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**Rebuilding Communities:**  
**A case study of empowerment in post-conflict Rwanda**

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Philosophy in Development Studies  
at Massey University, Palmerston North,  
New Zealand

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2009



## **Abstract**

Empowerment became a popular concept in the 1990s, so popular that some believe the concept has lost its impact. This thesis uses the empowerment levels of; personal, relational and community, to investigate a psychosocial intervention in the post-conflict environment. The post-conflict environment is one that is disempowering for both men and women.

Rwanda, one of the most complicated and devastated post-conflict situations seen since World War II, is the location of the World Vision intervention examined in this thesis. World Vision's Personal Development Workshop aims to provide a safe environment where people can process their experiences of the genocide. They use lectures, individual exercises and small group discussions to cover the topics of understanding the grief process, dealing with emotions and the concept of forgiveness.

The thesis concludes that both male and female participants of the Personal Development Workshops have been empowered at all three levels. It shows the benefit of using the empowerment approach in the community context and suggests that consideration of psychosocial interventions is crucial in post-conflict settings. The need for such interventions to be continued for many years after the conflict has ended is also identified.



## **Acknowledgements**

First, and foremost, I would like to thank the people of Tubehoneza Area Development Programme, Kabuga Area Development Programme and Nyamata Area Development Programme for making this research possible. I especially thank the staff of World Vision Rwanda: Kofi Hagan (then National Director), Joy Gatera, Edward Kalisa, Aphrodise Muhashyi, Onesphore Dusabe, Didier Habimana, Calvin Mugabo, James Mwangura, Christine Mukamugema and Jacques Maruba. Thank you also to Chantal Umulinga for your patient and caring attitude during the interviews and in translation.

I want to also thank the Healing, Peacebuilding and Reconciliation team specifically Josephine Munyeli and Antoine Gatarayiha. I cannot express enough to you how much I admire you for the work that you do. You journey with people through the darkest of days and bring them to a place where life has a new and better meaning. Thank you to John Steward for your help at the beginning of this research process.

Thank you to my two supervisors, Dr Rochelle Stewart-Withers and Associate Professor Regina Scheyvens for your encouragement, guidance, patience and support.

Finally I want to thank my colleagues, friends and family who faithfully supported me through the long process, were gracious when I got a little morbid, and encouraged me when I needed it. Many thanks to World Vision New Zealand for the support with tuition fees and study leave.

Fieldwork was made possible through an NZAID Postgraduate Fieldwork Scholarship and Massey University Graduate Research Fund.



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## List of Abbreviations

ACT-Rwanda	Association of Committed Teachers
AEE	African Evangelical Enterprise
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ADP	Area Development Programme
AVEGA	Association of Genocide Widows
DAWN	Development Alternatives for a New Era
DevNet	Aotearoa New Zealand International Development Studies Network
GAD	Gender and Development
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HPR	Healing, Peacebuilding and Reconciliation
IDP	Internally Displaced People
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO	International Non-Government Organisation
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NZAID	New Zealand Agency for International Development
PDW	Personal Development Workshop
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
US	United States of America
WAD	Women and Development
WID	Women in Development
WV	World Vision
WVI	World Vision International
WVNZ	World Vision New Zealand
WVR	World Vision Rwanda



## Chapter One: Introducing the Study

When considering post-conflict situations, Rwanda is one of the most extreme. The brutality and extent of the 1994 genocide shocked the world. Portrayed as an ethnic tribal conflict the international community watched as around 800,000 Tutsi and moderate<sup>1</sup> Hutus were killed in a 100 day period starting in April 1994 (Des Forges, 1999). The genocide left 3 million refugees in neighbouring countries, around 1 million internally displaced people (IDPs) and an estimated 500,000-600,000 orphans (Des Forges, 1999; Nyamugasira et al., 2000; Prunier, 1995). The genocide left Rwanda in a very fragile position with a destroyed infrastructure and thousands of suffering, disempowered people.

Into this challenging situation hundreds of development agencies, including World Vision International, came to provide assistance. The specific case study for this thesis is a project run by World Vision Rwanda (WVR) called the Personal Development Workshop (PDW). Originally developed to help the staff of WVR cope with their own personal losses during the genocide and with the work that they were doing, it is now used as a healing and reconciliation intervention in all the communities where WVR works long term.

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate levels of empowerment achieved through the PDW. To position this thesis in the development studies context an understanding of the empowerment approach is required. With this theoretical basis explained, a review of post-conflict development and the gender impacts of conflict explain the rationale behind the need for psychosocial interventions. The context of Rwanda and the 1994 genocide provides the background for the case study research.

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<sup>1</sup> Moderate Hutus are those that were considered to be Tutsi sympathisers.

This research adds to literature on post-conflict development in that it considers the impact of a psychosocial intervention from an alternative perspective, the empowerment perspective. A number of evaluations have been conducted previously on the PDW however they have used trauma indicators to measure impact. The benefit of using the empowerment approach is that it not only considers the individual but also the impact on the family and the community as a whole.

### **The aim of the thesis and research questions**

Whilst an abundance of literature exists on both empowerment and the Rwandan genocide there is a lack of literature that combines both empowerment and post-conflict themes. Additionally as gender and development discourse has started to recognise the need to consider men in development interventions, this study will contribute to three main areas: empowerment, post-conflict environments, and gender and development. Drawing together these areas of discussion, including highlighting the disempowering effect of conflict on men and women, this thesis argues for the importance of considering psychosocial interventions in the post-conflict phase of development.

As mentioned above, this thesis uses a case study in Rwanda of one particular psychosocial intervention by WVR. I specifically look at the PDW and I seek to answer the following questions:

- Have participants of the Personal Development Workshop been empowered? If so, in what way?
- What level of empowerment has been achieved i.e personal, empowerment within relationships, collective empowerment?
- What have the impacts of this empowerment been to the individual, family and community?

- Does the PDW, as currently structured, adequately address gender issues?

## **Outline**

*Chapter One* has introduced the study. The background to the thesis problem, the aim of the thesis and subsequent research questions are made explicit, in addition to how the thesis intends to contribute new knowledge.

*Chapter Two* reviews literature on empowerment. Part one traces the progression from Women in Development (WID) to Gender and Development (GAD) theory, policy and practice. In particular, it elaborates on the empowerment approach to GAD. Part two explores the concept of empowerment further, initially discussing the multidimensional nature of power and the different types of power. Then the concept of empowerment and its measurement is expanded. The chapter finishes with a discussion on empowerment in practice.

*Chapter Three* provides a discussion of post-conflict development. The different types of conflict and the roles that men and women both play during conflict start the discussion. The chapter then turns to look at the post-conflict phase, the challenges from the development organisation perspective, and the different needs of men and women during this phase. The chapter continues with a specific look at psychosocial interventions and lays a platform for further discussion in the following chapter on the specific case study of Rwanda. This chapter concludes by drawing together empowerment and disempowerment in post-conflict situations from a gendered approach. This framework is later used in Chapter Six to assess whether the PDW has been empowering its participants.

In *Chapter Four*, the methodological aspects of the research and the fieldwork experiences are presented. Qualitative research methods, primarily semi-structured interviews, focus groups and observations were considered the most

effective methods to assess whether empowerment had occurred. This chapter gives in-depth detail surrounding preparation and the actual fieldwork experience, whilst also considering the researcher and 'the researched'.

*Chapter Five* turns to Rwanda, seeking to provide a historical context for the genocide, including a discussion on the causal factors, and then describes the post-conflict situation.

*Chapter Six* looks at World Vision's work in Rwanda and specifically the PDW. It describes the qualitative data gained during the research in respect to whether the participants of the PDW have been empowered. A consolidation of the responses from the semi-structured interviews is divided into the three levels of empowerment; personal, relational and collective (community). The chapter concludes with a discussion on the signs of empowerment and disempowerment, in PDW participants, by gender.

*Chapter Seven* discusses the research findings and locates the PDW in the post-conflict development. The strengths and weaknesses are discussed in order to understand its appropriateness as an intervention in post-conflict development. The questions of whether the PDW is gender sensitive and culturally appropriate are considered. The chapter concludes the study by bringing together the case study, the broader literature and the theoretical framework, stating explicitly what the main findings of the research are, as linked to the research questions. The chapter also discusses the findings in terms of their wider application to development theory, practice and research, giving some key recommendations for future research and practice.

## **Chapter Two: Gender, Development and Empowerment**

*Empowerment is to be detected in changes in the nature and quality of relationships over time (Taylor, 2000:5).*

Empowerment has become a buzzword in development theory and practice since the 1990s (Batliwala, 1994; Wallerstein & Bernstein, 1994). Some authors suggest that, due to this popularity, the true meaning of the word has been lost (Chambers & Pettit, 2004; Shetty, 1991). This chapter begins by exploring how the gender and development discourse incorporates empowerment and will be followed with a discussion in depth on the concepts of power and empowerment. Power, as the basis of empowerment, and due to its changing nature, depending on context, it is difficult to define (Haugaard, 2002). Likewise empowerment is a multidimensional concept which includes personal, collective, and political levels (Rowlands, 1997). Empowerment is not just an outcome but is a process as well (Batliwala, 1994). Measurements of empowerment thus can also be challenging depending on the level that is being considered (Malhotra & Schuler, 2005)<sup>2</sup>. Included throughout these discussions will be the notion that the concept of empowerment remains critical to development theory and practice in this decade.

### **Gender and Development**

To understand where the empowerment approach fits into gender and development thinking we first need to consider the progression of thinking on women, gender and development. The concept of gender and development emerged after a focus on "Women in Development" (WID) in development discourse in the early 1970s. At this time, researchers began to realise that the liberal development policies, which relied on a trickle down approach, were not benefiting the poor in Third World countries. Helping women meet the basic needs of their families through income generation and participation in economic

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<sup>2</sup> This research focuses on the grassroots level.

development activities was the approach of most development agencies at this time (Beneria & Sen, 1982; Buvinic, 1983; Momsen & Townsend, 1987).

