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Reconciliation and peace-building in post-genocide societies:

A structured focused comparison in Rwanda and Cambodia



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Table of Contents

- Abstract..... 3**
 - Keywords 3**
 - Acknowledgement..... 3**
- Introduction 4**
- Previous studies..... 5**
 - Summary of Literature Review 10
 - Research Gap and Relevance..... 11**
 - Objective and research questions 12**
- Methodological Framework..... 13**
 - Limitations and Delimitations 14**
 - Ethical Consideration 15**
- Analytical framework..... 15**
 - Framing reconciliation 16**
 - Reconciliation as a dimension of Peace building 18**
 - A framework for reconciliation in peace building..... 20**
- Results from Case studies 21**
 - Cambodia..... 21**
 - Rwanda 30**
- Analysis 36**
 - Case of Cambodia 36
 - Case of Rwanda..... 39
 - Cambodia and Rwanda..... 41
- Conclusion 42**
- Bibliography 44**

Abstract

This study aims to explore the effectiveness of reconciliation in post-genocide peace building. Peace activists believe that reconciliation is necessary after a post-war conflict to ensure regeneration and lasting peace. Past research has shown that there are successful and failed cases when implementing reconciliation mechanism, however there is a lack of understanding why some models of reconciliation have succeeded, while others have failed, an aspect that is not fully explored. Therefore this study aims to explore how reconciliation is approached and implemented across different contexts, Rwanda and Cambodia, so as to understand why it brings success or failure in these contexts. The results are analyzed with the help of John Paul Lederach's four components for reconciliation, justice, truth, mercy and peace, and compared the generated results with the previous research. The main results show that reconciliation has failed in Cambodia and Rwanda. In accordance with John Paul Lederach's theory, there is a hindrance towards reconciliation in Cambodia because of lack of Justice and Truth as the main concepts and is identified as a structural dimension. In the case of Rwanda, there is a lack of Mercy and Truth and is identified as a relational dimension.

Keywords

Reconciliation, Cambodia, Rwanda, Sustainable reconciliation in divided societies.

Acknowledgement

I would like to show my gratitude to numerous individuals for helping me in my travel to bring this volume into reality. I would like to thank my supervisor Ezechiel Sentama, not only has he provided me with a lot of help in my journey but we also had some enjoyable talk about football and other aspects of life. I would like to thank my fellow students for all the support and fun we've had along the way and lastly this work has not only been dedicated for me but also for my family.

Introduction

Scholars and practitioners have for the last two decades been focusing on how societies and countries can come to terms after a long history of violence and war, where human rights have been violated and different kinds of oppression have taken place. Reconciliation has played an important role in different academic debates on democratization, conflict transformation and peace building (Fischer, 2011, p. 415). Violent conflicts affect communities and individuals and are often subjects to gross injustice and the destruction of livelihoods. These kinds of actions create mistrust and suspicion between individuals and communities and destroy the social factor that holds a community together. The recreation of trust is fundamental for sustainable development and for sustained peace. Bringing justice for the victims of conflict is a pre-condition for increased trust (Sida, 2018, p. 1).

The concept of reconciliation has also gained popularity as many practitioners and researchers agree that reconciliation is a necessary requirement for a long-lasting peace under the condition that a top-down political settlement has been reached. By initiating a bottom-up process, the focus is to resolve any unresolved issues of the conflict as to prevent future conflicts from reoccurring. In other terms it is to come to terms with the past, which the practitioners and researchers agree is a precondition for building peace and future relationship (Fischer, 2011, p. 406).

Peace activists believe that reconciliation is needed and is of most importance after a post-war to ensure regeneration. They view reconciliation as a necessary requirement for lasting peace. Most scholars and practitioners agree that reconciliation is a process rather than an end state or an outcome, which is aiming at building relationships between individuals, groups but also societies. The need for reconciliation is regarded as very high for those who especially were engaged in ethno political conflict, since these are marked by a loss of trust, having an intergenerational transmission of trauma and grievances. Reconciliation is regarded as being necessary to prevent the desire for revenge (Fischer, 2011, p. 415).

According to Yaacov Bar-Simon-Tov, reconciliation is the most important condition for shifting current peace towards stable peace. Furthermore, he believes that only reconciliation

has the ability to build mutual trust and provide mutual assurance so peace can be maintained. Achieving reconciliation is one of the hardest challenges as it asks for cognitive change, a change of beliefs, ideology and emotions on all levels such as the elites of the society but also the citizens. Reconciliation means normally that you are restoring friendship and harmony between two sides or more after a conflict resolution, but also transforming relations of hostility and resentment towards friendly and harmonious. It is important to note that while conflict resolution may terminate a conflict, it doesn't necessarily mean that it can stabilize or prevent future conflicts but on the other hand reconciliation gives you that option. Reconciliation is therefore very crucial as it can stabilize peace relations after a conflict and also maintain stable peace (Bar-Simon-Tov, 2004, p. 3-5).

The importance of reconciliation has never been as demanding as of today. Recovery and regeneration from post-war conflicts is needed for a long lasting peace but has reconciliation really been helpful? There have been numerous cases where it has worked but also failed due to the high difficulty of implementing such actions in reality. By addressing these issues we can identify the strengths and weaknesses of reconciliation as I've decided to solely focus only on reconciliation (in regards that there are other ways of peace building). These debates have been ongoing and have now reached a stalemate due to the difficulty of this issue. Through a desk review that focuses on past research which has been conducted in reconciliation this study aims to provide a structured comparison of the effectiveness of reconciliation in post-genocide peacebuilding.

Previous studies

Jelena Subotic carried out a study, which is called *Truth, justice and reconciliation on the ground: normative divergence in the Western Balkans*. In this study, Subotic signifies the importance of international normative interventions. By analyzing the process of diffusions and transitional justice norms she demonstrates they deal with past violence in the western Balkans. The author concludes that the transitional justice with the elements of pursuing the truth, justice and reconciliation has diverged deeply in the Western Balkans (Subotic, 2015, p. 361). They have been unable to be applied because transitional justice norms appealed

differently for the domestic groups. The author explains that the concept of truth, justice and reconciliation meant very differently to the victims, perpetrators and the state and thus they could never agree because for them it was incompatible and sometimes contradictory to what they really wished for (Subotic, 2015, p. 365-367). In Serbia the victims were unable to accept reparations for the crimes committed by the Serbian troops because according to the law, reparations should only be committed to the Serbian victims if the crimes was conducted by an "enemy force". The strong hatred between Serbians, Croatians, Kosovo and Albanians has made them unable to reach reconciliation because of too much political agendas being on the line where all parts are demanding justice. These justices meant very differently to each group and thus they never reach an agreement or an understanding (Subotic, 2015, p. 374).

Ari Kohen, Michael Zanchelli and Levi Drake also conducted a study about *Personal and Political Reconciliation in Post-Genocide Rwanda*. The study is focused on the prospects of achieving reconciliation, peace and justice in the aftermath of the post-genocide Rwanda in regards to abuses of human rights, but also restorative processes for achieving healing and reconciliation. The study shows that there is a problem in the process of the political reconciliation because of lack of honest public discussions regarding ethnicity in Rwanda. Both Tutsi and Hutus (ethnic groups in Rwanda) are in complete denial and argue that they are the victims of the genocide. This poses a challenge as the higher ups are having difficulties to take accountability and provide justice to the victims (Kohen & Zanchelli & Drake, 2011, p. 87-90). The implementation of Gacaca (community justice system) has been effective in strengthening and furthering the government's aim for regime consolidation. The use of Gacaca silenced the political opposition and with its continued focus on preventing future genocide and ethnic divisions, it has halted the oppressive tendencies towards the government. Reaching forgiveness and reconciliation among these ethnic groups remains to be unsolved. The restorative processes are being questioned as perpetrators are being publicly executed (without rigorously investigating) instead of doing a public apology and forgiveness (Kohen & Zanchelli & Drake, 2011, p. 91, 95-101).

Matthew Evans is another scholar whose study was on *A future without forgiveness: Beyond reconciliation in transitional justice*. Evans questions the promotion of reconciliation in transitional justice. He argues that while reconciliation is desirable, he has not found any

examples of it in reality that has worked fully. Evans explains that the promotion of reconciliation will be at the expense of a substantive societal change. By promoting reconciliation he argues that it will obscure injustice and promote acceptance of status quo. Evans believes that if the question ‘should reconciliation should be promoted’, the answer would be it depends and if it is ‘one should be against reconciliation’; the answer would be not necessarily (Ewans, 2017, p. 4-7). Evans explains and argues that reconciliation should not be prioritized before transitional justice because reconciliation can be defined in so many different ways and sometimes it would be contradictory. He demands that in order to apply reconciliation, one should have a clear context of what the reconciliation is about and defined very clearly. Without clarity on what reconciliation stands for, implementing it will only breed more conflict and address injustice. By focusing on transitional justice first, the likelihood of having reconciliation afterwards is a lot bigger and has a higher success rate than implementing reconciliation first (Ewans, 2017, p. 10-17).

Sari Kouvo and Dallas Mazoori also wrote about *Reconciliation, Justice and Mobilization of War Victims in Afghanistan*. The study is focused on the early stage of civil society mobilization for transitional justice and how they establish a network of war victims in Afghanistan. The focus is on the development of transitional justice coordination group and the activity of the victims. The studies show that the transitional justice in Afghanistan is very fragile due to how reintegration and reconciliation is being promoted. Members of the High Peace Council who are supposed to oversee the reintegration and reconciliation process are former commanders who have violated human rights (Kouvo and Mazoori, 2011, p. 493-497). Very little activity is being made between Taliban’s and Afghanistan government to disclose or promote open debate on what compromises both parts are willing to do which includes forgiveness and retribution. The victims in the war view themselves as a group who are not taken seriously or being listened to. They are willing to tell their stories and opinion on how reconciliation should be promoted about past crimes. War victims are the weakest group in the society due to mental suffering, trauma, economic difficulties and the loss of family relatives. The national victim’s conference notes that without being organized, no help will be available to them since the upper level of the Afganistan government is uninterested in transitional justice in the case for the war victims. (Kouvo and Mazoori, 2011, p. 500-502).

