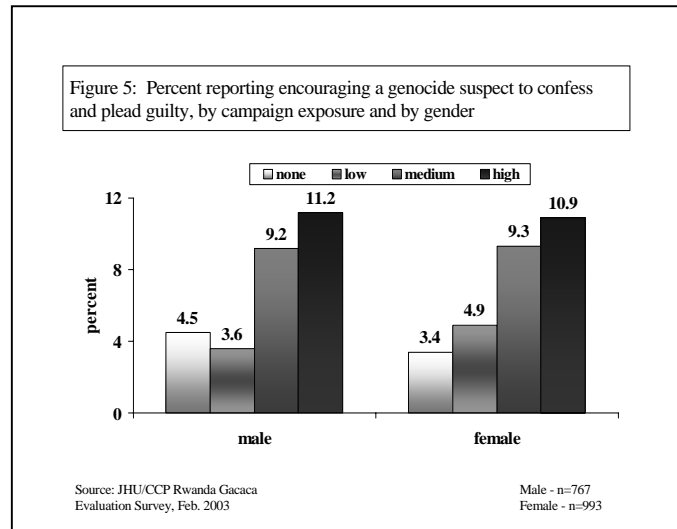
5.3 Encouraging genocide suspects to confess

Concerning encouraging those who participated in the genocide to plead guilty in Gacaca courts, only 7 percent of the respondents declared that they had done so. Again, campaign exposure is positively linked with this variable (Figure 5)

It is interesting to note that although few of the respondents had actually encouraged a suspect to confess, more than half (57%) of the respondents reported the perceived self-efficacy to do so. The campaign appears to have helped to strengthen the perceived self-efficacy to encourage suspects to confess. Actually, the proportion that had ever encouraged someone to confess increased monotonically from 33.7% among the respondents with no campaign exposure to 70.0% among those with medium exposure to 81.8% among those with high exposure.

5.4 Encouraging genocide survivors to testify

Slightly over one-tenth (11.6%) of the respondents reported that they had ever encouraged a genocide survivor to testify. While gender does not appear to make a difference for this variable education, urban residence and province of residence do. The proportion that have ever encouraged a genocide survivor to testify increased steadily from 5.5% among the respondents with no education to 25% among those with secondary education or more. Similarly, the indicator is considerably higher among urban residents (19.3%) compared to their rural counterparts (8.4%). Campaign exposure appears to be a strong determinant of this variable. After controlling for the confounding effects of age, province, urban residence, religion, marital status and education, compared to zero exposure, medium exposure is associated with a two-fold increase in the odds of reporting ever encouraging a genocide survivor to testify while high is associated with more than a three-fold increase.



CHAPTER 6 PERCEPTIONS ABOUT RESTITUTION AND COMPENSATION.

The Government of Rwanda has repeatedly indicated the intention to ensure that survivors of the genocide and families of victims receive appropriate compensation for their losses. During the survey, respondents were asked if they were of the opinion that the family members of a victim of genocide should benefit from restitution and compensation. Those who responded "yes " were then asked to indicate members of the family of the victim deserving to be given the restitution and compensation and mention the type of compensation that they should get.

The data revealed that a majority (84%) of respondents were in support of compensating the family of a genocide victim (Table 4.16). Favorable attitudes towards compensation vary by some socio-demographic characteristics. For instance, the indicator is higher among males (89.9% compared to 78.8% among females), those with some education (87%) but does not vary appreciably with the type of place of residence. Regarding personal genocide experiences, the respondents who lost family members (85.7%) are slightly more likely to be in favor of compensation than those who did not lose a family member (81.7%).

Regarding which relatives of the victims should receive the compensation, the majority of the respondents cited children (79.3%) and parents (61.2%). Slightly less than one half (47.8%) were of the opinion that the widow/widower should receive the compensation. One out five respondents (20%) mentioned brothers and 15% mentioned sisters as possible beneficiaries of the compensation.

Over one-half (52%), support direct monetary payment as the type of compensation that should be provided. Nearly one-fifth (19%) are of the view that the compensation should be both monetary and non-monetary.

It is interesting to note that a large proportion of the respondents (69.9%) agree that compensation to the family of a genocide victim is not enough to ensure harmony between genocide perpetrators and the families of genocide victims. Most (82%) of the respondents believe that the acceptance to pay compensation to genocide victims' families is an indication of the desire for reconciliation on the part of the perpetrators of genocide.

More than nine out of ten respondents (95.0%) agree that, to ensure long lasting peace, genocide perpetrators must ask for forgiveness from genocide victims' families. Almost the same percentage (94.3%) agrees that in order to have sustainable peace, genocide survivors must be prepared to forgive the perpetrators. If genocide perpetrators

show signs of repentance, then victims' families must forgive them and reconcile even if there is no compensation. This was the opinion of more than nine out of ten respondents (94%).

CHAPTER 7 SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

Wide campaign reach

The campaign had an impressive reach: four-fifths of the respondents reported exposure to at least one campaign material or activity and almost half were exposed to five or more different campaign materials or activities. The combined use of modern and traditional media and the wide variety of campaign materials and activities made it possible to reach the various socio-demographic groups that the campaign targeted.

Negative genocide-related emotions are still strong but there is perceptible light at the end of the tunnel.

The data show that the population painful emotions connected with the genocide are still noticeable, especially melancholy. However, perceptions are that Rwandans are gradually moving beyond the genocide experience and rebuilding the social capital that was compromised by the horrible events. The majority of respondents believed that gestures that indicate community solidarity are now more common in the Rwandan society.

Knowledge about Gacaca jurisdictions

Knowledge about Gacaca jurisdictions has increased since the baseline. The data clearly show that campaign exposure is associated with increased knowledge about the jurisdictions and the higher the level of exposure, the higher the level of Gacaca knowledge. It is however pertinent to mention that there is still a high level of misinformation about the jurisdictions. In addition, knowledge about some provisions of the Gacaca law like the communal work scheme and guilty plea provision is still low. More efforts are clearly needed to improve this situation.

Perceptions about Gacaca jurisdictions

Proportionally more people at the follow-up than at the baseline expressed specific concerns about Gacaca jurisdictions. The respondents who were exposed to the campaign were more likely to express concern about the jurisdictions. In spite of the concerns, the perceived response-efficacy of the Gacaca system is very high and has increased since the baseline. The majority of the respondents were very confident that Gacaca would help to solve problems of genocide suspects and survivors and at the same

time bring lasting peace in Rwanda. The positive relationship between campaign exposure and perceived response-efficacy of the Gacaca jurisdictions is very clear from the data.

Participation in Gacaca jurisdictions

In the communities where Gacaca jurisdictions have started their activities, the level of participation is relatively high. Among the respondents that are yet to participate in the activities of the jurisdictions, participation intentions are very high. On the other hand, the data show that people rarely talk to each other about participation in the Gacaca process or encourage others to testify or plead guilty despite the fact that many perceived self-efficacy to take such actions. The data indicate that the campaign has helped to foster participation in the Gacaca process and helped promote positive attitudes towards participation. There is a significant dose-response relationship between campaign exposure and such participation indicators as actual participation in the meetings of Gacaca jurisdictions, participation intentions and personal advocacy in favor of participation.

Compensation and restitution

Concerning the conditions for reconciliation between genocide perpetrators and genocide victims, it is clear from this survey that the majority of the respondents believe that perpetrators should ask for pardon while genocide victims families should be ready to forgive whether there is compensation or not.