Ester Boserup's seminal piece of research titled *Women's Role in Economic Development* (Boserup, 1970) was a catalyst addressing the needs of women in the development process. In this publication, Boserup analysed the changes in women's roles in the agriculture sector as a result of modernisation and gave the first in-depth gender analysis of liberal theory. The results showed that women actually played a large role in agricultural production, one that was unrecognised by both governments in their official statistics and by development agencies and colonial administrations. The development approaches that were being used were in fact reducing women's access to land, training, education and technology as the focus for these activities was towards the men (Jacquette, 1982; Young, 2002).

At the same time as Boserup's research was published, the US women's movement was starting to advocate for equality for women in the legal system as well as access to education. Additionally, women in the Third World were starting to raise their voices over gender inequalities. The United Nations, feeling the pressure from both the US women's movement and members of the UN Commission on the Status of Women, responded to the feminist challenge by first proclaiming 1975 as International Women's Year and then endorsing the United Nations Decade for Women (1976-85), with three international conferences flowing from it. Women's offices in UN agencies and other organisations, such as the Food and Agricultural Organisation, and other bilateral and multilateral donor agencies, women's studies departments in universities around the world, as well as WID offices in government departments, led to globally established avenues for women's machinery (Jacquette, 1990; Tinker, 1990). Therefore, the WID perspective which evolved from this time came from a liberal feminist perspective and was still based on the modernisation theory of development which promoted industrialisation as the solution to Third World debt

and poverty. WID promoted women as a resource that was needed for economic development (Rathgeber, 1990; Young, 2002).

Following in the steps of dependency theory, Marxism and neo-Marxism, an alternative approach was identified in the second half of the 1970s as Women and Development (WAD). Some of the first voices heard from Third World women were the WAD activists from the network Development Alternatives for a New Era (DAWN). In 1988, Gita Sen and Caren Grown's book, *Development, Crises and Alternative Visions*, described a world prioritising basic needs as basic rights where everyone has the opportunity to develop and fulfil their potential, both men and women. In their analysis of the Women's Decade they acknowledged that many projects still did not link women to overall development strategies. However, the projects did give women hope, confidence, skills, training and experiences they may not have accessed otherwise. The projects, however, generally did little to change household labour or increase women's incomes or access to resources (Razavi & Miller, 1995; Sen & Grown, 1988; Visvanathan et al., 1997).

The empowerment approach started in 1975 and grew slowly in the 1980s. It eventually became popular in the 1990s with a focus on the political dimension of empowerment and the relationship between men and women in development projects (Moser, 1989; Willis, 2005). DAWN were instrumental in the development of the empowerment approach. These empowerment arguments acknowledge the inequalities between men and women and the origins of women's subordination in the family. It encouraged women to challenge these structures and situations (Moser, 1993). DAWN argued that empowerment through the collective action of women's organisations was crucial in achieving their goal (Sen & Grown, 1988).

Adding to the empowerment ideas, the Gender and Development (GAD) approach emerged from a socialist feminist perspective and took into account the

triple role of women, that is the productive, reproductive and community management aspects of women's lives, as well as the interactions of those roles with men. GAD also took a more holistic approach by looking at the political, social and economic structures and attempted to change the power inequalities in these structures (Rathgeber, 1990). It does not separate welfare, anti-poverty and equity approaches but sees welfare and anti-poverty as necessary to facilitate equity. Women's organisations were promoted more for political purposes than for access to resources (Young, 2002).

The empowerment approach also came from the GAD discourse and rose out of the failure of the equity approach. It combined 'bottom-up' and 'actor-oriented' strategies in order to address both the practical and strategic needs of women (Moser, 1993; Rowlands, 1998). It acknowledged the inequalities between men and women but saw women's challenges not only as a result of oppression from men but also due to colonial and neo-colonial oppression. Thus, it attempted to increase women's power within society as a whole, not just in relation to men as the equity approach had (Moser, 1993).

Since the late 1990s and more the early 2000s, the idea of masculinities has entered gender literature. Masculinity, or the socially constructed definition of being a man, defines how a man should or is expected to behave in a given specific context or setting (Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, 2005). Despite the aim of GAD to look at the relationships between men and women, actual practice did not change much from WID practice and projects continued to focus mainly on women (Chant & Gutmann, 2002). Men on many occasions have been portrayed as the perpetrators of violence and women the victims. It has been rare for men to be portrayed in their other positive roles as fathers, sons, partners and brothers who care for and cherish women (Cornwall, 2000).

Chant (2002) saw the 'male blindness' of GAD as a legacy of the WID approach, with its focus on women aimed at overthrowing colonial patriarchal systems. The limited amount of resources available for gender work, the lack of recognition of men as 'gendered beings' and concerns that men would dominate any project focussed on gender issues, are also given as reasons for these exclusions. Silberschmidt (2001) argues that although the issue of inclusion of men is an important component of development programming, the key issue still to be addressed is the overall economic empowerment of both men and women, in addition to education on gender roles (Silberschmidt, 2001). New initiatives are benefiting from drawing on writings on masculinities in development. In 2005 the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children produced a resource entitled *Masculinities: Male Roles and Male Involvement in the Promotion of Gender Equality*, providing tools to address the concept of masculinity with the purpose of gender equality and creating development approaches that benefit men and women and do not disempower either (Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, 2005).

Gender inequity is continuing to be a focus in development planning and practice with the third goal of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) being about women's equality and empowerment. The indicators for these goals are based on women's participation in the areas of education, employment and political participation (Kabeer, 2005). Kabeer (2005) argues that whilst improvements in each of these areas could enhance women's empowerment in other areas, such as reproductive rights, injustice in laws and violence against women, the spirit behind women's empowerment is missing. The Millennium Development Goals Report 2008 acknowledges that little progress has been made in the area of women's equality and empowerment and this not only affects the indicator areas but also impacts on poverty, hunger and disease (United Nations, 2008).

It is only through the mobilisation of women, particularly poor women, who are the primary stakeholders in all of the MDGs, but particularly the MDG

on women's empowerment, that policy makers can be held accountable to ensure that the MDGs are followed through in the spirit of the international movements and meetings that gave rise to them (Kabeer, 2005:22).

Following on from GAD and masculinities literature, the concept of empowerment will be explored in more depth.

## **Power and empowerment**

It has been argued that women's empowerment has not been fully realised due to the differing interpretations of the concept. Empowerment is not a term solely used in the development context<sup>3</sup>. Disciplines such as health, adult education, community work, and business management have taken on the concept (Stein, 1997; Wallerstein & Bernstein, 1994). This, however, leads to a number of interpretations of the concept therefore it is important to consider the actual meaning of the word. The root of the word 'empowerment' is power, which also has a number of interpretations. This discussion will first address a range of perspectives on the concept of power as this can also impact the perception of empowerment (Rowlands, 1997).

### **Power**

Haugaard (2002) explains that power is a concept that changes meaning depending on the context in which it is operating, thus there is no single definition for power and in fact to "search for a single concept of power is intrinsically illusory" (Haugaard, 2002:2). Csaszar (2005) summarises the power theorists into two groups; those that view power as conflictual, inherently noxious and negative, or consensual where power is not a limited resource and does not need

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<sup>3</sup> Empowerment originally started in the United States of America with the civil rights movement in the 1960s. It was associated with the rise of 'black power' which called for black people to come together to define their lives and their goals and to work together to see these achieved (Stein, 1997; Stromquist, 1995).

to be linked to conflict. In this brief discussion on power theory two key theorists will be focused upon, Lukes, who sits between the conceptual and modern and within the conflictual school of thought, and Foucault, a postmodern social theorist who views power as both conflictual and consensual (Haugaard, 2002)<sup>4</sup>.

Power can be viewed as a finite source, that is for one person or group to gain power another must lose it; this is described as 'zero-sum'. "If person A and person B want things which are incompatible and person A gets his or her way, then power has been exercised by A" (Rowlands, 1997:10). In his book, *Power: A Radical View*, published in 1974, Lukes built on work done by Dahl, Bachrach and Baratz to define power as "A exercises power over B when A affects B in a manner contrary to B's interests". He saw power as being both observable, in areas of conflict or suppressed conflict, and unobservable and focused on the type of power that comes from one figure having authority over another, that is "power over" (Lukes, 1974; Rowlands, 1997). He later redefined the meaning of power to say "power is a capacity not the exercise of that capacity (it may never be, and never need to be, exercised); and you can be powerful by satisfying and advancing others' interests" (Lukes, 2005:12). "Power is at its most effective when least observable" (Lukes, 2005:1), thus passive resistance, manipulation and misinformation are all examples of power being exercised (Rowlands, 1997). The relationship between power and knowledge was important for Lukes and he considered that knowledge can be distorted by those in social power thus it is important to consider both aspects when analysing power dynamics (Csaszar, 2005).

The French philosopher Foucault saw power as something that is in all areas of society, is relational and is not restricted to just power from above or as a finite resource. Therefore confrontation and opposition are inevitable effects of the power games that exist in society (Charmes & Wieringa, 2003). For Foucault power was "fluid, relational and exists only in everyday relationships of people,

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<sup>4</sup> For a more detailed discussion on power theorists see (Haugaard, 2002).

both individually and in institutions” (Parpart, Rai, & Staudt, 2002:6). Foucault also saw resistance as an expression of power (Rowlands, 1997). A feminist criticism of Foucault is his focus on the grassroots level and not enough consideration of the impact of global political and economic factors. His analysis is found to be Eurocentric and male biased (Parpart et al., 2002). Another criticism of Foucault by Rowlands (1997) is that he does not consider the ‘power with’ which comes from collective action. This is an important aspect of empowerment from a feminist point of view (Kabeer, 1994).