Mark McMillan and Sophie Rigney carried out a study about *Race, reconciliation and justice in Australia* where the state of Australia and other post-colonial countries has been performing harmful acts against its indigenous people. In short the Australians have denied acts of genocide against indigenous people since 1800th century until now (McMillan & Rigney, 2018, p. 5-10). The institutions of the state of Australian have created a narrative where they have denied every act of harm towards the indigenous people. The studies show that the term ‘‘race’’ is heavily impacted as the white Australians have control of the institutions are thus creating their own narrative which the truth is not included. They also drive their own reconciliation policies where they benefit more than the indigenous people and deny them understanding of what harm, healing and sovereignty means for them. This study shows that the Australian way of implementing transitional justice where reconciliation is implemented in the program has not worked as it is one-sided (in benefit for Australians) and thus requires a new framework (McMillan & Rigney, 2018, p. 10-14).

James L. Gibson also conducted a study about *the contributions of truth to Reconciliation*. The study is focused on how and why Truth and reconciliation commission (TRC) has been a success in its implementations in South Africa. This commission was lead by a person called Desmond Tutu and was also fully supported by Nelson Mandela. The conditions behind the success of South African truth and reconciliation process was explained to be ‘‘the truth led to reconciliation’’. By telling the truth, a lot of South Africans were able to rethink over the apartheid, they accepted the unfair treatment towards themselves and some even accepted some of the justification from the opposing side to be legitimate and therefore was justified (Gibson, 2006, p. 410-415). South Africa is by no means a fully reconciled society but it has left a strong impact where strong hatred for each other is gone and fighting’s over race dominance is over. The conditions that made reconciliation possible were as follows; truth & reconciliation process should not lose sight of the goal set for its transformation by means of providing justice to perpetrators. The legitimacy of truth and reconciliation agencies is crucial for influence and therefore should never be squandered. In regards to not providing amnesty for individuals breaking the human rights as there are other forms of justice, it is explained that it’s necessary to be mindful when providing justice for the citizens and to act accordingly. Lastly the importance of evaluation of the effectiveness of truth and reconciliation institutions and process has be undertaken. (Gibson, 2006, p. 421-425)

Yehudith Auerbach is another scholar whose study was about *Conflict resolution, forgiveness and reconciliation in material and identity conflicts*. This study is focused on whether conflict resolution and reconciliation are two different processes for peace building and if you need forgiveness. The author argues that conflict resolution and reconciliation are indeed two separate processes. The author further demonstrates that there are two different kinds of conflicts: a material conflict and an identity conflict. In these two conflicts there a conceptual framework has been put for handling forgiveness (Auerbach, 2005, p. 43-50). The arguments put forward are with identity conflict, there is a need for forgiveness and reconciliation in order to put an end to the conflict while material conflict was not provided fully with explanations on how to reach an end for conflict (seemingly as no material conflicts have ever ended well). The author brings up examples such as how Israeli- Germans were brought up as an identity conflict which never reached reconciliation via forgiveness (Second world war dilemma) while Israeli-Egyptian case was a form of material conflict which reached sub-optimal of conflict resolution, where both sides were eager for reconciliation without having the need to for asking forgiveness towards each other (Auerbach, 2005, p. 60-70).

Jacob Shamir and Khalil Shikaki wrote about *Determinants of reconciliation and compromise among Israelis and Palestinians*. A quantitative study was performed with the use of surveys in West bank, the gaza strip and East Jerusalem with both Israelis and Palestine's. The purpose of this study was to see the public opinion about the reconciliation process between Isrealis and Palestine's. The survey itself had questions about expectations of lasting peace and democracy, and attitudes towards reconciliation and political compromise. The results show that both parties feel that there is no need for further compromise regarding the conflict itself. Both parties agree that their respective delegations have already compromised more than enough (Shamir & Shikaki, 2002, p. 185-189). The survey also enlisted a couple of reconciliation scale through the use of existing literature to see prerequisites for successful reconciliation in a protracted conflict. The study shows that Palestinians support reconciliation steps where it promotes normalization and a chance in becoming economically independent. However the palestines were reluctant towards supporting for a political alliance. The Israelis support all kinds of reconciliation steps except for open borders (Shamir & Shikaki, 2002, p. 191-199).

Christopher J. Colvin conducted a study about *Civil Society and reconciliation in Southern Africa*. The study is about how several African countries have embraced democratic governance where reconciliation processes are included which deal with human rights abuses, deep ethnical, political, and racial abuses. This collaboration has come to be named The Southern African Reconciliation Project (SARP) in Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe. This project examines how reconciliation is understood in political and community context in these five countries (Colvin, 2007, p. 322-325). The purpose of the study is to show findings and debates from the project and what conclusion they came to. Their findings show that individuals or groups that work with reconciliation agree that it should be victim-centered and victim-friendly. The reconciliation program needs to take into account poverty, lack of education and ill-health. There is an also a proposal that reconciliation should be driven by victims of the war but this rarely happens. Another agreement that the project came to terms with is that reconciliation should integrate reparative and restorative measures in different domains in the form of legal, financial, material, medical, educational etc on individual, communal and national level. The project also states that a civil society should be able to criticize state programs if they are wrong as to increase reconciliation initiatives. A good partnership between civil society and the government is vital. Lastly that reconciliation needs to prioritize and show respect towards women and children and also the local culture that each society has (Colvin, 2007, p. 330-335).

All these studies are relevant but all, like other similar ones, lacked a comparative perspective as to why some processes or approaches succeed or fail than others.

Summary of Literature Review

Literature Review shows that there is a diverse explanation in what reconciliation means for the people. *Ari Kohen*, *Michael Zanchelli* and *Levi Drake* discusses that implementation of certain transitional justice has worked (in the case of Rwanda) for strengthening and consolidation of the government while reconciliation has been less successful. Gibson has shown there is successful reconciliation in South Africa but are unable to identify for sure 100 percent certainty why it has worked. Activists are skeptical towards implementation of reconciliation as a process due to it bringing more harm than good. A clear definition is needed when explaining what reconciliation is for and under what context should it be used. Lack of commitment and injustice in the higher ups in most cases is a problem when dealing with the concept of reconciliation as shown in the case of Australia with its indigenous

people. What we can see in the literature review is that reconciliation demands commitment where especially higher-ups need to take more responsibility to make sure it's progressing as we've seen with *Yehudith Auerbach*, *Mark McMillan* and *Sophie Rigney Sari Kouvo* and *Dallas Mazoori's* studies where reconciliation has failed due to lack of commitment from the higher ups. Another thing that reconciliation takes priority on is that victims of wars demand justice on perpetrators before reconciliation can start as a process as shown with the studies of *Christopher J. Colwin* and *James L. Gibson*. Without justice for the common people, reconciliation process cannot progress.

This is why it is a research gap to fully understand the context of Reconciliation and how it can determine whether it brings success or failure in peace building through the use of comparative study, and this is what this study is aiming at addressing. By doing a desk study on how different scholars and reports talk about reconciliation processes in the selected countries it is possible to engage in an analysis of why some reconciliation succeed while others fail in post-violence peace building. This leads us in the clear discussion of the research gap and relevance of this study.

Research Gap and Relevance

As discussed above, the amount of research that has been made in reconciliation has ranged from discourse analysis, case studies, interviews, surveys and legal studies which have focused on a large-scale statistical analysis. The focus on these studies has been to show the mechanisms, implementation and compliance with international law and human rights. However there have been only a few studies (the studies performed by Matthew Evans and Sari & Dallas) regarding on examining on a micro-level engagement in reconciliation. Only a few authors (the studies of James L. Gibson and Yehudith Auerbach) have dealt with how different models of reconciliation influence the attitudes and behaviors of individuals. There is a lack of understanding why some models of reconciliation have succeeded or failed, an aspect that is not fully explored. The objective therefore is to explore how reconciliation is approached and implemented across different contexts, Rwanda and Cambodia, so as to understand why it brings success or failure in these contexts. Existing studies did not use a structured comparison of reconciliation processes regarding genocide post-conflict and that this is what this study will be focused on.

There is a tendency in construction of elitist and national peace agreements to fall short on the implementation of reconciliation in the local level. In addition, there is often confusion in which actors, stakeholder and institution are responsible in the implementation process of reconciliation (Peacebuildinginitiative, 2007). Achieving sustainable peace has always been a fundamental factor in peace and development studies and therefore it is of relevance to investigate the implementation of reconciliation. Reconciliation is a common part of peace building and is often debatable, therefore the studying of the phenomenon itself may bring the conditions of success or failure its relevance. Reconciliation is important as it is a fundamental initiative for eliminating mistrust and hatred while also hindering the recurrence of a conflict. Achieving peace and reaching a sustainable peace is the common objective for every individual.

It is believed that the results of this study will contribute to a better understanding of how reconciliation is carried out in post-conflict societies what the factors that explain its success or failure.

Objective and research questions

The aim of this study is to explore the effectiveness of reconciliation in post-genocide peace building. With the literature review we have seen in some cases they are successful and in some others they aren't. In order to understand the processes of success and failure we'll need to look at different country contexts. This study will investigate the implementation of reconciliation in Cambodia and Rwanda by using existing literature, articles and reports. The aim is to provide and contribute to a better and greater understanding of reconciliation regarding the advantage or disadvantage of it for the sake of peace building.

The research questions are:

- What tools for reconciliation mechanism have been adopted in Cambodia and Rwanda?

