INTERGROUP CONTACT CAUSED BY INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE:

AN EXPLORATION OF THE LINK BETWEEN DEREGULATION

IN RWANDA'S COFFEE SECTOR AND ATTITUDES

TOWARDS RECONCILIATION

By

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY
Department of Psychology

DECEMBER 2008

To the Faculty of Washington State University:

The members of the Committee appointed to examine the dissertation of
JUTTA MATHILDE TOBIAS find it satisfactory and recommend that it be accepted.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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ABSTRACT

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December 2008

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An exploratory field survey was conducted among a sample of rural Rwandan coffee farmers who have been experiencing new commercial opportunities and associations since the deregulation of Rwanda's coffee industry in the aftermath of the 1994 genocide. Participants were interviewed in confidential settings on their attitudes towards reconciliation and on other social and economic factors that may have changed since the economic liberalisation of coffee in Rwanda's recent history.

Results from correlational analyses suggest that membership in a coffee cooperative, being associated with a particular coffee washing station comparatively longer, and economic as well as general life satisfaction are significant correlates of positive attitudes towards reconciliation among participants, beyond a clear indication that frequent, deep, and pleasant contact with members from the other ethnic group in Rwanda is strongly linked to an attitude of reconciliation.

These observations were discernible independent of ethnicity of particular participants, or of the specific ethnic mix of community members in a given survey location, indicating that forgiveness and reconciliation are equally salient for all Rwandans, and that those individuals who benefit from the coffee sector deregulation economically may also experience positive social change as an ancillary result.

Although the study's sample represents a minority of coffee farmers in Rwanda, i.e. those benefiting from the results of privatisation in Rwanda's coffee sector, and the survey design prohibits generalisations beyond the group examined, the observed correlations match current theories of reconciliation, and extend the small body of field studies in reconciliation research, thus providing a quantitative insight into the potential mediating effect of commercially induced intergroup contact on positive intergroup relations in post-conflict environments with lingering ethnic discord.

Limitations of survey research in post-conflict settings are discussed in conjunction with recommendations for follow-up inquiries on the social factors that may contribute to a reduction in inter-ethnic hostility, even if on the face of it, they may seem utterly unrelated to psychology.

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Dedication

Wegen meiner Eltern,

für Regine

(„und für mei Schwester?“).

INTRODUCTION

This research study focuses on the effect of deregulation in the Rwandan coffee industry on coffee workers' attitudes towards reconciliation within newly created commercial coffee organisations. In particular, an exploration is provided on the topic of whether and how the recent liberalisation of the Rwandan coffee sector triggers psychological processes among coffee farmers affected by this institutional change, that lead to more positive attitudes towards members of the other ethnic community in Rwanda, ultimately contributing to reconciliation.

This assessment will be made against the theoretical background of Allport's (1954) *intergroup contact theory*, stipulating that contact between groups leads to reduced intergroup prejudice, and hence may foster a positive change in attitudes towards members of the 'other' group, if certain conditions of the contact are met. There is extensive evidence that positive interaction between antagonistic groups can lead to reductions in prejudice and hostility (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998), and contact is considered one of the most effective strategies geared at reducing intergroup conflict (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2003). Especially if contact between groups in post-conflict societies is intense (Gibson, 2004) and deep (Staub, 2006), it can promote reconciliation and the prevention of renewed violence in a society. This is because intergroup cooperation may contribute to the development of a new, shared identity among previously hostile groups, which is also associated with a reduction in prejudice (Gaertner, Dovidio, Mann, Murrell, & Pomare, 1990) and the creation of a more collaborative future.

The study will also lean on the *peace through trade* argument, suggesting that countries experiencing substantial gains from trade would lose comparatively more from engaging in war, hence display lower levels of conflict (Polachek & Seiglie, 2006; see Boudreaux, 2007, for a

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recent overview of this perspective). For the purposes of the present study, this argument is pulled down from a national to a commercial, intra-state context, whereby members of previously warring factions within a nation are brought together in a commercial environment as the result of institutional stimulation of such commercial activity. The effect of this enhanced commercial contact would, in turn, be a reduction of conflict between these different groups in society.

In order to genuinely understand forgiveness and reconciliation, it is essential to conduct field research in post-conflict environments (Tam, Hewstone, Cairns, Tausch, Maio, & Kenworthy, 2007), as laboratory research cannot fully account for the complex interaction between variables affecting relations between groups previously engaged in conflict (Pettigrew, 1998). However, to my knowledge, a quantitative field test of the assumed correlations mentioned above has not yet been conducted, hence I present the results of a field survey measuring attitudes towards reconciliation among a sample of Rwandan speciality coffee farmers, based on the small literature of published field research in this context (Staub, Pearlman, Gubin, & Hagengimana, 2005; Pham, Weinstein, & Adam, 2004), and on my conceptualisations of other relevant predictors, as outlined further below.

Taken together, this study provides an examination of the contact and interaction patterns of Rwandan coffee farmers benefiting from deregulation in this central African country's coffee industry. The original contribution of the paper is a quantitative investigation of the extent to which increased commercial intergroup contact, triggered by government reforms of the coffee sector, can help Rwandan coffee farmers reconcile. Its goal is thus to provide an exploratory insight into predictors for positive social change through the stimulation of trade and commerce, and a better understanding of the array of factors fostering reconciliation and peace in post-conflict societies.

This paper is organised as follows; after a general overview on how coffee has historically

played a pivotal role in Rwanda's political economy and how this relates to the potential for reconciliation, I present my research questions for this study, revolving around intergroup contact and social categorisations. I then outline the survey's methodology, procedure and measurement scales. In the latter part of the paper, I describe my data analysis as well as a discussion of the statistical findings. The paper closes with a discussion of the study's research limitations and future avenues for follow-up research, followed by final remarks on extending the scope of this enquiry.

RESEARCH BACKGROUND

Setting the scene

In recent years, there have been several journalistic accounts linking the industry deregulation and commercial stimulation in the Rwandan coffee sector after the 1994 genocide with reconciliation (e.g. van Dyk, 2005; Fraser, 2006; McLaughlin, 2006). The macro-economic argument underlying these accounts relates to an extensive literature on *liberal peace*, suggesting that market-oriented democracies gain from trade, and lose through conflict between and within nations. According to this literature, liberal democracies, with open, deregulated markets, are characterised by vibrant trade, a catalyst for peaceful relations between otherwise warring factions in society (see Boudreaux, 2008, for an overview). The theoretical link to the intra-state case of Rwanda is that different ethnic groups of coffee workers there, who used to grow and sell their coffee in a highly regulated environment controlled by their government, have recently not only seen their income increase dramatically due to the privatisation of the coffee industry, but have also been given more commercial choice, to associate with each other in producing and marketing coffee, to collaborate with trading partners they had not come across previously, and to "work together towards a common goal: profits" (Boudreaux, 2007, p. 7). In this way, the benefits of free trade for all, including members of groups formerly identified as Hutu or Tutsi[1], may outweigh the cost of being at war with each other.

The resulting contact between groups in Rwanda is seen in the above-mentioned articles as contributing to reconciliation. Says Dr. Timothy Schilling, director of *SPREAD* (Sustaining

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[1] In this paper, the terms "Hutu" and "Tutsi" will be used to describe the different groups in Rwanda *as they were identified* during the last century, up to the time around the 1994 genocide, acknowledging that these socially constructed terms have undergone several changes in meaning due to political and ideological manipulation.

Partnerships to enhance Rural Enterprise and Agribusiness Development), a non-governmental

organisation (NGO) instrumental in assisting with the creation of over a dozen coffee

cooperatives over the last decade in Rwanda, about the social opportunity that working in such an

association provides: "What's reconciliation if it's not people who have conflict getting together

and talking?" (Fraser, 2006).

Reconciliation between previously antagonistic groups is badly needed in a country where

at least three quarters of all inhabitants have lost a close family member in the genocide 14 years

ago, and it is a complex process, entailing "difficult tasks such as the reforging of societal

linkages and the rebuilding of communities" (Pham et al., p. 603).

To my knowledge, it has not yet been empirically tested if and to what extent the changes

in the Rwandan coffee industry in recent years may contribute to reconciliation, and what this

means in Rwanda. Hence the overall research question of this enquiry is, does the increased

commercial interaction between groups in Rwanda's deregulated coffee sector help these

individuals reconcile – and if so, can we observe theoretical trends about intergroup contact

induced by commercial reforms that may usefully be applied to other post-conflict areas where

ethnic discord exists?

In the section below, relevant aspects of Rwanda's recent political and economic history

are outlined, in conjunction with a conceptual overview of the psychology principles applied to

the present study, in order to provide a sound basis for the specific research questions of this

investigation.

Coffee, conflict and reconciliation in Rwanda

This study links government-induced economic policy with social psychology in post-genocide Rwanda. The 1994 genocide in Rwanda was evidently an act of ethnic cleansing, leading to the killing of at least half a million people, most of whom identified as Tutsis (Straus, 2006). Many factors contributed to this horrific act, and the topic of this enquiry are the socio-economic conditions in Rwanda's coffee sector that are linked to the genocide, and especially those that may now contribute to peace-making and, ultimately perhaps, sustainable reconciliation in the sector that is the main cash crop sources of income for the 90% of inhabitants of this hilly country who depend on agriculture for a living.

A definition of reconciliation

Intergroup conflict is a well-established field in social psychology, whereas the psychological study of reconciliation as a means to prevent future cycles of violence is a much more recent phenomenon, with limited research evidence supporting the theory in this field (Staub, 2006). The concept of reconciliation itself is multi-dimensional, involving changes in an individual's attitudes and behaviour as well as governmental and societal procedures fostering or hampering such psychological changes within individuals. Reconciliation can be defined as a change in identity (Kelman, 2004), or in psychological orientation towards the other, involving mutual acceptance between groups (Staub et al., 2005; Staub, 2006). Another definition is a process involving reciprocating empathy and compassion as well as a peaceful expectation of future intergroup relationships (Nadler & Liviatan, 2006). Post-conflict reconciliation may be critically dependent on intergroup forgiveness (Staub, 2001; Cairns, Hewstone, Niens, & Tam 2005), and the predictors for reconciliation (e.g. empathy and positive evaluations of outgroup members, Nadler & Liviatan, 2006; or an understanding of the roots of violence, Staub, 2006)

overlap with predictors for forgiving (e.g. trust and perspective-taking, Hewstone, Cairns, Voci, McLernon, Niens, & Noor, 2004; trust and empathy, Cehajic, Brown, & Castano, 2008). Recent researchers measured openness to reconciliation by asking questions about forgiving (Bayer, Klasen, & Adam, 2007).

For the purpose of this paper, reconciliation in Rwanda is operationalised using proxy variables based on Staub et al.'s (2005) *Orientation to the Other* scale, a measurement instrument assessing participants' attitudes regarding Rwandans' actions during the genocide, beliefs about the origins of violence in Rwanda, and a preparedness to forgive the other group under certain conditions.

In sum, the reconciliation concept is complex and multi-dimensional, related to interpersonal as well as structural processes in a post-conflict society, and hence cannot be examined in isolation of the institutions and socio-economic conditions in a given society.

The conflict around coffee in Rwanda: economics, politicised

Political economists such as Paul Collier and his colleagues argue that the main underlying cause of conflict in countries dependent on commodity exports is lack of economic progress and an inequitable distribution of income (Boudreaux, 2008). Using a political economy analysis, Verwimp (2003) argues that the social factors related to the Rwandan genocide are inextricably linked to its coffee industry. Rwanda has always been a mainly agrarian society, with little urbanisation and many people depending on smallholder farming for their livelihood, in a country that was densely populated even during colonial times.

The Belgian colonists in the early 20th century heavily promoted coffee cultivation, and forced farmers to plant coffee trees on at least a quarter of their plots (Fraser, 2006), which were used mostly for subsistence farming.

The colonists also imposed tax on coffee sales that the farmers, mostly Hutu, had to pay, and Tutsi chiefs were given the job of collecting these taxes. After the Hutu-led revolution started in 1959, the Hutu elite who took over power from the colonists continued and expanded this practice – deemed the best way to create state income – and created *OCIR* (the Offices des Cultures Industrielles du Rwanda), a government institution that set the national price for coffee bought from farmers each year, and *Rwandex*, the government's monopsony export company (see Boudreaux, 2008, for a historic overview).

As Verwimp (2003) explains, both Hutu-led post-colonial regimes[2] also continued taxing the coffee farmers on their production, and used the moneys collected to benefit the urban elite, yet severely penalised those farmers who did not cultivate their coffee plants or who replaced them with other crops. Rwanda's state revenue between the 1970s and the early 1990s was based to a large extent (i.e. between 60-80%) on coffee exports. Yet when coffee prices on the world market collapsed in the late 1980s, the government passed on its losses to coffee farmers by lowering the prices paid for coffee (after a short period of paying subsidies, which proved unsustainable), and by capping 40% of social services. This created not only extreme hardship for coffee growers, accounting for about 55% of the population at the time (Loveridge, Nyarwaya, & Shingiro, 2003), but also substantially reduced the farming population's belief in the legitimacy of the government. At this point, ethnic ideology against the Tutsi was the ideal (and cheap) way for the regime to increase its legitimacy among the majority of the population. Confiscating and looting Tutsi and opposition property contributed to disempowering the government's opponents, and provided the funds to train large groups of unemployed youth in killing.

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[2] Kayibanda ruled Rwanda till 1973, followed by Habyarimana, who took over government in 1973 following a *coup d'état*, and who presided over the country until his assassination in April 1994, which triggered the genocide.

Says Verwimp (2003, p. 180): "It is not the fall of the coffee price that caused the genocide, but the desire of the ruling elite to stay in power at all cost", during a time at which the government had failed to manage its dependence on coffee effectively. Blaming the Tutsi for all problems in Rwanda was the chosen strategy to reach that aim.

Rwanda's coffee today: economically liberalised

Today, 14 years after the genocide that resulted in many coffee plantations being destroyed, with nobody left to tend to the plants afterwards, coffee is again the country's chief source of foreign currency – and a source of pride for Rwandans, as well as an increasingly lucrative means of earning a living for the 500,000 Rwandan farmers who work in coffee (Gahamanyi, 2005). The reason for this remarkable industry transformation is connected to sweeping privatisations initiated by the post-genocide Tutsi-led government, as well as effective foreign non-governmental organisation (NGO) assistance which is helping shift Rwandan coffee production from low-quality beans (fetching little profit on the international market) to much more valuable speciality coffee.

In 1998, four years after taking power, the new government developed a comprehensive national strategy for development and prosperity in Rwanda, entitled "Vision 2020" (Shyaka, 2004). Among other priorities such as reconstruction and human resources development, this strategy outlined an agenda for private sector development, entrepreneurship assistance, and the modernisation of agriculture. This also included a coffee sector development strategy geared at enhancing production and quality through market-orientation, implemented in 2001/2002 (OCIR Café, 2005). In the years that followed, most industries including the coffee sector have been privatised, and the economy has been opened up and is largely deregulated (Boudreaux, 2008).

The effects of this on the coffee sector, and on those working in coffee, have been particularly positive; the creation of coffee washing stations (CWS) in Rwanda since the early 2000s with considerable foreign aid assistance has led to substantial quality improvements in coffee production, allowing Rwandan coffee farmers to offer a fully washed coffee product, thereby gaining access to the high-value speciality coffee market (OTF Group, 2007). This has resulted in dramatic income increases for farmers: about 50,000 of the 500,000 coffee growers were estimated to have doubled their earnings in the five years since the new millennium because of their being able to access newly created CWS and hence being able to sell fully washed coffee, and about 2,000 jobs were created by 2005, providing seasonal income to people employed to work in these new washing stations (Chemonics, 2006). Coffee farmers' earnings seem to have continued to go up by 50-100% at least in USAID-supported coffee zones between 2004 and 2007, as reported in a recent assessment report (Swanson, 2007) commissioned by the NGO *SPREAD,* one of the three main foreign NGO's assisting development in Rwanda's coffee sector.

NGO's such as SPREAD also help coffee farmers produce higher-grade coffee through better farming techniques and quality control, guide marketing and negotiations with international coffee roasters to obtain higher prices, and provide advice for new coffee cooperatives on good governance as well as on other management and administrative issues.

The special role of cooperatives in Rwanda's post-conflict coffee sector

Liberalising the Rwandan coffee sector has meant more choice for farmers, permitting them to choose if and what type of coffee to grow, to enter into commercial contracts with new and different buyers (as the one government buyer now no longer exists), and to associate in coffee cooperatives. Since Rwanda's agricultural sector consists to 90% of smallholder farms, where most of the coffee is grown, it makes economic sense for farmers to associate in

cooperatives in order to profit from economies of scale, thus benefiting from the newly created commercial opportunities in growing and selling their coffee (Boudreaux, 2008).

