Marital dynamics in post-genocide Rwanda:

The experience of descendants of genocide survivors and perpetrators

A Research Paper presented by:

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(Rwanda)

In partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Major:

Human Rights, Gender and Conflict Studies: Social Justice Perspectives

(SJP)

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December 2017

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This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

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List of Acronyms

CBSP	Community Based Sociotherapy Program
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
PTSD	Post Traumatic Stress Disorder

Acknowledgements

This research is based on a fieldwork that was financially supported by Dutch foundation De Zaaier.

First of all, I am grateful to my wife Denyse MUKAKIMENYI who accepted to assume family responsibilities in my absence and morally support me during this study.

I am thankful to my supervisors (Shyamika JAYASUNDARA as the first reader and Nadha SHEHADA as the second reader) to have tirelessly accepted to morally and academically support me from the research design to the completion of this research.

My sincere thankfulness is addressed to Dubravka ZARKOV to have advised me during the beginning of the research topic and encouragement in the following research steps.

Deeper recognitions go to Dr Rvt Archbishop Onesphore Rwaje, Bishop Emmanuel Ngendahayo, Prof Annemiek Ritchers, Ms Marianne Vysma who directly and indirectly contributed to this academic study and research process.

And last but certainly not least, I can never forget CBS team, Prison Fellowship Rwanda, EAR Byumba Diocese. They all invaluably contributed to the access to field and data collection process.

Abstract

Social death is an overlooked after-effect of genocide. This legacy affects the social life of members in post-genocide society. The focus of this qualitative study is to understand how marital conflict of survivors and perpetrators of the genocide against Tutsi in 1994 in Rwanda affects marital identity of descendants. The study was conducted in two Districts (Muhanga and Rukindo) and is based on interviews with 20 research participants comprising of 12 survivor and perpetrator parents and 8 descendants with equal number of males and females. The study uses psychosocial approaches and gender theories for data analysis and interpretation. The following are the summarized findings: The genocide related relational trauma of survivors and perpetrators limits them to perform their parenthood responsibilities in such a way that they are biological parents but in far less degree able to be social parents. Secondly, the marital conflict of parents results in descendants having an ambivalent attitude towards marital identity. The parents' marital conflict as perpetrators or survivors contributes to descendants' acceptance of people with different identities which contributes to conflict transformation and peace-building from family and community level. Thirdly, widows, separated survivors, or women with husbands in prison learned to live their own life which increasing self-esteem and ability to use their agency to achieve their life goals – not as wives but as women in their own right. They are empowered.

Keywords

Genocide, marital conflict, identity theory, trauma, peace-building, empowerment, and Rwanda.

Chapter 1: Introduction: The Family in Post-Violence setting

1.1 The contextual background

The aftermath of genocide affects bodies, relationships, and interactions as social death. By 'social death' Corradetti et. al. (2015:7) mean a massive loss of 'social vitality': all that gives meaning to the shape and contents the lives of individuals through social relationships -personal and institutional, contemporary and intergenerational – that unite them into a people or other significant community. According to the authors the components of social vitality are: engaging in linguistic, educational, political, economic, artistic practice, as well as friendship and kinship networks. A loss of social vitality or 'social death' is 'a loss of social identity, and a serious loss of meaning of one's existence' (2015:7). Walsh (2007:208) also focuses on the 'disruption of family function and other vital kin networks' as a consequence of genocide. The genocide legacies (Manoogian 2007:567; Randal, M., L Haskell (2013); Audergon (2008) and Hicks (2010) shape family life and cohesion for many generations, and exposure to collective violence has a devastating effect on social life in the form of varying degrees of social death.

The social death resulting from the genocide against Tutsi in 1994 continues to fray Rwandan's social life. Massive amounts of literature has been devoted to explaining why and how the genocide was done, but less literature focuses on studying how, two decades after the genocide, its aftereffects are searing the social life of survivors and perpetrators at family level and how, subsequently, it is translated in descendants' daily life including marriage. It is what Hirsch (2008:112) calls "a structure of inter- and trans-generational transmission of trauma". The experience of the genocide generated additional dimensions of conflictual marital relations. People were killed or injured both physically and psychosocially. According to De Brouwer (2016:46-47) and Bream (2014) approximately 1,050,000 of Tutsi were killed which is 14% of a pre-genocide population of 7.5 million Rwandans. Kaitesi estimates that a total of 354,440 Rwandan women were raped constituting 9% of Rwandan women and 80% of total Tutsi women before the genocide. On the side of perpetrators, Brehm (2014) points out that 318,788 people were convicted of crimes against people and 1,122,767 were accused to have looted or destroyed properties. Just over 87% of the latter were convicted and are required to pay reparation.

Justice process followed genocide in Rwanda but the post-genocide social context still have many triggers to trauma. Hynie and al. quoting Munyandamutsa (2015:347) estimate that more than a quarter of Rwandan population lives with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) which makes Rwanda the third highest country in the world with mental health problems. Trauma is one of main causes of marital conflict and violence. Mukashema (2013:149) indicates that marital conflict is a problem highlighted by 'media, professionals and the state'. She (2014:592) describes how the increase of

marital conflict results in an increase of domestic violence; and the research by Rieder and Elbert (2013) concluded that the genocide in Rwanda contributed to high level of family violence. Moreover, Russell, Kim and Morse (2016) portray the example of women who were raped during the genocide continuing to endure trauma, stigma, social isolation and economic hardship resulting in marital conflict as many of them are abandoned by their husbands. This phenomenon affects their descendants' daily lives including marriage and the third generation.

1.2 The social function of marriage

Peace-building starts within the society composed by families. Explaining 'infrastructure of peace, Lederach (2012:8-13) argues that peace-building doesn't come outside rather it comes from existing local cultures and settings linked by principles of sustainability and systematic creativity and adaptation in societal institutions including family life. The family in many cases originate from marriage that refers to a conjugal family.Lévis-Strauss, C. (1985) explains the conjugal family as follow: "1) The family originates in marriage; 2) It includes the husband, the wife, and children born of their union, forming a nucleus around which other relatives can eventually gather; 3) The member of the family are united among themselves by: a) Legal bonds' b) Rights and obligations of an economic, a religious, or some other nature, c) A precise framework of sexual rights and prohibitions and a variable and diversified group of feelings, such as love, respect, fear, and so on".

The origin of marriage as a human institution is uncertain in the human history. In the introduction of Coser's book (1974:XVI0), the 'evolutionist school' believes that originally men and women did not live in marriage, rather lived 'free and promiscuous'. On the other side, the author argues that contemporary anthropologists, sociologists and historian believe that in all societies there is a group of people known as "the family" that is involved in reproductive process and responsible for socializing new members in many cases created by marriage.

Discussing the contemporary experience of marriage and intimate relationships, Nussbaum (2016:93-95) distinguishes four characteristic of marriage: 1) A married person sees the other as a "cherished component part of one's own flourishing life …many pursuits become shared pursuits" in way that any marital disruption affects the whole 'one's existence'; 2) It involves trust, because one doesn't have any protective measure in a shared life; in other words, it involves "willingness to be in someone else's hands"; 3) the intimate relationship 'involves helplessness' as one invest one's own life in someone else's hand; 4) both spouses are united by mutual love, the choice of love, and the promise to live together. She adds that the relationships during marriage are influenced by behaviours during marriage and the past (pre-marriage) life of spouses.

Marriage has a range of functions. Mitchell (2016:21-24) explains that married couples are expected to share commitment, trust, positive emotions,

giving and receiving support, satisfying children's needs if they have. Furthermore, Stanley (2006:289-300) highlights that married couples sacrifice themselves to the shared couple's life. He argues that such sacrifice involves caring, trust, respect, loyalty, love, communal orientation (focusing more on the couple and less onto two separate individuals), a shared long term view, and shared interdependence to one another.

On the other hand, not everyone has to be married. For example, LeMasters (1971:405-419) explains that parents don't necessarily have partners and it is not necessarily pathological to be a parent without a partner if social structures are well organized. Additionally, Skolnick and Skolnick (1971:13) indicate that the conjugal family doesn't mean always that "men and women will always go on loving one another, will always go on having children, …. and will always go on guiding the first steps of those children". Furthermore, Levi-Straus (1971:65) believes that, "it is wrong to try to explain the family on the purely natural grounds of procreation, motherly instinct, and psychological feelings between a man and a woman and between a father and children". However, marriage is found in many cultures including Rwanda.

The function of marriage (Lévis-Strauss, C. 1985:44) varies from one society to another but everywhere it is involved in establishing the family. Coser (1974: XVI-XX) quoting Lévis-Strauss argues that the marriage has two main functions: 'reciprocity and legitimacy'. Reciprocity means that each spouse gives him/herself to the other; and the other family accepts to give their daughter to be married to another family; each family is expecting to be given a daughter to marry when one of their sons needs to marry. In this process, the marriage breeds another marriage. Regarding legitimacy, the author argues that in many societies a child has only one legal father. He recognizes that in history and other cultures, there has been a differentiation between the social father (who may care for the child) and the biological father who is known to have impregnated the mother. In this process, the family is a socializing institution for marriage. It is through this institution that new members are prepared to occupy their different roles in the society.

The Rwandan idea of family is in line with these concepts of 'reciprocity and legitimacy'. Marriage in Rwanda is the responsibility of the extended family: each family is expected to give their daughters to other families and receive one when needed. Kagame (1984:164-171) explains the marriage process. Once young people have appreciated each other's behaviour and beauty as being suitable for marriage, the young man informs his family, who then becomes charged with the task of asking the girl's hand from her parents. Before giving their daughter in marriage, the girl's family are concerned with ensuring that the young man's nuclear and extended family is fully honest, is well-behaved, and has never done anything wrong to the girl's family or the community as whole. If those conditions are not met, they will refuse to be given their daughter in marriage. Kagame explains that in case of finding a wrongdoing, the negotiation for settling the issue and/or apology and forgiveness must be settled prior to marriage. Referring to Kagame's illustration, the process indicates that marriage also has an aspect of social control because the prospect that a misbehaving family would hardly be given a daughter to

marry encourages all family members to behave properly. This process social control to ensure the rightness of families to be married was already in the process of loosening, after genocide it is practically speaking no longer an official a prerequisite requirement; otherwise perpetrators' descendants would hardly be married. However, parents and extended family members still play an important role in descendants' marital life.