- What factors explain the success and/or failures of reconciliation mechanisms implemented in Cambodia and Rwanda?

Methodological Framework

In this thesis the chosen methodological framework is a qualitative desk study with an abductive reasoning. Abductive reasoning seeks to find the most effective and simplest explanation through a set of observations. It has the ability to give a rational explanation and that's why this study has chosen this approach as to give the best answers as possible in regard to the research questions. The focus has been on the existing literature and discuss (by means of a structured comparison) the effectiveness of reconciliation processes, whether they succeed or not and why. The reason we have chosen this kind of approach is with the intention of examining in several cases of reconciliation and thus a desk study is best suitable. Why qualitative research is considered over the use of quantitative in this case is because it is used in gaining an underlying understanding of reasons, opinions and motivations as it provides insights into a problem. Although both qualitative and quantitative have the ability to explore areas not yet thoroughly researched, this study seeks to understand the problem regarding success and failure of the reconciliation processes through the use of experiences of participants in the case studies and explore how meanings are formed and transformed. (Corbin & Strauss, 2015, p. 4-5).

With the use of existing literature, this study was carried out through a qualitative study with the use of structured focus comparison with the use of John Paul Lederach's Sustainable reconciliation in divided societies as the analytical framework. Bennet and George explain that the structured focused comparison integrates the advantages of qualitative methods (although quantitative can also be used but is less effective). The structured focused comparison is structured as follows; the researcher has to write general questions that reflect the research objective. They are then applied in each case study we decide to do research on. It is considered to be focused because it only deals with the aspects that your case demands examined. The author further explains that it is of importance not to get lost with interesting details and information and stick to the original plan/disposition. The reason why this method has been chosen is because it gives the advantage of conducting an investigation on several

cases of reconciliation at once. We shall be examining two different case studies of Cambodia and Rwanda (Drozdova and Gaubetz, 2009, p. 1-2).

This study chose to explore the cases of Cambodia and Rwanda to best understand how reconciliation approaches are used across different context after post-genocide conflict. The reason this study has chosen Cambodia and Rwanda is because both have gone through the same type of conflict and therefore is best suitable to explore reconciliation approaches under equal terms. By using structured focused comparison, it gives us the ability to have a focused investigation on reconciliation as we will be looking for factors that are behind the success or failure of these two implementations in Cambodia and Rwanda and thus can determine the effectiveness of the two. In this thesis, the collection of the information shall be on the existing literature, articles and reports about Cambodia and Rwanda. The information is variable from NGO's towards peer-reviewed authors but also governmental information. This will further show if there are any significant differences between these types of information and how legitimate it is.

Limitations and Delimitations

This study is limited to the cases of Cambodia and Rwanda. I had the opportunity to choose more countries or less and I am aware that there are other aspects that could contribute to whether there is peace building in a country. These cases were selected simply because their government used reconciliation to address the legacy of past genocide conflicts. While there are different kinds of conflicts, I've also decided to solely focus only on post-genocide cases so that I can do a proper analysis on the same type of conflict regarding reconciliation. While this thesis shall be focused on the case study of Cambodia and Rwanda, it is not considered to be representative enough for the entire world regarding reconciliation. Hopefully with the conduction of this thesis it can contribute to a better understanding of reconciliation so that certain conditions can be explained whether it brings success or not. With that said we hope it can bring peace building to a next level.

A limitation of this thesis is that a qualitative research in form of desk study can create findings that are valuable but could potentially be difficult to present due to secondary data not being presented that exactly meets the researcher's needs. Furthermore data rigidity is more difficult to assess and demonstrate because an individual perspective is the foundation

of the data gathering in qualitative rather than quantitative research which is more objectively presented. Since this was a desk study, the research was also limited to the available literature, articles and reports and thus could bring first hand source through fieldwork and the use of survey and/or interviewing. There is a possibility of facing a lack of data in accordance of the chosen topic due to the thesis being focused on secondary sources. According to *Alan Brymans Social Research Methods*, the critiques mention that the qualitative study is deemed to be too subjective and not objective as it is viewed through the eyes of the researcher. Furthermore it could lead to the thesis having a lack of transparency. (Bryman, 2016, p. 398-399)

Ethical Consideration

This thesis was conducted through the use of a desk study using secondary data. Though ethical issues often associated with carrying out field work studies involving meeting human participants are not the issue in this study, the research ensured to rely mainly on peer review reviewed documents in a way that does respected the integrity of the content. Furthermore since it is a structured focused comparison which will cross different cultures, there is a risk of potential misrepresentation of data due to the distance and insufficient local knowledge. We will take this ethical consideration as we perform this study (Novella, 2014, p. 7).

Analytical framework

The concept of reconciliation has been discussed about in this thesis. We have identified that the definition of reconciliation and the use of reconciliation has been diverse as it cannot be fully understood (as shown in the introduction and literature review). This is why it is of importance to have an analytical framework. By using a theory it will give the researcher the ability to explore and understand how reconciliation is taking place in given areas after post-genocide conflicts. The analytical framework that this study has chosen to explain whether there is success or failure in a reconciliation process is *John Paul Lederach's Sustainable reconciliation in divided societies (1998)*. The analytical framework shall focus on three broad headlines: *Framing reconciliation*, *Reconciliation as a dimension of Peace building* and *A framework for reconciliation in peace building*. All three are needed in order to be successful for peace building.

Framing reconciliation

Lederach starts with highlighting the difficulty of solving contemporary conflicts; they often involve politics, hatred, manipulation and violence. A lot of the time, it requires some traditional mechanisms that rely on diplomacy and it has not demonstrated a capacity strong enough to contain and solve these issues. This required innovation where it would go beyond the idea of negotiation which involves interest and issues. Lederach explains that the challenge posed by contemporary conflicts is the meeting point between realism and innovation in the idea of reconciliation. He explains in order to create a catalyst for reconciliation in divided societies you require three starting assumption points (Lederach, 1998, p. 24-26).

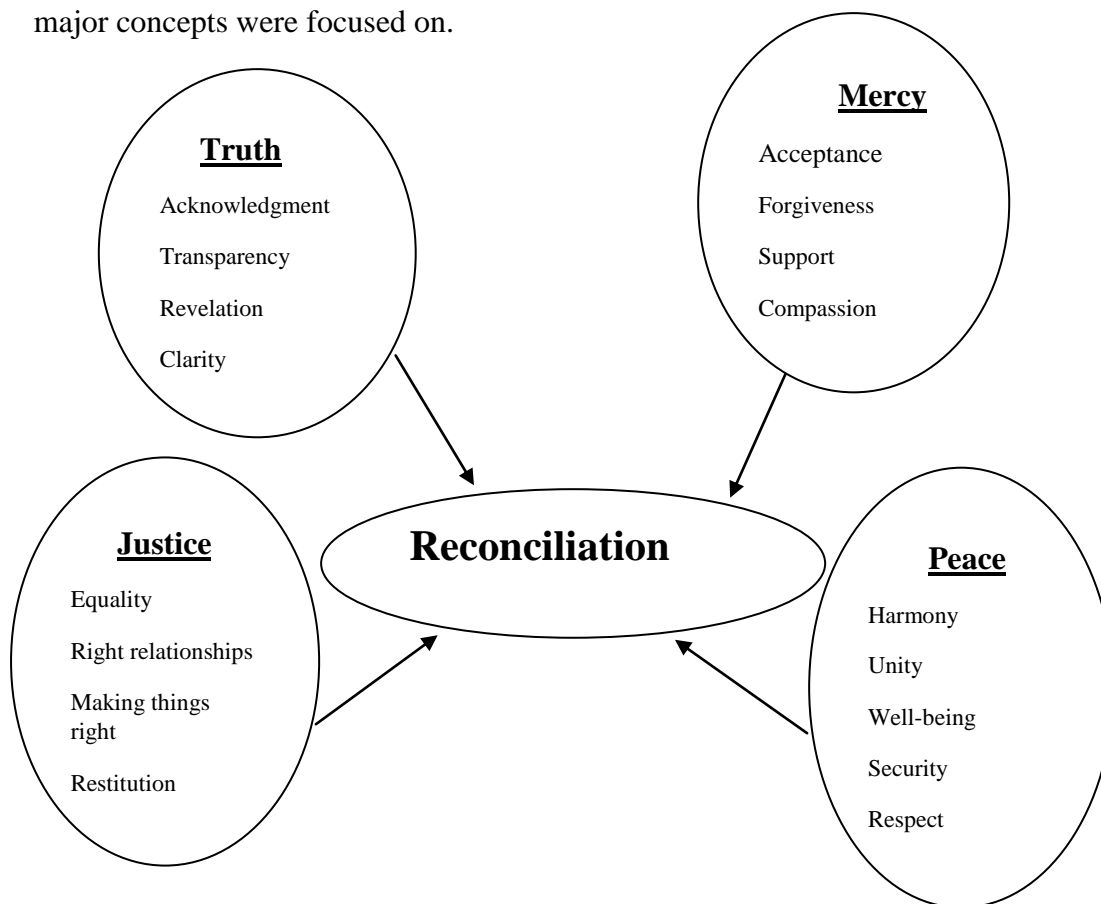
The first point that Lederach mentions is *relationship* since it is the basis of both conflict and the long-term solution. Reconciliation is not something you simply use just to disengage or minimize conflicting groups but instead is built on mechanism that seeks to engage the sides of a conflict with each other as humans-in-relationship. Furthermore Lederach argues that relationship is an essential contribution since it envisions protracted conflict as a system and focuses its attention on relationship within that system (Lederach, 1998, p. 26). The second point Lederach mentions is *encounter*. Encounter is needed since you need an engagement of the conflicting groups. Lederach explains the importance of how reconciliation must find ways to address the past without having to exclude it. It is important to be able express with one another the trauma of loss and grief, anger, pain and different kinds of injustice (Lederach, 1998, p. 26). The last point Lederach mentions is to *acknowledge*. He explains that acknowledgement is decisive in the reconciliation dynamic. He says that it is one thing to know but it is a different social phenomenon to acknowledge. Acknowledgement through hearing another person's story can validate experience and feelings and represents one of the first steps towards restoration of the person and the relationship itself. (Lederach, 1998, p. 26-27). Lederach explains with his own words what reconciliation stands for:

'Reconciliation, in essence, represents a place, the point of encounter where concerns about both the past and future can meet. Reconciliation-as-encounter suggests that space for the acknowledgement of the past and envisioning of the future is the necessary ingredient for

reframing the present. For this to happen, people must find ways to encounter themselves and their enemies, their hopes and their fears.’’ (Lederach, 1998, p. 27).

