

GenoDynamics Database Spreadsheet Description

General Information

Column A

Observation #

Column B

Commune Name

Column C

Prefecture Name

Column D

Date of the Relevant Event(s)

Estimations

Column E

Source A = *African Rights*, Median estimate

The international human rights organization, *African Rights* put forth one of the earliest efforts at data collection on the violence of 1994 – documenting who did what to whom in great detail (i.e., the activity, date, time, perpetrators as well as victims). Originally affiliated with Human Rights Watch,¹ this organization engaged in their effort to bring truth and justice to the victims of the genocide. In the publication yielded from this effort, “Rwanda: Death, Despair and Defiance” (1995), *African Rights*² and their one-man research team (Rakiya Omar) compiled as many eyewitness accounts of the genocide as possible from the entire country, roughly following a snow-ball sampling approach. Given the inability to travel within Southern and Western Rwanda (particularly the prefectures of Kibuye, Cyangugu, and Gikongoro), which was inaccessible during the conflict early on, these areas were initially not included but were by the second edition. This was not particularly problematic for the source because the effort was conceived as being “catalytic” in nature. As they state,

We hoped that our modest attempt to tell the truth of what had happened would prompt others, including the UN itself, to carry through the task in a more comprehensive way (African Rights, xvi).

Column F

Source E = *Rwandan Ministry of Education, Scientific Research and Culture Report*, Median estimate

The Ministry of Education, Scientific Research and Culture,³ a six-member commission of the Rwandan government, was undertaken between 1995 and 1996. During this time, the organization engaged in a project “The Commission for the Memorial of the Genocide and Massacre in Rwanda” whose purpose was to provide information to researchers and the general public on the Rwandan genocide. While the Ministry of Higher Education designed the project, it was funded by numerous organizations (e.g., HCDH, UNICEF, GTZ and UNESCO/PEER) and was executed with the assistance from other Rwandan ministries including Labour and Social Affairs, Rehabilitation and Social Integration, Home Affairs and Communal Development, Family Affairs and Women’s Development and Defense.

The report that emerged from this data collection effort was a product of approximately two and a half months worth of research. Obtaining the necessary information for this work occurred in several stages: 1) initiating contact with the prefecture and commune officials, 2) visiting the sites, and 3) recording testimonies and any available information about each genocide site. A fourth stage involved acquiring testimonies associated with the specific area in

question. In order to gather the most accurate information, only those who were present during the genocide were interviewed. While interested in being thorough, the individuals involved with the work admitted that it was “not intended to be perfect” (2). Reporting observations in about two thirds of Rwanda’s communes,⁴ the work was to be viewed as an “interim publication which will be followed by other improved versions” (2).

Column G

Source H = *Human Rights Watch*, Median estimate

Another source that engaged in data collection about what transpired was *Human Rights Watch*, the international NGO dedicated to monitoring human rights violations all over the world. Similar to African Rights, the purpose of their publication, “Leave None to Tell the Story” was to compel “policymakers, the press and the public to recognize the genocidal nature of the killings and to honor moral and legal obligations to intervene to halt the genocide” (Human Rights Watch, 28). When this did not work, the organization used the compiled information to “initiate legal action against persons accused of genocide” (Human Rights Watch, 28). This is consistent with the larger mission of the group.⁵

The research for the book began in early 1995 when Human Rights Watch and the International Federation of Human Rights Leagues (FIDH) began documenting state-sponsored political violence. Toward this end, “researchers carried on hundreds of interviews and located, organized, and translated administrative records from communes and prefectures. They also amassed extensive materials

from judicial cases and from various diplomatic sources” (Human Rights Watch, 28). As designed,

(t)he study presents both an overview of the genocide throughout the country and a closer examination of its course in southern Rwanda, where people opposed the killing campaign longer than elsewhere in the country and where the role of the authorities in directing the genocide is particularly clear (Human Rights Watch, 28).

