

**never
again**

Never Again Rwanda

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POSTAL BUREAU
←



Placing (and shaping) genocide on the public record:

A rhetorical analysis of apologetic
exchanges in Rwanda's gacaca trials

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Presentation Outline

- 1. Rwanda**
- 2. Method**
- 3. Research questions and findings**
- 4. Implications and future research**
- 5. Next steps**

Rwanda

Genocide

16 years ago

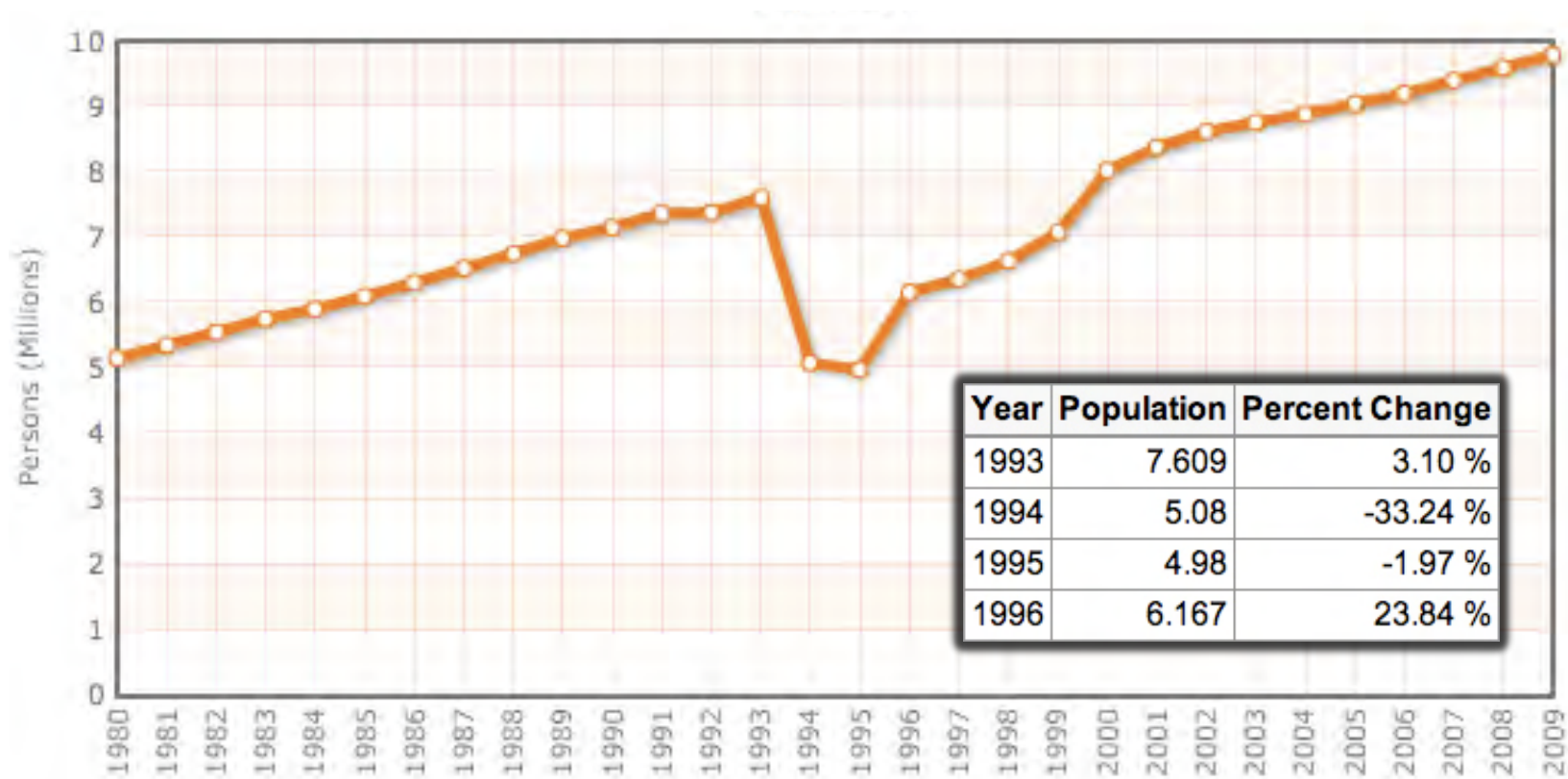
100 days

800,000 murdered

2 million displaced



Population



Gacaca Trials and Apologies

Community-based, pre-colonial model

Alternative punishment:

1. Confession
2. Repentance and apology

Importance of apologies:

80% of Rwandans willing to forgive if perpetrators confess and ask for forgiveness (2003)

Method

Three Stages

1. Examined current theories of apologetic rhetoric

- Content analysis (90 articles/40 years)

2. Researched apologetic rhetoric in Rwandan culture

- Field research (24 participants)

3. Conducted generic, sociocultural rhetorical criticism

- 7 principles, 6 critique areas

1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s		
Rosenfield (1968)	Butler (1972)	Brummett (1981)	Abadi (1990)	McLennan (1996)	Coombs & Schmidt (2000)	Koesten & Rowland (2004)
	Ware & Linkugel (1973)	Kruse (1981a)	Brown (1990)	Benoit (1997a)	Harter, Stephens, & Japp (2000)	Len-Rios & Benoit (2004)