Cooperatives have existed in Rwanda since colonial times, and were then used by the colonial government as a tool to promote coffee cultivation. What is more, after independence from Belgium in 1962, the Kayibanda regime encouraged coffee "cooperatives" or "associations", and started regulating this movement with an initial cooperative law in 1966. However, due to the highly restrictive trading environment in pre-genocide Rwanda, these cooperatives had nearly no economic power and were mainly used for input distribution (such as fertilisers). Yet the mission of a cooperative is both economic and social, and in many African nations, cooperatives are considered useful in overcoming Africa's poverty trap (MINICOM, 2006). The Rwandan government has officially acknowledged the role of cooperatives as a means to alleviate poverty, by creating a specific cooperatives sector strategy in 2006, to "harmonize and coordinate the interventions in that sector" (MINICOM, 2006, p.11).

The specific economic benefit of being associated in a cooperative for a farmer consists in being part of a bigger commercial entity that shares its profit from selling larger quantities of produce on to buyers upstream the value chain with the members of the cooperative, for example at the end of a harvesting season, resulting in an additional source of income for the farmer. As Boudreaux (2008, p. 15) argues, "as compared with individual production, well-run cooperatives can give smallholders a leg up in a competitive marketplace". In addition, a cooperative can also provide social services, such as loans and savings schemes and health services.

There is another, more intangible benefit associated with being a member of a cooperative; since the corporate structure of a cooperative stipulates that cooperative members elect the cooperative leadership team as well as its board of directors, all members of a cooperative are encouraged meet at regular intervals to debate the direction of 'their' cooperative.

Such meetings provide the opportunity for discussions of ideas, mutual advice, and local political as well as social exchanges – a social infrastructure or 'community' with the potential of cutting across ethnic boundaries that did not exist before in Rwanda.

The first coffee cooperative in post-genocide Rwanda was created with assistance from USAID in 1996, and by 2005, USAID provided assistance to two dozen coffee cooperatives (Chemonics, 2006).

The creation of coffee washing stations in Rwanda

Around the new millennium, USAID was also instrumental in the capital-intensive effort of setting up the first CWS in Rwanda, permitting Rwandan farmers to offer fully washed coffee on the international speciality coffee market (OTF Group, 2007). CWS in Rwanda are either owned by a cooperative or by a private investor, and they are always located in the rural, hilly and relatively inaccessible areas where coffee grows and where hardly any other commercial infrastructure exists.

The strong manual labour aspect of the work at a CWS means that workers have to collaborate at all times to get the work done. CWS provide seasonal employment to people who have little other income opportunity beyond subsistence and cash crop farming. Although ethnic discrimination is conceivable, it is unlikely that workers at CWS are chosen based on ethnic allegiances, due to the government's strong focus on unity and inclusion (and severe sanction of non-compliance), which incidentally is the same for cooperative membership. This means that workers collaborating at CWS are likely to have come into a new type of commercial contact with members from other groups in Rwanda because of the newly created CWS.

In a similar fashion to coffee cooperatives, CWS offer a new type of infrastructure and opportunity for social exchange and participation in these rural areas that was unheard of before

the genocide, independent of their ownership structure, and that may in itself resemble a new community with its own social identity.

Between 2001 and 2005, 46 CWS had been established, 38 of which receiving assistance from USAID, and creating new employment to 2,000 people (Chemonics, 2006). By the end of 2007, about 120 CWS were in operation in Rwanda (OTF Group, 2007), and the government had issued a projection in its (2006) strategy document for the sector to have 240 operational CWS by the end of 2008. Although this figure is likely higher than current reality (yet up-to-date figures were difficult to obtain), this estimate may not be too far off the mark, given the dynamism of entrepreneurial activity in Rwanda's coffee sector today (Sloan, 2006), evidenced by a 120% annual growth rate of private investment in CWS over the first few years of the new millennium and a projected continuation of annual private investor growth in CWS of 70% for 2007-2010 (OTF Group, 2007), all the more as SPREAD alone currently provides NGO support to 75 CWS in the Rwandan countryside[3].

Despite all these advancements, less than 10% of Rwandan coffee was sold as fully washed in 2007 (OTF Group, 2007), indicating that only a small minority of farmers benefited from these recent changes. Although the percentage of Rwandans associated with coffee cooperatives and working at CWS was probably higher this year with several new CWS becoming operational, it still suggests that the majority of Rwandan coffee farmers have not yet been touched by this phenomenon.

Nonetheless, due to its pivotal position in Rwandan society, developments in the coffee sector likely affect the core of its civilisation. For this reason, the media reports in recent years of a distinct type of social benefit associated with the changes in the coffee sector are particularly

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[3] Jean-Claude Kayisinga, SPREAD Project deputy director, personal communication, 14 August 2008.

interesting: members of cooperatives, and individuals working with Rwandan coffee farmers, relate that people experience reconciliation with former enemies, as a result of joining together in coffee cooperatives and working alongside each other at coffee washing stations to reach the common goal of making a better living (e.g. Fraser, 2006; van Dyk, 2005; McLaughlin, 2006).

These journalistic reports evoke the principles of several seminal theories in social psychology related to conflict reduction, i.e. Allport's (1954) *contact theory*, Sherif's (1966) *realistic conflict theory* and *superordinate goal theory,* as well as Bem's (1972) *self-perception theory.* Allport's theory relates to intergroup contact as a correlate of reduced outgroup prejudice, one of the predictors for reconciliation between groups. Sherif's (1966) theories were proposed to aid conflict resolution. According to Sherif, in an environment where there are limited resources, realistic conflict arises due to competition over these limited resources, leading to hostility between groups that is difficult to halt. Yet when two antagonistic groups are given a superordinate goal to pursue jointly, they tend to cease to engage in conflict with each other and instead start engaging in collaborative intergroup behaviour. Finally, Bem's (1972*) self-perception theory* may also apply in this context, stipulating that people infer their attitudes from observing their own behaviour, rather than attitudes driving behaviour. In this way, a person's negative attitude towards a member of her outgroup may be reversed as a result of her actual positive (i.e. collaborative) behaviour with this outgroup member.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Digging deeper

This would not be an interesting study if the story ended here. In the previous section, journalistic reports of reconciliation as a result of the deregulation of the Rwandan coffee sector were discussed, suggesting that *peace through trade* may be possible within Rwanda. The argument put forward is that this industry deregulation may have provided the "opportune moment" (Ellis, 2006, p. 205) of a psychological change within an important section of Rwandan society that has the potential of resulting in positive social change, due to the opportunity for intergroup contact, collaboration and joint goals being developed by people engaged in the coffee trade, unprecedented in the decades leading up to the genocide.

However, several arguments that qualify the above statement can be identified, and this study is a preliminary empirical investigation into the relatively unexplored link between economic liberalisation and reconciliation. As a result, this study has been organised as an open-ended exploration of the underlying mechanisms guiding the potential relationship of industry deregulation in Rwanda's coffee sector with attitudes towards intergroup reconciliation. Research questions are posed, rather than offering specific hypotheses backed by prior empirical research, yet the above background discussion paves the path to certain logical expectations on how the recent institutional change in Rwanda's coffee sector may influence attitudes towards reconciliation among coffee farmers affected by this. Hence these expectations are listed below as propositions, alongside a more detailed examination of the core issue at stake.

Intergroup contact and its link to reconciliation

Contact between groups is linked to reduced intergroup prejudice, as initially proposed by Allport's (1954) *intergroup contact theory*, and corroborated recently in Pettigrew and Tropp's (2006) meta-analytic review of sixty years of research in this area. According to Allport, contact between groups would lead to a reduction in intergroup prejudice, especially if four conditions are present in the contact situation, i.e. the groups enjoy equal status in the situation, they share common goals, there is no intergroup competition, and relevant authorities sanction the contact. These so-called *optimal conditions* tend to enhance the positive effect of contact on prejudice reduction (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

With regards to intergroup conflict arising from a genuine, i.e. realistic conflict over limited resources, intergroup conflict-resolution scholar Sherif put forward his (1966) *superordinate goals theory* not long after Allport formulated contact theory. Sherif suggested that when two parties who have experienced *realistic conflict* are faced with a superordinate goal, hostile behaviour subsides. A superordinate goal is a task or challenge that both groups want to have resolved, and that requires joint effort. Superordinate goals are considered extremely helpful in conflict-resolution, as they enable warring groups to transcend their intergroup conflict. This perspective is mirrored in the reconciliation literature, suggesting that difficult life conditions (Staub, 2006) and the frustration of basic human needs such as the need for security (Staub, 1998) contribute to mass violence. The reversal of this, then, would be an enhancement of economic security, and perhaps general satisfaction with life, which in turn would logically also predict a reduction in conflict potential and conversely more positive attitudes towards reconciliation. This process also goes along with a re-conceptualisation of group cohesiveness and solidarity (Hornsey, 2008). As Sherif (1966) suggested, working towards a common goal is a

predictor for conflict reduction, in itself a pre-condition of a peaceful coexistence of groups. This is probably because collaborative projects act as a catalyst for trust building between groups (Saguy & Nadler, 2006). Whether this is the case, however, has to my knowledge not been proven empirically.

Several scholars mention intergroup contact as a factor contributing to reconciliation (e.g. Tam et al., 2007; Staub, 2006; Gibson, 2004). Yet the *quality* of intergroup contact is essential in predicting reconciliation, in that contact must be deep, and produce relationships that cut across group boundaries (Staub, 2006). Its effect on reconciliation is limited unless integration of the previously warring factions is intense (Gibson, 2004), shows the potential to develop cross-group friendships (Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997), transforms to society at large (Tihanyi & Du Toit, 2005), and allows for the development of shared goals and identities (Staub, 2006).

What is more, laboratory experiments on testing the correlation between contact and prejudice reduction show larger effect size than field studies (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006), suggesting that the real-life impact of getting into contact with a member of a group that one traditionally does not like may be compounded by other factors, and that there may not yet be enough field studies to prove the tenets of contact theory outside a social science laboratory setting.

It follows that an examination of the quality of intergroup contact, the effect of changes in perceived security and satisfaction, as well as the degree of interdependence between coffee workers of different (now historic) ethnic identities in my Rwandan sample is needed, in order to gain an insight into the actual effect of commercially induced change in contact patterns in the new coffee ventures in Rwanda on reconciliation.

Specific research inquiries, as well as preliminary propositions in this regard are listed below.

Enquiry 1: The correlation of intergroup contact with attitudes towards reconciliation.

Proposition 1a:

Survey participants who experience high-quality contact (i.e. frequent, pleasant, and/or deep) with members of the other group also display more positive attitudes towards reconciliation.

Proposition 1b:.

Members of coffee cooperatives experience higher-quality contact with members of the other group, and have hence more positive attitudes towards reconciliation than coffee farmers who are not associated in a coffee cooperative.

Proposition 1c:.

Employees at CWSs experience higher-quality contact with members of the other group, and have hence more positive attitudes towards reconciliation than coffee farmers who are not employed at a CWS.

Enquiry 2: The link of reconciliation-related attitudes with economic security and life satisfaction.

Proposition 2a:

Those participants who report greater economic security also respond to questions on reconciliation attitudes in a more positive way.

Proposition 2b:

Those participants who report greater general life satisfaction also respond to questions on reconciliation attitudes in a more positive way.

Enquiry 3: The effect of common goals on attitudes towards reconciliation

Proposition 3a:

Participants who express that they share common goals in their community also report more positive attitudes towards reconciliation.

Proposition 3b:

Members of coffee cooperatives are more likely to believe in common goals within their community than coffee farmers who are not associated in a coffee cooperative. This positively affects their attitudes to reconciliation.

Social categorisation and identities in Rwanda

Rwanda has always been extremely integrated in ethnic terms, with Hutu and Tutsi clan members living next door to each other and interacting on a daily basis for centuries. A recent representative study of Rwandan genocidaires (Straus, 2006) provides carefully researched evidence that even most genocide killers had positive relationships with their Tutsi neighbours right up to the beginning of the genocide in 1994. Straus (2006) suggests that the relationship between ethnic identity and group hatred is not straightforward in Rwanda, and traditional identity-based genocide theories cannot succinctly explain the mass killings in 1994, yet he points to a strong relationship between ethnic *categorisation* and genocidal violence, which hinged on a normative understanding that Tutsi were fundamentally all similar and belonged to a distinct social group in Rwanda. During the lead-up to the 1994 genocide then, it was this common understanding of the Tutsi "pre-existing ethnic/racial classification" (Straus, 2006, p. 224) that enabled the Rwandan authorities to convince the majority of the Hutu population of the *social category* shift of seeing a Tutsi as an enemy who needed to be extinct, rather than a neighbour and ordinary fellow citizen.

Having said that, there is a strong identity component in Rwanda's near-century old conflict (Shyaka, 2004). Of course, ethnic identities in contemporary Rwanda have little to do with the pre-colonial distinction between Hutu and Tutsi. As Shyaka (2004) explains, before the colonists arrived in Rwanda, a person could become a Tutsi ("Tutsification") in one of three ways; the King decided so, he or she married an "important Tutsi", or he or she was adopted by a Tutsi. Conversely, "Hutufication" occurred once a Tutsi herder found himself with fewer than 10 cows. Group boundaries were hence permeable, and largely based on socio-economic achievement. The meaning of the identifier "Hutu" (about 85% of the population pre- and post-genocide) and "Tutsi" (about 14%) were solidified and ideologised in particular under the Belgian authorities in Rwanda who used the age-old colonisation technique of *divide and rule*, not least to deflect attention from their accession to power, by granting privileges to and using Tutsi to carry out local administration on their behalf. Relations between Hutu and Tutsi became racialised with the introduction of identity cards by the Belgian authorities in 1933, in line with the ideologies emanating from Europe at that time (Shyaka, 2004).[4]

According to social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), we derive part of our personal identity from our social identity. This occurs primarily through a process of categorisation, i.e. we naturally categorise ourselves into our own "ingroup", i.e. the social category that we identify with, and others into different "outgroups", due to their different skin colour, religion etc. We fundamentally strive for positive self-esteem, and we often do this through a favourable comparison of our social identity, or ingroup, with relevant yet different outgroups. By comparing our own group to another in a positive light, we aim to become

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[4] A particularly interesting outgrowth of this is that the meaning of the word "ubwoko" changed from "clan" to "ethnic identity" (Shyaka, 2004), distinguishing a "Hutu" from a "Tutsi" on Rwanda's ethnic identity cards. The result today is that the word "ubwoko" is just as *taboo* as "Hutu" or "Tutsi", and Rwandans tend to try to paraphrase the "group" concept in Rwanda using different, more generic terms.

positively distinct from this outgroup, in this way enhancing our socially derived self-esteem. Social identity theory is fundamentally an acknowledgement of a dynamic hierarchy of power and status between groups and a recognition that intergroup behaviour is a function of this dynamism (Hornsey, 2008).

Self-categorisation Theory (SCT; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), in turn, emerged as an elaboration and refinement of the core cognitive aspect of SIT: the categorisation process. Three levels of categorisation are relevant to an individual's self-concept, i.e. the superordinate category (of all humans), the intermediate level of a person as belonging to a particular ingroup (social identity), and the subordinate level of a person compared to another (personal identity), and different levels of self-categorisaton become salient depending on a person's particular situation and environment (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000). Collectively, SIT and SCT are referred to as the social identity approach.

Holding a stereotypical, prejudiced image of outgroup members is the result of a competitive social categorisation of one's own ingroup in relation to a particular outgroup, and one of the main predictors of committing violent acts toward them, as this serves to justify one's own behaviour (Alexander, Brewer, & Herrmann, 1999). Consequently, ingoup bias and outgroup prejudice are a major impediment to overcoming social category-based group differences. However, the above-mentioned dynamic nature of social categorisation and identity-creation implies that no socially created group category is ever fixed in time, and hence it is possible to reverse destructive intergroup categorical perceptions with time and in changing environments.

Considering that the newly founded coffee cooperatives and washing stations in Rwanda bring together members of groups previously engaged in violent conflict, social categorisations are bound to be salient, as well as dynamic, concepts in the process of *merging* Hutu and Tutsi in

this context. However, there are at least three theoretical reasons why this process may be problematic. First, organisational psychologists suggest that when members of distinct social groups come together in an economic *merger* (a newly founded coffee cooperative in Rwanda could be equated to that), the members of both groups may, but do not automatically, lose their prior ingroup identification and bias, and conflicting prior identities constitute a major stumbling block for a successful merger (Melewar & Harrold, 2000). What is more, when groups merge that are asymmetric in status, the group with lower status is less likely to identify with the new commercial entity (van Knippenberg, van Knippenberg, Monden, & de Lima, 2002; Terry & O'Brien, 2001). Generally, the positive effect of contact on prejudice reduction is less pronounced for members of minority status groups (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). In contemporary Rwanda, the Hutu group is de-facto associated with genocide perpetration and hence most likely enjoys lower social status under the Tutsi-dominated regime, although this is difficult to prove as public discussion of ethnic identity is effectively prohibited.