Once married, for a variety of reasons it can happen that married people are in conflict with one another, either for a short or long time. Fincham and Beach (2004:72) state that, "Paradoxically those we love are often the ones we are most likely to hurt". The conflict may result in a total breakdown of the marital relationships and subsequent separation/divorce. The conflict can leave economic, physical, and emotional fragmented relationships, not only between spouses but also for their descendants. The life experience of descendants may be problematic not only in relationship to their parents and the society, but also in their own subsequent marital life. As marital life involves deep trust in way that couples' life is interwoven according to (Nussbaum (2016:94-95), intimate relationships contain the possibility of breakdown scenarios; a marital breakdown causes much moral damage, and therefore goes deeper to the 'heart'.

As such: marital conflict of parents affects the lives of their descendants and possibly in turn also *their* families once they are married themselves. It may negatively or positively affect how they prepare the third generation for living in peace or conflict on the level of family, community, and society. Walsh (2007:208) argues that on the negative side of the spectrum, the violence of marital conflict hurts family functioning of the second generation; and positively the post-conflict psychosocial repair may lead to new growth by creating, "1) Emergence of new opportunities; 2) Deeper relationships and greeter compassion for others; 3) Feeling strengthened to meet future life challenges; 4) Reordered priorities and fuller appreciation of life; and 5) Deepening spirituality".

Both Nussbaum (2016:95); Bradbury, Fincham and Beach (2000:970) and Bergman (2016) argue that one's past life and background including family experiences are predictors of descendants' marital quality. For example, Webster and al. (1995) concluded in his article that children of divorce and those who never lived with father 1) experience a greater incidence of worry that their marriage will go wrong; and 2) have higher possibility of divorce compared to descendants lived with both parents.

1.3. The relationship between marriage and peace-building

A person's behaviour (personality and expectations) is shaped by his/her family of origin, whether or not that family was created by marriage. Quoting Patterson and Garwick, Boss (2006:75/6) defines family as, "the interpretations, images, and views that have been collectively constructed with each other; as they share time, space, and life experience, and as they talk with

each other and dialogue about their experience. They are the family's social construction, the production of their interactions; they belong to no one member but to the family as a unit". The authors denote that family life forms a 'relational identity' where members share 'worldview' and meaning that represent the collective thinking of the family in one's mind'. The created relational identity has influence on peace-building.

It is within the family that human behaviour is cultured. Rivera (2009:1-5) argues that peace-building is a culture. Therefore, experiences in the family play a role in building the culture of peace. Azar, Megan and Okado (2009) suggest that all universal human rights and peace-building start in small places, such as the family, because it is within the family where one learns about his or her role in the society, about love, but also 'hatred, prejudice and violence'. For them, a viable peace-building process results from the families' ability to peacefully interact and prevent violence. The way family members solve problems, value or devalue each other, the context in which they live, how they reward, punish, modelling, transfer belief and appraise children play important role in how children will understand and interact with the world.

The family is one of foremost places of conflict transformation to peace-building yearning. Miall (2004:5) argues that for conflict transformation process, there must be personal, structural, relational and cultural change. The change is facilitated and/or restrained by behaviours, attitudes and memories of the past and future expectations. Additionally, according to Lawther (2015) and Metz (2015), apology, forgiveness, reconciliation and related practices are relevant to stable peace-building processes, and individuals are key players in the process. As peace-building is culture that starts from early age, the family is one of main nurseries of peace-building process. But, alternatively, the family can also be a barrier.

1.4. The research priorities in academic debate

The well-known idea that 'familiarity breeds contempt' may be a reason why marriage is viewed as an institution that people are used to and take for granted with less interest in understanding its complexities, endeavour and challenges (Skolnich and Skolnick 1971:5). Moreover, Karney (2007) shows in his article entitled, "Not shifting but broadening marital research" that the research on marital conflict eventually shifted into family therapy. Karney believes that family therapy did not pay sufficient attention to reasons causing problems in families. Preventing marital problems in Karney's understanding is as important as curing or problem solving. Fincham and al. (2007:275) and Vodde (2001:69-72) argue that research in marital conflict focuses on individual trauma history, with less consideration of social causes and the nature of conflict. Accordingly authors argue for research that focuses more on social causes of marital conflict, including the after-effects of genocide and other collective violence.

The current research is relevant in the following ways: Firstly, many studies on genocide in Rwanda focused on its root causes and effects in general like Balsera (2011); Clark (2010); Fujii (2009); Kaitesi (2014); Brehm (2014); Rieder and Elbert (2013) among others. They generally elaborated about the causes and consequences, and the subsequent judicial processes of the genocide but little to nothing is known on how the collective violence has affected the micro level social institutions like family and marriage in contemporary Rwanda.

Secondly, the concern that trauma breaks down people's relationships, including the diminishing capacity for relationship in those of the following generations, is emerging as integral to the debate for sustainable peace. Schick (2011) and Randal and Haskell (2013) argue that trauma resulting from mass violence is not only an individual issue, but also a political one that can influence conflict management towards either escalation or resolution. The impact that troubled relationships may have on peace-building is usually neglected in community and household oriented studies researching the effects of collective violence. Azar, Goslin and Akado (2009:323-328) advocate that peace-building interventions a should consider not only top-down but also bottom-up approaches and structures, including relationships at the family level. Recreating a community shattered by war and other forms of collective violence should be integral part of any development process, according to Madenga (2016:541); Hynie and all (2015:346); Malclaughlin and Wickeri (2014:922). Understanding marital relationships as a fundamental socializing institution for descendants is important not only for the families themselves, but also for the community and the nation. Families fulfil an important role in long term peace building (Rivera 2009:1-5) because descendants are expected to occupy various positions in the future society. Those people not living in a healthy family situation because of the effects of collective violence in the parental generation can be seen as 'natally alienated', according to Corradetti, Eisikovits and Rotondi (2015:119. Any development strategy aiming for sustainably rebuilding in a post-conflict situation must take these considerations seriously.

Thirdly, the troubled situation of current marital relationships raises concerns requiring further study of regarding the marital life of the following generations especially of descendants raised in conflicting families.. Most studies, e.g Cummings and Merrilees (2016); Kering and Swanson (2010), look at how parents' marital conflict affects the life of descendants in general, but few studies focus on how it affect descendants' marriage (Webster and al. 1995); there are of course studies that explore the individual experience of genocide survivors and perpetrators in Rwanda but little attention is paid to generationally deposited trauma in their marital life and the family life of the next generation. In addition, Walsh (2007); Ablow and Measelle (2010:41) concluded in their study that many studies study the effect of marital conflict to younger children but less on young adolescents. Knowing the descendants' experience would help not only their family formation but also education of their children and long term bottom up peace-building.

1.5. The research questions

The researcher's aim is to understand how the experience of marital conflict of genocide survivors and perpetrators affects their descendants. It is about how parents and their descendants interrelate at family level in navigating through both consequences of the genocide and subsequent marital conflict. Furthermore, the research aims to find out how parents' marital conflict informs descendants' marital identity.

Key research question:

How does the experience of genocide contribute to increased marital conflict in contemporary Rwanda and shaping of marital identities in post-genocide Rwanda?

Sub-questions

a) How does survivor and perpetrator parents' marital conflict affect their parenthood role?
b) How does marital conflict of parents (survivor and perpetrators) shape descendants' marital identity and how it contributed to escalation or de-escalation of peace-building in post-genocide Rwanda?
c) How does parents' marital conflict dis/empower women (first and second generation) in the post-genocide context of Rwanda?

1.6. Theoretical and conceptual framework

The research seeks to understand how parents' (survivor and perpetrators) marital conflict shapes descendants' marital identity and how the process builds or destroy women's capacity. Also, for those descendants already married, the research explores how this experience affects their own marital identity. The research uses the following theories and concepts: Psychosocial approach to peace-building, attachment theory, trauma-informed approach to peace-building and empowerment.

1.6.1. Psychosocial approach to peace-building

Psychosocial approach to peace-building interlinks psychological and social aspects according to Hamber and al. (2015:8-11). Authors argue that sustainable peace-building should consider individual and the social context in which people live. This research uses identity theory as one psychosocial approach that captures better the research objective and questions.

The identity theory helps to understand and analyse how descendants' daily life and marriage is affected by parents' (survivor and perpetrator) marital conflict. In the normal course of events, children learn about the world primarily in a family context (parents). The research explores how parents' genocide experience results in couple's conflict, and how this can influence

their relationships with descendants in way that learning process, socialization, and social interaction within families and community members is affected. Specifically, the research looks at the capacity for assuming customary parental responsibilities are affected.

In everyday life, parents have irreplaceable responsibilities in descendants' life. Weille (2007:13) writes that a parent is, "a person who has an awareness of being responsible for a child ….. without limit in time". Parenthood involves an "ethical core of experience of being a parent, with profound emotional implications". The consequences of genocide for both survivors and perpetrators leading to marital conflict influenced parents' identity toward their descendants. According to Hicks (2001:129-130), Boss (2006:116), Bersselaar (1998:23) , and DeZalia and Moeschberger (2016:132) identity is defined as how one understands oneself, one's relationship with others, the roles one plays in the family and the society, expectations to or from others and how others perceive him in interactive and reciprocal way. Identity is dynamic personal and social construct.

A person's identity is informed by multiple phenomena and one person can have multiple identities (intersectionality or the 'I' position). Intersectionality implies the possibilities of having multiple identities. Davis (2008:67) sees the intersectionality as, "interaction of multiple identities and experiences of exclusion and subordination ….. it refers to the interaction between gender, race, class and other categories of differences…." and the shifting of identities among these categories. Intersectionality involves the juncture of multiple phenomena in way that one action can be caused by one identity or many of them or all identities together.