Lederach explains that through his training workshop he conducted with locals and regional peace commissions, he identified four major concepts that need to be included in order to achieve reconciliation. *Truth, Mercy, Justice and Peace.*

The purpose is to see how reconciliation is implemented in each case and which aspects of the major concepts were focused on.



Source: Lederach, 1998.

Truth is according to Lederach longing for acknowledgement of the wrong and the validation of painful loss and experience. We have to be able to see each other as we are. Without the truth, conflict will never be resolved. To reach truth you need acknowledgement, transparency, revelation and clarity (Lederach, 1998, p. 28-29). It is strongly coupled with *Mercy*, which articulates the need for acceptance, to let go and start a new beginning. *Mercy* has the images of compassion, forgiveness, acceptance and a new start. If you do not have mercy, having a stable healthy relationship would not be possible. Lederach further explains

that without compassion and forgiveness, restoration and healing would not be possible. Lederach further explains that Mercy is a form of restorative process which contains Acceptance, Forgiveness, Support, Compassion and healing (Lederach, 1998, p. 28-29).

Justice according to Lederach is the search for individual and group rights, which would enable social restructuring and restitution. It is important since justice would enable people to act what is right, creating equal opportunity, rectifying the wrong and achieve restitution. Lederach explains it's a form of retributive process (Lederach, 1998, p. 28-29). It is at the same time linked with *Peace*, which according to Lederach underscores the need for interdependence, well-being and security. With peace you achieve harmony, unity and well-being. To achieve peace is to gain the feeling and prevalence of respect and security. If you achieve these four major concepts of *Truth*, *Mercy*, *Justice* and *Peace* then you shall achieve reconciliation in that area/place (Lederach, 1998, p. 28-29). By using the four major concepts on the two cases, we will be able to identify why reconciliation has failed or succeeded. This will be done firstly by identifying what kinds of reconciliation mechanism has been implemented in the two case studies and what kind of effect it has brought with it.

Reconciliation as a dimension of Peace building

Lederach signifies the lack of management when it comes to identifying and to finding quick solutions in contemporary conflicts. He explains that there are intense negotiations and peace accords but very little preparation is made for sustaining the peace process over a medium and long term. Lederach explains that to have a more comprehensive and sustainable process, you have to achieve following things:

“Structure suggests the need to think *comprehensively* about the affected population and systemically about the issues. Process underscores the necessity of thinking creatively about the *progression* of conflict and the *sustainability* of its transformation by linking roles, functions, and activities in an integrated approach to peace building” (Lederach, 1998, p. 79).

Lederach mentions the term *transformation* is needed because it focuses on a subsystem with a concern to think for a time-frame and to design social change. In other words it's about how

to move from a certain crisis to a desired change. But to do so you need to be able to identify and define *conflict transformation*. It has four dimensions: *personal, relational, structural* and *cultural dimensions* (Lederach, 1998, p. 81-82).

It is explained that the significance with the *personal dimension*, is that the conflict changes an individual personally, emotionally and spiritually and therefore the focus of a desired transformation/changes is to be focused on an individual or personal level. The author argues that an individual needs to achieve maximum potential regarding personal growth while the destructive effects from a conflict needs to be minimized as much as possible. In practice you want treatment for mental health problems as trauma and depression are a common problem since you have negative feelings and often feel vulnerable and helpless after a conflict (Lederach, 1998, p. 82).

In the *relational dimension*, the main aspect brought up is that it focuses on the causes and effects of enmity through restoration and transformation of damaged relationships. In practice it refers to people who have come in contact with each other face to face and when a conflict occurs or escalates, the communication patterns are changed towards one another, polarization increases, trust is decreased and stereotypes are created. So in this kind of scenario, you want to maximize mutual understanding towards one another as to bring hope and goals (Lederach, 1998, p. 83).

In the *structural dimension*, the main focus is on how political conditions and socio-economic evolve into a violent conflict. In the structural dimension it underlies the causes of a conflict and in what way it brings a certain pattern and changes in the social structures. In practice the root causes of conflict can be complex but it relates for an example to unfair land distribution, development issues such as poverty, environmental degradation, democracy or unfair/unequal political representation in society. It is of great importance to be able to analyze the causes of structural causes and initiate a social structural change in order to establish lasting peace (Lederach, 1998, p. 83).

In the *cultural dimension*, the main points that are brought up are when a violent conflict is caused by deep cultural changes. In practice it involves norms on behavior between elders and

youth or men and women. When the conflict is caused by a cultural cause, it is of importance to see how the conflict affects and changes cultural patterns of a group. By understanding how cultural patterns contribute to the rise of violent expressions of conflict, we are able to identify, promote and build up the resources and mechanisms to respond and handle the conflict which contributes to peace building (Lederach, 1998, p. 83).

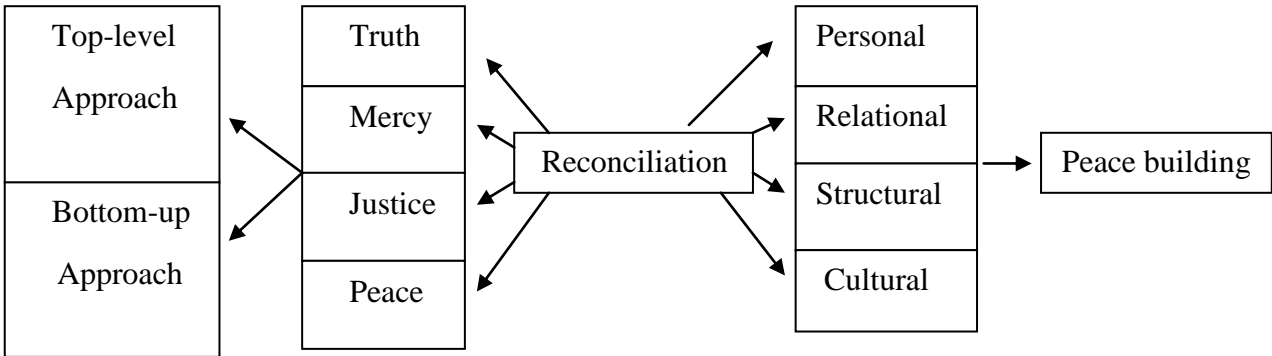
With the descriptions of these four dimensions (personal, relational, structural and cultural) we are able to understand where conflict emerges from and how we can evolve and bring changes in the best possible way for peace building. After we identify one of these dimensions, you initiate either a Top-level approach or a bottom up approach.

A top-level approach refers to when a representative leader or leaders can be identified which can articulate and advocate for who they represent is acceptable for everyone concerning the in the conflict. Furthermore they possess the power or have influence to deliver support and implementation for the community which has been decided in the agreement reached. A top-level approach is hierarchical as the leaders decide and organize the structure. This model has the highest amount of potential to reach peace if the representative leaders of the conflict agree with each other, as the environment allows for them delivering implementation without any hindrance (Lederach, 1998, p. 45).

A bottom up approach refers to when decision making and process implementation occurs or originates from the lower levels and then proceeds upwards. Often it involves achieving discussions and agreements from leaders or elders of their respective clans/groups. The main idea is that the peace building process must not be solely from the top (government and elites) but the empowerment of different communities which were destroyed by war has to build peace from below as to bring together and enhance the citizens. This includes leaders in each sector or regions of a country in agriculture, business, health and education etc (NGO's or ethnical groups included) (Lederach, 1998, p. 52-54).

A framework for reconciliation in peace building

Lederach suggests to achieve true reconciliation by following this type of approach with a model presented to you down below. Firstly to understand what reconciliation is and how it is being implemented, Lederach provided the four major concepts of truth, mercy, justice and peace to see if in a given case all these four are used or only a few of them to achieve reconciliation. After they are identified, we want to see if in any given case a top-level approach was conducted or a bottom-up approach or both of them to identify success or failure of reconciliation. Furthermore by identifying what kind of dimension a conflict is experiencing (Personal, Relational, Structural and Cultural), we will then implement policies which will help the chosen dimension in a certain country to reach and work towards peace building, in order to reach reconciliation. It is important however that after implementing the policies, it needs to be supported throughout the whole process.



Source: own construction

Results from Case studies

Cambodia

Cambodia is a country that is located in Southeast Asia with its capital Phnom Penh. The population is around 7 million people and almost everyone is Buddhist. Cambodia is bordered with Thailand, Laos and Vietnam. The genocide in Cambodia was a culmination of political and social turmoil that began during the French decolonization in the early 1950s and lasted

until 1980s (worldwithoutgenocide, 2018). In 1953 Cambodia had gained independence from France after over 100 years of colonial rule. The power of command was given to a Prince called Sihanouk and during his rule, there was a civil war that broke out in the neighboring country of Vietnam between communist North and the U.S controlled south in which Cambodia remained neutral. Prince Sihanouk got deposed in a military coup in 1970 by his own Lieutenant-General by the name of Lon Nol. This resulted in Lon Nol becoming the president of the new Khmer Republic while Prince Sihanouk and his followers joined a communist organization called Khmer Rouge which resulted in a civil war and later on in the Genocide in Cambodia (worldwithoutgenocide, 2018).