Finally, during organisational mergers, it may help to address former identities in order to reduce the potential for conflict in this context (Eggins, Haslam, & Reynolds, 2002). However, the current Rwandan government, is seen by some observers as increasingly authoritarian and divisionist (Reyntjens, 2004). Blocking discussion of ethnic identity is arguably inconsistent with the goal of reconciliation (Staub, 2006), and perhaps reminiscent of Tito's regime in Yugoslavia, yet the particularly pronounced need for economic development in Rwanda, and strong collective focus on reaching "Vision 2020" for all Rwandans may present an opportunity for the creation of new, common, identities around commercial dimensions.

Clearly, an examination of the social categories and identities that are salient in the newly deregulated coffee sector is necessary when attempting to examine attitudes towards reconciliation among coffee farmers who benefit from economic liberalisation in their industry.

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It would be socially unacceptable in contemporary Rwanda to directly assess a change in ethnic categorisation or identification, in any survey context, in the same way as it would be virtually impossible to create survey questions on cross-group prejudice and determine the construct validity of any answer, especially one that suggests the existence of intergroup prejudice. This is because Rwandans are likely to be afraid of severe punishment by the Rwandan government if they speak against official government party lines on ethnic identity, fearing accusations of holding 'genocide ideology', which the Rwandan government has defined so broadly that even opposition to unrelated government positions may result in persecution, human rights activists such as Rwandan genocide expert Alison des Forges argue (afrol News, 2008).

However, Gaertner and his colleagues suggest that social re-categorisation makes intergroup contact more effective, if participants in the intergroup contact replace an 'us vs. them' ideology with a more socially inclusive and overarching identity (Gaertner, Mann, Murrell, & Dovidio, 1989).

Leading on from the above discussion, the research inquiries presented below cover the potential mediating relationship of the development of a more common social identification among survey participants and its effect on attitudes towards reconciliation.

Enquiry 4: The effect of common identification and ethnic distance on reconciliation attitudes.
Proposition 4a:
Coffee workers who report a more common identity, and/or lower ethnic distance, within their community also respond more positively concerning attitudes to reconciliation.
Proposition 4b:
Those coffee workers who have benefited from access to CWSs for a comparably longer period of time experience a more common identity within their community.

Proposition 4c:

People who self identify as Hutu are less likely to report superordinate identities within their

community than people self-identified as Tutsi. This negatively affects their attitudes to

reconciliation.

Enquiry 5: The potential mediating effect of economic and life satisfaction on social

identification

Proposition 5a:

Those participants who report greater economic security also display more common identification

and/or lower ethnic distance. This positively affects their attitudes towards reconciliation.

Proposition 5b:

Those participants who report greater general life satisfaction also display more common

identification and/or lower ethnic distance. This positively affects their attitudes towards

reconciliation.

METHODOLOGY

The sample

The research paradigm consisted of a field survey examination of naturally occurring sub-groups of coffee farmers who were associated with the newly created CWSs in Rwanda. A sample of ten CWSs was used, five of which owned by private entrepreneurs, and the other five were owned by coffee cooperatives. The selection of coffee washing stations was made in cooperation with (and based on advice and recommendations of) staff at *SPREAD,* a major NGO supporting the coffee trade in Butare with which we collaborated, using the criterion of physical proximity to the research team's base location in Butare as main selection factor, beyond a willingness on the side of the coffee washing stations' management team to collaborate in the research. This selection criterion reflected the funding constraint that overnight stays away from home for the interviewer team was not possible.

SPREAD is one of the three USAID-funded NGO's working to develop Rwanda's coffee sector, currently assisting 15 coffee cooperatives and 5 privately owned coffee ventures all over Rwanda. The NGO supports 75 CWS of about 200 currently operating CWS in Rwanda, and 9 of the CWS that SPREAD assists are privately owned. In total, *SRPEAD* works with about 75,000 farmers, about 14,000 of whom (i.e. 18%) are grouped in coffee cooperatives.[5] This means that *SPREAD* is likely to touch the majority of all coffee farmers in Rwanda who may have access to washing their coffee and selling it on the speciality market, i.e. some 50,000 out of the 500,000 people working in coffee there.

The number of farmers associated with the 5 coffee cooperatives selected for the survey is

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[5] Jean-Claude Kayisinga, SPREAD Project deputy director, personal communication, 14 August 2008.

3839,[6] i.e. roughly a quarter of all farmers in coffee cooperatives assisted by SPREAD. It was not possible to obtain equivalent numbers for the 5 privately owned CWSs, as records of farmers selling their coffee cherries to these private entities were not available (they are, after all, not 'members' or shareholders of these companies). 5 out of the 10 CWS owned by the 5 selected cooperatives were chosen for the sample, based on their proximity to Butare, as well as 5 of the 9 CWS owned by private investors. The CWS were created between 2003 and 2007. Coffee from up to 1,000 farmers is washed at a given CWS, and each CWS employs about 40-60 people per season, independent of its ownership structure. Hence the sample population consisted of between 5,000 and 10,000 coffee farmers, i.e. up to a fifth of all coffee farmers touched by the creation of CWSs.

A total number of 240 coffee workers were approached at and around the coffee washing station with which they are associated, on one particular day during the coffee harvesting season. One of these interviews was unusable, leaving a total sample of 239 participants, 126 of whom (53%) were currently employed at CWS, the remainder (113 individuals, or 47%) working exclusively as coffee farmers. 159 members of coffee cooperatives were interviewed (66%), as well as 80 coffee workers (33%) not associated with any coffee cooperative.

121 male participants (51%) and 118 female (49%) coffee workers were interviewed. 34% had no formal education, 61% had gone to primary school, and fewer than 5% (i.e. 11 individuals) had secondary education. The age range was from 18 to 86 years, mean age was just above 38 years old, the median was 35 years, and the mode was 22 of age.

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[6] Pascal Kalisa, SPREAD Quality Control zone coordinator, personal communication, 28 May 2008.

Sampling method

Due to considerable funding and time constraints, the field study period for this exploratory study consisted of no more than 10 days. The sampling method reflected the logistical constraints associated with the brevity of the field research duration.

In this research design, a random sampling technique was not feasible, given the time and funding constraints of the study. This is because the two criteria required to ensuring a random sample, i.e. (1) every potential participant from the target population having an equally-likely chance of being selected for participation, and (2) every selection of a participant being independent of any other selection of participants, would require not only identifying all persons associated with coffee washing stations in Rwanda, but also to subsequently approach and interview a randomly selected sub-set of these individuals. Given that the overwhelming majority of the target population live and work in areas that are difficult to access using motorized transport and are unlikely to be accessible via telephone, it would have been impossible to successfully reach a randomly selected sample during a field research period of 10 days, all the more as detailed statistics on coffee farmers were not readily available to the author.

For this reason, purposive opportunistic sampling was used, despite its restricted ability to generalize the study's results to larger populations. Purposive sampling is a technique customarily used when conducting exploratory field enquiries with people who share a common experience – in the present study, this corresponds to the population of coffee farmers in Rwanda who have experienced the coffee sector deregulation since the early 2000s. Opportunistic sampling is a non-random sampling technique where the researcher benefits from having sudden, unexpected access to members of the target population, with the goal of approximating random sampling due to the unplanned nature of contact with potential research participants.

The coffee workers did not know before the actual day of the survey that the research team intended to carry out the survey on this day; only the managers at each of these coffee washing stations had been informed beforehand and had agreed to facilitate the coffee workers' participation in the survey on the day.

Survey participation was voluntary and no pre-selection of participants occurred in this opportunistic sampling technique, which in conjunction with the fact that ten different coffee washing stations were visited, ensures the largest degree of random assignment feasible for this type of study.

Procedure

During May/June 2008, I coordinated the data collection for this study. Over ten days, I visited ten CWS in conjunction with a research team consisting of 8 paid final-year students and recent graduates from the National University of Rwanda, located in Huye. The Rwandan students conducted surveys in Kinyarwanda, Rwanda's local language with the survey participants in these communities. All students had been selected from a group of 15 volunteers, and undergone extensive training over a 2-week period on the content of the survey instrument, i.e. a standardised questionnaire, and on establishing trust and rapport with participants throughout the confidential interviewing process, yet were blind to the specific research questions of the study[7].

The survey instrument had been pilot-tested during a two-week period in February 2008 using advice and recommendations from 42 informants in Rwanda (see Appendix A) on 5 coffee workers at CWSs in 4 locations selected for the field study. The scale (see Appendix B) had

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[7] Seven of the eight student interviewers self-identified as Tutsi. A selection based on ethnicity was not feasible.

undergone a systematic back-translation procedure that consisted of 5 iterations, due to the two-fold challenge of (1) translating between two very distinct languages, and of (2) the fact that Kinyarwanda is a language with many dialect variations where universal consensus over semantics is comparatively more difficult to achieve than, say, in English. Four of these iterations were carried out with 4 native Kinyarwandan speakers working individually (and sequentially) with myself, and I facilitated the last iteration during one of the training sessions with the eight students who were going to carry out the surveying. This ensured not only that I gained the utmost possible confidence that the meaning of the questions in the survey was correctly translated from English into Kinyarwanda, but also that the research team that was going to administer the survey understood all questions fully and felt a sense of ownership over what became "our" survey.

A small, non-monetary token of appreciation was given to the participants after completion of the interview (either a Polaroid picture of the participant, or a Washington State University T-shirt), which was in line with customary and expected compensation for such research activities in Rwanda. Participants were also given a soft drink halfway through the interview. The soft drink provided the occasion for a short (2 minute) break from the interview process, which took between 30 and 60 minutes to complete. The researchers had been trained to use this occasion to ensure an atmosphere of trust before starting the second section of the questionnaire, dealing with intergroup contact and reconciliation. The researcher remained with the participant at all times throughout the interview.

Confidentiality

Consent was obtained orally from participants. At the beginning of the interview, the researcher read out the content of the consent form in Kinyarwanda to the participant and handed

the form to the participant, without asking him or her to sign another copy. This was because the researchers wanted to avoid identifying the participant's at any time during the interviewing process, in order to ensure the maximum amount of trust and openness from the participant in answering questions about the genocide and reconciliation, which are without any doubt sensitive topics in contemporary Rwanda and needed to be discussed in a confidential setting. In addition, at several points during the administration of the survey instrument were the respondent reminded that their answers would be kept anonymous. Finally, respondents were reminded of their choice not to answer questions relating to intergroup conflict and reconciliation in Rwanda, and they were encouraged at the end of the survey session to indicate their ethnic identity in a 'secret ballot' procedure (outlined below), and also if they felt indeed able to provide truthful answers or not. The Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects at George Mason University, the Institutional Review Board at Washington State University, as well as the National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda, approved the research procedure and documents.

Discussing ethnicity has always been an awkward topic in Rwanda after the genocide, especially after the post-genocide government had introduced its policy of unity and reconciliation, strongly discouraging anybody in Rwanda from using the words "Hutu" or "Tutsi", insisting that Rwanda merely consisted of "Rwandans". Previous researchers, e.g. Staub and colleagues (2005) and Pham and colleagues (2004), who carried out cross-group studies in 1999 and 2002, respectively, did ask research participants at the end of surveying directly what their ethnic identity was (of course granting participants the option of not responding). However, the taboo nature of discussing ethnic identity in Rwanda has over the last few years become considerably stronger, which made it impossible for the present research team to even consider asking participants directly what their ethnic identity was, despite the need to determine the ethnic mix of the groups examined, in order to validate answers to reconciliation questions.

Public discourse in today's Rwanda resorts to using group descriptions that circumscribe the meaning of ethnic identity in Rwanda reasonably well (e.g. "genocide survivor" for a person identified as Tutsi during the genocide, or "retournee" – a "returning" person – for a person identified as Tutsi who came to Rwanda after the end of the genocide). Hence these 'synonyms' were used to ask participants to self-identify as Tutsi, and, as had been done in another recent research study with Rwandans (Paluck, 2007), the question of "do you have family members in prison" was used to assess persons' identification as Hutu.

Ethnic identity questions, as well as questions geared at assessing a participant's perceived ability to answer honestly, were assessed using a 'secret ballot' procedure at the very end of the interview. During this procedure, the interviewer explained and showed the questions on ethnic identity and truth in responding (see Appendix B, last page) to the participant, without asking the participant to complete the answer at that point, and illustrated how the participant was to seal the questionnaire into an unmarked envelope without the help of the interviewer afterwards. Due to the fact that between a quarter and a third of all participants were unlikely to be able to read (Globalis, undated), these questions were illustrated with different graphical representations (e.g. a square for the "Tutsi" category, a circle for the "Hutu" category, and a star for the question assessing perceived social pressure in responding), to ensure that participants could understand the meaning of the questions without having to read the question texts. At two times following this explanation, the interviewer asked the participant whether these questions were clear to him or her, and only when the interviewer was confident that the participant had fully understood the procedure, left the participant alone to answer the question privately. The participant was then asked to place the unmarked envelope containing his or her survey in a vessel containing all other surveys in unmarked envelopes collected during the same day, before receiving his or her token of appreciation in return for participating in the survey effort.

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SURVEY INSTRUMENT AND SCALES

A survey instrument specifically designed for the purpose of this study was used, consisting of adapted versions of scales used in related social psychology research (as outlined in further detail below).

Proxy variables for reconciliation attitudes

Since there is no cross-validated scale measuring attitudes towards reconciliation in Rwanda, and there do not seem to be other comprehensive measurement scales in the public domain measuring reconciliation variables within any other cultures, I based the development of my measurement of attitudes towards reconciliation among Rwandan coffee farmers on conceptualisations and psychological concepts related to reconciliation and forgiveness that have been reported upon in previous scholarly articles. As mentioned before, reconciliation and forgiveness are related constructs, and hence it is assumed that factors predicting forgiveness may also be useful as proxy variables predicting reconciliation attitude. Prior studies of the conflict in Northern Ireland and between Israelis and Palestinians revealed that trust, perspective-taking, empathy and outgroup heterogeneity are positively correlated with forgiveness and reconciliation (Worthington, 2005; Nadler & Liviatan, 2006; Hewstone et al., 2004; Batson, 1997; Cehajic et al., 2008), whilst ingroup bias (Hogg, M. A., Sherman, D. K., Dierselhuis, J., Maitner, A. T., & Moffitt, G., 2007; Hewstone et al., 2004), distrust (Hewstone, Kenworthy, Cairns, Tausch, Hughes, Tam, Voci, von Hecker, & Pinder, 2008), and the perception of threat and insecurity (Staub, 1998) are negative predictors.

In particular, I used Staub et al.'s (2005) *Orientation to the Other (OOM)* scale as basis

for my assessment of variables related to reconciliation attitudes in Rwanda.[8] Staub, a noted

genocide scholar familiar with the Rwandan context, had with his colleagues developed and

administered in 1999 this scale on "the essence of psychological reconciliation" (Staub et al.,

2005, p. 313), using a sample of Rwandans that consisted mainly of Tutsi women recruited by

local organisations. However, as this scale had only been used and validated for one field study

nearly a decade ago with a sample whose selection might have be slightly skewed, and the socio-

political landscape in Rwanda has been changing continuously in the meantime, it was necessary

to extend the underlying conceptual framework. Following detailed discussions with informants

during the pilot study in Rwanda in February, I added the additional reconciliation variables

developed since the new millennium and outlined in the previous paragraph to my reconciliation

attitudes scale, and subsequently reviewed these changes to the original scale with Ervin Staub

via email.

Factor analysis of reconciliation attitude variables

It was not feasible to separately administer the reconciliation scale and factor-analyse it in

advance of the surveying period, hence I created a larger scale and then selected the items used

for my assessments following a factor-analysis of the responses.

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[8] Staub et al.'s (2005) study is one of the two published surveys measuring attitudes towards reconciliation in Rwanda. The other study I was able to locate in the academic literature on this topic is Pham, Weinstein, & Longman's (2004) assessment of trauma & PTSD symptoms linked to attitudes toward justice and reconciliation in Rwanda, administered in 2002. I obtained the actual scale from Phuong Pham after developing my own, and found that the four factors she and her colleagues had extracted (community, nonviolence, social justice and interdependence) were conceptually similar to the five factors my factor analysis produced (see below).