From a less theoretical but still a grassroots approach, Third World feminists define power, “as control over material assets, intellectual resources, and ideology” (Batiwala, 1994:129). Examples of material resources are land, forests, people’s bodies, money, and labour. Intellectual resources are knowledge, ideas, information and ideologies including how people see and operate within their environments. Those that have access to these resources are able to increase their level of power through the control of these resources (Batiwala, 1994; Batiwala, 1994). Men have greater access to these resources through their ability to set institutional rules and resources to ensure and protect this access therefore to increase women’s power involves changing institutional systems (Kabeer, 1994). The feminist approach focuses on strategies to increase the ‘power within’ in order to improve women’s capacity to make decisions, set their own agendas and control access to resources as well as encouraging the collective ‘power with’ (Kabeer, 1994).

Power has therefore been summarised into four types:

- *Power over* – comes from the concept that power is a limited resource and so is a controlling or manipulative power which either leads to compliance or resistance.

- *Power to* – is more the generative or productive type of power which does not lead to domination but produces some action; this type of power is core to individual empowerment.
- *Power with* – comes from the solidarity of being part of a group working together to bring about social or political change.
- *Power within* – the strength that each individual has coming from self-acceptance, self-confidence, identity, conviction (from religious beliefs), psychological and self-respect (which leads to respect for others) (Caubergs, 2009; Rowlands, 1997). Csaszar defines it as “the spiritual strength that resides in each one of us and makes us truly human” (Csaszar, 2005:145).

These four definitions have now become a foundation for many discussions on power, and later empowerment.

Recently the aspect of ‘power over’ has been further developed from the political and advocacy arena to include three types of ‘power over’; visible, hidden and invisible. Visible power is that which comes from rules, structures and authorities and can be discriminatory through bias or exclusion. Hidden power is more difficult to address as it involves issues such as participation, or lack of, in decision-making and what gets put on agendas (VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002). Invisible power is very difficult to address as those who are suffering under it may not even be aware of the power that is being held over them and the patterns of behaviour are so ingrained that alternative ways of existing are not even considered (Kabeer, 1994; VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002). One example of invisible power is the withholding of knowledge. Knowledge is power and power also determines what is knowledge and who’s knowledge is important. For example, if people are unaware of a problem, for example toxic waste on their land, and they are unaware of their rights for compensation then they will not be able to seek

justice for themselves and protect the health of their families (Foucault, 1979; Gaventa, 2006; VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002).

In summary the meanings of power are “diverse and contentious” (Gaventa, 2006:23). Power is multidimensional, “is everywhere and internalised within us, beyond even our ability to see or challenge its operation in our lives” (Pettit, 2006:73). The understanding of power impacts upon the interpretation of empowerment. If, following Lukes, power is viewed as a finite source then the concept of empowerment means a win for one person is therefore a loss for another. If viewed this way empowerment can lead to conflict and those in power will resist the empowering of others.

Conversely power can be considered as a process. Hartsock (1985) views power as promoting or generating activity in others. This thesis will view power in this sense with the additional perspective from Foucault, that empowerment involves the exercise of power rather than its possession; it is not finite but a resource that is dynamic and everywhere (Parpart et al., 2002).

Power, in practice, can be repressive and even lead itself to violence; conversely, power is crucial for producing healthy changes in social relations, such as would profit those subsisting in conditions of poverty or those subjected to various forms of injustices; repressive power is most potent and durable when people accept and uphold the (mis)perceptions and conditions that underpin their own inequality (Moncrieffe, 2006:34).

### **Defining empowerment**

The above section has shown that the concept of power is difficult to define due to its changing meaning with context. Similar challenges lie in defining empowerment, it has different forms in different contexts as well as having components which are both political and psychological (Malhotra & Schuler, 2005; Rappaport, 1984; Stein, 1997). The definition also depends on the

perspective of the definer. It can range from the World Bank neo-liberal definition, "Empowerment is the expansion of assets and capabilities of poor people to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control, and hold accountable institutions that affect their lives" (Narayan, 2002:14), to a grassroots perspective where empowerment is described as "moving from one level to another" (PDW participant, 2008)<sup>5</sup>.

Most authors agree that empowerment is a process and an outcome (Batiwala, 1994; Parpart et al., 2002). As a process it "involves individual discovery and change...like a dance that takes two steps forward and three steps back before moving slowly in a spiral around the floor" (VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002:54). As an outcome it can be measured against specific objectives but as a dynamic concept there are challenges in measuring it which will be discussed later in more detail (Parpart et al., 2002).

Adding the feminist perspective also expands the spread of definitions. The issue of gender is inherently an issue of power, and therefore empowerment (Charmes & Wieringa, 2003). Empowerment requires "a transformation of structures of subordination through radical changes in law, property rights, and other institutions that reinforce and perpetuate male domination" (Batiwala, 1994:129). Therefore it is where the personal becomes political (Townsend, 1993)<sup>6</sup>. Longwe (1997) and Stromquist (1997) highlight the political nature of empowerment which involves raising women's consciousness to recognise their subordination and mobilising them to challenge the power men hold in patriarchal systems. The feminist perspective of empowerment thus does not concur with other, more individualistic, visions of empowerment:

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<sup>5</sup> While the World Bank definition is mainly from an economic perspective, the definition of capabilities does include a personal psychological component (Narayan, 2002).

<sup>6</sup> This is the feminist perspective, it has been observed by other authors that individual conscientisation does not necessarily lead to political action (Parpart et al., 2002).

Empowerment is often envisaged as individual rather than collective, and focused on entrepreneurship and individual self-reliance, rather than co-operation to challenge power structures which subordinate women (or other marginalised groups) (Oxaal & Baden, 1997:5).

The political approach to empowerment draws from the work of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire. While Freire did not use the phrase 'empowerment' directly, his concept of conscientisation can be linked to the empowerment approach. Conscientisation involves individuals developing a critical understanding of themselves as the subject of their own life, and so gain an understanding of their situation, circumstances and environment which then leads them to political action (Freire, 1996; Rowlands, 1997).

Empowerment and participation are closely linked. For some, empowerment occurs when people are able to participate completely in decisions which affect their lives (UNDP, 1995). In the development context participation refers to communities determining their own development, versus the traditional type of development, commonly called top-down, where development is directed from an outside source (Shetty, 1991). For some the term empowerment is seen as a new version of the term participation (Shetty, 1991). Others see empowerment and participation as two sides to one coin, or linked bi-directionally (Oxaal & Baden, 1997) whereby empowerment as a process of awareness raising and capacity building leads to increased participation, decision-making and control and likewise participation promotes empowerment (Karl, 1995; Oxaal & Baden, 1997; Stein, 1997).

The same practical challenges apply to both empowerment and participation. Empowerment cannot be 'done' to someone else just as participating by attending a meeting may not be actual participation. Taliferro (1991) points out that true power is not something that can be given away but is something that comes from within the individual, the 'power within'. True empowerment will be

unpredictable and any development organisation working in the area of empowerment must expect to have their position challenged, especially if they are actually holding the 'power over' (Rowlands, 1997).

A number of different theorists have provided their interpretations of empowerment. The social and psychological perspectives will be considered in the following discussion<sup>7</sup>. Firstly, according to Rowlands (1997), empowerment operates within three dimensions:

- Personal – developing a sense of self and individual confidence (power within and power to).
- Relational – developing the ability to negotiate and influence a relationship and decisions made within it (power with).
- Collective – individuals working together to achieve greater impact e.g. grassroots organisations, political movements (power with).

Rowlands saw that individuals need to be empowered to be able to act collectively. Additionally a group is unlikely to be effective unless it comprises of a critical mass of empowered individuals. Young (cited in Rowlands 1997) saw that focusing on personal empowerment solely does not necessarily lead to collective empowerment, which is necessary to address women's strategic needs for equal power in society. Likewise, Young (2002) does not see personal empowerment automatically leading to relational empowerment.

Similar to Rowlands but coming from a community psychology perspective, Israel et al. (1994) also see empowerment occurring at three levels: individual, organisational and community. Individual empowerment is the individual's ability to make decisions and have control over their personal life. Organisational empowerment is when there is a democratically managed organisation where

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<sup>7</sup> These two perspectives are the most relevant to the case study which will be discussed in Chapter Four in detail.

members have a say in decisions that are made and how the organisation is run. Community empowerment comes when individuals and organisations come together and use their talents and resources to meet the community's needs. Each level has independent properties but they are all connected therefore if one level is empowered the others will be positively affected as well (Israel et al., 1994). Community empowerment concentrates on the individual and change within the community (Wallerstein & Bernstein, 1994). Communities are empowered when people listen to one another, identify their commonalities, discuss new ways to look at common problems and address them together (Wallerstein & Bernstein, 1994).

To further develop the concept of community empowerment the term 'community' needs to be defined. For McWhirter (1991), community is the group that an individual identifies with to gain control; it can be a geographical group, a socioeconomic group or an ethnic group. Similarly, community is an interest-based association that is either relational, geographic or institutional (Wallerstein & Bernstein, 1994). Israel et al. (1994) use this definition "a community is a locale or domain that is characterized by the following elements: (1) membership – a sense of identity and belonging; (2) common symbol systems – similar language, rituals, and ceremonies; (3) shared values and norms; (4) mutual influence – community members have influence and are influenced by each another; (5) shared needs and commitment to meeting them; and (6) shared emotional connection – members share common history, experience and mutual support" (Israel et al, 1994:151).

Another perspective to the empowerment discussion is the human rights perspective. Rappaport (1987) considered both individual and community participation:

Empowerment is not only an individual psychological construct, it is also organizational, political, sociological, economic and spiritual. Our interests

in racial and economic justice, in legal rights as well as in human needs, in health care and educational justice, in competence as well as in a sense of community, are all captured by the idea of empowerment (Rappaport: 1987:130).

Additionally, and in a similar vein to Freire, McWhirter defines empowerment as:

the process by which people, organizations, or groups who are powerless (a) become aware of the power dynamics at work in their life context, (b) develop the skills and capacity for gaining some reasonable control over their lives, (c) exercise this control without infringing upon the rights of others, and (d) support the empowerment of others in their society (McWhirter, 1991:224).