In 1960, the foundation of the Khmer Rouge guerilla arises with its leader Pol Pot. The Khmer Rouges envisioned a new Cambodia with a so called ‘Maoist-communist model’ which in practice would mean that all citizens had to participate in rural works and the removal of all Western standards. Pol Pot arranged Chinese training tactics and support when forming his military force for his campaign to take over Cambodia. The civil war began in 1970 between the communist Khmer Rouge guerilla and U.S Western Khmer Republic. This war lasted for five years where the Khmer Rouge overthrew Lon Nol’s government of Khmer Republic and started the reconstruction of the country with the communist model of Mao’s China, where its extreme policies led to the Genocide of Cambodia (worldwithoutgenocide, 2018).

The policies include a total reorganization in the Cambodian society. City dwellers were forced to go into the countryside where they had to work as farmers, digging canals and cultivate and tend to crops. The Khmer Rouge had mismanagement in the country’s economy which led to shortage to medicine and food. This led to people succumbing to diseases and starvation. The Khmer Rouge split up families where they assigned different groups depending on age and gender for labor brigades. Religious and ethnic minorities such as Christians and Muslims were persecuted and faced repression although the Cham Muslims were most affected by the genocide. Over 500 000 people which were 70% of the total cham population were exterminated by the Khmer Rouge (University of Minesota, 2019). Because the Khmer Rouge wanted to achieve the best possible communist model, where all Cambodians were forced to work as laborers on farms, anyone who would oppose this system

would get executed. In this case it happened to be intellectual individuals and thus gave them “special treatment” which included execution or imprisonment. These individuals were teachers, doctors, monks and different ethnical groups. They even executed their own members if they were suspected of treachery. (History, 2018)

This resulted in every Cambodian being forced to leave their villages and homes, even the sickest elders, the ill and disabled human beings were killed on the spot for not being able to make the journey to the fields and farms. The Khmer Rouge removed every civil and political right and anyone who opposed the regime was killed, even religion was banned and thus Buddhist temples and Christian churches were burned to the ground (worldwithoutgenocide, 2018). According to eyewitnesses, The Khmer rouges tried to eradicate the Buddhists where fewer than 2000 monks remained out of 70 000 monks located in Cambodia. The Khmer rouge also killed half of the population of the ethnic Chinese where 200 000 people remained out of 450 000. Another report suggested that 90 000 Muslim Chams were eradicated (Kiernan, 2018, p. 79-83).

There were also deaths among their own ethnical group the Khmers. Once the Khmer rouges took over, they immediately divided the population into two parts, the “old citizens” where people lived in the Khmer Rouge zones and “new citizens” where people lived in the cities and holdouts from the former regime from Lol Nol. It was confirmed that in April 1975 every single city was evacuated to move individuals to fields and farms. Although not every single kill can be identified and confirmed, there are reports showing how many people have perished under The Khmer rouge during 1975-1979 when they came into power.

Here is a table of Approximate Death Tolls under the Khmer Rouge between 1975-1979

Social Groups	Population	Numbers perished	%
<u><i>“New Citizien”</i></u>			
Urban Khmer	2,000,000	500,000	25
Rural Khmer	600,000	150,000	25

Chinese (all urban)	430,000	215,000	50
Vietnamese (urban)	10,000	10,000	100
Lao (rural)	10,000	4,000	40
<u>''Base Citizen''</u>			
Rural Khmer	4,500,000	675,000	15
Khmer Krom	5,000	2,000	40
Cham (all rural)	250,000	90,000	36
Vietnamese (rural)	10,000	10,000	100
Thai (rural)	20,000	8,000	40
Upland minorities	60,000	9,000	15
Cambodia Total	7,890,00	1,671,000	21

Source: Kiernan

Here we can see that the casualties were very high. Even the majority ethnic group the Khmers had high numbers of perished. In the category "New citizen" the numbers reached 650 000 individuals both urban and rural who died in the Genocide. Half of the population from the minorities of the Chinese and Lao were killed and every single Vietnamese was eradicated from Cambodia. With the "Base Citizen" we can see that 677,000 Khmers had perished while the ethnic minorities of Muslim Cham's reaches 90,000. There were also Thai and upland minorities were in total they reach 17,000 individuals who have died. Once again the Vietnamese were totally eradicated from Cambodia. In total estimation of everyone who has died in the Genocide, the numbers reach 1,671,000 million individuals in Cambodia although these are no exact numbers but given this report we can safely say this is at least a minimum of casualties performed by The Khmer Rouges (Kiernan, 2018, p. 83-84).

The Genocide ends in 1979 as Cambodia got invaded by the Vietnamese and drove out the Khmer Rouge. They controlled the country until 1989 when they managed to train new a Cambodian army that was able to defend on their own. In the 1990's the UN began to ascertain public pressure by condemning the genocide committed by the Khmer Rouge. They came with a message and added a resolution to make sure that a recurrence of the genocide in

Cambodia shall never happen again. The genocide was acknowledged for the first time in 1991 by the UN. The news paper of The New York times called on Washington to release the list of war criminals of the Khmer Rouges for crimes against humanity. In October in 1991 when the Paris Peace Agreement (peace treaty to establish peace in Vietnam) was signed, the Cambodians and the U.S both signed for the Genocide Convention to bring justice to those who committed mass murders. Cambodia appealed in 1997 to the UN to establish an international tribunal to judge the crimes committed by the Khmer Rouges where until today it still continues to examine and exert judgment. (Kiernan, 2018, p. 88-90)

However the government has not issued any official statements on how reconciliation should be performed as the Khmer Rouges officials were still in the government although they were responsible for killing almost a quarter of Cambodia's entire population. This created tension between the citizens of Cambodia towards the government, where international actors such as UN had to negotiate in how to grant punishment towards the perpetrators and how to achieve reconciliation (Cheterian, 2018).

The reconciliation process aimed on a combination of levels which were *retributive justice*, *restorative justice*, *reparations*, *educational measures*, *Sites and practices of remembrance* and *therapeutic measures* (Bockers et al, 2011, p. 72-73). The role of having a retributive justice is to focus on the individual accountability and to punish the perpetrators. The reason of having this is to install a sense of security in the society by having criminals sentenced to jail and thus can contribute to the reconciliation process. (Bockers et al, 2011, p. 71-72). However this has not proven to be working as several high ranking leaders from the Khmer rouges were granted amnesty by the prime minister of Cambodia. This led to the creation of Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) which is supported by the UN. The purpose is that individuals who have suffered physical, psychological or material harm based of a crime have the opportunity to participate as a complainants or civil parties (Dicklitch et al, 2010, p. 523-524). The criticism which has come with ECCC is that there is a controversy in whether to punish only five high ranking individuals for the entire genocide instead of including everyone responsible. There is also a general mistrust within judicial and governmental officials as the corruption perception index (CPI) reached 1.8 which is labeled as one of the most corrupt countries in the world (Bockers et al, 2011, p. 76-77). A report from the World Bank suggests that Cambodia is ranked 162 out of 180 in CPI is due to unofficial payments which are frequent, Land grabbing and other abuses by the political elite.

Furthermore top bureaucrats and the military are unchecked according to Global witness which is an environmentalist group (Dicklitch et al, 2010, p. 525). This has a major impact on the reconciliation processes as it is important for the survivors that the perpetrators receives justice and also so that they can reflect on the harm and suffering which has befallen the victims. More than half of the Cambodians who have lived under the harsh regime of the Khmer Rouge want the responsible put on trial and additional one third of the Cambodians want to identify punishments of the leaders of the Khmer rouges as they want their forgiveness. The Cambodians believe to be a promotion to national reconciliation. (Bockers et al, 2011, p. 76-77).

Restorative justice focuses on the interests of the victims and doesn't focus as much on imposing punishment on the perpetrators. The aim is to provide and establish truth and encourages perpetrators to feel and express remorse and to accept responsibility without having to sentence the perpetrator. (Bockers et al, 2011, p. 73). In a survey conducted by Berkeley, there is some evidence that ECCC is leading towards reconciliation as it brings unity, communication and compassion for the citizens of Cambodia. 80 percent of the respondents feel that it's promoting national reconciliation and builds trust. During the first five years of ECCC's operations, it has not prompted any outbreaks of violence. The passage of time is one reason why there is trust with ECCC and the other reason is also because it appears to be a public acceptance that basic legitimacy has to be conducted (Ciorciari et al, 1999, p. 210).

As mentioned earlier ECCC provides the victims with the ability to participate as complainants and civil parties, this has however been difficult due to the large numbers of both victims and perpetrators in Cambodia for all of them to participate in the tribunal (Bockers et al, 2011, p. 77-78). ECCC however has a weakness that it has a limit in dealing with justice, truth and reconciliation to victims. Lack of communication and public in-fighting between UN and Cambodian government has caused the credibility of the independent tribunal. This has caused a number of Cambodians to be skeptical towards trials which should achieve reconciliation (Ciorciari et al, 1999, p. 210). There have been attempts to create and establish public truth commission in Cambodia. However this has failed due to the members of the current government has previous Khmer rouges members in it. There were also attempts from the Cambodia government to establish a research committee on The Khmer rouges regime. It is about killing, mass graves and crimes committed by The Khmer rouge

provided by victims and perpetrators. However the information never reached out to the general public except for a single report in 1983. This research committee provided very little contribution to the reconciliation in Cambodia. (Bockers et al, 2011, p. 77-78).