I developed a 17-question scale containing 11 of the 21 items that Staub et al. had used in their (2005) study.[9] Two of Staub et al.'s original items ("I can forgive members of the other group who acknowledge that their group has done bad things", and "The violence has created great loss for everyone") were phrased negatively in my scale, to minimise an affirmative bias among respondents. The additional concepts added to the scale relate to empathy ("I feel compassion for families who have family members in prison" and "I feel sorry for families who have lost family members during the genocide"), adapted from Davis' (1994) Interpersonal Reactivity Index, distrust ("It is naïve to trust" and "There is a lot of distrust in our communities"), leaning on a scale used by Tam, Hewstone, Kenworthy, Cairns, Marinetti, Geddes, & Parkinson in their (2008) study of reconciliation in Northern Ireland and based on phrases used by Paluck (2007), as well as an expectation of a peaceful future ("The Rwandan conflict is nearing its resolution", and "The groups in Rwanda will never live together peacefully" (recoded during analysis)), which were adaptations of items used in Nadler & Liviatan's (2006) study of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

All items were assessed on a 4-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 1 (strong agreement) to 4 (strong disagreement), with the option of not providing an answer. The responses were entered into a principal components analysis, and both unrotated and varimax rotations were considered during the analysis. The items selected for the final reconciliation attitudes scale were

[9] I removed from the original scale 4 items relating to a relationship with god, as religion was not the focus of my study, and the only published reference I found on religiosity in connection with reconciliation (in the Northern Ireland context) indicated that it may be merely a weak predictor for forgiving (Cairns et al., 2005). I also removed 4 items related to victimhood during the genocide, as my sample was dominated by Hutus, rather than Tutsis (as had been the case for Staub et al.'s scale), hence I deemed this concept less relevant for my study. Finally, I removed one item on conditional forgiveness, as this concept had already been expressed in three other questions, and rephrased the item "there can be a better future with the two groups living together in harmony" with "the Rwandan conflict is nearing its resolution" due to clearer conceptual validity of the latter item during the pilot study.

based on the rotated correlation matrix, using a cut-off factor loading point of .45 (to avoid

complex structures). Five meaningful factors reflecting the academic literature on reconciliation

were confirmed, i.e. perspective-taking, distrust (negatively correlated), group heterogeneity, an

expectation of peace in the future, and conditional forgiveness. The five factors were made up of

11 items in the scale, and accounted for 44% of the scale's total variance. Two additional factors

had Eigenvalues of just about 1, yet accounted for less than 7% of total variance and were not

coherent with the reconciliation literature, hence omitted from the analysis. Table 1 below lists

items and factor loadings for the factors examined during this analysis.

Table 1: Items related to attitudes towards reconciliation in conjunction with extracted factors and their factor loadings

English version of wording	Factor loading
Factor 1: perspective-taking (towards Hutu actions during genocide)	Factor 1:
It was very dangerous for Hutu to help Tutsi during the genocide	.82
Some Hutu endangered themselves by helping Tutsi	.78
Factor 2: Distrust	Factor 2:
It is naïve to trust	.82
There is a lot of distrust in our communities	.64
Factor 3: (Hutu group) heterogeneity	Factor 3:
Not all Hutu participated in the genocide	.77
Members of the other group are human beings, like everyone else	.64
The acts of perpetrators do not make all Hutu bad people	.49
Factor 4: Expectation of peaceful future	Factor 4:
The groups in Rwanda will never live together peacefully (recoded)	.71
The Rwandan conflict is nearing its resolution	.45
Factor 5: Conditional forgiveness	Factor 5:
I cannot forgive members of the other group, even if they acknowledge that their group has done bad things (recoded)	.78
I can forgive members of the other group who acknowledge the harm their group did	.68
Additional items not selected during factor analysis	
Each group has harmed the other in Rwanda	Factor 6: .44
There were complex reasons for the violence in Rwanda	Factor 2, 3, 4: .4
I could begin to forgive members of the other group if they requested forgiveness of my group	Factor 6: -.62
The genocide has only had negative consequences for one group	Factor 6: .58
I feel compassion for families who have family members in prison	Factor 1, 4: .4
I feel sorry for families who have lost family members during the genocide	Factor 7: .81

Compared to the two other scales measuring reconciliation attitudes (i.e. Staub et al., 2005, and Pham et al., 2004), more factors (i.e. five, rather than one, and four, respectively) proved meaningful. This may be related to the fact that both prior scales had been administered nine and six years ago, respectively, before the 2003 general elections in Rwanda. It is likely that the post-genocide political landscape was less complex then. With the main opposition party being banned from running for election in 2003, as well as humanitarian concerns about the Rwandan government's reconciliation efforts rising, the reconciliation concept in Rwanda today may be more multi-dimensional than before.

Factors 1 and 3, i.e. the two factors focusing on a conciliatory stance towards actions of the Hutu group during the genocide, are correlated ($r = .142$, $p < .05$), and map onto Staub et al.'s (2005) explanation of the first two elements of their *Orientation to the Other* scale, in that they conceptually relate to a person's perspective on the complex roots of violence in Rwanda. Factors 2 and 4 are negatively correlated ($r = .197$, $p < .01$), and thus illustrate that distrust and an expectation of a future full of peace in Rwanda are inverse constructs. The fifth factor, on conditional forgiveness, again maps directly onto the *Orientation to the Other* scale that also strongly loaded onto this concept. Since the reconciliation items were measured using 4-point Likert-type scales, ranging from "1 = strong agreement" to "4 = strong disagreement", low values indicate a participant's agreement with a particular factor. All five factors were kept for the analyses, rather than computed into a single 'reconciliation attitude' score, in order to understand as much granularity during this exploratory study as possible.

Structural variables

Ethnic identification

In addition to assessing participants' demographic details such as gender and education levels, they were also asked to provide their ethnic identification, as they had been 'classified' during the time of the genocide. Due to the sensitive nature of this in the Rwandan context this was carried out using a 'secret ballot' procedure (as outlined in the 'Confidentiality' section above).

During the pilot study, I was strongly encouraged to not only substitute socially acceptable common parlance synonyms for the terms "Hutu" and "Tutsi", but also create an option signalling that a person "belongs to both groups".[10] It was deemed that this would constitute an opportunity for those persons who would feel too uncomfortable to declare (even on paper, privately) their former ethnic identity as Hutu and in this way be able to complete the questionnaire. It was also explained to me that persons formerly identified as Tutsi would most likely accurately select one of the two options reserved for their group, i.e. "genocide survivor" or "returning person" (for Tutsi who had returned to, or first arrived in, Rwanda after the end of the genocide). This is because membership of the Hutu group carries a much larger stigma in most public parts of contemporary Rwandan society than being known as a Tutsi, and many Rwandans do not like to be reminded of this historic classification. What is more, the identifier in my survey for the Hutu group that was deemed most politically correct was the question of

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[10] Rwanda is a paternalistic society, and the ethnic identifications introduced by the Belgian colonists were based on a person's father, i.e. if a child had a Hutu father but a Tutsi mother, s/he was identified as a Hutu. Conversely, independent of the mother's ethnic identity, if a child's father was classified as a Tutsi, the child was also a Tutsi.

whether "many members of your group have been imprisoned after the genocide" – although polite, it may potentially still be too inquisitive for some.

It follows from there that it was possible to apply a rule to the 53 respondents (23%) who exclusively selected the "both groups" option, by adding them to the Hutu group, as well as those who had selected this option in addition to selecting the "belonging to a different group" (3 people). Whenever a participant selected an identifier for either Hutu or the Tutsi group, this identifier 'overruled' the selection of the "both groups", which was the case for 9 individuals added to the Hutu group, and 5 individuals each added to the Tutsi group because of their selecting "both groups" as well as "genocide survivor" or "returning person", respectively. This procedure ostensibly adds a degree of measurement error to the ethnic identification calculations, and is clearly not entirely logical (a Hutu could select to be a genocide survivor in this procedure just as much as he or she could select the "both groups" option in the secret ballot) yet there was a strong consensus among the pilot study informants that this would be sufficient to ensure the largest degree possible in accuracy whilst minimising embarrassment and shame.

165 individuals (69%) were thus classified as Hutu, 25% (or 59 individuals) as Tutsi, and 11 individuals as belonging to another group (5%). These figures seem reasonably accurate and reflect the ethnic proportions reported in Pham et al.'s (2004) representative nationwide study. Four individuals (out of 239) did not provide valid ethnic identifications.

Ethnic Mix

Across the ten survey sites, I calculated the ethnic mix between the 224 individuals who could be identified as either Hutu or Tutsi, in order to test for any effects of this on survey responses. The proportion of Hutu to Tutsi ranged from 54% Hutu (to 38% Tutsi) to 83% Hutu

(to 13% Tutsi) across the locations. I created four ranking categories of ethnicity mix, ranging from 1 to 4 (1= <60% Hutu, 2= 60-69% Hutu, 3= 70-79% Hutu, 4=>79% Hutu).

Other structural variables

Participants were asked if they were currently employed at the CWS where the interviews were conducted, and whether they were a member of a coffee cooperative. Affirmative answers were coded as "1=yes", negative answers were coded as "2=no".

The ownership structure of the CWS (i.e. whether the CWS was owned by a cooperative or by a private investor) was recorded as a nominal variable, as well as how long it had been in operation on an ordinal scale in years. This was done in order to ascertain any differences in responses due to such structural variables. Table 2 below lists the ethnicity mix across location, in conjunction with an indication of the ownership structure, and its 'age', or in other words, an indication of how long the CWS at a particular location has been in operation. The visited CWSs had been in operation for a range of 1 up to 6 years, with the majority having existed for 3-4 years.

Table 2: Ethnic mix across locations (with an indication of when CWS was created and what its ownership structure is)

Location	*Ownership Type*	*CWS 'age'*	*% Hutu*	*% Tutsi*	*Ethnic Mix value*
Buff Café	Private	3	54	38	1
Maraba (Sovu)	Cooperative	4	61	30	2
Mayaga	Private	1	67	33	2
Ngera	Private	2	70	30	2
Ntyazo	Cooperative	2	71	26	3
Nyakizu	Cooperative	4	71	29	3
Sonicoff	Private	3	75	21	3
Mugombwa	Cooperative	4	73	18	3
Koakaka	Cooperative	6	79	13	4
MIG	Private	4	83	13	4

Social factors

Intergroup contact

Due to its pivotal position at the core of the correlational analysis of this study, several related items were designed to measure the quality of intergroup contact between Hutu and Tutsi participants. The first set of items was a measure of intergroup contact frequency ("How much contact do you have with members from the other group"), asking participants to provide frequency ratings (none, approximately once a month, approximately once a week, every day), and the second item pair measured intergroup contact affect ("In general, when you meet a member from the other group, do you find the contact pleasant or unpleasant"), based on Tam et al. (2007). Both item sets measured contact at work and socially. Affirmative answers were coded as "1=yes", negative answers were coded as "2=no".

The third measure of intergroup contact aimed at assessing deep interdependence or high-quality contact, deemed particularly important in its relationship with reconciliation (Staub, 2006; Cehajic et al., 2008). The scale measured several aspects of meaningful social contact in recent years[11], asking participants to indicate how frequently they had met socially with members of the other group in Rwanda, helped members of the other group, received help from them, celebrated together (wedding etc.), and attended a funeral together. Frequencies were measured as "never", "less than 2 times per year", "about 2 times per year", "more than 2 times per year". The item had been adapted from the World Bank Social Capital Survey (Grootaert, Narayan, Jones, & Woolcock, 2003, item 5.15). All items provided a "no answer" option.

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[11] All questions referring to the past differed in their reference point, depending on whether the survey was carried out at a coffee cooperative (in this case, the past reference point was "before you joined the cooperative"), or at a privately owned CWS ("5 years ago").

Although each contact sub-scale was internally consistent (Cronbach α, a measure of internal reliability, was α= .6, α= .91, and α= .78, respectively), I analysed each contact scale separately in its relationship with the other variables of the study (as outlined below), in order to understand the multiple dimensions of intergroup contact *quality* in its effect on reconciliation.

Ethnic distance

Social distance, or the degree to which someone avoids members from another group, is a strong (negative) correlate of reconciliation variables such as forgiving, trust, and outgroup heterogeneity (e.g. Cehajic et al., 2008). In the Rwandan context, intergroup avoidance is likely based on ethnic identification, hence I based my intergroup distance measure on ethnic divisions, incorporating classic social distance measures, as described in the World Bank's (2003) Social Capital Survey, and incorporating elements of measurement scales used in Paluck's (2007) dissertation. A set of questions asked participants to indicate "yes" if they were willing to interact with a member of a group that has done harm to a person from their group in the past (e.g. share a beer, let this person look after their child, allow their child to marry this person, or none of the above), both currently and in the past. I computed two sub-scales from participants' answers; the first, 'Ethnic distance today', counting all ethnic intergroup interaction types currently (α=.96), and the other, 'Ethnic distance change' constituted the difference between an affirmative answer today and in the past for the option 'none of the above'.

Common ingroup identity

As mentioned before, it would have been problematic to assess intergroup prejudice or bias using traditional intergroup attitude scales in the current political Rwandan context, not only because participants would be extremely uncomfortable discussing ethnicity directly, but also

because the validity of responses would be virtually impossible to determine. Hence typical measurement scales used in reconciliation research, such as Wright et al.'s (1997) general evaluation scale, asking a participant to rate members of the other group as warm/cold or friendly/hostile, or Haddock, Zanna, & Esses' (1993) evaluation thermometer, eliciting overall evaluations of a typical member of the other group on a scale from 0 to 100, with 0 being 'extremely unfavourable', cannot be used to assess intergroup prejudice in its relation to reconciliation in Rwanda.

Therefore I focused on social re-categorisation in my assessment, leaning on Gaertner & Dovidio's (2000) Common Ingroup Identity model, which stipulates that intergroup relations improve as the situation induces more inclusive, overarching categorisations of formerly antagonistic groups. In this sense, a lack of intergroup prejudice would correspond to a view of a more inclusive, interdependent social identity. This view also maps onto Pham et al.'s (2004) component analysis of their reconciliation scale, where an 'interdependence' factor (identifying mutual ties and obligations across ethnic boundaries) formed part of the set of concepts related to reconciliation.

For the purpose of measuring the degree to which a participant viewed their social identity as overlapping with the ones of other groups in Rwanda, I adapted Aron, Aron, & Smollan's (1992) Inclusion of Other in the Self (IOS) scale. This pictorial scale, consisting in my survey of four increasingly overlapping circles (ranked from 1 = 'not integrated at all' to 4 = 'very integrated'), was used and explained to participants as representing a person's general perception of overlap between ethnic identities in Rwanda, without making a direct reference to Hutu or Tutsi groups.

Common goals and solidarity

A perception of having common goals with one's outgroup is referenced in classic psychology literature as being a negative correlate of intergroup prejudice (e.g. Allport, 1954; Sherif, 1966). Hence I asked participants directly whether people in their community share common goals, on a 4-item Likert-type scale (stronger agreement was expressed using lower values), and used the scores during the correlation analyses.

I also incorporated a related concept in the study, on solidarity and concern for others. Two questions assessed this idea using the same scale intervals: "In general, do people here feel solidarity and help each other", and "Is it true that people here cannot afford to be too concerned about others because most people are only concerned about themselves" (reverse-coded). The questions were elements of de Rivera's (1992) *emotional climate* scale, and computed into a composite 'solidarity' score, with high values indicating a high degree of solidarity with others.

Individual Factors

Economic and Life Satisfaction/Security

Out of a recognition that the frustration of basic human needs such as the need for security (Staub, 1998) and difficult life conditions contribute to mass violence (Staub, 2006), the reverse should apply concerning factors contributing to reconciliation. Hence participants' economic security or satisfaction was measured, by asking "How happy are you about your economic situation", both in relation to the recent past as well as currently, on a 4-item scale.

A life satisfaction measure on a 4-item scale, adapted from Diener, Emmons, Larson, & Griffin (1985), was also created, consisting of three statements on life satisfaction (e.g. "In most ways my life is...", or "The conditions of my life are…") that the participant was asked to

complete, for his or her life situation currently and with regards to the recent past. Difference scores were computed to assess changes in these ratings over time.

Manipulation check

Rwandan society is very polite, and prior reconciliation researchers in Rwanda (Staub et al., 2005) reported on social desirability threatening research. For this reason, I included two items at the end of the survey, which the participants were encouraged to consider privately during the secret ballot part of the survey. Participants were asked to mark a star-shaped symbol if they felt any pressure during the interview to say what others would want them to say. Similarly, they were asked to mark a symbol in the shape of a sun if they did not feel comfortable to answer truthfully. Eight participants selected the former symbol, and 5 the latter, with one person marking both symbols. Thus 12 people in total, i.e. 5% of all participants, expressed unease about being honest during the survey.[12] Taken together, this comparatively low level of concern regarding honest responses suggests that for most responses, at least a face-valid degree of honesty was achieved during the study.

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[12] These responses were kept in the analysis, as it was unclear how extensive misreporting was for each individual participant.

DATA ANALYSIS

Overview

Due to the exploratory nature of this research, the data analysis was set up as a correlational study. I conducted a series of correlational analyses across the variables measured in the survey, in order to gain a better understanding of the psychological factors that seem to change alongside the coffee industry deregulation that has been occurring in Rwanda in recent years. Correlation is of course not the same as causation, and without a control group in a non-experimental study it is difficult to observe causal relationships,[13] let alone gain clarity over the direction of statistical relationships. Nonetheless, I lean on Straus' (2006) argument, suggesting that in exploratory studies such as his study of Rwandan genocide perpetrators, the mere absence of a correlation is informative in that it suggests the absence of a causal relationship. Hence I provide below cautious support for a further exploration of variables that are correlated in my study. What is more, I report on statistical comparisons between *naturally occurring sub*groups within the changing coffee sector and their attitudes towards reconciliation, with the goal of providing a preliminary insight in the structural variables that may contribute to positive social change associated with the liberalisation of Rwanda's coffee industry.