	Harrell, Ware, & Linkugel (1975)	Benoit (1982)	Burkholder (1990)	Benoit & Anderson (1997)	Simons (2000)	Liebersohn, Neumann, & Bekerman (2004)
	Katula (1975)	Ryan (1982)	Benoit, Gullifor, & Panici (1991)	Benoit & Czerwinski (1997)	Blaney (2001)	Mueller (2004)
	Kruse (1977)	Blair (1984)	Ice (1991)	Blaney & Benoit (1997)	Courtright & Hearit (2002)	Suzuki & van Emmeren (2004)
	Gold (1978)	Foss (1984)	Schultz & Seeger (1991)	Hearit (1997)	Cowden & Sellnow (2002)	Yamazaki (2004)
	Morello (1979)	Kahl (1984)	Ryan (1984)	Sellnow (1993)	Kennedy & Benoit (1997)	Zhang & Benoit (2004)
		Ryan (1984)	Nelson (1984)	Benoit (1994)	Benoit (1998)	Govier & Verwoerd (2002)
		King (1985)	King (1985)	Benoit & Hanczor (1994)	Benoit & Nill (1998)	Kramer & Olson (2002)
		Vartabedian (1985a)	Vartabedian (1985a)	Hearit (1994)	Sullivan (1998)	Carcasson & Aune (2003)
		Vartabedian (1985b)	Vartabedian (1985b)	Benoit (1995b)	Thomsen & Rawson (1998)	Edwards (2005)
		Short (1987)	Short (1987)	Hearit (1995)	Hearit (1998)	Voil (2005)
		Benson (1988)	Benson (1988)	Hobbs (1995)	Benoit & McHale (1999)	Hatch (2006a)
		Hoover (1989)	Hoover (1989)	Huxman & Bruce (1995)	Benoit & Brinson (1999)	Moran (2003)
		Nethercote (1989)	Nethercote (1989)	Huxman & Bruce (1995)	Brinson & Benoit (1996)	Brinson (2003)
				Hearit (1996)	Hearit (1999)	Vartabedian & Vartabedian (2003)
						Coombs (2004)
						Johnson (2006)
						Drumheller & Benoit (2004)
						Liu (2007)
						Tian (2007)
						Stein (2008)
						Villadsen (2008)

Method

Why generic, sociocultural rhetorical criticism?