From the theory of identity creation or change, the research will make use of the concept of 'Symbolic Reminders of identity". This is defined by DeZalia and Moeschberger (2016:121-132) as, "the symbols within a society that help to connect individuals to the previous generations, promote valued cultural narratives, and provide a perpetual filter through which societies view the world". The past influencing current experiences leads to the I position and reminds us of our identity. A person has multiple identities – or, in other words, there are multiple I positions – flowing from and depending on our interactions with others, in specific time and circumstances. This idea is also known as 'multivoicedness', meaning that identity is fluid as one interacts with others, gets new experiences, establishes new representations that guide next 'possibilities and impossibilities' in future life. Every experience is viewed through 'symbolic reminders of identity' lens. Symbolic reminders of identity can be used to promote either violence or reconciliation.

Using Piaget's framework by integrating other theories, Hicks describes the way, during the relational crisis, identity is created, lost and reconstructed to promote reconciliation and peace-building. Hicks (2001) and Boss (2006) explain that in human development, a person interacts with others in active and learning way. Being exposed to the world, persons undergo different experiences that change the way they understand themselves or understand others and what one can expect from the world. As a learning process, a person doesn't only become conscious of the new information; s/he also integrates

and accommodates the information in his/her belief of how the world works. In other words, a person adapts his or her existence to the environment for sake of internal equilibrium.

Hicks explains that, in case of impossibility to adapt to new situations, one becomes unable to 'assimilate and accommodate' the information from an opponent or social environment. In such cases social learning becomes impossible; there is a 'shutdown of learning channels'. One's identity and integrity loses flexibility and can be lost. Boss (2006: 116) writes that in a situation of ambiguous loss people do not have the, "ability to think clearly about who they are and what they are expected to do" and such disruption leads to identity confusion. Hicks continues that the loss of identity leads to frustration and inner disequilibrium in way that one may need to negotiate his/her identity reconstruction and integrity to regain one's moral equilibrium and search for reconciliation.

Identity may be constructed and/or lost and /or renegotiated within the family as family members share 'relational identity'. Boss (2006:76) writes that relational identity involves the sharing of world-view and meaning among family that is represented in collective thinking, in how the family is represented in one's mind. Another ingredient of identity construction theory is the concept of 'relational self'. Chen, Boucher and Kaus (2011:150-152) define 'relational self' as, "aspects of the self associated with one's relationships with significant others e.g romantic partners, parents, friends". It is comprised of knowledge, memories, the context, when relating with significant others. Within relational identity, one develop 'internal working models' (does, reacts, behaves) according to what one knows of him or herself and the information received from others. It can leads to negative or positive self-evaluation. Identity theory as discussed by Hicks (2001) fits with marital problems in post-genocide Rwanda; thus it guides the data analysis of this study.

1.6.2. Attachment theory

This study is about how the consequences of genocide in Rwanda as a social death affect parenthood roles and descendants' marriage and the relationships within married descendants. It explores how the aftereffects weave or fray the relationships within families of perpetrators and survivors. I make use of attachment theory to help analyse how parent-child relationships are affected by the consequences of the genocide.

In my understanding of attachment theory, I follow the work of Fox (2007:74). The authors argues that, "Elements of social reconstruction and reconciliation are complex, interacting and necessarily approached on multiple political, social, community and individual levels" in peace-building perspective. Using attachment theory, the author explains that the relationship between the mother and child is characterized by four possible patterns: security, insecurity-avoidant, insecurity-ambivalent, and disorganized attachment. As the peace culture starts from the family, the relationships between

parents and descendants is important in descendants' social learning and adjustment. Fox explains that attachment patterns not only impact small children but also influences adolescent and adult relationships.

A child with disorganized attachment sees the mother as both source of 'comfort *and* alarm'. On the other side, the need of comfort from the child can become a 'trigger for intrusive memories' of the mother with traumatic experience. In a secure attachment relationship with the mother, the child develops positive expectations for self-regulation, trust and building positive relationships with the self and the others. In case of insecure relationship the child can become avoidant or disoriented in the way s/he regulates anxieties and emotions, which in turn can have a negative effect on the way the child builds his expectation of the world, and consequently how s/he builds trust and relationships with the self and others. It is these memories and relationships that will later form one's 'symbolic reminders of identity', one's 'relational self', capable of developing internal working models that may either contribute to violence or to reconciliation.

Quoting Lederach, Fox (2007:74) argues that, "among many other goals of peace-building and social reconstruction is the repairing or transformation of damaged and/or disrupted relationships. The relational dimension of peace-building centers on reconciliation, forgiveness, trust building and future imagining. It seeks to minimize poorly functioning communication and maximize mutual understanding". Fox continues that a child that has built appropriate attachment with the mother will, at later stage be better able to deal with stressors and other life turbulences. Working through traumatic experience can have a positive effect because children and their parents can benefit psychologically by remembering that they together survived traumatic experiences (Fox 2007:79).

1.6.3. Trauma-informed approach to peace-building

This theory helps to analyse the effects of relational trauma between parents and their descendants and how descendants' navigation through this informs their own marital life. Descendants grow up and develop in the context of lived genocide experience, as well as the resultant parental marital conflict. The research explores how parents and their descendants experience the effect of living and growing up in a traumatic context and the way it shapes the young descendants' pre- and actual lived marital life. The research doesn't view trauma an individual psychopathology, but rather as relational trauma. Relational trauma is defined by Erikson' (1976:157-154) as "a blow to the psyche that breaks through one's defences so suddenly and with such brutal force that one cannot react to it effectively." Moreover, trauma as one of legacies of mass violence is defined by Walsh (2007:207) a wound of "the body, mind, spirit, and relational network with others". Talking about relational trauma, this research focuses on the wounds of 'relational network with others' that affects the capacity for building inter- or intrapersonal relationships.

Randall and Haskell (2013) and Schik (2011) also suggest that a person is shaped by the context in which s/he develops. In other words, someone who develops in a traumatic environment can develop a behaviour specific to that context. Trauma can live and be manifested in one's life in unrecognizable ways for long time, and because of that can affect not only the person directly exposed but also generations to come. In peace-building endeavours, the judicial process looks at crimes committed without analysing possible causes that may stem from one's traumatic life history. To be trauma-informed is to be aware that trauma "is not as a single, discrete event, but rather a defining and organizing experience that forms the core of an individual's identity" that interventions and policy making should consider (Randal and Haskell 2013:517).

The relational trauma informs the identity of the second generation (descendants of survivors and survivors of collective violence) can be conceived of as 'post-memory', according to Hirsch (2008:106-107). Alphen's (2006:482-483) explains that descendants are not traumatized by events they physically experienced rather indirectly by a breakdown of the "symbolic order".

1.6.4. Women's Empowerment

The empowerment concept guides my research process by examining how descendant young women lost (disempowerd) or benefited from (empowered) parents' genocide experience. In this research I look at how they use their own choices and social resources to achieve what they want. I explore how their agency to achieve life's goals (i.e. doing or being what they want) was weakened or strengthened by their life experience, especially in the context of their eventual marital life. By empowerment, this paper uses the Kebeer's (2001) concept of empowerment.

Their empowerment is exercised in a specific social context of post-genocide. Writing genocide as femicide, Corradetti and al. (2015:2016) consider the genocide to be "a means of bringing about social death in a group to which females are essential". During the genocide, women experience particular sufferings of sexual abuse that fewer men go through. As a result, those women lose their physical, social and emotional ability to strive for achieving their life goals. It deeply and negatively affects their sexuality, which is considered by Armas (2006), Cornwal and Jolly (2006) as not only a health and developmental issue, but also a human rights issue.

Kebeer (2001) argues that (re-)empowerment is possible even after one has been disempowered. It may come about in how disempowered person manages to make "strategic life choices, such as choice of livelihood, where to live, whether to marry, who to marry whether to have children, how many children to have, freedom of movement and choice of friends, which are critical for people to live the lives they want". She distinguished three levels of empowerment: 1) resources; 2) agency; and 3) achievement.

By resources she doesn't mean only material and human resources but the concept also "encompasses one's knowledge, skills, creativity, imagination". An empowered person is able to exploit 'social resources' such as relationships, connections and networking to satisfying his/her own goals.

Kebeer defines agency as, "The ability to define one's goals and act upon them". Mahmood (2001:207-209) challenges the notion of defining agency as simply contravening norms, but emphasizes rather the integral importance of realizing one's desire and true will. Mahmood (2001:207-2090 and Butler (2009:XI) believe that empowerment shouldn't be necessarily seen as being opposed to culture, custom and tradition. Butler argues that one may think of a person becoming sovereign and autonomous while being shaped by the norms in which they socialize.

For Kebeer, agency "encompasses the meaning, motivation and purpose which individuals bring to their activity, their *sense* of agency, or 'the power within' …including bargaining, negotiation, deception, manipulation, subversion, resistance and protest as well as the more intangible, cognitive processes of reflection and analysis". A woman's agency is not simply being autonomous and forcefully subverting men's masculinity rather it can be strategic and involving men. Jaquette (2003:340-341) writes that agency should be "power to" or "power with" not "power over". He continues by quoting Hannah Arendt that, "power comes into being only if and when men join together for the purpose of action".

Kebeer explains achievement as another aspect of empowerment. It is about ways of 'being and doing'. Achievement in her understanding is not only about how much one achieved but also about how a person is able to define his/her own choices and realize them in one's values and desires.

1.7. The structure of the paper

The first introductory chapter is followed by the second delineating the research methodology. It firstly explains research methods and technics and how they are relevant to this study. Secondary, it explains the research location and how the research participants were selected and their characteristics. Finally it explains research challenges and data analysis process.

The third chapter expresses how parents' (survivor and perpetrators) marital conflict affects their parenthood identity. It consecutively highlights how parenthood identity of survivor and perpetrator parents is affected and is ambiguous. Finally, the chapter analyses how parents' ambiguous loss of identity leads descendants to strive on their own "hunting for themselves".

The fourth chapter is about descendants' marital identity and how it contributes or hampers peace-building process through reconciliation. It firstly explores the views of descendants about marriage considering parents' marital difficulties. Secondary, it discusses how they navigate through their

identity and the parents' in courting process. Lastly explores how their marriage contributes to peace-building and conflict transformation.

The fifth chapter is about plight of women in post-genocide context. It focuses on how the genocide related consequences disempowered women. Later, it delineates how women struggle to achieve their life goals "empowerment".