To reiterate the starting position of this study, the journalistic reports linking changes in Rwanda's coffee sector with reconciliation suggest that increased intergroup contact and collaboration lead to positive changes in attitudes between Hutu and Tutsi coffee farmers in

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[13] As the study's subject is the social change associated with deregulation in a specific sector, the only comparable control group would have been coffee farmers who are not located near a CWS, and the reason why the currently existing CWS have been created in the locations where they are is that these locations are more accessible. For the same reason was it logistically not feasible to add such a control group to the present study.

Rwanda. This suggests that contact and collaboration may act as *mediators* of the relationship between industry changes and reconciliation attitudes. The triggering, predicting effect of contact on forgiving is mirrored in the post-conflict literature in environments such as Northern Ireland (Hewstone et al., 2004), Israel-Palestine (Nadler & Liviatan, 2006), and Bosnia (Cehajic et al., 2008).

I have therefore organised the data analysis of this study in four sections; first, I outline the general tendencies of the sample concerning reconciliation-related variables, in conjunction with the general findings for the individual and social factors from the survey that they may correlate with and that therefore may function as potential mediators of the hypothesised link between deregulation in the Rwandan coffee sector and reconciliation. Second, I provide an examination of the correlation between social factors from the reconciliation literature, such as deep intergroup contact and a common identity, on variables related to reconciliation (e.g. conditional forgiveness and perspective-taking), in order to confirm the statistical validity of these factors as potential mediators on attitudes towards reconciliation among the sample's coffee farmers. Third, I analyse the individual factors examined in the survey that are linked to attitudes towards reconciliation. Finally, I report on the correlations between relevant structural variables linked to the industry changes in Rwanda's coffee sector and the factors correlated with attitudes towards reconciliation mentioned above. This is because I intend to provide a preliminary insight into a chain of factors that allows a deeper understanding of how and why there may be a positive change in intergroup relationships among these coffee farmers. The ultimate goal of this analysis is to contribute to the preparation of a path model for the variables, so that structural equation analyses can be conducted in order to ascertain causal relationships between variables.

I report on bivariate correlations between ordinal variables, point biserial correlations for the dichotomous variables 'cooperative membership' and 'employment status', a contingency

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coefficient for the nominal variable 'ownership structure', and Spearman rank order correlations when correlating ethnicity mix to common identity.

The majority of the examined variables are missing on average between 6 or 7 scores, due to missing data collection for the corresponding responses. Every correlation reported here, however, is based on an N of at least 220.

Ethnicity effects

It is worth mentioning ahead of the analysis proper that ethnicity did not have any significant effect on any variables outlined below. This means that Hutus and Tutsis reported comparable levels of agreement concerning attitudes towards reconciliation, despite the fact that some reconciliation variables seemed, at initial examination, to be more relevant for one group. In particular, there was a slightly higher percentage of Hutu participants who agreed strongly with factor 1, i.e. perspective taking towards Hutu actions during the genocide (90% vs. 85% of all Tutsi participants). The same applied to factor 3 on Hutu group heterogeneity (98% agreed strongly, vs. 95% of Tutsi), indicating a slight bias of Hutus to 'take the side of' Hutu persons in general. By the same token, a slightly higher percentage of Tutsi participants agreed strongly with factor 5, on conditional forgiveness (98% vs. 95% of Hutus), as one might argue that Tutsi in general may find the concept of forgiving more relevant for their own group. However, neither of these differences proved significant, which adds to the claim that these variables validly measure reconciliatory attitudes in Rwanda, independent of whether the respondent was Hutu or Tutsi.

A largely similar result applies to the effect of the ethnicity mix in a particular survey location. The only statistically significant correlation of this variable that could be observed was with a perception of common identity, with more ethnically homogeneous groups reporting a

comparatively more overarching identity, which is as expected. The lack of any additional

significant correlation of ethnicity mix with other predictors for reconciliation attitudes provides

further support for the construct validity of the claim that the observed effect may have occurred

for both main ethnic groups.

The diagram on the next page illustrates the concepts that proved to have statistically

significant correlations with other variables in the study.

Correlational Model

Solid lines between concepts denote correlations at p< .01 while dashed connections symbolise correlations at p< .05.

Structural Factors

Individual Factors

Social Factors

Reconciliation Attitudes

Ethnic Mix

Cooperative Membership

CWS Ownership Structure

CWS Length of Existence

Economic Security
(1) Change
(2) Today

Life Satisfaction
(1) Change
(2) Today

Contact Frequency

Contact Affect

Deep Contact

Ethnic Distance
(3) Change
(4) Today

Common Identity

Solidarity

Perspective-taking (Hutu actions during genocide)

Distrust
(neg. *r* reported here)

(Hutu) Group Heterogeneity

Peaceful Expectation for the Future

Conditional Forgiveness

General tendencies

Attitudes towards reconciliation

The items measuring participants' attitudes towards reconciliation were assessed on a 4-item Likert-style scale ('1' denoting strong agreement, '4' denoting strong disagreement).

Most participants strongly agreed with factors 1, 3, 4 and 5, i.e. the items measuring perspective taking towards Hutu actions during the genocide (M= 1.29, SD= .67), heterogeneity of the Hutu group (M= 1.19, SD= .46), peaceful expectations for the future (M= 1.24, SD= .52), and conditional forgiveness (M= 1.08, SD= .32). Conversely, the majority of respondents disagreed with factor 2, measuring distrust (M= 2.62, SD= 1.01). Since distrust is a concept negatively correlated with an attitude of reconciliation, this means that all five factors have elicited a broad level of general agreement among participants. Overall, participants tended to report a positive stance concerning the reconciliation factors in the survey, with largely corresponding mean values suggesting the existence of a potential ceiling factor.

Social factors linked with reconciliation

The items measuring ethnic distance were computed as follows: the 'ethnic distance today' score was obtained by counting each of five possible interaction types from a classic social distance scale (hence high scores indicate low ethnic distance), and the 'ethnic distance change' score constituted the difference between an affirmative answer today and in the past for a statement indicating that none of the social interaction would be taken up by

the participant. In this way, a high numeric score for 'Ethnic distance change' signals less ethnic distance today than previously.

Intergroup contact frequencies at work and socially were coded such that high values denote highly frequent intergroup contact. Intergroup affect was coded so that participants who agreed that contact with members of the other group was pleasant would score '1', while those who disagreed would score '2'. Deep contact was measured by counting frequencies of meaningful intergroup contact. High values denoted deep contact.

Common ingroup identity was measured using a 4-item scale. High scores denote more integrated group identities among participants.

Ratings for common goals in the community were provided on a 4-item Likert-type scale, with low ratings denoting strong agreement. The two items measuring solidarity used the same scale, and were computed into a composite score (after reverse-coding one of the items), with high scores denoting high solidarity.

The following table illustrates mean and standard deviation scores for the social factors outlined in this section.

Table 3: Mean and standard deviation scores for social factors linked to reconciliation attitudes.

Social factor	Mean	Standard deviation
Ethnic distance today	3.53	2.12
Ethnic distance reduction	.97	.164
Intergroup contact frequency (work)	3.81	.63
Intergroup contact frequency (socially)	3.83	.5
Contact frequency (computed score)	7.65	.96
Contact affect	2.01	.32
Deep contact	17.32	3.68
Common ingroup	3.51	.67
Solidarity	6.18	1.53

In general, high degrees of ethnic distance reduction, highly frequent social and work-related contact, as well as a highly common ingroup identity were reported.[14] Participants also tended to confirm the existence of solidarity among community members.

Relevant individual factors linked to attitudes towards reconciliation

Economic satisfaction today and in the past was measured on a 4-item scale, with low scores indicating high degrees of economic satisfaction. I computed a score on 'economic satisfaction change' by deducting a participant's current economic satisfaction score from their assessment of their past, hence a high 'economic satisfaction change' score indicates an improvement in economic satisfaction in recent years. 45% of participants reported a one-point improvement (on a 4-item scale) in economic satisfaction in recent years, for 22% this was a two-point increase, and 10% even reported a 3-point increase in economic satisfaction. 15% experienced no change in economic satisfaction while fewer than 5% (4.6) indicated a decrease by one or two points. This is strong support for the assertion that coffee farmers with access to CWS are experiencing economic gains.

Life satisfaction ratings today and in the past were provided on a 4-item scale, and both indicators ('life satisfaction change' and 'life satisfaction today') were computed so that higher scores indicate higher life satisfaction. 80% of participants reported a positive life satisfaction change, while for 10% life satisfaction had remained unchanged over recent years. Only 7% indicated less life satisfaction today. In a similar vein to the figures on economic satisfaction above, these figures indicate that the overwhelming majority of the sample experienced positive life satisfaction gains in recent years.

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[14] Again, high mean values suggest that a ceiling effect may apply.

Social factors correlated with attitudes towards reconciliation

Bivariate correlations were conducted between the social factors outlined above and the factors on reconciliation attitudes obtained during the principal component analysis (also described in the previous section). As mentioned before, two pairs of the reconciliation attitude factors were correlated (factors 1 and 3, and 2 and 4, respectively), yet I kept the low level of granularity intact in order to show specific relationships of a particular reconciliation factor with predictor variables (more on this below).

Contact predictors

Frequent contact correlates with low distrust scores ($r= .167$, $p<.01$), and with conditional forgiveness ($r= -.161$, $p<.05$). In particular, highly frequent work contact is highly correlated with low distrust ($r= .193$, $p<.01$), while highly frequent social contact is linked to conditional forgiveness ($r= -.163$, $p<.05$). Pleasant contact affect is highly correlated with ethnic distance reduction ($r= -.375$, $p<.01$). Another interesting correlation is that work contact, both concerning frequency ($r= .236$, $p<.01$) and affect ($r= -.149$, $p<.01$), is linked to deep contact. Deep contact, in turn, correlates with low distrust ($r= .172$, $p<.01$), illustrating that the link between trust and contact variables is strong and multidimensional.

Ethnic Distance

Ethnic distance reduction correlates with low distrust ($r= .209$, $p<.05$), and with a peaceful expectation for the future ($r= -.253$, $p<.01$). Low ethnic distance today is linked to a heterogeneous perception of the Hutu group in Rwanda ($r= -.195$, $p<.01$). Low distrust is again a concept strongly linked to low ethnic distance, and it is interesting to see that

participants who report low ethnic avoidance patterns also see the heterogeneity of the group often associated with genocide perpetrators in Rwanda. This also points to the conceptual link between higher intergroup contact and lowered prejudice, expressed as a recognition of the humanity of the outgroup member.

Common Identity

A perception of a common identity (expressed as figuratively including other groups in one's own group perspective) correlates with heterogeneous group perceptions of Hutu (r= -.177, p<.01) and with positive expectations of a peaceful future (r= -.176, p<.01). It is also linked to ethnic distance reduction (r= .229, p<.05).

Common goals and solidarity

Unexpectedly, the face-valid question on common goals in the participants' community did not significantly correlate with any other variable in the study. This could be for one of two reasons; either common, shared goals are not genuinely related to reconciliation attitudes in Rwanda and hence this concept, which Allport counted among the optimal conditions to induce a positive effect of contact over prejudice reduction, is not as relevant as was assumed. This would be in line with Pettigrew and Tropp's (2006) argument that there is substantial variability in the effect of contact's optimal conditions on intergroup relations. Or, the concept was insufficiently operationalised in the Rwandan context, despite the strong face validity of its measurement. It would be useful to explore a more comprehensive conceptualisation of the concept in a future field study.

However, the two questions on solidarity and concern for others proved to be correlated with a highly heterogeneous perception of Hutus (r= -.256, p<.01), peaceful

expectations for the future in Rwanda ($r= -.231$, p<.01), as well as with deep contact ($r= .135$, p<.05), a common identity perception ($r= .188$, p<.01) and high economic satisfaction today ($r= -.190$, p<.01). This suggests that solidarity among coffee workers may be a stronger predictor for reconciliation attitudes in Rwanda than what is being discussed in public parlance today. More research on this may shed further light on this correlation.

Individual factors correlated with reconciliation attitudes

Economic and Life Satisfaction

Changes in economic satisfaction are strongly linked with changes in life satisfaction ($r= .174$, p<.01), and both concepts' 'today' scores are also highly correlated ($r= -.272$, p<.01)[15]. Participants who reported high degrees of economic satisfaction today also reported low distrust ($r= .140$, p<.05), strong conditional forgiveness ($r= -.142$, p<.05), and low ethnic distance ($r= .160$, p<.05). Those coffee workers who indicated high degrees of life satisfaction today also promoted a peaceful expectation for the future ($r= -.167$, p<.01), and a strong common identity ($r= .216$, p<.01).

Structural variables and their correlations

As reported above, ethnicity was not significantly correlated with any variables in this study. By the same token, no gender effects could be detected, suggesting that male and female respondents provided comparable answers. With regards to education levels, no significant correlations with the study's other variables could be found.

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[15] Note that unlike scores for 'Life Satisfaction today', high values for 'Economic Satisfaction today' indicate less satisfaction, as outlined in the previous section.

Ethnic Mix

The more homogeneously Hutu the sub-sample at a given CWS was, the more these participants saw their community as having a common identity (r_s= .155, p= .016, SE = .064), which makes sense as an ethnically homogeneous group would go along with little ethnic conflict potential, at least at the community level.

Membership in a coffee cooperative

Members of coffee cooperatives were more likely to have experienced a positive change in economic satisfaction (r= -.145, p<.05, M = 1.18, SD = 1.06), and also rated their life satisfaction today higher than coffee workers not associated in cooperatives (r= -.155, p<.05, M = 8.61, SD = 1.98). They were less likely to have high distrust (r= -.151, p<.05, M = 2.62, SD = 1.01). Concerning contact patterns, cooperative membership meant that participants reported more positive contact affect (r= .194, p<.01, M = 2.01, SD = .316), as well as significantly deeper contact with members of the other group in Rwanda (r= -.312, p<.01, M = 17.32, SD = 3.68).

This tendency was corroborated when comparing the responses of participants at the five CWS owned by coffee cooperatives to those of coffee workers who we interviewed at the five CWS owned by private investigators in a contingency coefficient analysis. This analysis provided marginally significant chi-square effect similar in nature to the above-observed tendencies, in that those participants associated with a privately owned CWS were less likely to have deep intergroup contact (χ^2= 23.35, p= .07), and experienced ethnic distance reduction to a lesser degree (χ^2= 2.86, p= .09) . The contribution of this is that I

obtained a comparable result using a different comparison dimension, hence adding to the validity of the correlation.

CWS length of existence (or 'age')

At those CWS that have been in operation for longer than the others where we conducted our interviews, participants were more likely to report a reduction in ethnic distance (r= .191, p<.05). A marginally significant difference in common identity could also be detected (r= .121, p= .063), suggesting that the positive social benefit of being associated with one of the newly created CWS amplifies as time goes by.

Employment status

It was my assumption that employees of the newly created CWS would have comparatively more opportunities for everyday contact with members of the other group in Rwanda, which may have a positive effect on reconciliation-related attitudes. However, during the cross-tabulation analyses, no significant correlations could be detected. This means that the correlation between individual and social factors with attitudes to reconciliation among the sample is unaffected by the fact that participants may encounter members from the other ethnic group as part of their everyday employment.

DISCUSSION

This study focuses on the correlation between factors related to Rwanda's coffee sector privatisation and attitudes towards reconciliation. It is specifically targeting this particular industry in a society that has experienced extreme violence and trauma in the recent past. Since this is to my knowledge the first quantitative study of this kind, it was exploratory in nature. A survey methodology was used, applying a non-random sampling methodology that does not permit generalisations to other populations within or outside Rwanda. I intend to build on the present statistical work at a later date by creating a structural equation model, to confirm the correlations reported here in a path analysis, and to complete the analysis of the likely mediation effects triggered by the coffee industry deregulation in Rwanda after the genocide. Such an analysis will also provide an opportunity to test the direction of relationships within my preliminary correlation model, as it is possible that an attitude of reconciliation in Rwanda may in fact mediate interdependent social identities, rather than overlapping social identity leading to reconciliation beliefs, a question examined by scholars studying forgiveness in Northern Ireland (Tam et al., 2007) and in Bosnia (Cehajic et al., 2008).

Results for the study's enquiries

Support and affirmation from outside may contribute to healing the wounds of mass violence by helping people to heal (Staub, 1998). Those coffee farmers fortunate enough to dwell in a location where international NGO's and private investors established CWS in recent years have undoubtedly benefited economically from this development, and their daily workload has been reduced as they no longer have to engage in the labour- and time-

intensive effort of washing their coffee themselves (56% of participants in my survey confirmed this). Although this type of external support is economic in nature, not directly geared at healing Rwanda from the genocide, it clearly provides a new and positive focus in these people's lives, which may partially account for the positive attitudes observed in this study.