Redirects attention towards people, purposes, themes, rhetorical situations, and social contexts

- Kamberelis (1995)

The more we understand a country/region, motivational issues, and cultural events, the more robust our understanding will be of the communication practice.

- Kent & Taylor (2007)

Method

Principles

1. Situation
2. Audience effects
3. Structural patterns
4. Motivation
5. Symbolic issues
6. Characteristics/
strategies
7. Additional theories

Situation	Audience Effects	Structure
<i>Rwandan history</i>	<i>Truth</i>	<i>Timing</i>
<i>Physical setting</i>	<i>Regret</i>	<i>Occasion</i>
<i>Culture</i>	<i>Relinquishing power</i>	<i>Forensic structure</i>
<i>Laws</i>	<i>Worthy of forgiveness</i>	
<i>Politics</i>		
<i>Documentation</i>		
<i>Intense emotions</i>		
Motivation	Symbolic Issues	Strategies/Elements
<i>Expunging guilt</i>	<i>Two competing rhetorical visions:</i>	<i>Detailed narrative</i>
<i>Restoring harmony</i>	<i>(1) Macro, top-down</i>	<i>Recognition of victims and third parties as moral interlocutors</i>
<i>Regaining membership</i>	<i>(2) Micro, bottom-up</i>	
<i>Escaping prosecution</i>		<i>Shifting blame/scapegoating</i>
		<i>Statement of sorrow</i>

Artifacts and Insight

Secondary research

Cultural expectations

Documents and reports

- Legal mandates
- Gacaca documentation
- Government reports
- Training manual

Apologetic exchanges

- 11 trial transcripts
- Total of 371 pages

ORGANIC LAW N°10/2004 OF 19/06/2004 ESTABLISHING THE ORGANISATION, COMPETENCE AND FUNCTIONING OF GACACA COURTS CHARGED WITH PROSECUTING AND TRYING THE PERPETRATORS OF THE CRIME OF GENOCIDE AND OTHER CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY

REPUBLIC OF RWANDA
NATIONAL SERVICE OF GACACA COURTS

Charge sheet N° _____

RECORD OF CONFESSION, GUILTY PLEA, REPENTANCE AND APOLOGY

ORGANIC LAW N° 10/2004 OF 19/06/2004 ESTABLISHING THE ORGANISATION, COMPETENCE AND FUNCTIONING OF GACACA COURTS CHARGED WITH PROSECUTING AND TRYING THE PERPETRATORS OF THE CRIME OF GENOCIDE AND OTHER CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY

Gacaca Court of Cell Sector _____

PROVINCE/CITY OF KIGALI DISTRICT/CITY _____

IDENTITY OF THE ACCUSED

NAMES _____

NICKNAME _____ SEX M F

SON/Daughter of _____

DATE OF BIRTH _____

SINGLE WID/WIDOWER MARRIED TO _____

DIVORCED _____

PLACE OF BIRTH PROVINCE/CITY OF KIGALI _____

SECTOR _____

DATE OF CONFESSION _____

NB : Use / + / in the box provided

REPUBLIC OF RWANDA
National Service of Gacaca Courts
P.O. BOX 1074 Kigali/Twikingi 20000
E-mail: gacaca@nserwaco.gov.rw
Website: www.nserwaco.gov.rw

PROCESS OF COLLECTING INFORMATION REQUIRED IN GACACA COURTS

TRUTH - JUSTICE - RECONCILIATION

Questions and Findings

Research Questions

- 1. What common characteristics or strategies are evident in the apologetic rhetoric of gacaca trials?**
- 2. How are apologies documented in the gacaca trial system and what role does that documentation play in the process of reconciliation in Rwanda?**
- 3. How do gacaca trial apologies place genocide on the public record and create a shared interpretation of history?**
- 4. How do apologetic exchanges in gacaca trials shape identity and membership in post-genocide Rwanda?**

Question One

Characteristics/strategies?