Returning to development theorists in the alternative development perspective, Friedmann (1992) who wrote a seminal text entitled *Empowerment. The Politics of Alternative Development*, proposed empowerment which seeks to improve living conditions through working at the household level, compared with the modernisation and neoclassical approaches which address economic growth. He proposes different dimensions of empowerment similar to Rowlands (1997) where households have three kinds of power; psychological, social and political. Psychological power equates to an individual's sense of potency and is seen in self-confident behaviour. Social power is the access to resources such as information, knowledge, finances and social networks. As households increase their social power they increase their opportunity to gain wealth. Political power is the opportunity of individuals to influence decisions that affect their lives. Both households and individuals can be empowered in all three areas of power and for women to be empowered their four main needs, that is, time saving on household chores, improved health care, acquisition of knowledge and expanded income opportunities, need to be addressed. Friedmann focuses on the social and political levels of power and sees that social power should lead to political

power with the impacts being felt at national and global levels (Friedmann, 1992). He does not explore in much depth psychological power or the impact of psychological power on social or political powers.

Feminist writer Stromquist (1995) considers four dimensions to empowerment, and unlike Friedmann sees each dimension as being equally important and required in some quantity for a woman to act in her best interests. The dimensions are;

- Cognitive – a critical understanding of one's realities, for women this is their subordination and the causes of it at different societal levels
- Psychological – the feeling of self-esteem and self-confidence, and what can be done to improve their situation
- Political – an awareness of power inequalities and the ability to organise and mobilise
- Economic – the capacity to generate independent income

She sees the cognitive and psychological dimensions as individual and internal whereas the political and economic are collective processes (Stromquist, 1995, 2002). Some authors now see psychological empowerment, that is people's belief that they have the resources, energy and ability to achieve important goals, as one part of subjective well-being, people's positive evaluations of their lives, including life satisfaction, pleasant emotions and fulfilment (Diener & Biswas-Diener, 2005).

Kabeer (2005) adds a different perspective and a further three dimensions in the concept of empowerment; agency, resources and achievements. Agency is central to the concept of empowerment and can be either a positive in the sense of a person's ability to make choices (power to), or it can be negative when the agency of one individual, through the use or violence of force, takes away the

agency of another person (power over)<sup>8</sup>. Positive agency leads to achievements when the individual has access to the resources they need (Kabeer, 2005). In her work, *Reversed Realities*, Kabeer (1994) acknowledged the multidimensional nature of power and recommended that strategies for gender equality needed to focus on 'the power within' in order to increase control and access over resources, establish agendas and be included in decision-making, as well as the 'power with' in the form of grassroots movements in which women work together and achieve political or social change, for example the Grameen Bank (Kabeer, 1994). Thus Kabeer highlights in both her works the importance of personal empowerment as well as collective empowerment (Kabeer, 1994, 2005).

In summary, empowerment is a term that is used in a number of disciplines with a variety of definitions and dimensions which vary according to context and time. The neo-liberal perspective considers empowerment as the acquisition of assets whereas a feminist perspective addresses unjust power structures and sees collective action as important. From a political view empowerment involves a conscientisation of an individual's subordination, from a human rights perspective it is having justice in all areas in life. At a grassroots level moving forward or up would be considered empowerment. Most perspectives agree that empowerment occurs at different levels such as individual, organisational and collective levels.

The focus of this thesis is on investigating levels of empowerment, based on Rowlands' (1997) levels of personal, relational and collective, reached by participants in the PDW. A specific focus will be on the psychological dimension as empowerment at this level will lead onto collective and possibly political empowerment; it is also the dimension which has received the least amount of attention by researchers to date (Narayan, 2005). The collective component will draw on the concepts from the community empowerment by Wallerstein & Bernstein (1994) and Israel et al. (1994). Empowerment is seen a transformative

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<sup>8</sup>VeneKlasen & Miller (2002) refer to agency, the ability to act and change the world, as either 'power to' or 'power with'.

process for the individual involved and for those around them and has no particular beginning or end (McWhirter, 1991). Empowerment is an outcome as well as a process, one which is a spiral and not cyclical as awareness is raised, areas targeted for change, strategies implemented which lead to a new level of awareness, new areas to be targeted and new strategies. In this way the empowerment spiral impacts upon all that are involved: the individual, the group, the community and the external agent, such as a development organisation (Batiwala, 1994; Oxaal & Baden, 1997; Rowlands, 1997).

### **Disempowerment**

When considering empowerment it is important to also consider the opposite situation that is, disempowerment. Kabeer (2005) defines disempowerment as 'to be denied choice' and sees that poverty and disempowerment go hand in hand. Poverty can also be described as a state of disempowerment (Myers, 1999). Poverty denies one the ability to make a choice over meeting their basic needs, putting the poor individual in a place of dependence on those with the power to supply those needs. This could be other community members, government officials or NGOs (Kabeer, 1994, 2005). Scheyvens (1999) uses Friedmann's dimensions of empowerment in a case study on ecotourism to give examples of psychological disempowerment as feelings of confusion and disillusionment, and social disempowerment as negative changes in society such as prostitution, crime and begging (Scheyvens, 1999). Political disempowerment would then be a lack of say in decisions that affect the community. Other indicators of psychological disempowerment would be a sense of vulnerability, powerlessness and fear of intimidation (Reid & Finchilescu, 1995). Similarly, from the community psychology perspective, disempowerment includes a sense of powerlessness, real or imagined, a learned helplessness, alienation and a sense of loss of control over one's life (Rappaport, 1981; Stein, 1997).

Narayan (2005) sees fear as the extreme opposite of empowerment and so the main cause of disempowerment. Fear is what will keep a woman in an abusive relationship, it will stop people challenging the status quo to accept oppression and in some extreme cases fear can lead to the extermination of other groups of people as will be seen in Chapter Four in the discussion on the Rwandan genocide. Fear can be conquered through psychological empowerment through such interventions as support groups, education and activities which lead one group to value another.

The discussion on power and empowerment will now move from the theoretical to the practical with a look at the way empowerment is addressed in development projects and then how it is measured.

### **Empowerment and disempowerment in development practice**

We will now look at the way that empowerment is addressed through projects that are conducted by development agencies. Empowerment can either be a goal of a project, part of the process of a programme, or it can be an unintended impact.

In empowerment-focused projects, directed at women, development agencies typically take two approaches. Firstly they use economic activities to increase women's access to credit, employment and income generation, or through integrated development programmes which combine the economic interventions with literacy, basic needs and family planning. These agencies are following the WID perspective of focusing on the individual with economic growth as the basis to development. On the other hand the WAD practitioners, such as women's organisations and grassroots NGOs, concentrate on a collective focus with projects on capacity building, awareness raising and the formation of coalitions (Karl, 1995; Kelsall & Mercer, 2003).

Referring back to the different types of power as summarised by Rowlands (1997), the type or design of the project conducted by a development agency or a local NGO will depend on the type of power or empowerment being addressed as illustrated in the following table.

Table 2.1: Impact of definitions of power on development practice

Definition of power	Implications in practice
Power over	Conflict resolution and peacebuilding initiatives
Power to	Capacity building in leadership, financial management, group dynamics
Power with	Social mobilisation, building alliances and coalitions, capacity building in networking
Power within	Increasing self-esteem, awareness or consciousness raising, confidence building, personal development

Adapted from Oxaal & Baden, 1997:5

Likewise, Batliwala (1994) studied a group of South Asian NGOs involved in women's empowerment and identified a number of different approaches that were being taken including economic development, integrated development programmes and consciousness raising. She found it was the different interpretations of disempowerment that were leading to the different interventions, that is, if poverty is the cause of disempowerment then the project will focus on economic growth or be part of an integrated programme and if it is related to women's status then consciousness-raising will be the focus.

In considering the work of development agencies towards empowerment it is also important to acknowledge that some actions of development agencies have had a disempowering impact. For example, the popular participatory method of gathering information from communities and encouraging people to have a voice can be disempowering in some cultures where self-control in speech is a source of power (Parpart, 2002).

A final issue to be covered in this discussion of empowerment is how to measure it. This is particularly difficult given that there are a number of different definitions of the word as well a number of different dimensions.

### Measurements of empowerment<sup>9</sup>

When considering measurement of empowerment at the community or grassroots level, one needs to consider which dimension of empowerment is being measured (World Vision International Gender and Development Department, 2005). The context and timing also needs to be considered as empowerment can change depending on the situation (Leslie, 1999). The following table gives some examples of indicators.

Table 2.2: Empowerment indicators

Level of empowerment	Examples of Indicators
Personal	Mobility, control, self-confidence, dignity, courage, self-esteem, happiness, a sense of control, hope for the future and the right to make decisions
Collective	involvement in organisations, community cohesion, social mobility and improved power relationships at a family level
Political	Political and legal awareness, representation in parliament and civil society bodies (for women), and

<sup>9</sup> As the focus of this research is at a community level, discussion into the macro level or societal indicators such as the Gender-Related Development Index (GDI) and Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) will not covered.

	involvement in decision-making bodies, forums or protests
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Source: Author, Based on: (Israel et al., 1994; Oxaal & Baden, 1997; Rowlands, 1997; Scheyvens, 1999; J. Taylor, 2000)

Another challenge is the type of measurement, whether it will be quantitative or qualitative. Some dimensions lend themselves to quantitative measuring such as political empowerment when the number of seats in parliament is being considered, however to measure personal or psychological empowerment where nonquantifiable indicators are being used is challenging. In qualitative measuring in-depth interviews and observation are often used to obtain the results (Israel et al., 1994). Oxaal & Baden (1997) recommend that, even if quantifiable indicators are present, qualitative should be used in conjunction, for example, even if a woman is in parliament it does not mean that she is free to participate or is empowered.