Enquiry 1: The correlation of intergroup contact with attitudes towards reconciliation.

High-quality contact with members from the other group is significantly correlated with low distrust and conditional forgiveness; hence the survey results provide support for the theory-based link between contact and positive intergroup attitudes.

Members of coffee cooperatives tend to have particularly well-developed intergroup contact ties with members from the other group, which is a strong predictor for more positive attitudes towards reconciliation. This suggests that being associated in one of the newly founded coffee cooperatives since the end of the genocide provides coffee farmers with a comparatively higher opportunity to develop deep and meaningful intergroup relations, with the associated positive effect on intergroup attitudes.

In contrast to my expectations, employment status proved not to be correlated with enhanced contact or a more common identity in the study, and seems therefore not to be related to the social benefits reported in conjunction with the sector liberalisation. This is intriguing, as employees of CWSs *do* have more everyday contact with colleagues at the washing station than coffee farmers who spend their time in their coffee plantations. Further research in this area can shed more light on this intriguing result.

Enquiry 2: The link of reconciliation-related attitudes with economic security and life satisfaction.

Also in line with reconciliation theory, those participants who expressed satisfaction with their economic and overall life situation had significantly correlated responses in terms of positive attitudes towards reconciliation. In particular, participants with greater economic security also reported low distrust towards the other group, and a tendency towards conditional forgiveness. Life satisfaction significantly correlated with economic security variables, and those reporting greater satisfaction with life also expected a more positive, peaceful future in Rwanda. The observed correlations hence support the predicted link.

Enquiry 3: The effect of common goals on attitudes towards reconciliation

Interestingly, no significant correlations of common-goal sharing could be detected in the study. This is likely due to one of two facts; perhaps this condition is not as predictive as theory suggests, or perhaps this construct was insufficiently operationalised in the present study. Pettigrew & Tropp, (2006) suggested that although in general Allport's optional conditions (of which common goals is one) typically lead to larger effect sizes of the negative link between contact and prejudice, yet also report on substantial variability concerning the extent to which these conditions contribute to a positive effect. More research on this is clearly needed, all the more as the item assessing this concept had high face validity, and thus it would be reasonable to assume the results are valid.

Although surprising at face-value, the non-significant correlation of my field study's question of common goal-sharing in the communities may indicate that common goals alone may not suffice for commercial contact to be beneficial between groups. On the other hand, I found a significant correlation of solidarity with peaceful expectations of the future, a

heterogeneous perceptions of Hutus, as well as with a common identity and deep contact (independent of the degree to which the examined communities were ethnically mixed), Hence it may be that solidarity, or mutual obligations and a sense of social interdependence, are a better predictor for cooperation-related reconciliation attitudes in the present context.

Enquiry 4: The effect of common identification and ethnic distance on reconciliation attitudes.

A common identity and low ethnic distance were not only significantly correlated with each other, but also with a heterogeneous perception of Hutus and peaceful expectations for Rwanda's future, providing strong support for the predicted positive link of a shared social identification with reconciliation attitudes.

Another noteworthy result of the analysis is that the responses of participants at CWSs that have been in operation for a comparatively longer period of time are significantly correlated with a reduction in ethnic distance over time. It is reasonable to assume that positive social change in the coffee sector takes time, and the survey data supports this perspective. All of the CWSs in the study had been in operation for less than seven years, and most of them were created less than a handful of years ago. If the observed pattern were to continue, however, the potential effect size of positive social change associated with the creation of well over a hundred CWSs since the new millennium is substantial.

Interestingly, the only significant correlation of an ethnicity-related concept with social identity variables was evidence for the phenomenon that more ethnically homogeneous groups (i.e. consisting to a larger proportion of Hutu) may have a more common identity to begin with. This is not surprising as such; as it would make sense that

the potential for interethnic conflict is lower in this case. More intriguingly, however, is the fact that no differences concerning common identity could be observed between participants identified as Hutu and those as Tutsi. According to the organisational merger literature, lower-status group members (here: Hutus) may find it more difficult to become part of a new common identity in a new organisation, yet my findings suggest that social group status is not connected to the development of a new common identity here. This may be because the new common identity salient to my survey's participants may constitute a new opportunity for group re-definition, in commercial terms and according to Rwanda's new future, which would mean that pre-existing interethnic status differentials might no longer have an effect. Only further research can corroborate or refute this idea.

Enquiry 5: The potential mediating effect of economic and life satisfaction on social identification

General life satisfaction is directly and significantly correlated with a common identity, and economic security links with low ethnic distance and a high degree of solidarity, which in turn are correlates of reconciliation-relate attitudes. This is evidence for the theory-based connection of these variables with positive attitudes towards reconciliation.

Why the links may exist

Beyond the above-discussed triggering effect of contact on reducing intergroup anger, whilst at the same time enhancing intergroup empathy, mediating increased intergroup forgiveness (Tam et al., 2008), I outline below several concepts in psychology theory that may help explain why the most intriguing correlations observed in my study exist.

How long a CWS has existed for

The longer a particular CWS in my study had been in operation, the more likely it was that participants' ethnic distance had been reduced and they shared a common identity. Why would this be? Gaertner et al. (1990) found that cooperation reduces bias over time, and a common social identity mediates lower intergroup prejudice while increasing the outgroup's attractiveness. In my study, the significant correlation between ethnic distance reduction (as well as the marginal correlation of a common identity) among participants who were associated with a CWS in operation for a comparatively longer period of time provide evidence for the applicability of Zajonc's (1968) *mere exposure effect* (more on this below).

Trust and its relationship with economic security

A renewed establishment of trust between members of different groups in post-conflict societies, or rather a reduction of mutual distrust, is vital for reconciliation (Tam et al., 2008). According to Kollock (1994), trust between groups is a process of stepping beyond social uncertainty and replacing this with more positive assumptions about the other group's behavioural intentions. Social uncertainty between groups can lead to perceptions and doubt (Kramer & Wei, 1999), distrust, and even paranoia (Kramer, 2004), with devastating consequences for intergroup relations. Research on the Northern Ireland conflict has shown that distrust and uncertainty hampers the development of sustainable reconciliation in a post-conflict society (Hewstone et al., 2008).

In the present study, I observed correlations between economic security with low distrust. Victimisation during genocidal violence profoundly frustrates a person's basic need for security (Staub, 1998). In the present context, economic security may have an important

role to play in enhancing intergroup attitudes among my sample of Rwandan coffee farmers. The conceptual correspondence of this concept with (economic) uncertainty reduction may trigger a reduction of distrust towards members of the other group. More specific research in this domain may illuminate this potential relationship further.

Life satisfaction and a shared future

By the same token, the observed significant correlation between life satisfaction with a common identity, as well as with an expectation of a peaceful future in Rwanda, suggests that positive feelings such as satisfaction with life may have a mediating effect on positive intergroup attitudes in this society where positive attitudes towards outgroup members would constitute dramatic positive social change. This provides further support for the psychology perspective that perceived security and control over one's life are linked to reconciliation (Staub, 2006).

Cooperative membership and its link to work contact and forgiveness

According to McLernon, Cairns, & Hewstone (2002), it is easier to forgive an individual than a group. This is because it is easier to trust an individual person than each member of the other community. In the present study, correlations between cooperative membership with a reduction of intergroup distrust, as well as with conditional forgiveness were observed, especially during work contact, suggesting that belonging to the same commercial association may make intergroup contact more meaningful in that it creates more personally relevant ties with other members of the cooperative, with positive effects on reconciliation-related variables.

The creation of a common identity

A common identity with other individuals proved to be strong predictor for several correlates of positive attitudes towards reconciliation among the participants of my study. Individuals who reported that their community was marked by a common identity also displayed high satisfaction with life, low ethnic distance, as well as perceived Hutus as heterogeneous, and they expected peace for Rwanda's future. This suggests that an overarching social identity may be a key mediator of reconciliation-related attitudes within Rwanda's specialty coffee industry.

In the commercial context that this study was run, it is conceivable that participants eagerly embraced a new, commercially-based identity. Considering the particularly strong positive correlations of coffee cooperative members with reconciliation attitudes, this may be especially the case for members of the newly-founded coffee cooperatives in my sample. Several factors may play into this; first, the group distinction between Hutu and Tutsi is a politicised socio-economic construct, hence it may make sense for the coffee farmers in my study to replace this former distinction with a new, economics-related identity that is deemed more fruitful. Second, group differences in Rwanda are neither based on race, ethnicity, religion, or language, therefore group members may shed old identities comparatively more readily when presented with an opportunity to do so, especially in Rwanda's political climate where the government has been striving to move away from formerly differentiating between Hutu and Tutsi for over a decade now.

Note that social identity changes can occur despite a person's conscious resistance towards this change, which would be realistic for the majority of Rwandans having experienced the genocide, considering that Pham et al. (2004) report that 73% of the

participants in their representative study have lost a close family member during the genocide and are hence likely to harbour negative feelings towards the other group involved in Rwanda's ethnic conflict. Bem's (1972) *self-perception theory* states a person can change her attitudes as a result of observing changing her behaviour, rather than vice versa (which is how one would commonly assume that behaviour change would start, e.g. someone changes her attitude towards smoking, *and then* changes smoking-related behaviour).

The human organism seeks to re-establish homeostasis between attitudes and behaviour when these differ, without cognitively having to experience dissonance before re-aligning them. If the survey results reflect more than social desirability in line with official public discourse in Rwanda about unity and reconciliation, then it would make sense that a mechanism as outlined by self-perception theory is at work. This is because the commercially induced enhanced intergroup contact does not have reconciliation as explicit goal (it is, after all, about making money), and any genuine social benefit associated with it would be the result of unconscious processes, all the more as reconciliation is a topic that is bound to be controversial and painful in post-conflict societies such as Rwanda.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The opportunistic sampling method of this field survey drastically limits control over extraneous variance and generalisation claims for the study. What is more, since the survey was administered once, with measurement scales being presented in a single, fixed order, generalisations of the observed correlations without a re-test are also imprudent.

Lacking the possibility of examining a comparable control group minimises causality inferences and introduces history and maturation threat into the research design. In addition, the results of my measures towards reconciliation reflect participants' attitudes towards this concept, rather than actual behaviour towards members of the other group. Understanding and predicting actual behaviour can only occur once additional, more behaviour-related methods of measuring the concepts presented in this study are applied.

However, since all examined variables except a common-goal focus[16] and perspective-taking towards Hutu actions during the genocide significantly correlated with the other predictors in the study according to the theory of forgiveness and reconciliation, it can be validly claimed that the correlations are meaningful for the sample studied, all the more as the underlying theory for this study is to a large extent laboratory-based, where effect size would be naturally larger. As field research is notoriously cluttered by extraneous noise dampening any discernible effect, the significant correlations reported here ca be taken as an indication that the industry deregulation in Rwanda's coffee sector may indeed be linked to more positive attitudes between Hutus and Tutsis who benefit from this deregulation.

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[16] (most likely due to unreliable measure administration, i.e. a single item assessing the construct)

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Validity of the findings

An important question of immediate importance is, can these observations be trusted, and are the collected responses valid? The same question was posed by Straus (2006) in his analysis of interviews with perpetrators of the Rwandan genocide. Straus also relied on self-report survey data, hence his validity concerns map onto mine. He maintains that "it is impossible to know for certain" whether such data can be trusted (Straus, 2006, p. 111), yet instead of focusing on obtaining exact validity, he applies a triangulation approach of analysing internal consistency of responses as well as confirmatory checks with the profile of more extreme outlier responses in order to determine the extent to which his findings are meaningful.

It is true that my study relies on self-reported behaviour, with an acute threat of social desirability driving the results in a country where human rights activists warn that any dissent to the official government message of unity and reconciliation is received with severe repression. Yet there are several factors that enabled me to reasonably minimise this threat in this exploratory study.

First, despite the obvious ceiling effect for several of the intergroup contact measures (most likely because Rwanda is unusually ethnically integrated and hence different from post-conflict societies that most of the reconciliation literature is based on, such as Palestine and Northern Ireland), there is discernible variability in the reconciliation attitude responses. This variability matches the responses of intergroup contact scores. In particular, those individuals who express negative attitudes towards reconciliation, i.e. those who may be less enrolled in unity and reconciliation in Rwanda, have expressed this

consistently in their responses for predictor variables such as intergroup contact as well, by reporting little intergroup contact or social integration.

Second, in my study, all the predictors and their correlations with reconciliation-related factors vary in line with existing reconciliation theory, e.g. the more contact a person has with members from the other group, the more positive attitudes this person holds towards reconciliation in Rwanda. In addition, not only does the data behave as reconciliation theory would predict, but also that such responses are internally consistent with responses for other, conceptually related constructs, such as low ethnic distance and a common identity perspective.

Third, I also made use of different methods of classifying data wherever possible, in addition to measuring several related constructs according to reconciliation literature, In particular, I compared the response variability related to membership in a cooperative to the responses of all participants during the survey days where the research team was visiting a cooperative (as opposed to a privately owned CWS). Although these two classifications do not overlap perfectly, they correspond.[17] More importantly, the correlation patterns for each of these two classifications also corresponded.

Finally, several checkpoints were incorporated into the study to promote honest answers and to ensure a confidential, supportive environment encouraging honesty above all else.

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[17] Most people associated with a cooperative CWS are also members of that cooperative, whereas comparatively few participants dwelling near a privately owned CWS also had access to a coffee cooperative where they could become a member.

The correlation at the basis of this enquiry

Perhaps a bigger question still; are these results suggestive that the liberalisation of the coffee sector is connected to positive attitudes towards reconciliation amongst study participants, or are these positive attitudes rather the effect of time passing since the genocide, with the survey participants showing a general trend towards reconciliation in Rwanda that is unrelated to the coffee industry deregulation? It is impossible to provide an unequivocal answer to this question because the study design did not include an assessment of a control group outside the coffee sector, which would have made it feasible to conduct a test for a history effect confounding the results.

However, two factors support the argument that the positive attitudes towards reconciliation observed in my study are connected to the coffee industry deregulation in Rwanda. First, the journalistic evidence linking coffee and reconciliation in Rwanda is not matched by reports of a similar phenomenon in a different Rwandan sector. Second, the study's results strongly suggest that all of the survey participants' economic and life satisfaction has been increasing in recent years, and this is connected to Rwanda's biggest and most noteworthy economic success story of recent years: speciality coffee, made possible mainly through the creation of CWS in Rwanda.

It is hence likely that the individuals we surveyed are experiencing a unique and unusual positive development in their lives, which is not representative of Rwandans as a whole yet a function of the particular environment they navigate in. In line with positive change in terms of economic and life satisfaction, ethnic distance among most survey participants has been reduced in recent years. Participants also tended to report that their community is marked by a common identity. Although correlation cannot be equated with

causation, the study's results are in line with the reconciliation literature, suggesting that low ethnic distance, inclusive social identities, as well as high perceptions of control and security are correlates of forgiving and reconciliation. The most likely trigger for this chain of correlations among this special group of Rwandan (speciality) coffee farmers is also the most parsimonious: changes in the coffee industry that benefit them.

FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Why would it be interesting to explore this phenomenon further? There is potential for inferences and generalisations, if more research were to be conducted in this area. This is because contact effects typically generalise beyond the participants of the immediate contact situation, with the result that attitudes towards the entire outgroup change for the better (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

The present study is particularly encouraging as the effect of this type of commercial contact does not seem to differ for members of both ethnic groups, despite Pettigrew & Tropp's (2006) research finding that the effect of contact on improving intergroup relations is not necessarily the same for members of majority and minority status groups. Engaging and integrating members of low-status groups into mainstream society in a respectful and effective fashion is a delicate task in any environment. If that task were in fact the ancillary benefit of an economic development effort, then this would be even better. Clearly, more research on moderations of this effect would be useful.

Not constructive in theory: imposing reconciliation

A pressing follow-up question for the present research is, how sustainable may the observed effect be, and to what extent is this *genuine, long-term* reconciliation. More research and analysis is needed to answer this question, yet reconciliation is meaningless unless it lasts.

The starting point for this study was a theoretical link between economic liberalisation and reconciliation, applied to the case of Rwanda's deregulated coffee sector after the 1994 genocide. Not only does the commercial peace literature tend to describe relations between states, rather than between factions within nations (as is the case in

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Rwanda's coffee sector), it is also less robust than the literature on democratic peace (Goldstone, 2007), suggesting that economic liberalisation that is not coupled to political liberalisation may not prove to pay strong dividends in the long-term (Paris, 2004).

What is more, imposing trust and forgiveness between groups is more easily said than done, as McLernon et al.'s (2002) focus group study with people affected by the violence in Northern Ireland has shown. The Rwandan government strongly promotes unity and reconciliation among its citizens. Authorities forcing forgiveness between groups may not only be ineffective, but also contribute to more violence (Tam et al., 2008), especially if existing or historic group identities are overlooked or ignored (Kenworthy, Turner, & Hewstone, in press).