1. Provide detailed narrative
2. Recognize third parties as moral interlocutors
 - Get straight with self by getting straight with others
3. Shift blame (i.e., scapegoating)
 - Split self
 - Blame national influences
4. Offer statement of sorrow

Question Two

Documentation and its impact?

“...documents both reflect and structure activity at all phases of the process.”

- Sauer (2003)

“...the influence that documents and documentation processes have on apologetic rhetoric is under-analyzed and too often overlooked completely.”

- Towner (2009)


Question Two

Documentation and its impact?

“Record of Confession, Repentance, and Apology”

- Reflects cultural expectations and shaped by context (legal, political, etc.)
- Shapes gacaca process and the resulting apologetic rhetoric (narrows focus/determines what counts)

REPUBLIC OF RWANDA


NATIONAL SERVICE OF GACACA COURTS

Charge sheet N°.....

RECORD OF CONFESSION, GUILTY PLEA, REPENTANCE AND APOLOGY

ORGANIC LAW N° 16/2004 OF 19/06/2004 ESTABLISHING THE ORGANISATION, COMPETENCE AND FUNCTIONING OF GACACA COURTS
(From Article 54-63.)

Gacaca Court of Cell Sector Appeal

PROVINCE/CITY OF KIGALI	DISTRICT/CITY	SECTOR	CELL

I. IDENTITY OF THE ACCUSED

NAMES:

NICKNAME: SEX : FEMALE MALE

SON/DAUGHTER OF : AND :

DATE OF BIRTH.....

SINGLE WIDOW/WIDOWER MARRIED TO.....

DIVORCED

PLACE OF BIRTH : PROVINCE/CITY OF KIGALI : DISTRICT/CITY :

SECTOR CELL :

DATE OF CONFESSION...../...../.....

NB : Use (x) in the box provided.

Question Three

Public record/shared interpretation of history?

“...apologies offer a perch for viewing the past, and that perspective becomes part of the historical record for subsequent generations.”

- Weyeneth (2001)

Question Three

Public record/shared interpretation of history?

1. “Record of Confession, Repentance, and Apology”

2. Collective memory

- Gacaca sites as contesting memory
- Competing visions
- Both acknowledge genocide and value responsibility
- Whose memories?

	Macro, Top-Down Vision	Micro, Bottom-Up Vision
Dramatis personae	<i>Villains: Large groups that influenced national events leading up to and during the genocide</i>	<i>Villains: Individuals who committed genocide crimes and crimes against humanity</i>
Plotlines	<i>Collective, conspiratorial</i>	<i>Individual, vindictive</i>
Theme categories	<i>Scenic: Emphasizing national context and systemic roots of genocide</i>	<i>Script: Emphasizing specific actions/human rights violations and their impact</i>
Master analogues	<i>Righteous: Casts judgment on national leaders and ideological groups</i>	<i>Righteous: Denounces individual acts of murder and violence, as well as the denial of those crimes</i>
Values	<i>Hierarchical responsibility, history, and complexity</i>	<i>Individual responsibility and specificity</i>

Question Four

Shape identity and membership?

“...apologies help change the terms and meanings of national membership.”

- Nobles (2008)

Apologies result in new social order as well as a new identity and way of relating to groups once considered nonmembers or even adversaries.

- Barkan & Karn (2008), Edwards (2005), Hatch (2006)

Question Four

Shape identity and membership?

1. Values and morality
 - Re-establish social values (re: theft, violence, murder)
 - Non-genocide ideology
2. Acceptance and inclusion
3. Relinquish/redraw balance of power
4. Shared visions of reality
 - Build shared identity—that is, an understanding of the group, its beliefs, and what it means to be a member (Duffy, 2003)

Implications

Major Implications

*Culture, context, and even documentation
can shape apologetic exchanges...*

...which, in turn, can reshape post-genocide societies

Major Implications

Culture, context, and even documentation can shape apologetic exchanges...