Column H

Source I = *Ibuka*, Median estimate

A non-governmental group of Tutsi survivors called *IBUKA* undertook a very unique data collection effort entitled *Dictionnaire Nominatif* – a dictionary of names. Between 1996 to approximately 1999, this organization conducted interviews in several provinces in order to document every killing of Tutsi that took place during 1994, facilitating truth telling, healing for survivors and historical recorders for researchers and lawyers. Although they expressed an interest in documenting diverse types of killing: that for being a Tutsi, being a Tutsi-friend, looking like a Tutsi, having a Tutsi mother or taking a position of political opposition to the government, *IBUKA* ended up only highlighting the first category.⁶

While several locales were initially targeted, only one province was done systematically and published as well as distributed to the public – Kibuye.⁷ Here, they conducted a household census, meticulously noting information about the

victim and perpetrator (generally by name), the method of killing, as well as the location of relevant activity. Specifically,

(IBUKA) proceeded alongside the administrative organization of Rwandan society. Kibuye Prefecture (Province) is divided into nine communes. Each commune, having on average 50,000 inhabitants, is subdivided into several sections. These sectors on their turn consist of several cells. Commune by commune, sector-by-sector and cell-by-cell, IBUKA collaborators went into all families of Tutsi survivors and of Hutu who did not participate in the genocide to find the names of the murdered Tutsi. The project was financed by the Dutch embassy in Rwanda and employed about two hundred enumerators. The enumerators came from the commune where they were doing the interviews or were familiar with it (Verwimp, 5).

Column I

Source Y = *Rwandan Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sport*, Median estimate

One of the first efforts undertaken by the new government was compiled under the leadership of *The Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sport*. Specifically, this project was interested in identifying the sites of the genocide and massacres that took place in Rwanda from April to July 1994. During the period between 1994 and 1995, information was compiled by interviewing prefecture and commune officials as well as guided site visits to listen to testimonies, observe and photograph relevant locales. The only noticeable difference between this effort and the Education report is the larger number of communes that were included.

Columns J – S

Combinations of two sources to provide Median estimations

Columns T – AC

Combinations of three sources to provide Median estimations

Columns AD – AH

Combinations of four sources to provide Median estimations

Column AI

Combinations of five sources to provide Median estimations

Columns AJ – BN

Lower estimates for all the variables noted above

Columns BO – CS

Higher estimates for all the variables noted above

Columns CT – DH

Number of observations

DI – DL

Page numbers from relevant sources

Not in database but used

Three other sources were used to compare against the source material identified above.

The *Ministry of Local Administration and Department of Information and Social Affairs* undertook the most ambitious data collection of the publicly available source material identified in a report called “The Counting of Genocide Victims.”⁸ Beginning in 2000 and completed in 2002, the objectives of this study were threefold (MINALOC, 15): 1) to know the families and the names of the genocide and massacre victims, 2) to know the number of the genocide and massacre victims across the country in terms of facilitating a work to remember them by and 3) to identify the most affected sites of the genocide in order to allow the Government of the National Union to concentrate their efforts to reconcile the Rwandan people.

To facilitate this effort, over two weeks in July (in cooperation with the National University of Rwanda and the National Office of Population), 1,900 enumerators canvassed the country, recorded recollections of victim's families as well as conducted interviews throughout the nation's prison system.⁹ During the effort, MINALOC conducted their survey within households throughout the country but they did not identify how many individuals were interviewed or how these individuals were selected. MINALOC (16) did identify that "(i)n the case of a family completely decimated, or in the case of a family whose survivors do not live at this place any longer, the respondent was a neighbor or any other person of the commune, who could provide answers regarding the household of the victim(s)." They continue "(i)n the case of a family of which at least one survivor still lives in the commune, it is the head of the household who responds or in his/her absence all other family members" (16). One limitation of the study, directly relevant to the current effort, is that it does not disaggregate the killings across time; it provides summaries for each geographic locale but only as a cumulative total.

Between 1994 and approximately 2002, the prosecution for the *International Criminal Tribunal on Rwanda* (ICTR) in Arusha, Tanzania engaged in a large-scale data collection effort of 10,879 testimonies regarding what actors were engaged in what activity against whom, by date and location.¹⁰ A small subset of these documents was made available on the Tribunal's webpage. As for what the Tribunal was looking for was clearly delimited in Security Council Resolution 955 of 8 November 1994. Here, it was stated that

(t)he International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda was established for the prosecution of persons responsible for genocide and other serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of Rwanda between 1 January 1994 and 31 December 1994. It may also deal with the prosecution of

Rwandan citizens responsible for genocide and other such violations of international law committed in the territory of neighboring States during the same period.¹¹

Accordingly, the testimonies deal with specific cases that the court was investigating but many resulted from interviews in the country as well as in refugee camps outside of the country that had no direct connection to the cases themselves.¹² Consequently, the records have both a systematic as well as random component to them.