The sixth (last chapter) is the general research conclusion. It summarizes how each research questions is answered and how findings explains or not theories and indicated some loopholes in theories. The chapter end with research limitations and recommendations.

Chapter 2: The research methodology

This chapter highlights research methods and techniques that were used and why they were selected in relation to the research objective. It explains how research location and research participants were selected. At the end, it contains data analysis procedure and how I navigated through research-related ethical challenges.

2.1. Data collection methods and technique

This research was not undertaken as a process of finding out one natural reality in positivist perspective; rather it was about discovering the different realities of marital life in post-genocide Rwanda as part of a constructivist process. Understanding the research subject requires trust and interaction in way where total distancing from research participants was unlikely to be possible or even desirable. The research process required closeness of researcher and research participants and assistant to establish necessary trust important to understand marital life.

The researcher used qualitative methodology. Hennink, Hutter and Bailey (2011:8-9) define qualitative research as, "an approach that allows you to examine people's experience in details, by using a specific set of research methods… it allows you to identify issues from the perspective of your study participants, and understand meanings and interpretation that they give to behaviours events or objects". The choice is motivated by the research objective and questions that requires interaction with research participants; in qualitative research participants 'co-create knowledge' (*ibid.*110). The way people deal with consequences of the genocide at family level as spouses, parents, or descendants differs greatly from one person to another in way that the outcome cannot be generalized. Additionally, the findings are emotional in such a way that it is unlikely to be possible to quantify responses.

Concerning research data collection techniques, the researcher conducted in-depth interviews "using semi-structured interview guide" (Hennink, Hutter and Bailey (2011:109). The process depended much on the feeling state of each participant, as well as the physical and emotional conditions, as the topics were related to a person's experiences during and after the genocide. Such data collection can only be done by way of interviews that are not structured, in order to allow the researcher to adapt research process along the way as necessary.

2.2. Location and selection of participants

Marital life is a sensitive topic to explore; as a result participants might not feel comfortable to share information. For this reason, the researcher opted to use existing set up of Community Based Sociotherapy Program

(CBSP1) with people who went through the program's group sessions. In these groups people share many social and individual problems. In general the people who finished sociotherapy sessions are more open to share information with the researcher during individual interviews.

This research was done in the context of sociotherapy implemented in eight districts of Rwanda. Participants were purposively selected among people who finished sociotherapy sessions come from two sectors of Rulindo district and three sectors of Muhanga District. The selection of districts was motivated by the prevalence of marital conflict related to genocide according to reports of sociotherapy program. Participants should be living or had lived in marital conflict caused by being a genocide survivor or perpetrator or married one; a person with severe genocide experience, for example raped or injured survivors; perpetrators with long time imprisonment or those having been required to pay a large sum of money for reparation.

Furthermore, Descendants should have between 18 and 28 years old, either married or not yet. I considered people as being 'married' as those living under the same roof; sharing a sexual, economic, and social life together, whether or not with children; and that participants self-identify as being married.

I interviewed 20 research participants ranging in educational level from those who are illiterate to three years of secondary school education; 10 were female and 10 were male; and they included 12 parents and 8 descendants. The mean age of respondents who are parents is 49; while that of descendants 25 years old. In this research, I use survivors to mean people who were target of killing during the genocide "historically called Tutsi" and non-survivors to mean "historically Hutu or Twa" ethnic group. I opted this wording because Rwandan government has chosen to stop using ethnic identity in the public discourse, as it was used in the past to disseminate hatred and divisionism. Hence, I mean by mixed marriage couples composed by survivor and non-survivor. I mean perpetrators those imprisoned as result of having been accused to have participated in the genocide crimes, regardless if they themselves accept to be perpetrators.

2.3. Data analysis and ethical consideration

The researcher has worked for 12 years in the CBSP context, and therefore knows the approach and language used. This helped him put research participants at ease enough to share information. The interviews were conducted in Kinyarwanda and transcribed into English by the researcher. To

[1]CBSP is an approach that uses the group as a therapeutic medium in the establishment of safety and trust, the careful creation of an open environment for discussion and formation of peer-support structures. It is initiated to improve psycho-social well-being and allowing interpersonal circumstances in which reconciliation can develop and social cohesion grow at grass-roots level. CBSP is since 2005 applied in many places in Rwanda (Richters, Dekker and Scholte 2008); www.sociotherapy.org.

safeguard participants' comfort and openness, I didn't use a recorder. Upon completion of each interview, on the same day, I prepared interview reports to avoid forgetting the information shared for each question. After completion of all interviews, the researcher manually analysed data by locating main emerging themes in interviews. The emerging themes were categorized according to meaning and similarities.

In this study, the researcher was attentive to ethical issues. Before starting interview, respondents were informed about the research and their rights if they participate. They needed to indicate to willingness to be interviewed and to sign the informed consent form. They had the right to refuse to respond to questions. It was their right to withdraw from the interview at any time. Before taking any notes, I asked permission from a participant. They received a pledge of confidentiality from the researcher, and assurance that their answers will only be used for research purposes. Any use of information shared in this research is anonymized and names were changed into pseudonyms. The researcher always kept in mind the 'first: do no harm' principle.

Throughout research process the research faced a range of challenges; here I highlight three of them. First, though the researcher did his best to put participants at ease, it was observed that some participants were fearful to be interviewed, especially while signing the informed consent form due to sensitivity of the research topic. Second, some participants wanted to know the researcher's identity (ethnic belonging). Third, it was challenging to be confronted with the inner desire to give financial support to severely needy participants. For example, there was one lady who had been raped during the genocide and was consequently still bleeding due to lack medical treatment. She could not afford medical insurance allowing her to have medical treatment.

Chapter 3: Survivor's and perpetrator's parenthood identity

The objective of this chapter is to analyse how does the marital conflict of survivor and perpetrator parents affect their parenthood identity. It discusses how parents' identity interplayed with genocide-related experience to influence their roles as mother or father. It analyses how both parents and descendants try to negotiate their identity construction and reconstruction.

The first section focuses on ambiguous loss identity of survivor parents. It explores how their experience as survivor and consequent marital conflict shaped the way they enact their roles as parents. The second section concomitantly describes the ambiguous loss of parenthood identity of perpetrators. It focuses on how being a perpetrator or a spouse of a perpetrator affects the way they understand themselves as parents and how they fulfil their parenthood responsibilities. The third section is about descendants' ambiguous loss of identity toward their parents. It portrays the way survivors, perpetrators, and mixed married descendants identify themselves; and how they create their survival life.

3.1. The survivors' loss of parenthood identity

The genocide as a 'social death' frayed family relationships among survivors, as well as among mix married parents as a result of traumatic experiences and physical body damages. Raped survivors are crippled by shame, leading to loss of emotional motherhood. Their identity as having been raped limits them to assume the full parental role and constricts them in building relationships with descendants and spouses. Both men and women suffer from insecurity as a result of traumatic experiences; that creates patterns of avoidance in relationships. Perusi, a 56 year-old survivor woman who was raped, and who was left with only one son who survived among five descendants, told the following story:

> "One day my son went to collect grasses for our cow and met other older children. They told him everything happened to me. They told him how they saw me being naked with a light skin buttock (akabuno k'inzobe) and they were imitating how I was crying during the rape asking for pity in vain".

He came home and told his mother what happened and they all cried. But since then, she said, they avoid each other out of fear of touching those painful emotions again. And as a result, she feels deprived of emotional support and feels hopeless. Emotional distancing from descendants is a pattern of behaviour common to all three of the raped women I interviewed because reminders of their rape identity surpass their identity of motherhood. Both Perusi and the son were insecure as to how to approach each other, and as a result they avoided being close with each other. Perusi suspects that the son has more information on her situation; if she were closer to him, it would give her an

opportunity to tell him more. For the son, more sharing is a reminder of the rape causing more pain. Perusi added that in the son's eyes, his mother has motherhood responsibility but also she needs sympathy.

In the context of the current research, I suggest that Perusi is suffering from an 'ambiguous identity' because of her ongoing dilemma in which she cannot be emotionally close to the son but nonetheless loves him. Also, he will be the only son she will ever have because she became infertile as result of the rape. Using attachment theory, I would describe the relationship Perusi has to her son as a 'disorganized attachment' because of the opposing forces pulling her closer and pushing her away. For example, when the son wanted to build a house in which he will marry, she didn't allow him to go far. She obliged him to build it in front of their house where she can see him anytime she wants.

The insecure-avoidance pattern is even more severe when one parent doesn't want the child. Take the example of Mukunzi, a female survivor, 45 year old. Before the genocide she was married to a non-survivor man; they had a one-year old child. The husband participated in killings and was later killed by his interahamwe[2] colleagues. After the genocide, Mukunzi married a survivor man who lost his wife, all five of his children, all his brothers, sisters and innumerable extended family members. They now have four children together. Mukunzi's husband refused to see Mukunzi's son born from Interahamwe at his home. Because of that, Mukunzi brought the son to live with her surviving brother. For separate reasons, Mukunzi and her husband were insecure and avoided contact with the son born from a killer. Mukunzi said that,

> "The son grows up without me and now he has finished university but he doesn't know where I live because he never came to my home. I can't say that I am his mother".

When I asked Mukunzi whether she would sit with the husband to be given a gift during the son's marriage in case it happens, she felt puzzled. She responded that she can't accept that place and be given a gift because she feels unworthy to be honoured as a mother, as she didn't provide any emotional or material support to him. It is an ambiguous loss of motherhood identity as she is her son's biological mother but not his social one.

Ambiguous loss is also suffered by survivor men whose children were killed during the genocide, as they are still haunted by the loss of their parenthood identity in relation to them. Mukunzi's husband not only refused to perform in the role of social fatherhood to his wife's first born, but he is also reluctant to be a father to the four biological children born after genocide. He doesn't give emotional and material support to them because he regards his true children as those who died during the genocide. His living children experience him to be a bad father who denies his children's life. At the same time, their identity is formed by the relational trauma of a father who cannot

[2]Common name given to killers during the genocide

be a father. For the father, the memory of loss during the genocide overshadows his current fatherhood identity. Mukunzi says that anytime her husband sees young people marrying, he cries and insults everyone around them saying that they are having weddings while his descendants died. When the wife tells him that their four new children, including a daughter of 21 years, will marry soon, the husband responds that he doesn't care and he gives value to those died. This is a severely difficult developmental issue for the descendants, who ask Mukunzi, their mother, why there are other neighbouring families with less properties but living economically well compared to their own family.