Leslie (1999), who researched women's empowerment through self-help groups in the post-conflict setting of El Salvador, used qualitative measurements. For personal empowerment, she used indicators such as: courage, self-esteem, strength, happiness, solidarity, spirituality, a sense of control, confidence, the ability to plan and make decisions, energy and a sense of hope for the future. For the relational and collective dimension, Leslie used; ability to access resources, a sense of control in relationship with others, the opportunity for fulfilling friendships, a critical consciousness of subordination in familial and societal settings, an interest in political processes and participation in grassroots organisations. The qualitative data was collected through interviews as well as group observations. Regarding the use of these empowerment indicators though she concludes, "these indicators will obviously differ in meaning for each individual according to their own particular context and may also change quite considerably over time" (Leslie, 1999:272).

Hashemi et al. (1996) also used qualitative methods to assess women's empowerment in Bangladesh through participation in two microfinance institutions. They acknowledged that developing reliable and valid indicators was the most challenging part of their study. The scaled indicators that they used were; mobility, economic security, ability to make small and large purchases, involvement in household decisions, relative freedom from domination of family, political and legal awareness and involvement in political campaigning and protests. Whilst personal empowerment measures were not taken, they did gather case study information that indicated the women now had an identity outside their families, and had given them a sense of self worth and confidence, not usual for rural women in Bangladesh (Hashemi et al., 1996).

Indicators of empowerment need to be flexible and wide-ranging and specific to that individual's, or that group's, situation (Oxaal & Baden, 1997; Rowlands, 1997). At the very simplest level, if a woman who was previously too scared to attend a group meeting or to speak out an opinion becomes able to share her views and regularly attend meetings, then she has become empowered. For the women sitting next to her empowerment may mean a totally different thing. The most appropriate method of establishing empowerment is for those people involved in the process to establish their own indicators, which in itself is an empowering process (Rowlands, 1997).

In measuring empowerment it is also important to consider how the measuring will be done: will it be from the funding agency downwards or will it be from the community themselves, using indicators that they themselves have determined? This in itself could mean a shift in power from the development agency to the community members (Rowlands, 1997; J. Taylor, 2000). Likewise as true empowerment is unpredictable in direction it therefore difficult to measure and show that it has occurred (Kabeer, 1999).

### **A note of caution**

Any discussion on empowerment would be incomplete if the recent concerns that have been raised about the term were not discussed. Empowerment has been linked in development terminology with words such as sustainability and participation as a current catch phrase or buzzword. With any phrase that becomes popular, and has a number of definitions depending on the user, there is danger of the meaning behind the phrase being lost through over, or incorrect, use (Chambers & Pettit, 2004; Cornwall & Brock, 2005; Kabeer, 2005; Moore, 2001). Rowlands notes that, "the failure to define and explore the practical details of how empowerment can be achieved considerably weakens the value of the concept as a tool for analysis or as part of a strategy for change" (Rowlands, 1997:8). Chambers and Pettit (2004) comment that there is a gap between the rhetoric and the practise, that "aid agencies impose conditionalities at the same time as they preach empowerment" (Chambers & Pettit, 2004:144). Whilst these authors acknowledge there is a need to bring the reality closer to the rhetoric, the importance of addressing the issues of power dynamics and the values of empowerment is not contested.

### **Summary**

In this chapter the journey of gender in development has been traced from WID to WAD to GAD with the more recent discussion on masculinities included. The chapter then went on to explore in more depth the empowerment approach. It has been shown that the definition of empowerment is based on power, which in itself has a number of interpretations and types. Whilst acknowledging that empowerment comes from many disciplines the definition of empowerment focused on in this chapter, and the following case study, comes from the sociological and psychological fields. The concept of power then informs the practice of empowerment. Different levels and dimensions of empowerment are considered, personal, collective and political (Rowlands, 1997), and psychological, social and political (Friedmann, 1992). A number of authors, particularly feminist writers, focus on the importance of the social or political dimensions in order to change gender inequalities (Friedmann, 1992; Longwe,

1997; Sen & Grown, 1988; Young, 2002). This thesis however will focus on the psychological and sociological dimension in agreement with Kabeer (2005) who notes, "empowerment is rooted in how people see themselves – their sense of self-worth. This in turn is critically bound up with how they are seen by those around them and by their society" (Kabeer, 2005:15).

Whilst power and empowerment are concepts which are virtually impossible to summarise into one definition and in some ways may have become more rhetoric than practice, they still are extremely valid concepts. The next chapter will move to looking at the issues of post-conflict development in preparation for the case study of empowerment in post-conflict Rwanda which will draw together the two discussions.



## Chapter Three: Gender, Conflict and Post-Conflict Development

*Wars don't simply end and wars don't end simply...*

*Wars have their endings inside families (Enloe, 1996:299,306)*

Chapter Two introduced the concept of empowerment and its relationship to gender and development. Empowerment has been shown to come from the concept of power, thus different types of power were discussed. One example of excessive 'power over' is the occurrence of conflict in the form of war or genocide. This chapter, which will look at post-conflict development, will be introduced with a discussion into the different types of conflict and more specifically the definition of genocide. This will be further discussed in Chapter Four through a case study of the Rwandan genocide of 1994.

Power imbalance is seen at the root of many conflicts, and for some the enforcement of gendered roles is seen as a contributing factor to conflict (Byrne, 1995; El-Bushra & Mukarubuga, 1995).

War and community conflict, like alcohol, stress and economic deprivation can be contributory factors, but the root cause of violence against women remains the need of some men to maintain power and control over women on an individual level, and the collective power imbalance between men and women in the patriarchal system (Mulheir & O'Brien, 2000:156).

Therefore this chapter will continue to be underpinned by the gender and development framework and explore the gender impacts of conflict on men and women, both during and after conflict, as well as changes in gender relations due to conflict. Conflict affects men and women differently and in many situations is a disempowering experience. Often conflict is seen as masculine, with men as the perpetrators and women as the helpless victims (Moser & Clark, 2001). The contrary view also needs to be considered, that men are victims in war and

women can be supporters, even combatants, in armed conflicts (Alison, 2007). Development interventions to address the different gender needs arising in conflict situations will thus be discussed.

Additionally, from a development worker's point of view the post-conflict phase presents specific challenges. Responses by aid and development agencies to a crisis such as war or a natural disaster follow the pattern of a relief or emergency response followed by a rehabilitation and reconstruction phase, and finally a development phase where long-term planning takes place. Reconstruction needs to happen in a number of sectors including economic, political, health, education, social and agriculture sectors (Kumar et al., 1996). One important area in social reconstruction<sup>10</sup> that can be forgotten or given a lower priority in a time of crisis is the need for psychosocial healing<sup>11</sup>. As the case study of this thesis is a project that focuses on addressing psychosocial needs of people in Rwanda, the chapter will close with a discussion on this area of intervention. Firstly, though, it is necessary to define the different types of conflict and violence, and the different causes of war.

### **Defining violence, conflict, war and genocide**

In order to understand the post-conflict situation we first need to consider the different types of conflict. Violence and conflict are not the same thing. Violence by its definition involves the use of force, either physical or psychological. Conflict can be considered as "the pursuit of incompatible goals by different people or groups" (Moser & Clark, 2001:6), thus it does not have to inflict harm upon another person whereas violence does. Conflict can be an argument between two people over the use of a resource such as a pay cheque, between two communities fighting over a water source, to two or more nations fighting over an oil supply. Conflicts are able to be resolved peacefully through negotiations and

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<sup>10</sup> Social reconstruction is the process that uses human rights and shared values to re-establish a society and its institutions (Weinstein & Stover, 2004).

<sup>11</sup> This term will be fully defined later in the chapter.

compromise, however, when weapons are used and armed conflict begins then war is the result (Moser & Clark, 2001). Similarly, differences of opinion and historical conflict do not necessarily lead to violence (Straus, 2006). When conflict however leads to violence, it can be expressed in a wide range of ways, from a punch at a domestic level to a full-scale military campaign. The following table separates the different types of violence into three categories.

Table 3.1 Categories of violence

Category	Definition	Manifestation
Political	The commission of violent acts motivated by a desire, conscious or unconscious, to obtain or maintain political power	The “war on terror”, guerrilla conflict, paramilitary conflict, political assassinations, armed conflict between political parties, rape and sexual abuse as a political act, forced pregnancy or sterilisation
Economic	The commission of violent acts motivated by a desire, conscious or unconscious, for economic gain or to obtain or maintain economic power	Muggings, carjacking, robbery/theft, drug trafficking, child trafficking, kidnapping, assaults, including rapes or stabbings occurring during economic crimes
Social	The commission of violent acts motivated by a desire, conscious or unconscious, for social gain or to obtain or maintain social power	Interpersonal violence such as spouse and child abuse, sexual assault; arguments that get out of control, bullying

Adapted from Moser, 2001:36

The interrelationships between the three categories of violence, political, economic and social are “complex, context specific and multi-directional” (Moser, 2001:36). The violent act of wartime rape can be committed for different reasons,

for example rape was a specific political strategy in Rwanda and Bosnia, as part of social domination in Croatia, or it can be part of economic gain when used in the invasion of a foreign country for oil or water resources (Moser & Clark, 2001). In addition to different types of violence there are different levels of violence. Moser (2001) identifies four levels, structural, institutional, interpersonal and individual. The following two illustrations give examples of these different levels.

Black women in South Africa living under apartheid are an example of the different types of violence women face. Girls often suffered sexual abuse leading to poor self-esteem (individual violence). In the home women were discriminated against and suffered domestic violence (interpersonal violence). As adult women they were institutionally discriminated against and suffered structural violence due to race (institutional violence). Job reservation policies and poverty forced them into domestic work where they were oppressed by white women (structural violence). Those that joined the liberation movement were exploited by male peers, were detained and tortured by male and female state employees, and were raped and abused by security forces (Sideris, 2001).