Physicians for Human Rights (PHR) is an organization that uses medical and scientific methods (specifically forensics pathology and anthropology expertise) in order to uncover human rights violations. The objective of their effort in Rwanda was to collect evidence for the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR). Within this seventeen-person, two-month project, PHR conducted a forensics investigation of one specific area surrounding the Kibuye Catholic Church and Home of St. Jean. Their efforts consisted of sketching maps of buildings and vegetation within this area, searching for and categorizing skeletal remains, and excavating mass graves.

¹ As they state,

African Rights is an organization dedicated to working on issues of human rights, conflict, famine, and civil reconstruction in Africa. The urgent motivation for setting up African Rights is that we have become acutely aware of the limitations upon existing human rights, humanitarian and conflict-resolution approaches to Africa's most pressing problems... (African Rights, inside cover page).

They continue,

Any solutions to Africa's problems – the emergency humanitarian needs just as much as the long-term political reconstruction of the continent – must be sought primarily among Africans. International organizations should see their role as primarily facilitating and supporting attempts by Africans to address their own problems. It is Africa's tragedy that the existing institutions for addressing these problems have not looked to the African people for answers. African Rights tries to give a voice to those concerned with these issues, and to press for more accountability from the international community in its various operations in Africa (African Rights, inside cover page).

² One researcher (Omaar Rakiya) was responsible for the work.

³ The report affiliated with this was entitled *Ministere de L'Enseignement Superieur, De La Recherche Scientifique Et De La Culture – Rapport Preliminaire D'Identification Des Sites Du Genocide et Des Massacres D'Avril-Juillet 1994 Au Rwanda. Commission Pour Le Memorial Du Genocide Et Des Massacres Au Rwanda, B.P. 624 Kigali. 1996*

⁴ Other problems were noted by Strauss (249):

First, in general, the commission focused on and reported massacre sites and the dates of those massacres, not when the genocide began in a commune. Second, the report does not appear to have a methodology for specifying onset.

⁵ Although detailed in terms of the individual stories covered, from available information we are not sure what proportion of the country the enumerators covered and how thoroughly they covered the areas where they conducted their interviews. Additionally, we are not sure how the projects leaders selected the interviewees and we do not know how comprehensive the access was to available materials from government officials as well as eyewitnesses.

⁶ The questionable nature of this finding is obvious. One scholar who reviewed the IBUKA project identified that most of the respondents were Hutu (Verwimp, 113). Given the identity of the interviewers and their organizational affiliation, it is possible that respondents provided the information that was desired or that testimony given about different forms of killing were ignored. When the authors of this paper were working with IBUKA in an effort to replicate the Kibuye effort throughout the country (between 1999-2003), it was clearly stated that their interest was exclusively focused on noting Tutsi deaths.

⁷ Kibuye province is particularly important for it represents one of the locales with the largest pre-genocide Tutsi population. This area also contained one of the most sustained resistance efforts against the genocide (which took place in Bisesero).

⁸ The actual name of the report is as follows: *Ministere De L'Administration Locale, De L'Information Et Des Affaires Sociales. Denombrement Des Victimes Du Genocide. Rapport Final. Republique Rwandaise. B.P. 3445 Kigali. Novembre 2002.*

⁹ According to the report issued by the organization (MINALOC, 16):

On the national level, 60 prefectural supervisors, from each province 4 and 16 from the prefecture of the City/Town of Kigali (PVK) were recruited as trainers and have contributed so much to the enriching discussions and have improved the content and questions of the survey and have defined the conditions of recruitment for the staff in charge of leading the activities on the communal level: controller (quality, number and strategy for covering the entire district);

On the prefectural level, the 60 supervisors were deployed in their prefectures in order to recruit the controllers with the managerial staff in the national technical committee. At this level, 724 controllers were recruited and have trained during 3 days with the support of the members of the technical coordination committee. This phase was deciding for the finalization of the survey.

At the communal level, 1825 census agents were recruited and trained. Their training took also 3 days.

¹⁰ We believe that there are several thousand more but these were the only ones released by the Prosecutor's office to the court and for our analysis that we were doing for them at the time.

¹¹ See: <http://69.94.11.53/default.htm>. The focus of attention has been to genocide.

¹² GenoDynamics was contacted to analyze this database and compare it to the other information that we had

collected. We were never given the records, however, we only saw some examples as well as the database filing system. Mid-trial the prosecution no longer expressed an interest in this analysis and GenoDynamics was contacted by the defense for exactly the same service. Through the defense, we petitioned to have the eyewitness database made available, which after about a year we did obtain. For the record, we also requested access to the convicted prisoners, a military map that identified military forces on the eve of the political violence of 1994. After several months, we obtained the map.