Reparations are important for the individuals and communities who have suffered injustice, get monetary support and compensation for material damage or physical damage. Reparations also include a form of economic development by building schools or community service by the wrongdoers. Reparations however cannot compensate for every loss of the victims, but by engaging themselves in such prospects, it promotes the development of reconciliation and forgiveness (Williams et al, 2018, p. 109-110). According to the UN, they list Cambodia as one of the least developed countries and poorest country in the world. Cambodia's infrastructure in both social and technical was destroyed and a lot of individual properties were destroyed during the war. This resulted in a lot of people leaving their homes and gives away their livestock and other important resources. A lot of Cambodians live today in poverty which is a result of injustice that in turn leads to a potential for anger and violence. The Cambodian government has not planned for any monetary compensation for the victims during The Khmer rouge regime and thus reconciliation progress is shaken as material compensation may give victims a sense of justice for what they have lost. (Bockers et al, 2011, p. 78).

Educational measures are important as the state has to educate young people about its own history. It reflects how the government appraises and reappraises their own history. If a new regime does not deny past atrocities it demonstrates that the current state is not an accomplice to past crimes and that a repetition of atrocities is unlikely to happen. By educating the next generation about history it contributes to reconciliation as they will gain recognition of the victims suffering (Williams et al, 2018, p. 113). There are many young people in Cambodia that have little knowledge about the history of The Khmer rouge regime. Two thirds of the Cambodian population that are aged below 29 years old have very limited knowledge on the regime. This is due to the lack of public education. Furthermore there are a high number of people in Cambodia that are illiterate, men have 28,4% and women have 45,1% of the entire Cambodia population. Only in 2009 had the first textbook made by the government about genocide reached schools for students to read Bockers et al, 2011, p. 79).

Therapeutic measures are needed in Cambodia in order to gain reconciliation, forgiveness and healing between individuals. It can include healing at an individual or group level in a traditional or medical approach (Bockers et al, 2011, p. 73). In Cambodia health care is free in theory for all citizens but in fact has many charges for services. Sometimes there are supplies which are unavailable in hospitals and the patient must purchase them on their own in the open market. In Cambodia the mental health system is underdeveloped when it comes to trauma and PTSD. Having a poor mental health is related to unwillingness to forgive and a lack of reconcile. There is a lack of provision of treatment in Cambodia when it comes to mental health problems (McGrew, 1990). There are only 32 psychiatrists in the country and this treatment is very limited. In order to effectively cure people, there is a need of more organizations and psychiatrists that can help individuals who have received these symptoms (Bockers et al, 2011, p. 79-80).

Sites and practices of remembrance are important as it contributes to reconciliation in form of marking, acknowledging and honoring the victims. The Cambodian government declared in 1984, 20th of May the national day of Hatred to commemorate the crimes and victims of The Khmer rouge regime. This was in order to give people the opportunity to express their anger. They also included ceremonies with songs, prayers and different kinds of religious offerings to the dead. Learning to express one's emotion is a useful way to gain reconciliation. There are also two museums with documentation of the terror performed by the regime. These museums serve as an important site of remembrance, to prevent future atrocities from happening again and also give the younger generation a chance to recognize and honor the victims of the genocide (Bockers et al, 2011, p. 78-79). The Cambodians feel that ceremonies and memorials have contributed more to healing over focusing on enmity on perpetrators. The healing is also very strongly associated with the local cultural and religious norms in Cambodia. This is very appealing for Cambodians as Buddhism has principles of tolerance and forgiveness (Ciorciari et al, 1999, p. 215).

The Cambodian government decided to gain reconciliation by following this program presented below.

	Primary target group	Level of intervention	Intended impact	Purpose
Retributive Justice	Perpetrators	Individual	Instilling a sense of justice and security	Punish perpetrators
Restorative Justice	Victims and perpetrators	Individual and community	Establishing the truth: encourage perpetrators to feel and assume responsibility	Truth commissions
Reparations	Victims	Individual and community	Instill a sense of justice, make the wrongdoers feel remorse	Monetary and economic compensation for victims
Sites and practice of remembrance	Victims, perpetrators and future generation	Individual and community	To honor the victims, to remember human rights violation	Museums, memorial and day of remembrance
Educational measures	Future generations and others not involved in the conflict	Community	To recognize the victims suffering by future generation and to show they were not part of it	History textbooks, teaching students about the past
Therapeutic measures	Victims	Individual and community	Achieve healing.	Self-help, groups and psychotherapy

Source: Bockers et al

Although there are NGO's in the country of Cambodia who participate in grassroots level to facilitate reconciliation, it has had very little success due to the government not taking a lot of responsibility in the reconciliation processes. The Cambodian citizen sees the Government as the main conduit for the horrors that they experienced in the Khmer rouge regime and thus does not trust them fully. They see reconciliation as being a link between individual and social behavior. The problem in today's society in Cambodia is the lack of effort from the Cambodia government to take part in peace building efforts. The lack of resources from the

national government has led them to rely only on tribunals to satisfy the needs of the surviving victims through retributive justice (Gellman, 2008, p. 42-43).

In a report by the Center of advanced studies it is shown that 56% percent of the Cambodian population views the government as a ‘‘father’’ and its people the ‘‘children’’. This kind of view is very paternalistic and provides a challenge in peace building as the power is with the state and since not a lot of effort is made from them, peace building efforts from the civil society do not have as much of an impact as one would hope to get (Gellman, 2008, p. 43-44).

Rwanda

The republic of Rwanda is a country located in Africa which is landlocked with neighboring countries of Tanzania, Uganda, Congo and Burundi. In Rwanda there are three major ethnic groups, The Hutu, The Tutsi and the Twa, though controversies abound about whether these are ethnic groups or simple social categories. The Hutus represents the largest part of the population with an 85% of the total population, The Tutsi with 14% and Twa 1%. The difference in social class between the Hutus and the Tutsi were in the system of patron-client, in other words a form of contract where an individual/group protects a person/group. (McKenna, 2019)

The Tutsi had a strong social, economic and political ascendancy over the Hutus. The Hutus could be considered as agriculturist. However the identification of Hutu and Tutsi was sometimes hard. It is said that the Tutsi were considered to be more light-skinned and taller while the Hutus were shorter and dark-skinned but both these ethnic groups speak the same language. However the Germans and Belgians during the colonial era assumed that ethnicity could be distinguished between physical appearances. Furthermore during the colonial era, Germany imposed a policy where the hegemony of the Tutsis was strengthened over the Hutus. This resulted in Hutus demanding equality which resulted in a Hutu revolution in 1959. (Sawe, 2018)

This resulted in an increased tension between the Hutus and Tutsis as Rwanda gained independence from Belgium in 1962. It finally escalated in 1994 when a plane carrying president Habyarimana representing Hutu was shot down by a missile which resulted in everyone on the plane dying. The extremists of Hutus assumed it was the Tutsi who shot the plane down, which resulted in the Hutus plotting to eradicate the entire population of Tutsi by overthrowing the government and to exact revenge on the elites which have ruled over them (Ilibagiza, 2016).

This ignited the genocide which is said to have lasted around 100 days, on the date of 6th April until mid-July. This genocide resulted in the approximate death of 800 000 civilians which were primarily Tutsi but also Hutus. According to the Rwandan government, they estimate over 2 000 000 million casualties. (Reid, 2019)

In the aftermath of the genocide in order to achieve peace, reconciliation and stability in the country again, Rwanda used two different court systems and a commission. The first court is named The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), and the second court is named gacaca courts and lastly a commission named Rwandan national unity and reconciliation commission (NURC) (McKenna, 2019).

The first step was through the use of retributive justice, where the Government of Rwanda has stated that individual rights are protected with the use of law. The government has issued that by promoting the rule of law in the country, every person shall be equal before the law which would ensure judicial institutions are effective and efficient. NURC was created by the Government to promote unity and reconciliation among the Rwandans in 1999. The responsibilities from NURC is to educate and mobilize the population of Rwanda towards national unity and reconciliation, to establish mechanism for restoring and strengthening the Unity and reconciliation of Rwandans, establishing debates and carrying out debates for the purpose of promoting peace and lastly to propose measures and actions that leads to eradication of divisionism among Rwandan to promote Unity and reconciliation (Government of Rwanda, 2017)

The Rwandans believe that to restore relationships, you need to hold offenders accountable for their crimes through legal prosecutions and punishment. In 1994 ICTR was created by the UN to identify and detain war criminals, especially leaders who carried out the genocide. Right after the genocide ended with Tutsi coming out victorious, they started to detain suspects whom were related to the genocide crime (Kamatali, 2003, p. 127-128). In 1997 there were 120 000 prisoners detained which resulted in a overcrowding of the prisons. This proved to be a challenge for the new regime since during the genocide, the Rwandan courts was decimated. Even before the genocide, the criminal justice system was inadequate and with the lack of lawyers and judges, many observers claimed it to be one of the toughest social challenges (Amstutz, 2006, p. 550-552).

The creation of ICTR was to prosecute civic and political leaders who were responsible for the genocide and to punish the most serious offenders. The United Nations wanted to prevent future atrocities through power-sharing agreement between Tutsi and Hutus which should be backed up by a peacekeeping force. At the start the Rwandan government favored the ICTR as it would prosecute and punish Hutu extremists but once it began its operations, the government opposed it. Because of those events, it has showed that the relations between ICTR and Rwanda government have been very distant and uncooperative. The ICTR has only detained a handful of individuals where it includes one prime minister, several ministers, and a handful numbers of militia leaders, businessmen, doctors and media personal (Kamatali, 2003, p. 119-120, 126-127).

The ICTR has received a lot of criticism for being inefficient and costly and has had little impact on Rwanda. There are two reasons for that according to critics, the first one being that the location of the tribunal is near the borders of Tanzania and the transportation to reach the city of Arusha is costly and difficult. The second reason is because although there are administrative problems due to language barriers and contradicting goals of what the Rwanda and ICTR strive for (Rwanda are using Kinyarwandan language and ICTR wants to achieve political reconciliation which the Rwanda government does not want but only punish perpetrators for the genocide) there is a lack of inadequacy of the criminal justice system itself. The judicial institutions are supposed to hold individuals responsible for illegal

behavior but when there are hundreds of thousands that have participated in mass violence, there is no way to assign individual responsibility (Amstutz, 2006, p. 553-554).