- Beyond kategoria-apologia speech set or deductive analysis
- Need studies on impact of documentation, processes, delivery
- Employ theories of apologia and apologies
- Uncover cultural expectations and influences

...which, in turn, can reshape post-genocide societies

- Social values are just the beginning
- Move beyond evaluative analysis, effectiveness, best practices
- Examine impact on social reality, identity, and membership

Future Research

Apologetic rhetoric, collective memory, and history

Plato:

- Knowledge is simply recollection
- Dialectic process of memory

Nora (1989):

- Memory = Permanent evolution, open to dialectic remembering/forgetting
- History = Incomplete reconstruction of what is no longer

Gronbeck (1998):

- Past constructed to understand present
- Past is appropriated into present-day arguments
- Past reshaped by present-day interpretations

Future Research

How reports/documents negotiate blame and responsibility

- Mutsinzi report

Social and ethical implications of documentation/process

- NJ slavery apology resolution

Impact of new media, social networking, and visual rhetoric

- Personal apologetic exchanges
- Corporate apologies/apologia
- Product recall information



Next Steps

Current Activity

Published:

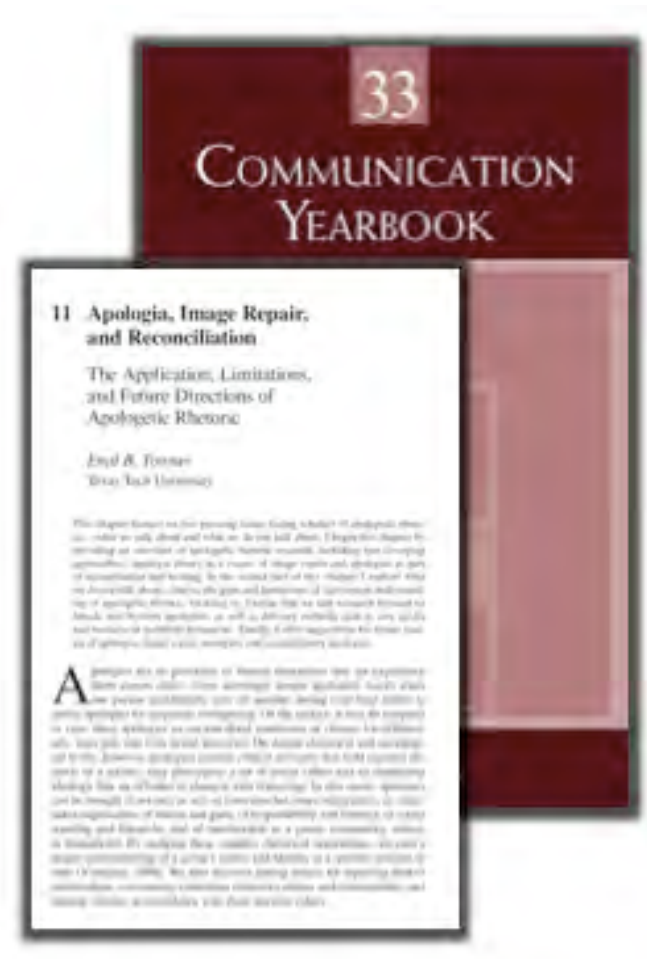
- *Communication Yearbook 33* (Chapter 2)

Accepted:

- *QRRC* (Chapter 3)
- *Rhetoric Review* (Dixie Chicks' apologia)
- *Thinking and Practicing Reconciliation*
- *Intercom* (TC and apologia)

Presentations:

- Eastern Communication Association
- Rhetoric Society of America



Future Studies

Potential future articles:

- Rhetorical visions and collective memory
- Influence of documentation and process
- Characteristics/strategies (apologia, apology, culture specific)

Fellowship:

- Proposal submitted to develop diss into manuscript (UM Press)

Returning to Rwanda:

- Additional analysis of documentation
- Additional field research on cultural expectations

Questions/Comments?

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