Descendants of survivors struggle to understand their parents' survivor identity because they do not know what their parents went through. The daughter of Mukunzi born two years after the genocide doesn't understand her father's refusal to care for her. Mukunzi says that there are many times that her daughter closes herself in a bedroom for days on end, without eating; only crying. Mukunzi fears that one day her daughter will commit suicide. The daughter is much affected when the father calls her by the name she doesn't recognize because it belongs to one of the children who died during the genocide. Although the daughter herself didn't live through the genocide experience, she is nonetheless directly affected by it. Her trauma is transmitted to her from parents' experience and behaviour. The daughter has an ambiguous identity because her father does not recognize her; she has a biological but not a social father.

Some parent-child relationships can be rehabilitated during the process of identity reconstruction. Maria is a 50-year-old survivor who lost 7 children during the genocide. She separated from a survivor husband because he didn't want to live with a woman who was raped and impregnated by Interahamwe. She was unable to build effective relationships with her three surviving descendants. She attended sociotherapy meetings as part of a group that met every week in her living room. One son, now 25 year old, could hear the stories shared by the participants. In this way, he learnt about the hardship of both survivors and perpetrators' during and after the genocide. Subsequently, he also observed the reconciliation process that was taking place in the group. As a result of this shared experience, Maria and her son were able to rebuild their relationship and to reconstruct their identity as mother and son. They become real friends, sharing everything in a way that community members call them 'fiancé' because they are closer than in a normal mother-son relationship. The son may be close to his mother, and this may cause him difficulties later in finding and having healthy relationship with a wife.

3.2. The perpetrators' loss of parenthood identity

Those who were convicted as perpetrators of genocide-related crimes were imprisoned for many years, and they or their family-members had to pay reparations. During this time, often their wives bore out-of-wedlock chil-

dren. All these circumstances contributed to a loss of masculinity for perpetrator men. For example, it was observed that two families of perpetrators among six interviewed increased economic wealth and independence when husbands were in prison in a way that husbands felt devalued at home after release. These circumstances affected mothers' and fathers' parenthood identity in descendants' eyes. Andereya is a 57-year-old man who imprisoned for 12 years. He confessed and paid reparation. During his imprisonment, the family's economic situation increased in a way that both the wife and descendants didn't need his role at home. Fatherhood and masculine identity is culturally tied to being a breadwinner, so he lost both. This loss of identity was exacerbated by the disrespect shown to the husband/father by the wife/mother in the eyes of descendants who hardly know him because he had been imprisoned since they were very small. He revealed disrespect as follows:

> "There was a young man from my wife's family who used to visit us. One day he came to our home, and when it was time to sleep, my wife said that she was going to sleep with him and that I would have to find another place to sleep. That night I went to my security-guard work even though it was my day off and my wife slept with the young man".

Both the mother and the father lost parenthood identity because they lost respectability. The loss of father's parenthood identity was also caused by being a killer. One descendant of this father didn't want to reveal the name of her father during the dowry-giving ceremony leading to marriage, because she does not want to be known as the daughter of a perpetrator.

Because the second generation does not have knowledge of what happened during the genocide, it is possible for one parent to control the narrative of what happened to descendants in such a way as to convince them of the other's evilness. Take the story of Yuliyana, whose children hate her and have become loyal to her husband. She is 52 year old and married to a perpetrator. She bore two out-of-wedlock children when the husband was in prison. After his release, the husband told the children that he was innocent and that Yuliyana was a disreputable prostitute. In some cases descendants are unable to feel that they belong to either the mother or the father but that they are caught in between. The example is the experience of Aline who is a perpetrator's daughter born of a mother who gave birth two wedlock children when her father was in prison. She felt as if she did not emotionally belong to either one of her parents and decided to live independent, as if she were an orphan; eventually she became a single mother.

3.3. Descendants hunting for themselves

The genocide in Rwanda left approximately 101,000 orphans according to Balsera (2011:279) and innumerable children with parents in prisons. Descendants with parents in prison indicate how parents are physically present

in the world (i.e. they have not died) but are absent emotionally and economically, and so they are effectively living like orphans. They have to find their own way of living and learning about the world like orphans do. In interviews they repeatedly describe this as 'hunting for themselves' (*kwihigira*). The metaphor describes that they are trying to find their own way as if within a jungle, with no parents, family or village or other aspects of social civilization to support them. In this way they feel they live being unable to anticipate and predict expectations from the world, or to learn about the world, neither from parents nor from community members.

All descendants interviewed said that before participating in the sociotherapy program they were feeling isolated, had low self-esteem, and were unable to socialize with others. Instead of 'having parents', descendants emotionally and economically take care of siblings and parent(s). Here is the story of Kamanzi, who is the only son who survived the genocide when he was one year old, while later his survivor father and non-survivor mother had another four.. He does not understand his parents' problems. He hears from community members that problems are caused by the genocide but he doesn't know how or why. In vain, he has tried to reunite his parents. He said,

> "I repeatedly asked my father to try to take back my mother, but in vain. In January 2017, I went to ask my mother to come back home. She responded that she will come if the father agrees. I asked my father who accepted her to come. My mother came back home but my father refused to share the bedroom with her. Then, my mother left home again after four months. I feel that I am a man made to fail".

To the interview, it seems that the root cause of the problems between his parents lie in the genocide. However, Kamanzi takes his parents relational problems as his personal failure, rather than a situational consequence of them having suffered through collective violence. Another side of ambiguous loss of identity is when the mother is emotionally absent and the father is in prison. The example is Fabiyani born just during the genocide from a perpetrator father who has been in prison for 19 years. He knows the father by only visiting him in prison, and has never seen him in a normal relational context at home. Fabiyali has been rejected by his mother and he is living alone in a house. The mother refuses to visit his father in prison and he doesn't know the causes of his parents' problems. He said that,

> "When I visit him in prison, I want ask him what is wrong between him and my mother but I can't, I don't dare ask anything because he is suffering enough from prison. I am worried about what will happen when he is released. I live emotionally like someone without parents".

When asked what he thinks about his own possible marriage, Fabiyani said that it never came to his mind because his only concern is for his parents' relationship. He has parents but he doesn't know about family life. The parents' situation overshadows his mind and he is unable "to hunt for himself" as a result of the ambiguous loss of identity as a child who has been parented.

Conclusion

In this chapter I tried to show that the families of survivors, perpetrators and mixed-married spouses all have lost varying degrees of 'relational identity'. The findings deviate from the idea of Boss, when she defines a family as those who share "the worldview and meaning that represent the collective thinking" in a way that there is "no one member but the family as a unit". The findings in the current study show that in post-collective conflict societies, such as Rwanda family members are unable to interact and produce the same 'socially constructed' life as families who do belong to one unit; and no one or some of family members are emotionally attached to one another. The family members in this study show how social life is shattered in a way that they don't share the worldview, meaning, and family identity; and they feel insecure to build mutual social relationships. The situation is caused by the fact that some parents separated and descendants live either alone or with only one parent. In other cases there are family members (descendants and one or all parents) who do live together, but they share merely biological ties but not a social or emotional life. It was observed that many parents are biological but not social parents; this structurally undermines a family's relational identity because that can only come into being by sharing social aspects of life.

The descendants I interviewed know little or nothing about their parents' emotional, social, or even historical life, either because after the genocide one parent was imprisoned, or the parents separated shortly after they were born. They hear conflicting stories from either parent about genocide-related issues that they otherwise have no first-hand knowledge of. They struggle to understand their parents' behaviour as well as the sources of family problems because their memory only includes the post-genocide period. Their inner representation of their parents is imagined, created, forged by truth or lies from one parent about the other; or from gossip and stories told by community members. Some descendants refuse to recognize either of their parents, by breaking off all relationships with them. They see their parents as being bad individuals, even as the inappropriate behaviour of their parents is caused by relational trauma during or after the genocide. This relational trauma is recognizable in descendants' life. Although they did not have first-hand experience, their trauma stems from parents' trauma; and fractured and frayed family relationships they experience.

There are situations where parenthood identity is lost in a way that parents are trapped in victimhood identity as they lost not only parenthood but also socially constructed masculinity or femininity, so that they are less of a 'man' or a 'woman'. The multiple identities such as victim, woman, man, father or mother are not integrated in such a way as to allow them still to be

able to play these various roles within their families. Their identity is not affected by one I position but rather by multiple I positions that do not form a harmonious whole, but compete in a way that one dominates the other. In this situation some descendants take over parents' emotional and economic roles so that descendants are parentified and parents are infantilized.

Chapter 4: The effect of parents' experience on descendants' marriage

Although most descendants were born (or came to consciousness) after the genocide, by living through the searing and often intractable conflicts of their parents' marriage which are rooted directly in the genocide and its aftermath, they live through and have to cope with the direct effects of genocidal violence. This chapter will examine how the marital conflict of parents (survivors and perpetrators) affects and influences the marital identity and experience of their descendants'. The aim of this chapter is to gain understanding on how they navigate through these experiences and how it informs their expectations of and decisions as they themselves approach marriage. And how this is navigation process constructs or deconstructs peace-building process.

The chapter is divided in three sections. The first is about descendants' (second generation) understanding of marriage in the context of their parents' marital problems. The second section explores difficulties that descendants go through in their courting process leading up to marriage. It analyses how living with parents who had genocide experience and subsequent marital conflict informed descendants' understanding about themselves and their marriage process. The third section delves in the nexus of marriage and peace-building. It explains how marriage process restrains and promotes reconciliation process. It makes a connection between top down peace-building process and bottom up process from the family.

4.1. The descendants' views on marital life

All six survivors interviewed traced the start of their marital conflict to the period just after genocide. Six perpetrators or their spouses interviewed said their conflict started just after genocide or short time after being accused as perpetrators. I interviewed descendants experienced parents' marital problems since they were very small and had never enjoyed stable and harmonious family life.