Violence in gangs, which generally involves men, can result from a low self-esteem and a desire for power (at the individual level), coming from peer pressure and a dysfunctional family situation (at the interpersonal level), with the additional factors of poor education or unemployment (at the institutional level) and a cultural or social ideology that accepts violence as a way to resolve conflict (at the structural level) (Moser, 2001).

Collective violence includes internal wars, international wars, genocide and terrorism (Turshen, 2007). War is the extreme use of violence to solve conflict and occurs at all levels. One definition of war<sup>12</sup> is armed conflict or “large scale

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<sup>12</sup> There are different types of war. The huge international World War I and II were wars between alliances of nation states. World War II also included a component of ethnic or religious cleansing. The Cold War was between two heavily armed superpowers that couldn't go to all out war or each would have been destroyed. There are unbalanced wars between guerilla forces or

battles with over 1000 fatalities" (Goldstein, 2001). Genocide is not an escalated war as might be perceived but has a very specific goal. In 1948 the United Nations General Assembly adopted "Resolution 260 (III) A: The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (UNCG)." In this convention genocide is defined as "acts committed with intention to destroy in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group"<sup>13</sup>. Following this definition there were three genocides in the twentieth century: the killing of 1.4 million Armenians by the Young Turks from 1914 to 1918, the killing of over 6 million Jews and Roma and Sinti by the Nazis from 1933 to 1945, and the killing of 800,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus by Hutu racists in Rwanda in 1994 (Coloroso, 2007; Destexhe, 1995; Kumar et al., 1996).

In the case of the Tutsis, the Rwanda civil war was initially used to mask genocide (Coloroso, 2007). In April 1994 when the killings began in Rwanda the international community and UN Security Council was presented with another 'typical tribal conflict' between the Hutu government and the rebel-led Tutsi movement. It was not until weeks into the killings that the actual purpose of the conflict was recognised, to eliminate the Tutsi population, and it took months for the conflict to be officially described as genocide and civil war combined (Barnett, 2002; Power, 2002)<sup>14</sup>. Killing in the Rwandan genocide was more 'intimate' than in Nazi gas chambers: the weapons used were guns, machetes and nail-studded clubs (McCullum, 1995).

Whatever the scale of the armed conflict there are a number of causes generally given: old ethnic and religious hatreds<sup>15</sup>, a lack of democracy and peaceful resolution<sup>16</sup>, or the negative effects of colonialism and the resulting economic

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terrorists and the oppressor that they desire to overthrow for example, the internal war in Colombia. Finally there are the wars of retribution such as the 'war on terror' (Cockburn, 2007).

<sup>13</sup> The convention entered into force on January 12, 1951 and has been ratified by more than 137 countries. More than 50 nations have not ratified it (Coloroso, 2007).

<sup>14</sup> It took the United States of America until June 10 to officially concede that Rwanda was actually a case of genocide (Barnett, 2002).

<sup>15</sup> Generally the view of the political right (Collier et al., 2003).

<sup>16</sup> Generally the view of the political centre (Collier et al., 2003).

inequalities<sup>17</sup> (Collier et al., 2003). Independent of political opinion the fact remains that many wars cause poverty and poverty causes many wars. Collier (2003) sees that war occurs in the poorest countries and thus a cause of war is a failure of economic development and wars are the causes of the economic underdevelopment especially in Africa (Collier et al., 2003).

Armed conflicts require supplies of resources, personnel, weapons and they need to be strategically planned, they do not just happen and they impact on both men and women, young and old, as will be seen in the next section (Richards, 2006). It is important to consider the different roles that women and men play during armed conflict as this influences the development needs in the post-conflict phase. It is also important not to make generalised gendered assumptions and consider men as just the perpetrators and women always the victims (Moser & Clark, 2001). For this reason the following discussion will look at both men and women's experiences of war.

### **Men, boys and conflict**

Men are the majority of combatants in any conflict, leading authors to question whether violence is a natural male characteristic. Goldstein (2001) concluded from his research that whilst men have some physical characteristics which can lead to violence they will only become violent if they are encouraged in that way. Prior to puberty and compared to girls, boys have a natural tendency for rough and tumble play, are competitive and follow hierarchies, have slightly increased height and spatial abilities, but slightly reduced verbal and interpretative skills (Goldstein, 2001). However these differences don't necessarily lead to men being violent (Goldstein, 2001). There are other motivations that can lead a man to fight. Ehrenreich (1997) notes that aggression does not lead men to commit bloody atrocities but a sense of self-worth, community, righteousness and

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<sup>17</sup> Generally the view of the political left (Collier et al., 2003).

generosity might, for example, by partaking in a killing the soldier is serving his community (Cockburn, 2007). Young men and boys can also voluntarily join armies for reasons such as income, ideology, desire for vengeance, to fight, prestige and to join other family members already in the army (Schmidt, 2007). However they may also be manipulated through brutality by a government or rebel leaders to produce an army ready to fight. For example in Sierra Leone boys as young as ten were taken from the rural areas, plied with drugs and forced to first kill a family member, leaving them no option but to leave their families and join the rebel movement. They were desensitised by being forced to watch atrocities including the eating of human flesh (Cockburn, 2007; Wessells, 2006).

Manipulation through language and media to accept an ideology can also occur. In Rwanda men were considered to be peaceful with no particular tendency towards violence. However they were frustrated due to the worsening economic conditions and increasing unemployment. They had also been indoctrinated by their mothers to hate members of the other ethnic group and had been encouraged in racist attitudes. The role of the media was crucial in indoctrinating the male youth towards racism and murder (Sommers, 2006). In the prelude to the genocide the radio station, Radio des Mille Collines, openly broadcasted racist news stories, songs and insults against the Tutsi population and used reverse psychology, that is, incited hatred by talking about the Tutsis hating the Hutus. During the genocide, orders to exterminate the Tutsi population were given along with locations and suggested methods of killing (Dorn et al., 1999; Kellow & Steeves, 1998).

Once committed to fighting, cultural pressures force men to stay fighting, cope with trauma and conquer fear to "be real men". "Men are made not born" and many cultures contain rites of passage for a boy to enter manhood. Those that do not pass are stigmatised for the rest of their lives in that culture. For some, being part of the military is their rite of passage (Goldstein, 2001).

Whether men voluntarily join an army or whether they are manipulated into joining they often suffer psychologically in war; they witness and commit atrocities, and suffer physically, mentally and emotionally. Men are also vulnerable to gender-based violence<sup>18</sup>. Homosexual rape was common in ancient Middle Eastern and Greek societies, and continues today as a sign of one male's dominance over another, for example in US prisons (Goldstein, 2001). During the war in Yugoslavia, the United Nations Commission of Experts Final Report 1994 showed that men had suffered sexual violence. Acts such as forcing them to undress and beating men across the genitals, castration and the severing of the testicles, as well as rape and assault, were committed. In some cases the acts were done by the prison guards, in other cases prisoners were forced to commit violence against one another. All the acts were committed during detention and by all the sides of the war, Serbs, Croats and Muslims. These acts were also seen as politically motivated (Zarkov, 2001). They are also used to feminise and humiliate the men (Alison, 2007).

Helping men to overcome these abuses as well as the trauma associated with participating in conflict or witnessing horrific acts of cruelty is an important aspect of the post-conflict phase and will be discussed later in the chapter.

## **Women, girls and conflict**

Generally women and children are considered the victims of conflict. However there are a number of different roles that women play in a conflict situation; and the type of conflict, demographics, membership of a particular class or ethnic group, all have profound influences on whether women benefit or suffer in

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<sup>18</sup> Gender-based violence is violence, physical, sexual, and psychological, committed against, and by both men and women at the household or community level. At times this violence is state-driven (Bouta et al., 2005).

periods of armed conflict. In liberation movements women have become fighters or conduct reconnaissance missions such as espionage or logistical support. In this way they are willing participants and can gain new skills and employment. In wars which are factional, ethnic women are more likely to be the victims than the combatants (Bop, 2001).

Traditionally women are rarely the instigators of a war nor are they at the high levels of leadership but they do play a part, either by encouraging men to fight or by supporting them in that role (Bop, 2001). Women in traditional societies generally support war more than oppose it and can use different methods to encourage men to fight, such as driving them into frenzy through dancing and singing. In the Rwala (Bedouin) culture women urge men to war by baring their breasts and Zulu women run naked as the men depart to war (Goldstein, 2001).

Women can also be the instigators of specific crimes during wars. For example, during the religious pogroms in Gujarat, Hindu women incited rape and murder of Muslims (Cockburn, 2007). The role of instigator can also be particularly evil as in the case of Pauline Nyiramasuhuko who is the first women to be tried by the ICTR<sup>19</sup> for her role in the Rwandan genocide. She is charged with a number of crimes including inciting and directing the murder of Tutsi men and women in Butare district, as well as abducting Tutsi women and encouraging her son to rape them<sup>20</sup> (Hogg, 2001; Sperling, 2006).

From early days women followed men to war. In the mid 1600s one European army had 40,000 male soldiers and 100,000 women, filling the roles of wives, maids, servants and camp followers. "Camp followers" was a term applied to the women who followed along after the armies and served as prostitutes. Prostitution has long been connected with the military and many women in many

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<sup>19</sup> The International Crimes Tribunal Rwanda (ICTR) was established in 1994 by the UN Security Council to prosecute the key perpetrators of the genocide (Cobban, 2007; Kende, 2007).

<sup>20</sup> The trial by the ICTR started on 12 June 2001 and was in its 714<sup>th</sup> day on 2 December 2008 (reference <http://69.94.11.53/ENGLISH/cases/Nyira/minutes/index.htm> accessed 10 January 2009)

different countries over time have been impacted by this institution (Enloe, 2000). Women also performed the roles of cooks, laundresses, nurses and providers and sometimes all of these roles at once (Enloe, 2000). During war women are also important symbols of nationhood and motherhood, providing men with a reason to fight to maintain these values (Afshar, 2003; Byrne, 1995). In their maternal role women provide future soldiers. The Sandinista women of Nicaragua were seen as “Patriotic Wombs”, providing soldiers for the revolution and happy to send them off to fight (Goldstein, 2001:81).