In an organisational merger context, it has been shown to be effective when authorities focus on dual-level identities in order to achieve a re-definition of identification when members of different groups start a new collaboration (Eggins et al., 2002). Staub (2006) suggests that unfair social arrangements and politically passive citizens are not conducive to reconciliation, and the genocidal violence in former Yugoslavia triggered by Tito's death does not bode well for the success of Rwanda's government imposing unity on Rwandans without permitting genuine dialogue about ethnic ideologies that led to the violence. As Verwimp (2003) suggests, structural violence in a society tends to produce actual violence when circumstances allow for it to be triggered.

Structural violence need not be visible or bloody. Several government-sponsored reports on the Rwandan coffee sector lament the new washing stations' "low capacity of management" (OCIR Café, 2005, p. 4) and indicate that only 25% of CWS have operated at a profit between 2004 and 2007 (OTF Group, 2007). Although these comments refer to

business and marketing skills of CWS management alone, they may be an indication that the leaders of these newly created entities are struggling considerably in at least one aspect of their new operations, and may not be good leaders in other domains either. As a recently conducted analysis of the 14 cooperatives assisted by SPREAD shows, most of the leaders of the newly created coffee cooperatives are not good business managers, some of whom squandering the benefits accrued rather than sharing economic and social benefits equally between all cooperative members (Swanson, 2007). This is likely to lead to social unrest in the speciality coffee sector sooner or later, if it is not corrected.

Having said all of this, Rwanda is a very particular place, with particular constraints, which renders it different from other post-conflict environments that have been studied more comprehensively, e.g. Northern Ireland. This is because of the strong societal recognition that economic development is imperative for everyone's future wellbeing in Rwanda. Such a strong economic focus, and enthusiasm for commercial activity that is palpable everywhere in Rwanda today, may make commercially-induced intergroup contact comparatively more persuasive than in other regions where reconciliation is needed.

On a related note, the terms "unity" and "reconciliation" are omnipresent in public parlance in Rwanda, as a result of the government's strong push for creating a society where ethnic divisions no longer matter. Repeated persuasive arguments produce more permanent attitude and behaviour change if they are highly relevant to the listener (Claypool, Mackie, Garcia-Marques, McIntosh, & Udall, 2004). The high personal relevance, and indeed necessity, of constructive intergroup cooperation in Rwanda's emerging speciality coffee industry may motivate coffee farmers to change their behaviour towards members of the outgroup more positively, more permanently. This is because people tend to be persuaded to

change their behavioural intentions as well as their future behaviour more systematically when the incentive for cooperation is highly personally relevant for them (Martin, Martin, Smith, & Hewstone, 2007).

Emotions: key to forgiveness and reconciliation

In this context, an enhanced future focus on studying positive emotions in intergroup relations may prove particularly useful, as affect and a positive emotional state are powerful predictors of fruitful intergroup relations (Paolini, Hewstone, Voci, Harwood, & Cairns, 2006), yet have to date been studied far less frequently than the effect of negative emotions such as hate (Tam et al., 2008).

Contact "works" because it enhances positive emotions towards outgroup members and diminishes negative emotions such as fear or anger (Miller, Smith, & Mackie, 2004), which means that positive emotions are significant mediators of constructive intergroup behavioural intentions (Tam et al., 2008).

Of particular relevance in this context may be the role of affect in persuasion. When people are presented with novel stimuli repeatedly, their attitudes towards these stimuli almost inevitably change for the positive, a phenomenon named the *mere exposure effect* (Zajonc, 1968), and recently shown to be stronger among individuals whose base-line affect is comparatively more negative. This would suggest that especially among those Rwandan citizens who do not feel positive about reconciliation, or who harbour stronger resentments towards the other group, continued exposure to members of the other group may have a positive effect on their own intergroup attitudes. Clearly, in order to prove this claim, a comparison with a control group is essential to assess this potential moderator, yet the *mere exposure* of being in repeated everyday commercial contact with members of the other

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group among my study's participants may partially explain the observed correlation between a reduction in ethnic distance among participants who were associated with a CWS that had been in operation comparatively longer.

In my study, the assessment of participants' life satisfaction is taken from the emerging field of *positive psychology*, and the positive correlation between the surveyed coffee farmers' life satisfaction with an overarching, common identity and an expectation of peace in Rwanda's future may support the argument that positive emotions may contribute in unexpected ways to positive intergroup relations in specific contexts.

Therefore, future research on reconciliation in Rwanda should concentrate more on the role of intergroup emotions, as positive emotions are strong predictors of forgiveness. Forgiveness itself is governed by emotional processes (Harber & Wenberg, 2005). Emotions cannot easily be controlled or suppressed (Zajonc, 1980), and denying one's own or someone else's emotions likely increases their influence (Wegner & Wenzlaff, 1996). This means that an understanding of intergroup emotions is particularly important in post-conflict societies, as it is emotions towards outgroup members that strongly predict specific behavioural intentions with regards to members of these antagonised groups (Mackie, Devos, & Smith, 2000). Topics relating to passion and aggressiveness operate on a different mental dimension within a person's brain than cognitive variables such as general attitudes, which means that logical arguments are futile in convincing someone who is enraged or full of passion. Sherman & Kim (2002) argue that one needs to fight passion with passion during persuasion. Good advice for a society attempting to rid itself of the affective perseverance of lingering intergroup hatred.

CONCLUSION

To sum up the observed correlations of this exploratory field study on attitudes towards reconciliation in the newly deregulated Rwandan coffee sector: The coffee sector liberalisation in Rwanda has resulted in the establishment of new associations in the coffee industry in recent years, in particular the creation of coffee cooperatives and of CWSs, permitting those Rwandans who have access to such a washing station to sell higher quality coffee for better prices than even five years ago. Structural variables associated with these developments, such as membership in a coffee cooperative and how long an individual CWS has been in operation, are significantly correlated with pleasant and deep intergroup contact, a common identity, and a reduction of ethnic distance. These social factors, in turn, are concepts that the psychology literature has identified as predictors for forgiving and reconciliation between groups. The social factors examined in this study are significant correlates with positive attitudes related to reconciliation, such as low distrust, conditional forgiveness, a recognition that members of the Hutu group are heterogeneous, and peaceful expectations for the future in Rwanda. In a similar fashion, individual factors linked to the economic liberalisation in Rwanda's coffee sector, i.e. perceived improvements in economic and life satisfaction among participants, also significantly correlate with the predictors for reconciliation, as well as directly with some of the attitudes related to reconciliation (i.e. a peaceful expectation of the future, and conditional forgiveness).

Taken together, the study's findings suggest that the economic liberalisation of this particular industry in Rwanda not only produces positive economic change among those individuals touched by this phenomenon, but it may also be triggering a chain of mediating

effects linked to positive social change among these coffee farmers. This mediation chain is intriguing because it is unrelated to the coffee sector deregulation in its stated goals, i.e. economic development, yet extremely desirable in this post-conflict nation where the trauma of genocide is still present in everyday life. This is all the more noteworthy as the observed effects were neither dependent on ethnicity, nor on the particular ethnic mix of participants in a given location, suggesting that forgiveness in Rwanda is a construct that applies to all, and most people fortunate to experience other positive change in their lives may also benefit by starting to reconcile with others. For this reason, it would be fruitful to explore these observations further in future research with comparable populations. In so doing, it can also be assessed to what extent the discovered tendencies can be generalised, and applied to other post-conflict context in order to shape similarly positive results.

Despite the effort involved, such endeavours may prove worthwhile. In the words of Archbishop Desmond Tutu, at his appointment to South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission in 1995: "True reconciliation is never cheap, for it is based on forgiveness which is costly."

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APPENDIX

Appendix A: Stakeholder Involvement

This field study was organised with support from *SPREAD* and RWASHOSCCO staff in Butare and Kigali, as well as in close association with Prof. Dr. Rama Rao from National University of Rwanda (NUR) in Butare and Prof. Albert Nsenyiumwa from KIST.

During the two-week pilot visit to Rwanda in February 2008, advice and suggestions have been sought from the following individuals at institutions and academic departments in Rwanda (in the order of our meeting schedule):

Name	Role, Institution
Dr. Tim Schilling	*SPREAD* Butare
Edwige Musabe	*SPREAD* Butare
David Rubanzangabo	*SPREAD* Butare
Mauro de Lorenzo	Consultant, Presidential Advisory Team to Government of Rwanda
Prof. Rama Rao	Director of Postgraduate Studies, NUR
Prof. Verdiana Masenja	Director of Research, NUR
Prof. Albert Nsenyiumwa	Director of e-Initiatives, KIST
Tim Karrera	USAID Kigali
Taibu Nakueira	US Africa Development Foundation
Prof. Evariste Ntakimtimana	Professor, socio-linguistics, NUR
Prof. Gerard Nyabutsitsi	Vice-Rector (Admin & Finance), KIST
Richard Niwenshuti	Business Council for Peace, Kigali
Frank Kobukeye	Director of Peace-Making, NURC
Prof. Anasthase Shyaka	Director, Center for Conflict Management, NUR
Prof. Eugene Rutembesa	Dean of Education department, NUR
Prof. Vincent Sezibera	Professor, Clinical Psychology, NUR
Prof. Gerald Rwagasana	Director, Center for instructional technology, NUR
Prof. Roger Sapsford	Director, Quality Assurance, NUR
Corrie Young	Executive Assistant to NUR's Rector
Prof. Didier Hakizimana	Director of Finance department, NUR
Prof. Uzziel Ndagijimana	Vice-Rector (Admin & Finance), NUR
Prof. Martin O'Hara	Vice-Rector (Academic), NUR
Jean-Claude Kayisinga	*SPREAD* Kigali
Prof. A. M. Jose	Coordinator of economics masters program, NUR
Alfred Runezerwa	Ph.D. candidate, Agronomy, NUR
Prof. Daniel Rukazambuga	Dean of Agriculture department, NUR
Olivier Mazimpaka	*SPREAD* Butare
Dr. Samuel Totten	Genocide Studies Specialist, NUR
Dr. Greg Mills	Brenthurst Foundation
Gilbert Gatali	General Manager, RWASHOSCCO
Prof. Silas Lwakabamba	Rector, NUR
Jean Ngabitsinze	Ph.D. candidate, Agronomy, NUR

Appendix B: Survey instrument (English version)

COFFEE SURVEY

Interviewer's name _____Current location _____Today's date_____

1. **Thank you for agreeing to talk with me. I will ask you some questions on your experience relating to working with coffee, as well as your attitudes regarding your interaction with other people in the coffee trade and in general.**
2. **There are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers.**
3. **We are only interested in your honest opinion.**
4. **This will enable us to understand what policies can be recommended to authorities governing the coffee sector, so that the lives of coffee farmers can be improved.**
5. **None of the answers you give me will be linked back to your identity, and your responses will be kept absolutely anonymous, hence you should feel free to tell me exactly what you think.**
6. **If there is a question you would prefer not to answer, you can do that, and this will have no adverse consequences for you whatsoever**
7. **Please let me show you the questionnaire *[show questionnaire]*. As you can see, your name will not be anywhere on the questionnaire. I will ask you at the end to complete some personal information yourself. I will not see these responses. After you complete this information, you will put the questionnaire in this envelope *[show envelope]*, seal it like this *[show how]*, and then take it over there *[point to location where envelopes are kept]*. We will not be able to distinguish your questionnaire from any others, and only the American researchers in the USA will open the envelopes and see every coffee farmer's response. But they will not know which one is yours.**
8. **You should therefore feel safe to answer honestly.**

Employment at the Coffee Washing Station (CWS)

1. Are you currently employed at the CWS?
    Y (1)__
    N (2)__ [*If no, go to 5*]

2. What is your job?

    _____

3. How did you get this job? (please circle all options that apply)
    (1) Fill in application/list __
    (2) interview __
    (3) test __
    (4) speak with Board of Directors __
    (5) recommendation__
    (6) other (please specify _____)
    (0) no answer__

4. How easy will it be for you to keep this job?
   (1) very easy___
   (2) ok___
   (3) rather difficult___
   (4) very difficult___
   (0) no answer ___

5. Have you been employed to work at the Coffee Washing Station (CWS) in the past?   Y (1)___
   N (2)___ [*If no, go to 9*]

6. Which jobs have you had?
   (a) _____
   (b) _____
   (c) _____

7. How long have you held [each of these] position(s)?
   (a) _____ [*circle:* months / years]
   (b) _____ [*circle:* months / years]
   (c) _____ [*circle:* months / years]

8. How did you get this [each of these] job(s)? (please tell me all options that apply)
   (1) Fill in application/list ___
   (2) interview ___
   (3) test ___
   (4) speak with Board of Directors ___
   (5) recommendation___
   (6) other (please specify _____)
   (0) no answer___

   (a) _____ [*write here numbers for options above*]
   (b) _____ [*write here numbers for options above*]
   (c) _____ [*write here numbers for options above*]

[*If person is currently employed at CWS, go to 12*]

9. How does someone get a job at the CWS? (please circle all options that apply)
   (1) Fill in application/list ___
   (2) interview ___
   (3) test ___
   (4) speak with Board of Directors ___
   (5) recommendation___
   (6) other (please specify _____)

(0) no answer__

10. Would you like to work at the CWS?
      Y (1)__ Why? _____
      N (2)__ Why?]_____ [*If no, go to 12*]

11. Are you currently applying to work at the CWS?

      Y (1)__ Why? _____
      N (2)__ Why? _____

Membership in a Coffee Cooperative

12. Are you a member of a coffee cooperative?
      Y (1)__   Since when?_____
                  Why did you join? _____

      N (2)__   Why? _____
                  [if no, go to 16]

13. What are the benefits of being a member of the coffee cooperative?
               _____
               _____
               _____
               _____

14. Could you have received these benefits without being a member of the coffee
Cooperative?
      Y (1)__
      N (2)__
      (0) no answer__

15. When you joined the coffee cooperative, did you expect other benefits from the
cooperative that you haven't received?
      Y (1)__ Which ones? _____
      N (2)__
      (0) no answer__

Farming and selling coffee

16. Are you a coffee farmer?
      Y (1)__
      N (2)__ [*if no, go to 20*]

17. Please tell me who you sell your coffee beans to:

	Who	Why	How satisfied were you*	How powerful did you feel in the price negotiation*	How much do you trust this buyer*
Now	a)_____ b)_____ c)	a)_____ b)_____ c)	a)_____ b)_____ c)	a)_____ b)_____ c)	a)_____ b)_____ c)
before	a)_____ b)_____ c)	a)_____ b)_____ c)	a)_____ b)_____ c)	a)_____ b)_____ c)	a)_____ b)_____ c)

* on a scale from 1 to 4,
(1)=yes very__
(2)=maybe yes__
(3)=rather no__
(4)=definitely no__
(0)=no answer__

18. As a coffee farmer, has your workload been reduced a) since you joined the cooperative
b) in the last 5 years
Y (1)__
N (2)__   [*if no, go to 20*]
No Answer (0) __   [*if no answer, go to 20*]

19. Since your workload has been reduced, what do you do with the extra time?
(1) pursue other income generating activities ?__
(2) helping or caring for friends and family__
(3) Studying__
(4) meeting socially with friends and family__
(5) other, specify _____
(0) no answer__

Economic Situation

20. Please tell me what you did with the money you earned: *(multiple choices and 'no answer' are possible)*

2003	2004	2005	2006	2007

(1) built a house___
(2) rehabilitated a house___
(3) bought a domestic animal___
(4) bought other property (radio, mattress, bike)___
(5) Pay school fees for children___

(6) Maintain food security___
(7) Paid medical care___
(8) other investments (please specify_____)
(0) No answer

21. How happy are you about your economic situation?
        a) Before you joined the Coop.
        b) 5 years ago_____
        c) Now _____
 * on a scale from 1 to 5
        (1)=yes very__
        (2)=maybe yes__
        (3)=rather no__
        (4)=definitely no__
        (0)=no answer __

Social climate

Please give your honest opinion on what life is like at the Cooperative / in your community:

    22. In general, do people here feel solidarity and help each other?
        (1)=yes definitely ___
        (2)=maybe yes__
        (3)=rather not__
        (4)=definitely not__
        (0)=no answer__

    23. Do people here have many disagreements?
        Y (1)__
        N (2)__   [*If no, go to 27*]
        No Answer (3) __   [*If no answer, go to 27*]

    24. In general, a) since you joined this Coop./ b) compared to five years ago, do people have fewer, more, or about the same number of disagreements at the Coop/in the community?
        (1) Fewer __
        (2) More__
        (3) About the same__

    25. What do people disagree about?
        (1) (only for Coop.:) How the cooperative's money is used
        (2) how much farmers are paid for cherries
        (3) job opportunities
        (4) how benefits are shared