Findings show that during the conflict or after parents' separation, descendants of survivors remained with one traumatized parent who was unable to care for them, either morally or economically. The older descendants took over the care for their younger siblings by toiling. This heavy work at early age filled them with worries about their marriage. These descendants indicated that taking over parents' responsibility, as well as also struggling, mostly in vain, to mediate the conflict of their parents, results in them feeling as if 'they are made to fail', as failures, as Kamanzi said in the above quote.

Descendants view their own marriage prospects through the lens of the experienced difficult marital relations of their parents. The majority of descendants women interviewed are convinced that they will never marry or not re-marry in the event of separation from their husbands. Mukunzi's daughter

was rejected by her traumatized father who across the board refused to recognize as real, all of his descendants born after genocide. She wanted to become a nun as a way of evading marriage, but the mother dissuaded her. Nonetheless, she says that she will never marry, or if she does, she will not give birth because her descendants (third generation) can't play with the father whom herself didn't play with.

Not all descendants are negatively affected by parents' behaviour during conflict; some of them say they learned from the patience of their parents. Eight out twelve parents in marital conflict interviewed are still married and they all say that they endure marital difficulties so as to avoid descendants' problems that may be caused by separation. Descendants see the way one parent is mistreating the other, but the other remains patiently married to prevent causing further suffering to their descendants'. The example is the son of Ephrasie. He asked her why she didn't separate from her husband and she responded that she opted to endure because she didn't want descendants to live without either mother or father. She wanted them to live with both parents. The son told her that he wishes to marry a girl with the same behaviour as the mother's.

All perpetrators' families interviewed have at least one daughter who gave birth without being married (who is a single mother). They gave a range of reasons for this: 1) economic problems that made their life harsh in way that it made it easier to be trapped into having unplanned sex; 2) they didn't have parents' guidance on how to behave, and how to prevent risk of unwanted pregnancies; 4) their mothers also had sex out of marriage (because their husbands were imprisoned) which gave space for the daughters to do the same; mothers lost respectability necessary to guide descendants in sexual behaviour; 5) some wanted to have children without marriage because they don't see anything good in marriage considering parents' experience. Their single motherhood identity can be viewed as a symbolic reminder of what they want to avoid.

4.2. Difficulties of descendants in courting

Due to such symbolic reminders of identity and relational self, both descendants of perpetrators and of survivors experience difficulties in courting period that in Rwandan culture precedes and leads to marriage. In Rwandan, it is customary for men ask for friendship with women they would like to marry and rarely vice versa; that is why the data in this section only concerns male experience. The empirical data indicate that the first courting was refused due to their parents' identity for three out of five male descendants. In all three cases, the refusal was borne out of the fear. The women who were being courted were afraid that the two families would be unable to build healthy relationships with each other. This was even more so in those cases where the mother had been raped. As the young women are themselves affected by parents' psychosocial problems, they fear that once married their families would have problems in building effective relationships, as their trauma has had an effect the 'relational self'. They call this marriage "two

foolish meeting on water pump to fetch water": Abasazi bahuriye k'umugezi". Schick (2011) encourages this behaviour of building relationship with people one doesn't share suffering because it avoids 'gathering wounds' that is positive in peace-building process.

Two out three descendants whose courting was rebuffed were survivors refused by a non-survivor young woman. I use the concept of 'relational self' as a framework for understanding. A non-survivor is ashamed to belong to ethnic group of killers which is a symbolic reminder of their identity. There is a wound to their relational self. Simeon is a 25 year old son of mother and father who are both survivors. His mother separated from the father because she was raped. His first friendship request was refused by a non-survivor young female and on his second attempt; he again courted a non-survivor female. This time it was the girlfriend's mother who refused to allow her daughter to be a Simeon's friend. Although the mother is a non-survivor, nonetheless she lost her brothers in the war of early 1990. Her fear was that her daughter would have difficulties in building relationships with the boy-friend's mother. He said that,

> "….. I told the girl-friend that if it is a matter of counting death, I lost 7 siblings and my parents lost innumerable family members. They were killed by your parents' ethnic group. The girl shared the loss experience with her mother and the mother accepted the friendship".

The courtship was allowed to proceed, and Simeon said they plan to marry in 2018. He termed the process "war of love" because every day there are obstacles to overcome that are related to 'symbolic reminders of identity'.

The "war of love" is more difficulty once it involves victimization. Ephrasie has only one son who survived the genocide. Her son is one of two married descendants I interviewed. When her son was preparing to be married, Ephrasie knew that the father of the girl her son was courting was among men who had victimized her. She told her son about victimization. But because her participation in sociotherapy had helped her to forgive the girl-friend's father, the marriage preparation was able to continue. The son and his fiancé married, and the new family now has two children. The perpetrator identity of the girl's father's came to light only after that courting was almost completed. The courting and subsequent marriage has contributed to reconciliation in the larger community, because I doubt that the courting would have started at all if the identity as perpetrator of girl's father had been known before the start of courting process. The eventual marriage of his descendant (daughter) to a descendant of a survivor led to a positive identity change for the perpetrator in his own marital life.

Perpetrators' sons also have problems in courting. Their relational self is loomed over by shame of being descendants of perpetrators. The shame leads them to hide their unwanted identity so that they aren't known to belong to a group that killed. One of the findings in the current research was that both young men and women were reluctant to build close relationships because

they wanted to avoid anyone finding out about their family background. Because of their insecure attachment to their families they cannot trust others. The dilemma of courting someone is that in the process of visiting and being visited in return, the family background will be revealed. One way out of that conflict is to not tell the truth, but my findings indicate that if a fiancé doesn't share personal testimony and truth may allow peace at home in the short run that is very fragile in the long-term. There is one case a descendant who chose to marry someone with whom they share the same family background. Vianey is 28 year old with one son. His father was imprisoned for 10 years of having participated in genocide but later was found innocent. He said during the interview that,

> "My first courting was refused because my father is labelled a perpetrator …. At the second courting, I went far from my birth area to search for a girlfriend there. I found one with the same family background as mine, and I married later".

The girl knew Vianey's family background when they were married. Schick (2011) discourages this attitude of having relationships with whom one shares suffering because it is 'gathering wounds' and it is negative to conflict transformation.

The relational self and symbolic reminders of identity such as legacies of genocide and parents' marital conflict are not always negative. If they have difficulties after marriage and overcome them, they remember how they went through 'war of love' and keep their marriage going and that gives them hope for the future. Clemence said that her marriage was sustained despite the presence genocide related factors that led to marital conflict. She and her husband remembered the strength they had found in each other during their courting period, because their families had opposed their marriage, and that helped them to hold steady during subsequent marital conflicts.

On the other hand, there are also stories where persisting to get married despite genocide related symbolic reminders of identity can add wounds in way that future marital problems deeply affect couples. One example is the son of Perusi. His marital relationship keeps reminding him his survivor identity. He was told by children in his community how his mother was raped. Later he married a daughter of one of the perpetrators who victimized his mother. The marriage was a difficult decision for both the son and the girlfriend. Perusi said that now that they are married they often have conflict because the wife accuses her husband of being more attached to his survived mother than he is attached to his wife. Furthermore, sometimes the son tells the wife that she is not as beautiful as her sister who died during genocide. This shows that genocide related symbolic reminders of identity and relational trauma continue to haunt descendants after marriage. The son told Perusi that due to marital problems he is going through he sometimes wishes he would be hit by a car and die. Perusi fears that one day the son will commit suicide.

4.3. Marriage and peace-building process

In post-violence context, reconciliation and forgiveness leading to a decrease of anger is of integral importance to peace-building process. One of my informants, Maria reconciled and forgave, some conditionally and others unconditionally her victimizers including one who gave her a cow as a sign of reconciliation. Nonetheless, she still feels anger towards her husband. The husband refused to live with a raped and impregnated wife. In Maria's eyes, a husband should acknowledge that the rape was not something a wife could be blamed for, and that was the reason she separated. Walker (2006:20) writes that, "to fail to confirm the victim's sense of wrong is itself another wrong". Maria was empowered by her anger because it enabled her to use her agency to define and guide her life independent from the husband. The anger helped her to overcome 'symbolic reminders of identity': if she had remained his wife she would continue to be defined by her victimization.

The same symbolic reminder dynamic was observed in mixed marriage couples even if non-survivor spouses protected survivor spouses during genocide, and wives recognize the husbands' goodness. Ephrasie and Perusi said that they are deeply grateful to their husbands who protected them during genocide. They are committed to live with them in whatever conditions. Despite that, however, they do have problems in their intimate relationships with husbands because it reminds them victimization by Interahamwe sharing the same ethnic group with their husbands. Their multiple identities or intersectionalities interplay because they have different and competing I position: that of survivors, of having been raped, of mothers, and of wives. All these multiple identities affect relationships with their husbands and descendants limiting reconciliation and decrease of anger within families.

The anger around symbolic reminders of identity is also a concern of descendants'. For descendants, anger is caused by the feeling that one of parent didn't take care to them. By ambiguous loss of parenthood identity, s/he didn't play the role as a parent. Simeon, a son of Maria, doesn't have anger toward his parents' victimizers rather he has anger toward the survivor father who didn't care for him as a father and also separated from mother. He said during the interview that he didn't and he will never forgive his father (Maria's husband). The anger towards the father will not reduce because Simeon didn't get the support of his father when he was a child, a time when he was most in need of protection.

Anger caused by legacies of genocide is also observed within families of perpetrators. Findings indicate that spouses and descendants have anger toward their spouse because they committed genocide crimes that required paying reparation and caused stigmatization. On the other side, when husbands were in prison, some wives made mistakes such as having intimate relationship with other men outside the marriage or misusing family resources. These situations create anger on both sides. There are other stories of women who continued to take care to their husbands in prison regardless economic and emotional difficulties; and husbands who repaid such kindness by accepting and forgiving their wives' mistakes. Some men also acknowledge their own

responsibility for the causes of the problem because if they wouldn't have committed genocide crimes the imprisonment and other related after effects would not have happened.