Because the method of ICTR proved to be difficult in the search for justice, the government applied the Rwandan tradition of Gacaca court, which is a system with ancient roots where you solve familial and village disputes. In 2002 the President Kagame mentioned the five core objectives of the Gacaca court. The first objective is to reveal what happened, second objective is to accelerate genocide trials, the third objective is to eradicate the culture of impunity, the fourth is to reconcile Rwandans and reinforce their unity and last objective is to prove that Rwandans can solve their own problems. (Rawson, 2012, p. 118-119)

The gacaca courts were initiated in 2002 where 1,958,634 cases were tried and convicted 1,681,648 individual. The gacaca courts were different from a conventional court, where the conventional court pursues truth and tries to identify offenders and prosecute them for their crimes. The gacaca trials encourage confession through forgiveness and want to restore broken relationships and distrust. The gacaca courts in a textbook can be seen more as a restorative process rather than a retributive process. Gacaca focused on repairing the harm done towards the victims, thus healing the victims and the community. Offenders were also able to reintegrate back into society after receiving punishment. The victims were allowed to speak in gacaca courts which reduced tension, thus building trust and promoting reconciliation. Confession was played a big part when having a debate between a victim and a perpetrator which created/produced truth, something that has been lacking in Rwanda (Sentama, 2014, p. 131-137).

In 2005 the Gacaca managed to generate over 60 000 suspects and managed to sentence more than 1500 individuals. Although the government promised through the use of gacaca it would reduce overcrowded prisons and promote truth telling and facilitate reconciliation, there are numerous human rights organizations that have critiques towards Gacaca. Amnesty International opposed the use of Gacaca through the lack of fundamental justice as the method does not provide legal protection for suspects. There is no legal counsel to defendants which disregards fairness (Amstutz, 2006, p. 557).

Furthermore according to critics, the gGacaca court is more retributive than restorative. The reasons are because it is Hutus who are punished in the Gacaca courts. The punishment of the Hutus suggests it's a social control tool for the government because it's facilitating mass accusations of Hutu individuals which promote a form of collective Hutu guilt. As it does not meet the standard expectations of the victims, it is very hard to reach any kind of reconciliation. This has resulted in Hutus fearing the Gacaca trials. Furthermore Tutsis are afraid to participate and testify because they feel intimidated, physically assaulted or even killed after the gacaca trail as they get threatened if they would testify. Feeling insecure towards each other, they are living in fear and refuse to talk about their current situations. This results in a lack of restorative process as they cannot live with each other in harmony (Parent, 2010, p. 283-284).

Both Hutu and Tutsi have different perspectives on how the country should reckon with the past. For the Tutsi their fundamental need is to prosecute individuals who are responsible for the genocide, while the Hutus want national healing and political reconciliation which can only occur if both ethnic groups acknowledge their offenses. Because they view the truth so differently, a truth commission is not going to contribute to truth telling and regime offenses according to the current government (Amstutz, 2006, p. 549-550).

To achieve a deep political reconciliation, it is believed that the church is needed as it provides a way to reform values and attitudes. The government signifies that not only is there a majority of Rwandans that are Christians but also plays in a social and political role since past centuries, the church has close ties in associating in social business, education and political relationships and so the government hopes that it can contribute to a restorative process between Hutus and Tutsis. As Rwandans do not trust the top-down approach, they are willing and more likely to respond to civic organizations than the government. The churches have reform programs that not only work for the citizens in terms of morals and values but can also be applied to the state. For a Rwandan, churches have preaching, teachings and practice of the gospel. According to the teachings of the Christians, every human being has equal moral towards God and no discrimination exists. Furthermore that God loves everyone and that forgiveness and sins are possible, it brings hope that reconciliation is possible.

However there are not enough churches and manpower in the country of Rwanda and thus this does not have a lot of impact (Amstutz, 2006, p. 560-564).

In 1999 the new Tutsi based regime Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) created the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC). The NURC is managed by an executive secretary which is responsible to its deputy chairperson, where the deputy in turn reports to the chairperson in NURC. The NURC has two substantive programs, the civic education, conflict management and peace building. For a Rwandese, it is a non-negotiable that you must reconcile with one another. It is performed through the use of a top-down framework.

For Rwandans however, this proves to be a burden as they are struggling with their everyday life as they are suffering from being economically fragile and being emotionally fragile.

The current government is not addressing the traumatic realities of the genocide such as fear, anger and despair but has instead been successful in rebuilding the institutions of the state. This has resulted in being less successful in reconciling between Rwandans. The current program of NURC is proving to be ineffective as they are describing the Tutsis as the victims of the war and Hutus as the perpetrators. The program does not allow public discussions of the violence caused by the genocide before and after. This proves to be a vital part in why reconciliation processes is halted in Rwanda as the current government is one-sided in favor of Tutsis which causes social tensions even after the genocide. (Thomson, 2014)

Formal education is seen as an effective process for reconciliation and healing and the government has put effort in developing a curriculum which emphasizes critical thinking, national identity and conflict resolution. However it has been met with a number of challenges during the aftermath of the genocide. There is a lack of materials and human resources regarding teachings of the students, another challenge is that history was not taught at all during primary and secondary school and thus critical thinking regarding the past proves to be difficult to teach. A lot of teachers that have participated in the genocide have returned to teach students have experienced unwillingness to help students and thus only a few teachers are reliant (Schweizfurth, 2006, p. 700-701). However after the post-genocide 1994, the educational system was modified as to promote national unity and reconciliation by prioritizing equity. The following were that a citizen of Rwanda should be free of ethnical,

regional, religion and sex discrimination. Teach individuals of their human rights and be aware of their responsibility. To promote a culture of peace, this includes national and universal values. The last is to promote freedom of expression of opinion (Sentama, 2014, p. 124-125). Longman and Rutagengwa (2004) is among many scholars who also affirm that the current Rwandan government is founding its reconciliation ideology on selective episodes in Rwandan history that are portrayed as moments of idyllic national unity—representation of the “true” Rwanda unadulterated by colonial or postcolonial dogma. In this regard, some critics argue that this construction of a collective memory of Rwandan national history is undoubtedly politically motivated and ideologically driven. (Longman, 2004, 30-40)

Analysis

This study’s main results will be analyzed through the use of John Paul Lederachs theory of Sustainable reconciliation in divided societies. By identifying what kind of reconciliation mechanism are adapted and has been implemented in Cambodia and Rwanda, we will see what has brought success and failure upon these two case studies and compare them. Furthermore we will also compare with past research to see what determines success and failure in a reconciliation process.

Case of Cambodia

With the case of Cambodia, the society has undergone a structural change during the regime as the Khmer rouge tried to implement an old communist model where everyone were supposed to work in the farms. A lot of ethnic minorities suffered and especially the Vietnamese which were eradicated from the country of Cambodia. There were no data concerning reconciliation processes for the minorities in Cambodia but the focus was only on the Cambodians themselves.

The government used reconciliation where it was focused on an individual and communal level in all aspects. The reconciliation mechanisms that were used in Cambodia were Sites

and practice of remembrance, educational measures, restorative justice (in form of using research committee and truth committee), retributive justice (in form of using ECCC) and therapeutic measures. However we can see that in the case of Cambodia, the Cambodians are willing to reconcile by restorative mechanism by having a national day and museums to honor and respect the victims and allow themselves to express their feelings. However there have been slight difficulties to fully make the restorative process to work as public truth committees and research committees has not been working properly. The biggest problem however in the case of Cambodia has been the way retributive justice has been handled. The citizen of Cambodia demands justice on every individual who has been participating in the genocide but the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) are having difficulties in deciding who to punish as the corruption in the country is high and there are former Khmer rouges officials sitting in the current government and are currently avoiding the punishment (in form of being given amnesty). Furthermore the government is not providing any monetary support for victims who have suffered from the horrors of the Khmer rouge.

According to the theory of John Paul Lederach, he says that in order to achieve reconciliation you need to have Truth, Mercy, Justice and Peace. To achieve Justice, you need Equality, Right relationships, making things right and Restitution. However in this case, as explained earlier there is a lack of equality and restitution due to perpetrators being left unpunished. There is a lack of effort from the government, one of them being through the use of monetary support for victims and the other from contributing to peace building indicates they are not having Right relationship with the citizens of Cambodia.

According to Lederach (1998), to achieve Truth you need Acknowledgment, Transparency, Revelation and Clarity. There is a lack of truth as explained earlier, as there are no truth committees and high amount of corruption. This results in a lack of clarity and transparency. However there is a form of revelation as there are educational measures where the purpose is to teach the young generation of Cambodia about the history of their genocide. However the concept of Mercy has been more successful than the other concepts. Mercy consists of Acceptance, Forgiveness, Support, Compassion and Healing. ECCC has contributed to compassion, support and healing among Cambodians. There is however a lack of Forgiveness as the citizens of Cambodia still does not forgive the perpetrators but among the citizens

themselves there is forgiveness. In the category of Peace, every aspect is fulfilled as people are living in harmony, unity and having respect and well-being towards each other (when it comes to Cambodians themselves).

The people of Cambodia believe in a top-down approach as they view the state as a father and citizen as children according to a survey conducted by the center of advanced studies as seen with the performance of ECCC. However due to lack of trust towards the government, most of the processes that have occurred in Cambodia have been through the use of bottom-up approach as seen with NGO's trying to help and facilitate reconciliation on a grassroots level. A big part can be seen through the use of restorative justice, in form of therapeutic measures and sites and practices of remembrance. In the current Cambodia, we can determine that it's being conducted in a bottom-up approach as there is lack of activity from the government to facilitate towards peace-building.