Women may not only support conflict through a support role in the military but depending on their culture they may participate as combatants. For some women joining the military is an economic decision, others enjoy the adventure and challenge that it offers and for others it is a chance to fight the oppression they face in society. In the Soviet Union in World War II the army ran out of men and so had to recruit women. The Dahomey Kingdom of West Africa (now Benin) in eighteenth and nineteenth century was famous for its women fighters (Goldstein, 2001). Women are involved in greater percentages in guerilla warfare such as in Sri Lanka, where women make up one third of the rebel Tamil Tiger force (Byrne, 1995; Goldstein, 2001).

Women can also become activists. This activism can be in the form of humanitarian support or it can become politically motivated and take direct action against the military (Cockburn, 2007). There is also the opportunity for activism against sexism due to the changing roles of women during conflict (Bop, 2001). Women's anti-war groups have three tasks; one is to inform and educate the general public on the gendered nature of war, the military and the courage and suffering of women caught up in conflict, the second is to challenge the militarisation of society and to monitor policies on defence, war, civil liberties and immigration, and finally to assist communication between women's groups from both sides of the war (Cockburn, 2007; Enloe, 2000).

There can be some societal and political gains for women during conflict as it can lead to changes in the social order and give women the opportunity for emancipation (Sharoni, 2001). A result of this emancipation can be economic gains as women gain employment they have not had access to before (Meintjes, 2001). During World War I many British women gained access to jobs that had only been suitable for men for example driving the Post Office's horse-drawn mail vans (Enloe, 2000). Commonly though these gender gains do not seem to last during the post-conflict phase as will be discussed later.

The refugee situation for women can be one of losses and gains. In the process of becoming a refugee, women have lost their identity, material possessions and social networks and support systems (Bop, 2001). However the new social setting can provide women with freedom from some culturally restricting practices and their social networking skills can open up new economic opportunities (Bouta et al., 2005; Meintjes, 2001). There may be opportunities to learn new skills and be empowered from programmes run by development organisations (Bouta et al., 2005; Delay et al., 2000). For many though the repatriation process is another time of deprivation as these new opportunities can be lost to them. For this reason, some choose to remain in the refugee camps (Meintjes et al., 2001).

Whilst there are some gains for women, there are also considerable losses, including identity, social or political, psychological, economic and bodily (Bop, 2001). Rape and war go together; they are both crimes of domination and power. As mentioned earlier though, there are different motivations to rape; revenge for Russian soldiers in Berlin in 1945, frustration for US soldiers in Vietnam and ethnic cleansing in Bosnia. Another reason can be to force a population to abandon its desired territory. Commonly used as a weapon of war for many years, rapes during wartime have increased, particularly since the 1990s. Countries that have reported incidences include Rwanda, Bosnia, Haiti,

Mozambique, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Burundi, Algeria, Uganda, Indonesia, Kashmir, Timor-Leste and Myanmar (Goldstein, 2001).

Rape as a weapon of war is often included as a deliberate and systematic strategy. Rape can be considered as violence at a social or interpersonal level but it is also used as part of economic and political violence (Byrne, 1995). In many situations, civil war involves the transfer of assets from the loser to the winner; these can include large assets such as water or oil and personal assets such as land, labour power and possessions. Rape is one way to obtain and devalue another person's assets, their women. A raped woman is a sign of defeat for the man who is her protector (Goldstein, 2001). Women are a productive and reproductive resource as well as being in charge of, while the men are away, property and livestock (Turshen, 2001b).

Social losses can be connected to bodily losses. In many cultures women are classified into different groups based on their 'virtue'. It is common for raped women to be socially outcast and children of rape are stigmatised against and can even be killed (Human Rights Watch, 2004; Meintjes et al., 2001; Turshen, 2001b). Additionally, economic losses are experienced with the loss of the breadwinner to the conflict; the women become the main income earner for the household which puts incredible pressure on them emotionally. It can also put their lives at risk as they have to venture out in the conflict zone to source food or work (Bouta et al., 2005).

In summary, the different roles that men and women play during conflict have a dramatic impact on their needs and challenges in the post-conflict phase. If they have been perpetrators of violence, they will have to be carefully reintegrated into society, once they have been through the justice system for their crimes. If they have been victims, they will have many needs, including material and psychosocial.

The discussion will now turn to look at how both genders experience the post-conflict phase which will then lead into the development issues that arise from the experience during and after conflict. The focus will be on the psychosocial impacts of conflict.

## **Post-conflict development**

In most conflict situations, there is no clear divide between the end of conflict and the start of the post-conflict phase and unfortunately many human rights violations continue long after bullets stop flying (Brown et al., 2008; Turshen, 2001a). In Lebanon, for example, "there were no clear boundaries between war and peace, but rather periods of calm which embodied 'different degrees of being at war', life is one long continuum made up of war and no war" (Afshar, 2003).

However, in order to achieve some distinctions, Byrne (1995) divides conflict into four phases: pre-conflict, conflict, the peace process and, reconstruction and rehabilitation. The last two phases can broadly be defined as the post-conflict phase. The peace process involves a number of milestones which can all be considered part of the continuum towards the end of the conflict, such as cessation of hostilities, signing of a peace accord, demobilisation and disarmament, refugee repatriation, establishing a functioning state, achieving reconciliation and societal integration, and economic recovery (Brown et al., 2008). This actual process can take years, for example the Northern Ireland peace process has taken over 15 years (Brown et al., 2008). The success of the individual milestones in the post-conflict phase is crucial to preventing further conflict. In general, half the countries in this phase will resume violence within a decade (Collier et al., 2003).

From a development agency's perspective there are three key post-conflict or post-disaster phases; relief, rehabilitation (or reconstruction) and development.

These phases also work on the continuum and will generally fall across the peace, reconstruction and rehabilitation process mentioned above. In the case of Rwanda, activities in the emergency phase focused on saving lives and included providing emergency food aid, shelter, medical and sanitation assistance. Rehabilitation involved the rebuilding of water and sanitation systems, healthcare facilities, schools and agriculture rehabilitation which included training and provision of farm implements and seeds. Assisting vulnerable populations such as widows, children and the elderly was another important area, especially the registration, tracing and reunification of the unaccompanied children (Kumar et al., 1996).

The actions of the development organisations during the post-conflict phase are very important and it is important not to reestablish the conditions that led to the conflict in the first place (Byrne, 1995; Sommers, 2006). For example, in Somalia in the early 1980s the Siad Barre regime was able to control food aid brought in by aid agencies, enabling the conflict to continue (Jamann, 2000). In the Rwandan genocide, one challenge was that many *génocidaires*<sup>21</sup> fled with the refugees into Democratic Republic of Congo and continued their activities from within the camps. Unwittingly, development agencies were caring for these killers whilst neglecting the survivors remaining in Rwanda (Kayitesi-Blewitt, 2006). It was estimated that between 10 and 15 percent of the adult and adolescent refugees were perpetrators in the genocide (Cobban, 2007; Kumar et al., 1996). From a gender perspective it is also important to look at the ways activities conducted by the agencies can increase or decrease inequalities and conflict between men and women (Byrne, 1995; Zuckerman & Greenberg, 2004). A positive example was the work of a number of agencies in Rwanda where, after the genocide, changes were made to the property law which enabled women to own property (Zuckerman & Greenberg, 2004).

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<sup>21</sup> Perpetrators of crimes during the genocide (Dallaire, 2003; Gourevitch, 1998)

The above discussion introduces some of the complexities of the post-conflict situation. An additional complexity that needs to be considered is the different gendered needs and challenges. This will now be discussed.

### **Men in the post-conflict phase**

Every individual has a different experience of war. For men, Sideris (2001) suggests war affects them and their masculinity in one of two differing ways: they can become emasculated, or acquire a militarised sense of masculinity and become aggressive. For the men who have been unable to protect their families, or who are now unable to provide for them due to some type of injury, war has emasculated them (Byrne, 1995; Sideris, 2001). High levels of unemployment in the post-conflict phase can lead to alcohol abuse and domestic violence (Byrne, 1995). This may result in marriage breakups and a resulting increase in women-headed households, which in turn results in reduced income into these households and increased levels of poverty (Enloe, 1996; Moser, 2001). For the man who is unable to provide for his family; depression, frustration and alcoholism can occur (Bouta et al., 2005). Both men and women are left vulnerable when they are displaced due to violence. In the rebuilding phase men are often more vulnerable due to loss of employment opportunities which compounds an already wounded masculinity (Moser, 2001).

For many soldiers and ex-combatants, the combat experience can leave them with severe and ongoing psychological damage. For some, this was as debilitating as any physical damage received. In World War I this was called "shell shock", later "combat neuroses", and now the term of reference is "Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder" (PTSD). The US Army sent home almost 400,000 soldiers with psychiatric problems after World War II (Goldstein, 2001).

PTSD results in three main categories of symptoms; hyperarousal (a constant expectation of danger and can lead to listlessness and being easily startled), intrusion (lingering imprint of trauma on mental processes which can lead to unconscious reenacting, depression, fatigue, nightmares, flashbacks), and constriction (a numbing of feelings which leads to relationship problems, substance abuse (traditionally alcoholism), and outbursts of violence) (Byrne, 1995; Goldstein, 2001; Perrier & Nsengiyumva, 2003). PTSD also leads to physical illnesses such as heart disease (Goldstein, 2001).

One factor that might contribute to men suffering from PTSD is that during war they were forced to commit atrocities that they would not have committed as an individual in peace time. Many rapes committed during war are gang rapes and part of male bonding. The men committing these crimes may have been plied with sedatives or stimulants such as alcohol to enable them to commit these crimes (Alison, 2007). Spiritual ceremonies are also used to encourage gross acts of violence including the taking of blood oaths, as was the case in East Timor in 1999 (Huang & Gunn, 2004).