In yet again other circumstances there are perpetrators who confessed their crimes to survivors which eased survivors' anger, but neglected ask pardon of their spouses and descendants for damage caused. The perpetrators' I position of identity was only directed to survivors but not to their own families. Apologizing for crimes committed against survivors is part of negotiating their identity reconstruction in order to be viewed (and to feel themselves) as being human again. Thus, the negotiation doesn't necessarily cover all aspects of wrongs committed. And the reconciliation, forgiveness and replacement of anger are achieved between survivors and perpetrators without necessarily bringing peace at homes.

How can it be that the anger between survivors and perpetrators was replaced while the anger toward spouses or parents is not replaced? When I asked Maria and Simeon why they can't forgive the husband/father, they responded that it is hard to forgive someone who refused to support them in difficult period post-genocide. The father having the first responsibility to console failed to do it and in Maria's and Simeon's eyes, the father/husband abused the family trust. Reconciliation depends on 'relational self' like knowledge and memories. After genocide in Rwanda, there were/are many programs of reconciliation that both survivors and perpetrators went through including sociotherapy (see objectives on footnote on page 15). Reconciliation is a national program found from grassroots level up to national level but not many interventions go to the intimate relationship level within families.

Interventions contributing to the national reconciliation process didn't come immediately after victimization. For example, the Gacaca process started in 2003 nine years after the genocide and with the reconciliation process is still going on. Victims had had time to digest victimization. Replacement of anger within families might have been difficult because it was required immediately after wrong doing. Survivors had to live with their spouses immediately at the end of genocide when wounds were still fresh.

The anger within intimate relationships is more inside in one's heart (Nussbaum 2016:94-95). Perpetrators may live geographically close or far from survivors but, in any case: outside their immediate life; no one's life is in the other's hands. They share social life but not intimate life as spouse and/or descendants do. Though the victimization is unimaginable, it is done by person outside one's life. The anger within families is difficult to overcome as it requires and engage much greater closeness than other genocide related victimization. Family members are always present in each other's life, the reminders of the past are constantly present, whereas the perpetrators or non-family members are not part of one's day to day life, they have memories of the harm, but there is not a constant symbolic reminder, so may make it easier to forgive. In families, forgiveness brings back someone in one's life 'bring back a wife or husband or father in one's whole and total life'.

The anger within the family results from a 'damage to trust'. Damage to trust is defined by Walker (2006:74-75) as damage of reliability, of entrusting something to another's care that increases vulnerability. It is a damage done by a person with responsibility for care. Damage in Simeon's understanding is done by the father who denied him as child while he has more responsibility to care for him than anyone else. Family members, according to Weille (2011:15), are the otherness in one's self. So, national reconciliation in the peace-building process can be achieved without necessarily being achieved within family life.

Effects of genocide in marital life have a grey understanding of who wronged and who was wronged; who asks forgiveness or for an apology and who forgives. Writing about unforgivable conditions, Walker (2006:178-187) argues that someone cannot forgive wrong when that a person is not a victim and quoted Hannah Arendt that one cannot forgive what one cannot punish. It is difficult to replace anger within families because it is not clear about who wronged whom and who is answerable to be punished and ask forgiveness and who was wronged and should forgive among fathers, mothers and descendants. The real cause of anger is outside the family life (the genocide).

Anger can have a reconciliatory benefit within families. Nussbaum (2016:36) highlights that the benefit of anger is that it "may be a deterrent" because once one knows that the wrong will lead to anger someone may fear to wrong the other. According to Walker (2006:110) anger is a signal or "warns or threatens someone who is perceived as having crossed a line or done something unacceptable". Descendants of survivors have anger toward their parents who denied and didn't support them. At marriage level, they have learnt that having a peaceful marriage/family doesn't necessarily happen between those who are from the same ethnic group because their parents separated and/or didn't care for them even if they were both survivors or non-survivors. When I asked Simeon, a survivor, why he kept courting a non-survivor daughter, he first responded that he wished to marry whomever he cared for without considering group affiliation. He continued that he didn't necessarily want to look for a girlfriend with survivor identity because his father mistreated the mother and him while they share the same ethnic group. The parents' marital conflict empowered him to use his agency in choosing a fiancé and replacing anger toward people sharing identity with perpetrators. So, in this case, the parents' conflict contributed to reconciliation process as descendants are negotiating and reconstructing a new identity differently from parents' by integrating non-survivor identity in their life by marriage.

On the side of perpetrators' descendants, they were angry at their parents because of their identity as killers, which caused shame, economic degradation and resulting conflict at home. This anger contributed to understanding of the feelings of victimized survivors. They said in the interview that they understood the survivors' anger. Having anger toward their parents can contribute to recognizing the survivors' victimization and subsequent anger.

The additional nexus of marriage and peace-building is that the first generation of survivors and perpetrators can overcome their anger to marry. One

example from the interview is Ildephonse. He was imprisoned for 17 years and later married a genocide survivor. One may wonder how this replacement of anger in order to enter a marriage is possible. The argument is that the 'relational self' implies the knowledge of the self and the others to take a new position in life. Holland and Lachicotte (2007:107-108) write that engaging in an 'inner dialogue' different parts of the self interact, which can result in a greater understanding of others and oneself'.

Conclusion

Descendants have ambivalent identity about marriage. Parents and descendants declared unwillingness and reluctance to marry as a result of parents' marital problems; however, three of eight interviewed were already married and one is in courting process. It is unclear whether those married or unmarried who may marry in future are doing it from conviction or whether they do it as a result of cultural pressure that everyone has to be married. In family problems, descendants do self-evaluation; reconsider their relational self (memories and knowledge), and develop internal working models guiding their choices about marriage. In case they would marry because the pressures provided by norms' and traditions' they wouldn't be using their agency, true will and autonomy. More study to understand this aspect would be important.

Descendants have ambiguous relational identity with their families. For some of them, they feel they live like orphans because while they have biological parents, their parents do not engage in social parenthood, leading to blurring of identity. Descendants fall in three categories: 1) those still living with parents in conflict, 2.) those living with one parent because parents separated and 3.) those (one example in this study) living alone in a house. The study was unable to see what is preferable for descendants and theories used don't say anything about these possibilities.

The marital conflict situation both supports and contradicts the argument that peace-building starts from the family. Support is found in way that descendants' experience of parents' marital conflict teaches them that having the same identity doesn't guarantee peace at home and they reconstructed their identity by opting to integrate people with other identities in the life through marriage. It contradicts because reconciliation was achieved between survivors and perpetrators meaning that peace is built outside the family not inside. This situation argues for additional focus of attention in national reconciliation framework because its aims are not translated within families, which would be necessary for stable peace-building process from bottom up.

Finally, traditionally a family is conceived of as an institution sharing relational identity, as one unit. However, in post-violence context like Rwanda, it is observed as part of this study, that as a result of wide-spread marital conflict family ties are scattered and family members often do not share the same relational identity as one unit.

Chapter 5: The plight of women in post-genocide

This chapter focuses on how parents' marital conflict empowered or disempowered women in post-genocide context. The chapter firstly analyses the way the genocide after effect disempowered women. It discusses how physically and psychologically affected women lost not only their womanly-ness and their self-esteem but also their sense of humanity. Secondly, it explores how women do not remain trapped in their horrendous life circumstances, but rather how they actively try to find a way of regaining their humanity and their taste for life; it is about how the genocide related circumstances empowered women. The section argues the way women used their agency to find solutions to their problems and what they managed to achieve not only materially but also their life goals.

During the genocide, women experienced particular sufferings of widespread sexual abuse that fewer men went through. As a result of these genocide legacies, women lost physical, social and emotional resources necessary for achieving their life goals. It affected sexuality. Women were the sexually targeted; sex is one of the most liaising relational resources between the husband and the wife. Abusing this resource is experienced as destroying the basic family bond that leads to loss womanly-ness and humanity. During the interview, all three raped women said that before joining sociotherapy group sessions they were full of despair, felt 'not like a human being, and were unable to care for themselves. Perusi who was raped and became infertile said that,

> "……After genocide I felt that wearing clothes was senseless because I didn't have anything to hide as I was publically raped and everyone knows how my body looks".

This statement illustrates how deeply denigrated women who have been raped feel, their internalized self-image has been destroyed, and they feel themselves as devalued in the eyes of their husbands and community members. They have lost their "power within", and because of that, they cannot feel as if they are part of the family, with rights and obligations: they were disempowered. Raped women married to both survivor and non-survivor husband were regularly told by their husbands that they are wives of interahamwe which further degraded their sense humanity and their womanliness.

Women research participants said as women were socialized in Rwandan culture, they learned that when a woman wants win the husband over by asking him to agree to something difficult, she should do it early morning after having intimate relationship because at such times the husband is more likely to accept her request. It is an opportune time for the family to negotiate and bargain important family projects. It can be considered as a resource for bargaining and negotiating.

Not being able to use this marital dynamic is what is meant by loss of 'power within'. There are those who still have the open wounds of the consequences of rape like Ephrasie who is still bleeding. She has physical, emotional and psychological pain that reduces her ability to be economically and emotionally productive in marital life, leading to a further devalued position in family life. She cannot negotiate anything with the husband because she lost womanly-ness. She said during the interview that,

> "….Now as I am bleeding, my husband is not getting what he wants. How can I ask or negotiate anything with him while I am not serving any purpose at home?"

With this physical and psychological pain, women are unable to give shape to their own life because they feel incapable of doing almost everything and they have to endure any family suffering and violence. This situation constricts their agency.

The powerlessness is not only within the family but also in the whole of life. As raped women feeling as if they are not human, they cannot effectively utilize the available social resources, because they suffer from stigmatization as a societal issue. They are unable to interact with society members to build normal social relationships, connecting and networking with others who are necessary to help in achieving their life goals. Participants believe that women are good negotiators and they are more likely being given what they are negotiating for than their husbands. The example is Venasiya. She negotiated the remittance of Rwf 400,000 (about $ 420) of reparation debt to a survivor while the husband had tried to do the same and failed. This situation is unlikely to happen to raped survivor: if she feels less than fully human, it will be impossible to network with others. But in this research I found indications that they didn't remain passive because some women developed new growth out of genocide related experience, and learned how to stand on their own feet, to regain 'empowerment'.