What we can conclude is that in Cambodia, the concept that has succeeded is Mercy and Peace while Justice and Truth has failed in accordance to Lederach's theory. Because of how the genocide was escalated and how the aftermath ended where perpetrators were unpunished and most of them being part of the current government, we can identify that it's a structural dimension (in accordance to Lederach's theory). The approach taken towards peace-building should therefore be focused on fixing unfair/unequal political representation in the society. The Khmer rouge changed the society and still continues to influence in the aftermath of the genocide and thus to achieve real change, it will require time and effort in both grassroot level and from the top of society.

In the literate review Matthew Evans explains that to achieve reconciliation, one should focus on justice first before reconciliation. It was explained earlier that the promotion of reconciliation will be at the expense of a substantive societal change. By promoting reconciliation Evans argues that it will obscure injustice and promote acceptance of status quo which is the case of Cambodia right now. James L. Gibson explains that to achieve reconciliation you need the following: provide justice for perpetrators, to not provide amnesty for individuals breaking humans rights as there are other forms of justice. In the case of

Cambodia, amnesty has been given towards perpetrators and officials responsible for the genocide as thus have left citizens unsatisfied and angry for escaping punishment.

Case of Rwanda

In Rwanda, the conflict is the result of a long tension between Hutus and Tutsis where Tutsi have during its long history of Rwanda been in a higher position and governed over the Hutus. After the post-genocide, we have identified three reconciliation mechanisms that have been implemented in Rwanda: ICTR, NURC and Gagaca courts.

In accordance to the theory of Lederach, to achieve reconciliation you need Justice, Peace, Mercy and Truth. To achieve Justice, you need Equality, Right relationships, making things right and Restitution. We have identified that the use of Justice has been through ICTR and Gagaca courts. However the difference between the two is that Gagaca courts have been more successful than ICTR due to its difference policies the two conducts. ICTR focused in a more broad sense that that they tried to conclude both parts (Hutus and Tutsi) and they were also backed up by the UN in their quest to punish the most serious offenders. This failed due to lack of cooperation and thus due to very few punishment conducted by the ICTR, thus having right relationships is shaken. Gagaca court however has been way more successful.

Perpetrators were punished in a huge numbers and at the same time encouraged confession and truth towards the victims. This installed in the citizens of Rwandans that there was restitution and making things right. However we cannot determine to its full extend whether there is Equality as Hutus feel they are being treated unfairly due to only them being punished and Tutsis being viewed as the victims.

In order to achieve Mercy you need Acceptance, Forgiveness, Support, Compassion and healing. The gagaca court however does not provide any significant restorative process as Tutsis and Hutus are feeling insecure towards each other and are having a hard time to speak to each other. NURC is not allowing public discussions between Tutsis and Hutus about violence before and after the genocide and furthermore the Government is not addressing traumas of fear, anger and despair for the victims. This results in a lack of Support

(government helping the citizens), healing and forgiveness (it's hard to forgive a person if you are not allowed to speak with each other). There is however a small portion of acceptance as both sides are aware of what has happened and are willing to try and solve the problems as seen with the use of Gagaca and ICTR. In past research, Yehudith Auerbach talks about the importance of how identity conflict needs forgiveness and to reconcile between groups in order to achieve reconciliation. The arguments put forward are that with identity conflict, there is a need for forgiveness and reconciliation in order to put an end to the conflict. In the case of Rwanda, we can identify the case as an identity conflict as both ethnic groups have been unable to achieve real peace although there is no longer war between them.

With the concept of truth, you need to achieve Acknowledgement, transparency, revelation and Clarity. With the use of Gagaca courts, we can identify that perpetrators are willing to confess about their crimes which contributes to the truth. However due to lack of truth commissions, Hutus and Tutsi are unable to acknowledge each other as both parts have different view of the truth that has lead up to the genocide. This results in a lack of transparency and revelation due to both sides having different opinions of what really happened. This can be further supported through past research by James L. Gibson where he wrote the significance of telling the truth to achieve reconciliation. By being able to rethink after providing the truth, it can lead towards acceptance of the past unfair treatments and lead towards reconciliation.

To achieve the concept of Peace, you need Harmony, Unity, Well-being, Security and Respect. Although there is well-being, harmony and security due to non violent conduction after post-genocide, there is a lack of complete unity and respect due both ethnic sides not cooperating with each other and still harbor fear towards each other.

Rwanda is currently conducting a top-down approach as seen through the use of ICTR, NURC and Gagaca courts. Although the country has always been conducting a top-down approach, there is a possibility that a new approach is needed through the use of bottom-up approach or conduct a transitional government where both Hutus and Tutsis are included in Rwanda if they insist on using a top-down approach due to Hutus resentment towards the

Tutsi based government. Previous studies further supports from Ari Kohen, Michael Zanchelli and Levi Drake that lack of honest public discussions has hindered reconciliation in Rwanda. Both Tutsi and Hutus are in complete denial and argue that both of them are victims of the genocide.

We have identified that in the case of Rwanda, the concepts of Justice and Peace has been more successful (although not perfect) while the concept of Mercy and Truth are lacking. Because of lack of restorative process which affects the individuals of society, we have identified that it's a matter of relational dimension (in accordance to Lederaths theory) as it focuses on the causes and effects of enmity through restoration and transformation of damaged relationships. In this case it is between Hutus and Tutsis and you need to increase mutual understanding between them as to increase trust and decrease polarization to move towards peace building.

Cambodia and Rwanda

Even though this study was not aimed at comparing both cases (it was instead aimed at comparing at reconciliation mechanisms), how bringing together the two different contexts was also informative.

In the cases of Cambodia and Rwanda, we have identified that Rwanda is conducting a top-down approach while Cambodia is conducting a bottom-up approach. In Rwanda we have identified that it's a relational dimension while in Cambodia it is identified as a structural dimension. The theory proposes that reconciliation requires different approaches and mechanism to achieve peace building. We have seen that in accordance to Lederachs four major concepts, all of them are needed to be fulfilled if you want to reach reconciliation. In the case of Cambodia, Justice and Truth is lacking and in Rwanda, Mercy and Truth is lacking. From this we can conclude that in both cases there is no reconciliation due to the four concepts not being fulfilled.

There are no functional truth commissions in both Rwanda and Cambodia which has hindered the reconciliation process as both countries have been unable to acknowledge the truth or

accepting their wrong-doings. However there has not been any re-occurrence of violence since the post-genocide, which suggests that the concept of peace is conducted on a level where there is well-being amongst them while unity and harmony is somehow still shaky. Both countries don't trust the government due to corruption, unpunished perpetrators who are officials in the government or single party dominance in the government. The problem shows that in both scenarios of the case studies the current governments of Rwanda and Cambodia either contributes to lack of retributive justice or restorative justice which hinders them from achieving reconciliation.

In both countries of Rwanda and Cambodia there are NGO's on grassroots levels who helps and facilitates towards reconciliation, however they have had little success and requires a different strategy. Both ECCC and ICTR, which is supported by the UN has had little success in promoting reconciliation. This is due to ECCC and ICTR having different regulations when handling retributive justice that involve everyone in a selected country where the government doesn't want to involve everyone as seen with them suggesting the use of gagaca courts where only Hutus are punished or ECCC not being able to punish top officials in the Cambodian government which results as a hinder towards peace building.

Conclusion

This study was aimed at discussing how reconciliation approaches affect peacebuilding by considering the cases of Rwanda and Cambodia. The general conclusion is that some reconciliation mechanism failed because of how they were approached.

In the case studies of Cambodia in accordance to the research questions, we have identified sites and practice of remembrance, educational measures, restorative justice (in form of using research committee and truth committee), retributive justice (in form of using ECCC) and therapeutic measures as a reconciliation mechanism.

In the case of Cambodia, ECCC was used as a retributive justice to punish very few perpetrators in the genocide which proved to be ineffective due to lack of guideline and

decisions making. In terms of restorative justice, it has been more successful than retributive justice due to commitment from using sites and practice of remembrance although there are certain areas it can improve on such as Therapeutic measures and reparations (with reference to table 2). Lack of truth commissions in Cambodia has made the citizens unable to acknowledge what has happened and having lack of knowledge of their own history. Furthermore with perpetrators being part of the current government, it has contributed to citizens having lack of trust towards the government. In essence there is no real reconciliation in today's Cambodia and by following Lederachs theory, we have identified the hindrance towards reconciliation which is lack of retributive justice (Justice) and Truth as the main concepts. We have identified that in Cambodia it is a structural dimension and thus needs to initiate a social structural change as to provide lasting peace in Cambodia.

In the case of Rwanda, we have identified ICTR, NURC and gagaca courts as a reconciliation mechanism in accordance to the research question. ICTR are unable to have a proper cooperation with the Rwandan government concerning punishment of perpetrators and Gagaca courts are solely punishing only Hutus and ignore the Tutsis. There is a lack of restorative justice as NURC forbids public discussions between Tutsis and Hutus which prevents them from reconciling with each other. There are means to achieve restoration through the use of churches but in today's Rwanda, there is a lack of manpower and churches in the country. The conduction of a top-down approach in Rwanda has not been working properly as Hutus does not trust the Tutsi based government RPF. By following the Lederachs four major concepts, reconciliation is not achieved due to lack of Mercy and Truth. We have identified that in the case of Rwanda it is a relational dimension and thus requires mutual understanding and healing between Hutus and Tutsis to achieve lasting peace.

Therefore, to achieve true reconciliation in a given country, the four major concepts have to be achieved. In both of the case studies, there has been at least one concept that has not been fulfilled properly. This study has been able to identify success and failure of a reconciliation mechanism in relation to Lederachs theory. However to be able to adjust changes to the ones that has failed in the given case studies. Further research is needed to be able to conduct changes which will provide towards peace building, but also conducting comparative cases between a successful case and a failed case to test the validity of Lederach's theory.

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