(0) no answer

26. When people disagree a) in the cooperative/ b) community, do people want to try and find a solution that works for everyone?
        (1) yes definitely__
        (2) maybe yes __
        (3) rather not __
        (4) definitely not__
        (0) no answer__

27. Do women here play a large role in resolving conflict?
        (1) yes definitely__
        (2) maybe yes __
        (3) rather not __
        (4) definitely not__
        (0) no answer__

28. a) In the cooperative/b) your community, can people make their voice heard when they have a concern or an idea?
        (1) yes definitely__
        (2) maybe yes __
        (3) rather not __
        (4) definitely not__
        (0) no answer__

29. Is it true that people here cannot afford to be too concerned about others because most people are only concerned about themselves?
        (1) yes definitely__
        (2) maybe yes __
        (3) rather not __
        (4) definitely not__
        (0) no answer__

30. Is there anger a) in the Cooperative/ b) community because benefits are not distributed fairly?

        (1) yes definitely__
        (2) maybe yes __
        (3) rather not __
        (4) definitely not__
        (0) no answer__

31. a) What characteristics should cooperative leaders have? *(More than one answers are possible)*

b) What characteristics should owners and managers of the CWS have? *(More than one answers are possible)*

        (1) good connections
        (2) good business skills
        (3) effective communicators
        (0) no answer

32. a) Are the cooperative leaders characterised by: *(More than one answers are possible)*
b) Are the owners and managers of the CWS leaders characterised by: *(More than one answers are possible)*

        (1) good connections
        (2) good business skills
        (3) effective communicators
        (0) no answer

33. Are people here afraid of saying what they really think because speaking out is dangerous?
        (1) yes definitely__
        (2) maybe yes __
        (3) rather not __
        (4) definitely not__
        (0) no answer__

34. Do most people here believe that they will get help from others if they have a problem?
        (1) yes definitely__
        (2) maybe yes __
        (3) rather not __
        (4) definitely not__
        (0) no answer__

35. Are people here feeling insecure because they are worried about what might happen in future?
        (1) yes definitely__
        (2) maybe yes __
        (3) rather not __
        (4) definitely not__
        (0) no answer__

36. Do men and women respect each other as equals?
        (1) yes definitely__
        (2) maybe yes __
        (3) rather not __
        (4) definitely not__
        (0) no answer__

37. Is this place so hopeless that many people want to leave?
        (1) yes definitely__
        (2) maybe yes __
        (3) rather not __
        (4) definitely not__
        (0) no answer__

38. Are people here confident that there are good opportunities to make a better life for themselves and their families?
        (1) yes definitely__
        (2) maybe yes __
        (3) rather not __
        (4) definitely not__
        (0) no answer__

39. If people disagree with something that a Cooperative / owner or manager of the CWS is doing or saying, do they normally speak freely?
        (1) yes definitely__
        (2) maybe yes __
        (3) rather not __
        (4) definitely not__
        (0) no answer__

40. Do people in the Coop / community share common goals?
        (1) yes definitely__
        (2) maybe yes __
        (3) rather not __
        (4) definitely not__
        (0) no answer__

41. a) Can women in this cooperative participate in decision-making as much as men can?
b) Can women in this community participate in decision-making as much as men can?
        (1) yes definitely__
        (2) maybe yes __
        (3) rather not __
        (4) definitely not__
        (0) no answer__

42. a) In the cooperative, is it better to have a man in charge than a woman?
b) In this community, is it better to have a man in charge than a woman?
        (1) yes definitely__
        (2) maybe yes __
        (3) rather not __
        (4) definitely not__
        (0) no answer__

43. In the Coop / our community, are people angry because some people are getting ahead while others are not getting what they deserve?
        (1) yes definitely__
        (2) maybe yes __
        (3) rather not __
        (4) definitely not__
        (0) no answer__

44. Who contributes more to building consensus in this Cooperative/community, men or women?
        (1) men
        (2) women_____
        (0) no answer

45. a) Since you joined the Cooperative, has the level of trust in this Cooperative's leaders gotten better, worse, or stayed about the same?
b) Over the last 5 years, has the level of trust in the owners and managers of this CWS gotten better, worse, or stayed about the same?
        (1) Gotten better___
        (2) Gotten worse __
        (3) Stayed about the same__
        (0) No answer __

46. a) The cooperative leaders get more than they deserve.
b) The managers and owners of the CWS get more than they deserve.
        (1) yes definitely__
        (2) maybe yes __
        (3) rather not __
        (4) definitely not__
        (0) no answer__

47. a) In general, since you joined the Cooperative, has participation from ordinary farmers in decision-making of the Cooperative improved, deteriorated, or stayed about the same?
b) In general, over the last five years, has participation from ordinary farmers in decision-making in the community improved, deteriorated, or stayed about the same?
        (1) Improved___
        (2) Deteriorated ___
        (3) Stayed about the same__
        (0) No answer __

48. In general, since you joined the Coop./over the last five years, are conflicts at the coop/in the community resolved better, worse, or is the situation about the same?
        (1) Improved___
        (2) Deteriorated ___
        (3) Stayed about the same___
        (0) no answer___

49. In general, since you joined the Coop./over the last five years, has participation from women in decision-making of the Cooperative/ in the community improved, deteriorated, or stayed about the same?

    (1) Improved____
    (2) Deteriorated ____
    (3) Stayed about the same____
    (0) no answer___

50. A) The cooperative's leaders earn what they deserve. B) The owners and managers of this CWS earn what they deserve

    (1) yes definitely__
    (2) maybe yes __
    (3) rather not __
    (4) definitely not__
    (0) no answer__

BREAK: Please have a FANTA. We are more than half way through the questionnaire, but I just want to make sure that you are comfortable. The next section may be little more difficult, but I will try my best to ensure you are OK. How are you? Are you ok to continue?

Relationships with members from other group

In the following section, I am trying to get an accurate picture of what different groups in Rwanda feel about each other today. I will not ask any questions about your personal history. Again, there is no 'right' or 'wrong' answer, I only want you to tell me what you really feel, so that we can understand what policies can really improve the lives of people like yourself. Your answers will remain absolutely anonymous, and I will show you how you can ensure this at the end. Would you feel comfortable giving me your honest answers regarding conflict and reconciliation potential in Rwanda today?

[If no, go to Personal Details section.]

51. Please select the image (from the 4 images below) that best represents
    a) Your cooperative b) Your community
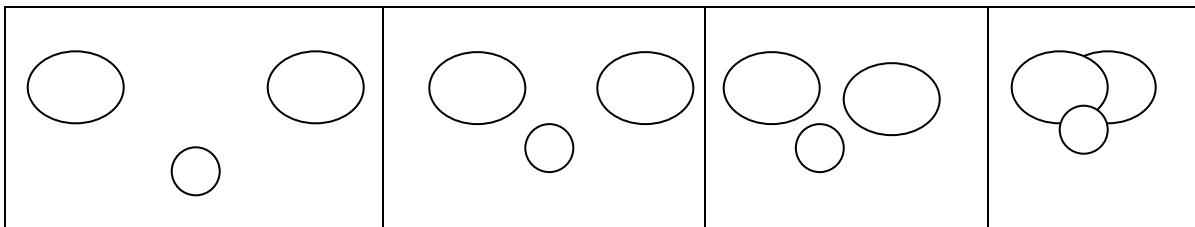
52. Please imagine a person who belongs to a group that has done harm to a person from your group in the past. Tell me when you have got a person in mind. You do not have to answer this question.

[*If person does not want to answer this question, go to 53*]

Would you be willing to:

	Today	a) Before you joined the Coop b) 5 years ago
Greet this person on the street?		
Work with this person every day?		
Share a beer with this person?		
Let this person look after your children if you had to leave unexpectedly?		
Allow your child to marry this person?		
None of the above		

53. How much contact do you have with members from the other group?

	None	Approximately once a month	Approximately once a week	Every day	no answer
At work					
Socially					

54. In general, when you meet a member from the other group, do you find the contact pleasant or unpleasant?

	Pleasant	Unpleasant	no answer
At work			
Socially			

55. Do you have one or more friends who belong to the other group? (These are people you feel at ease with, can talk to about private matters, or call on for help)

At work	
Socially	

56. a) Since you joined the Coop./
b) in the last 5 years, with members of the other group, have you:

	Never	Less than 2 times per year	About 2 times per year	More than 2 times per year	No answer
Met socially					

Helped them					
Received help					
Celebrated together (wedding etc.)					
Attended a funeral together					

Life satisfaction

57. Please tell me how you would complete the sentences below for your own situation:

	In most ways my life is (1) bad (2) ok (3) rather good (4) excellent	The conditions of my life are (1) bad (2) ok (3) rather good (4) excellent	I am satisfied with life (1) hardly ever (2) sometimes (3) often (4) nearly always
Now			
A) Before joining the Coop. *B)* 5 years ago			

Attitudes towards reconciliation

How much do you agree with these statements: (on a scale from 1 to 4, 1=yes definitely, 2=maybe yes, 3=rather no, 4=definitely no, 0=no answer)

58. Women contribute significantly to reconciliation in this country.
　　　　(1) yes definitely__
　　　　(2) maybe yes __
　　　　(3) rather no __
　　　　(4) definitely no__
　　　　(0) no answer__

59. Each group has harmed the other in Rwanda.
　　　　(1) yes definitely__
　　　　(2) maybe yes __
　　　　(3) rather no __
　　　　(4) definitely no__
　　　　(0) no answer__

60. Members of the other group are human beings, like everyone else.
　　　　(1) yes definitely__
　　　　(2) maybe yes __
　　　　(3) rather no __

(4) definitely no__
(0) no answer__

61. Not all Hutu participated in the genocide.
    (1) yes definitely__
    (2) maybe yes __
    (3) rather no __
    (4) definitely no__
    (0) no answer__

62. There were complex reasons for the violence in Rwanda.
    (1) yes definitely__
    (2) maybe yes __
    (3) rather no __
    (4) definitely no__
    (0) no answer__

63. I blame the other group for what has happened.
    (1) yes definitely__
    (2) maybe yes __
    (3) rather no __
    (4) definitely no__
    (0) no answer__

64. I can't accept that some people who might have helped did nothing during the genocide.
    (1) yes definitely__
    (2) maybe yes __
    (3) rather no __
    (4) definitely no__
    (0) no answer__

65. The former government forced nobody to be engaged in genocide.
    (1) yes definitely__
    (2) maybe yes __
    (3) rather no __
    (4) definitely no__
    (0) no answer__

66. I feel like a victim.
    (1) yes definitely__
    (2) maybe yes __
    (3) rather no __
    (4) definitely no__
    (0) no answer__

67. I could begin to forgive members of the other group if they requested forgiveness of my group.
        (1) yes definitely__
        (2) maybe yes __
        (3) rather no __
        (4) definitely no__
        (0) no answer__

68. The genocide has only had negative consequences for one group.
        (1) yes definitely__
        (2) maybe yes __
        (3) rather no __
        (4) definitely no__
        (0) no answer__

69. The Rwandan conflict is nearing its resolution.
        (1) yes definitely__
        (2) maybe yes __
        (3) rather no __
        (4) definitely no__
        (0) no answer__

70. It was very dangerous for Hutu to help Tutsi during the genocide.
        (1) yes definitely__
        (2) maybe yes __
        (3) rather no __
        (4) definitely no__
        (0) no answer__

71. There is a lot of mistrust in our communities.
        (1) yes definitely__
        (2) maybe yes __
        (3) rather no __
        (4) definitely no__
        (0) no answer__

72. I feel compassion for families who have family members in prison.
        (1) yes definitely__
        (2) maybe yes __
        (3) rather no __
        (4) definitely no__
        (0) no answer__

73. The former government played a large role in starting the genocide.
        (1) yes definitely__
        (2) maybe yes __

(3) rather no __
(4) definitely no__
(0) no answer__

74. Some Hutu endangered themselves by helping Tutsi.
     (1) yes definitely__
     (2) maybe yes __
     (3) rather no __
     (4) definitely no__
     (0) no answer__

75. It is naïve to trust.
     (1) yes definitely__
     (2) maybe yes __
     (3) rather no __
     (4) definitely no__
     (0) no answer__

76. The acts of perpetrators do not make all Hutu bad people.
     (1) yes definitely__
     (2) maybe yes __
     (3) rather no __
     (4) definitely no__
     (0) no answer__

77. I can forgive members of the other group who acknowledge the harm their group did.
     (1) yes definitely__
     (2) maybe yes __
     (3) rather no __
     (4) definitely no__
     (0) no answer__

78. I feel sorry for families who have lost family members during the genocide.
     (1) yes definitely__
     (2) maybe yes __
     (3) rather no __
     (4) definitely no__
     (0) no answer__

79. Men are better peace-makers than women.
     (1) yes definitely__
     (2) maybe yes __
     (3) rather no __
     (4) definitely no__
     (0) no answer__

80. The groups in Rwanda will never live together peacefully.
        (1) yes definitely__
        (2) maybe yes __
        (3) rather no __
        (4) definitely no__
        (0) no answer__

81. I cannot forgive members of the other group, even if they acknowledge that their group has done bad things.
        (1) yes definitely__
        (2) maybe yes __
        (3) rather no __
        (4) definitely no__
        (0) no answer__

Personal Details

Please tell me a few things about yourself:

82. Age: _____

83. Are you:
        (1) single__
        (2) married__
        (3) widowed __
        (4) Other _____
        (0) No answer

84. No. of children _____

85. Education:
    (1) no formal school__
    (2) primary education __
    (3) secondary education__
    (4) university or higher education__

86. Religion:
        (1) Catholic __
        (2) Protestant __
        (3) Muslim __
        (4) Other _____

87. Gender:
        (1) male__
        (2) female__

The interview is now almost over. After explaining the last few questions to you, I will turn round and let you complete these last few questions yourself, so that I don't see your answers and you feel completely comfortable to give truthful answers. After you complete this section, you should put the completed questionnaire in this envelope [*hand over envelope*], seal it like this [*show how*], and only then take it to the big sack over there [*point to big black sack where envelopes are kept*] and add it to other people's responses. As you can see, your name is nowhere on the questionnaire and we will not be able to distinguish your response envelope from the one that other people have submitted, so your answers cannot be associated with your identity. You should therefore feel safe to answer honestly in both sections.

These questions here [*point them out*] relate to your group membership.
- **Please mark the picture on the left here if you're a rescape'.**
- **Please mark the picture below left if you have returned to Rwanda after the genocide.**
- **Please mark the picture on the right if many members of your group have been imprisoned after the genocide.**
- **Please mark the picture in the middle if you belong to both groups.**
- **Finally, please mark the second picture on the far right if you belong to a different group.**

The final two questions [*point them out*] gives the research team a final chance to understand how comfortable you felt to provide truthful answers. If for any reason at all you felt pressured to say what you think others want you to say, please mark the picture that looks like a star.
**And finally, if for any reason you were not able to answer honestly, please mark the final picture here that looks like a sun. There will not be any negative consequences for you, and you will still receive the present at the end. In fact, if you answer this question honestly, our research will be better, because it means we can make accurate policy recommendations to the authorities governing the coffee sector in Rwanda. Only then can the lives of coffee farmers be improved in the future.**
I want to make sure this whole section is clear, and it sometimes helps to hear explanations twice, and will therefore ask you if you would like me to go over this section again, before I turn around and let you complete the questionnaire. Also, if you would like to privately make any changes to the answers you gave me previously, while I am turned away from you, please feel free to do so also. We really want you to provide honest answers, above all else. So, would you like me to go over this section again?
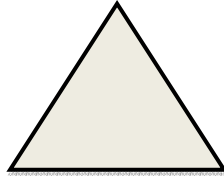
[*if person says 'yes', go back to start of this instruction set.*]

Do you know which boxes to complete on this page?
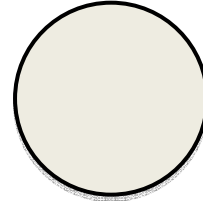*[if person says 'no', go back to start of this instruction set]*
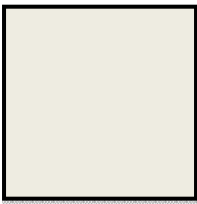
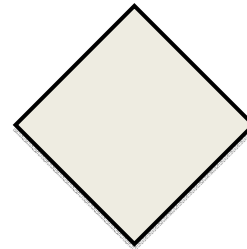88. If you are a reescape
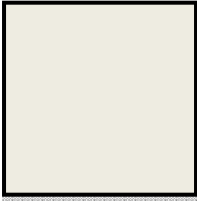
91. If you belong to both groups

90. If many members of
your group
have been imprisoned
after the genocide

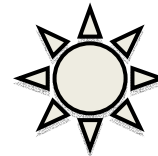89. If you have returned to Rwanda
after the genocide

92. If you belong to a
different group

93. If you felt pressure to say what others want you to say:

94. If you did NOT feel comfortable to answer truthfully:

Thank you for your time and help with this important research for coffee farmers!