Women do find the ability to navigate through the post-genocide challenges to achieve their goals. It happens that women break free from the social construction of being dependent to men by using their agency to make their own life. Two women who have separated from their husbands explained how they are socially discouraged from living without husbands because of the cultural notion that unmarried people cannot give proper shape to their lives. Nonetheless, despite the fact that they had psychological and material difficulties after separation, they still opted to live independent life rather than being demeaned by their husbands. When Maria was pregnant from rape after genocide, the husband maltreated her. Marital life was unbearable and so she opted to separate. She opted to endure economic difficulties and social pressure urging her to return to her marriage. It was difficult for her to raise three descendants but she is proud that two of them are now married and the young one of 25 year old is ready to marry. For her, descendants' marriage is a sign they have successfully reached mature adulthood.

These separated women face cultural resistance that they have to subvert to bring about change in their lives. During the interview, Maria said that

many women with difficulties in their marriage are coming to ask her for advice. She is aware of the benefits of marriage but feels that in case it is unbearable, women can make their own lives. Her use of her own agency use is inspiring to many young women. The young women I interviewed referred to such cases in when they told me about their husband demeaning them. When their husband tells them that they can't survivor alone they respond by giving examples of separated survivors and wives of perpetrators who managed their families without husbands. Furthermore, female descendants interviewed have the same understanding that they are able to make their own life reason why some said that they will not marry; if they marry they will not accept to remain in men's grip.

Additionally, perpetrators' wives learnt from their husbands' imprisonment. On the assumption that their husbands would never be released, they took management of family life in their own hands. There are two examples in this study of women-headed families' whose economic situation improved. Moreover, the majority of women who separated from their husbands or whose husband died, refused to remarry; they decided to toil and remain unmarried instead of living in hell families situation. Dative is 36 year old widow. Her husband died in 2015. She is fed up with marital problems in way that she has decided is better for her to toil alone, instead of remarrying. She said during the interview that,

> "…I am still young and beautiful. Many men come to me saying that I have to marry them because a woman can't manage life alone. I have had enough".

Dative's conscious and autonomous choice challenges traditional family of marriage. Discussing the myth of traditional family, Linda (1997) challenges the pre-conceived understanding of how the family should be organized. The traditional understanding of a family should be abandoned to alternative families to look for what makes better life conditions.

One of the families, whose wealth increased during the husbands' imprisonment, is that of Tuyishimire of 36 years old. She unknowingly married a genocide perpetrator who was later sentenced to be imprisoned for 13 years; at the time of the interview, her husband only had three years left on his sentence. Before imprisonment, the husband refused to allow her to toil (by doing agricultural work) saying, that she is demeaning the family while he used the money to buy beer and ignoring family needs. In prison, Tuyishimire started to do paid work and to effectively manage the little income. When she visits him in prison, the husband notices that she looks better than she did before his imprisonment. He tells her that she will be in trouble after his release because he suspects that she is having sex with men in exchange of money. Being free, she is exercising her 'social resources' by having relationships with others and she got a cow from the government program of 'one cow per family'. She is well prepared that in case the husband doesn't change his mind she will separate from him upon his release from prison because she is convinced she can make a better life for herself and her family alone.

The gained opportunity to exercise "agency as power" can be misused if there are no strategic skills. Andereya's wife acted as if her husband did not exist upon his release from prison. During the imprisonment, she used to be independent and do whatever and however she wants, which is what her husband considers misbehaviour. The family's economic situation increased compared to before the husband's imprisonment and the husband became devalued because she did what the husband as breadwinner had failed to do before imprisonment. Andereya lost his masculinity and he failed to resist the wife's power gained before release. When he makes a claim, the wife responds that she made the family life when he was in prison, so he doesn't have a say at home. Andereya is told by the wife and descendants that as killers he has nothing to teach at home and he is obliged to comply with any wife's and descendants' behaviour. This is a misuse of power because agency should be "power to" or "power with" not "power over". To intimidate the husband, the wife tells him that she will provoke him to commit a crime so that he will be re-imprisoned. The resistance to each other's power is one of main causes of the increase of marital conflict in post-genocide context.

Conclusion

Women gained empowerment in the post-genocide context because they don't have to rely on a husband to make their life goals. They willingly separated from the husbands who mistreated them, and to use their agency to give their own shape to their lives. But empowerment should also involve men; agency shouldn't be only conceived of in terms of separation of spouses and or used to oppose social norms that the wife should be always with the husband. The theory of gender performativity indicates that one may believe that one is sovereign and autonomous even as norms are shaping them. And that before they realize it, they are in norms' grip. For example, raped women may believe that they are consciously and autonomously using their agency in order to separate. But it might be that they are unwittingly following social norms: Because they were raped and lost womanliness, they are considered to be undeserving to be anyone's wife; and, as well, it is a chance for men to have other women. However, it is empowerment because they do what they desire and wish to do.

Survivors' and perpetrators' descendants are learning from parents' agency. Some said that considering parents' marital problems they will never marry while other will marry with greater attention. They all said that they learnt from parents' conflict to manage theirs in case they are married but in complicated marital life they will opt to make their own life. This situation indicates that they marry as a trial to see how the family will be and decide to remain married or separate.

Chapter 6: The general conclusion

This study aimed to understand how the genocide experience and subsequent marital conflict shape marital identity in Rwanda. The research argues that the genocide affects marital dynamics of both survivor and perpetrator parents and descendants. It affects the parenthood identity, descendants' marital identity, and it can disempower women but also empower them. Consecutively, the conclusion argues how three research sub-questions are answered by finding.

- *How does survivor and perpetrator parents' marital conflict affect their parenthood identity?*

Both parents' and descendants' have an ambiguous identity. Traumatized survivors are unable to care for descendants, as a result of which they feel undeserving of being called parents. The parenthood of both survivors and perpetrators is ambiguous because they didn't act in their roles as parents; the parents' I position is unconsolidated and trapped in genocide legacies while I position of parenthood is inhibited and atrophied. Descendants' identity is also ambiguous because they live as orphans even as they may have one or both survivor or perpetrator parents

On the side of descendants of perpetrators, they have problems of building relationship with father perpetrators and/or mothers who misbehaved when a spouse was in prison. Each one of parents wants descendants to be on his/her side in way that descendants are 'caught in double mind' of knowing who they have to belong to.

The effect of parents' marital problems on marriage is conclude at three levels: 1) Families in conflict have scattered ties and family members don't share the same "relational identity" as one unity; 2) Descendants don't have the first-hand experience of genocide because they didn't live it and they don't know exactly what parents suffer from. Their knowledge is imagined, created by truth and lies about parents' identity; and 3) parents have multiple identities as survivors or perpetrators or their spouses; women or men; fathers or mothers; and husbands or wives; all these identities affect the relationship with spouses, descendants and community members.

- *How does marital conflict of parents (survivor and perpetrators) affect descendants' marital identity and how does it contribute to or detract from the peace-building process in post-genocide Rwanda*

The mind of descendants' is often enough overwhelmed by family problems, limiting them to think about their marriage. Their marital process is complicated by their identity as survivors' or perpetrators' descendants. Due to parents' traumatic experience, it happens that descendants are refused in courting process because girl/boyfriend fears that building relationship with parents in law would be difficult. The courting of perpetrators' descendants is refused due their killer identity.

The descendants' courting is a struggle. The struggle has two possible results. Firstly, it contributes to reconciliation. Experiencing parents' marital problems as survivors or perpetrators teaches descendants that having safe family doesn't necessarily have to be married with a spouse they share identity. This can spur them to marry whoever they love without considering identity which is a contribution to conflict transformation as it doesn't "gather wounds". Furthermore, being not taken care by one of parents convinced them that the one's badness is caused by individual character not necessarily his/her identity as survivor or perpetrator.

Secondary, the replacement of anger that is observed between survivors and perpetrators in peace-building process is not necessarily translated within family life. Asking forgiveness and forgiving was done between survivors and perpetrators without necessarily be done among wife, husband and children. In other words some levels of anger are still in hearts of survivors' and perpetrators' families.

The answer to the way descendants' marital identity is affected is theoretically summarized in three ways: 1) Descendants with parents in conflict over genocide legacies lost faith in marriage but they nonetheless continue to marry. The findings and theories used in this research are mute on the question whether the engagement to marry is agentic or whether it is cultural pressure that pushes them consciously or unconsciously to marry; 2) Descendants are categorised in three ways: there are those living with parents in conflict with less parenthood identity; those living with one parent; and there are those living alone. The findings and theories do not clearly show what is somehow preferable and have less effect on their daily life and marital identity of descendants; and 3) the findings further show that conflict within families can contribute to reconciliation with outside members but conversely there are cases of forgiveness and reconciliation outside the family while there is no forgiveness within families. More research is needed to understand why.

- *How does parents' marital conflict dis/empowered women (first and second generation) in Post-genocide context?*

Women were disempowered by consequences of sexual abuse in the context of the genocide. Being physically and psychologically damaged, they lose both their womanliness and their humanity. They have lost their 'power within' because they consider themselves to be unable to contribute socially and economically to contribute to family needs. Losing 'power within', they lost self-esteem to use their agency; they felt less human to exploit their capacity and skills. Losing their sexual right, they are unable to negotiate and bargain with husband because they cannot sexuality and materially satisfy husbands' and family needs.

The final conclusion about empowerment is that women were empowered because they became able to define their own life goals and work toward them. They unleashed themselves from husbands' grip by separating when the marital life became unbearable. They contravened the cultural norms that

one needs be married. But this separation of raped women can be viewed as strengthening the norms that they don't deserve to be wives of somebody and they experience more discrimination instead of agency. In this way the gained empowerment may be questionable. But as long as individual women feel better off and use their free will it is empowerment.

The research was conducted with 20 people with multiple social categories such as survivors (raped or not), spouses of survivors, perpetrators, spouses of perpetrators, separated parents, descendants (married or not) of survivors and perpetrators and each person has multiple identities. All these identities weave one's identity. This mixture of identities helps to have diversified findings which makes difficult to know its prevalence. Any finding of this research would need further research before it can be generalized.

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