Additionally, the use of drugs and alcohol can lead to problems of addiction in the post-conflict phase. Bagaimana (2003) reports on a study that found one in five families in Somaliland, a decade after the conflict, were caring for at least one family member with a serious mental illness, many as a result of using khat ( a local plant containing an amphetamine).

Another aspect for men is that of survivor guilt (Byrne, 1995). McCullum (1995) shares the story of one man who survived the Rwandan genocide but lost his family of seven.

They used hoes and clubs to hack about 100 of us to death. It took a very long time, and twice they became so tired they had to rest from their work. I was injured but managed to hide behind some bushes while they were

resting. When it became dark I got away, but I left my children behind, for which I feel very bad now, but I am sure they were all killed (McCullum, 1995:33).

In the post-conflict phase, isolation can result for those suffering from PTSD. For soldiers, they lose their support network of other soldiers that they fought with and share memories with. Family members, though they may try to understand, are just unable to (Goldstein, 2001). Women are also impacted by PTSD, due to their experiences during the conflict, or when their partner returns home after the conflict suffering from PTSD. The discussion will now turn to women in the post-conflict phase.

### **Women in the post-conflict phase**

Women suffer greatly in the post-conflict phase, just as they did in the conflict. As mentioned above the experience of armed conflict can have some positive benefits for women such as increased freedom; culturally, socially and economically. However these benefits generally do not last into the post-conflict phase and the new sense of freedom that they had gained can lead to a different kind of conflict in the post-conflict phase (Meintjes, 2001). There can be some advantages for women over men in that they can develop support networks quicker and get into a daily routine for survival, including finding new ways of earning an income, however this should not take away from the fact that post-conflict is a very challenging time (Moser, 2001).

In war the largest casualties are the men which means in the post-conflict phase many women now become heads of households making them very vulnerable economically (Human Rights Watch, 2004). For these women, who are left alone in rural households, the loss of men generally means they are restricted in their access to resources. Men are the ones who negotiate for land and work, and without a man available to do this, women lose the chance to find work as well as

access land which she would use to provide for her family. Even if a women can access land, the lack of men available reduces the agricultural production and hence negatively impacts upon food security (Bop, 2001).

For women, who participated in the war as combatants, the reintegration phase can be very unsettling as female ex-combatants are generally not considered in reintegration strategies (Sommers, 2006). Culturally they have also committed acts which are not considered appropriate. This can cause them to be rejected by their home communities and force them to resort to activities such as prostitution to provide for themselves (Richards, 2006).

The violence towards women does not stop when the killing stops (Meintjes et al., 2001). As mentioned above, men can return home with increased levels of aggression due to fighting. Alternatively, they can be depressed and take that out on their wives. Even after the official conflict is over there can be reprisal killings or rapes (Twagiramariya & Turshen, 1998). Another form of violence can be structural. There can be a retrenchment of culture in the aftermath to reestablish the protection for girls and women or to regain control that was lost during the conflict phase (Byrne, 1995; Meintjes et al., 2001). For example, in Gujarat, India, male community leaders set strict guidelines on how the Muslim women should behave and dress to regain control (Cockburn, 2007). Older generations may also be forcing women back into their traditional roles to reestablish the society and its traditions. For example, in Pakistan refugee camps, Afghan urban women who had been used to some freedom of dress were forced to return to purdah (Byrne, 1995).

Women are generally seen as peacemakers and have a role to play in peacebuilding and reconciliation of the aftermath phase (El-Bushra & Mukarubuga, 1995). Though they are not always invited to participate in the official peace talks, experience shows that there is success at the grassroots level through women's organisations and social networking (Sideris, 2001).

During war mothers are “the guardians of cradles and coffins. Motherhood, the unpaid job of women at home, is rewarded by the death of their children” (Afshar, 2003:183). However, the role of nurturer can also be one of healing, through peacebuilding at the family level. Women in their role as nurturers of the new generations have the opportunity to prolong the war or create peace through the way they bring their children up. As mothers, when they tell their children about the reasons for the war, they have the choice to either reinforce the hostilities or to work to bring longer lasting peace through the words they use and the attitudes they show (El-Bushra & Mukarubuga, 1995).

For women, the post-conflict phase carries many challenges. One of the most important areas that can sometimes be ignored is the need to address the psychosocial issues that are a result of the traumatic experiences they have endured during the conflict and the stresses they now face in the post-conflict phase. The next section will look at these needs, considering both men and women.

### **Psychosocial healing**

The specific area of psychosocial healing, which falls into the area of social reconstruction in post-conflict development, will be considered for both genders. The term psychosocial covers the interrelationship between psychological and social effects:

Psychological effects are those that affect emotion, behaviour, thoughts, memory, learning ability, perceptions and understanding. Social effects refer to relationships altered by death, separation, estrangement and other losses; family and community breakdown; damage to social values and customary practices; and the destruction of social facilities and services (Machel, 2001:80-81).

From a development practitioner's perspective the interventions that would fall into this category are typically, trauma counselling projects (either individual or using group therapy), creative activities, family reunification, life skills, child rights promotion, child protection support and parent support (MacLeod, 2008). However, any activity which rebuilds trust and relationships between community members, provides a social service, respects cultural traditions and generates some form of income can be classified as a psychosocial intervention (Becker, 2004).

As already mentioned, both men, women and children can experience trauma from war, including torture, rape and mutilation as well as the breakdown of society and the destruction of social services. Such factors lead to individual and collective social traumatisation (Sideris, 2001; Turshen, 2007). Traditionally in post-conflict development there has not been an emphasis on these needs of survivors and meeting the basic needs of survivors has taken priority over considering this area (Kayitesi-Blewitt, 2006; Kumar et al., 1996; Sorensen, 1998). There is a need to approach this healing from a multidimensional point of view. Healing strategies need to include addressing the socio-cultural destruction and community disintegration, as well as socio-political transformation and individual psychological healing (Sideris, 2001).

When considering trauma and healing, one needs to avoid the western ethnocentric bias that focuses on self and individuality. Here the individual processes the experiences of war and brings the emotional shocks from those experiences into the present. These practices work in Western cultures as they are based on traditional religious practices, such as confession, where verbal processing is accepted (Honwana, 1997). However in the non-Western context the self is a unit that exists in relation with others and the negative relational impacts of war are those which can traumatise the most. In these societies the relational impacts include a sense of betrayal and fear of attack by one's neighbours or family members, a loss of societal trust, severe poverty which

forces people to stop sharing resources with one another, and the inability to provide for one's family. Therefore, healing will come from the repairing of broken relationships, rebuilding of trust in one another and the provision of basic needs that allows an individual to meet cultural expectations (Turshen, 2007; Wessells, 2006).

Similarly, it is important to consider the religious or traditional belief systems of the group being assisted, as well as acknowledging local ways of coping with stress. Development agencies need to recognise the resilience within local communities to cope in times of war and disaster. By learning how they dealt with it in the past agencies can assist in providing the resources that are required to cope with the current crisis (Wessells, 2006). Research into post-war healing of children in Angola found that not all cultural practices were helpful in healing and that a mix of Western and traditional methods could be beneficial (Honwana, 1999).

Before concluding this chapter, both the discussion in Chapter Two on empowerment and disempowerment and this chapter's discussion on the impact of conflict on both men and women, and the challenges therefore faced in the post-conflict phase, will be drawn together. This will provide a conceptual framework for the thesis.

### **Empowerment and disempowerment in post-conflict environments**

The key themes in the preceding literature review chapters have been the empowerment approach and the experiences of men and women during and after conflict. From the issues raised it is possible to see that conflict has mainly a disempowering effect on people, with some incidences of empowerment. The following table, based on Friedmann's levels of empowerment as discussed in Chapter Two, with the additional levels of economic and physical empowerment

added, will provide a gendered empowerment framework for post-conflict situations.

Table 3.2 Empowerment and disempowerment in the post-conflict environment

	Signs of empowerment (+) or disempowerment(-)	
Economic empowerment	For men and women	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- increased poverty</li> <li>- loss of job opportunities</li> <li>- increased numbers of dependents</li> <li>- loss of home and possessions</li> </ul>	
	For men only	For women only
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ work opportunities provided by NGOs</li> <li>+ focus on men to get work</li> <li>- loss of ability to work due to physical/mental disability</li> <li>- lack of work skills</li> <li>- forced to return to rural living</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ some may be able to use skills acquired during conflict</li> <li>+ increased participation in workforce including informal and agricultural sectors</li> <li>- dangerous to leave homes</li> <li>- inability to own land</li> <li>- lack of access to resources</li> </ul>
Psychological empowerment	For men and women	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ courage, strength, confidence</li> <li>+ spirituality</li> <li>+ solidarity</li> <li>+ energy, happiness</li> <li>+ hope for the future</li> <li>+ ability to make decisions</li> <li>- poor self esteem</li> <li>- survivor guilt</li> <li>- sense of lack of control</li> </ul>	
	For men only	For women only
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ dignity restored after completing justice process</li> <li>- emasculation, depression, shame, fear retribution, desire for revenge</li> <li>- alcoholism/substance abuse</li> <li>- PTSD related to fighting or associated traumas including initiation rites</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- PTSD, depression, fear</li> <li>- shame</li> </ul>

Social empowerment	For men and women	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ the opportunity for fulfilling relationships</li> <li>- loss of family/cultural/social networks</li> <li>- hatred of 'others'</li> <li>- breakdown of intimate relationships</li> <li>- socially polluted<sup>22</sup></li> </ul>	
	For men only	For women only
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ ability to access resources</li> <li>+ a sense of control in relationships</li> <li>+ solidarity between ex-combatants or prisoners</li> <li>+ increase in status if on winning side</li> <li>- ex-prisoners experience isolation</li> <li>- loss of status if injured, disabled or did not fight</li> <li>- violent behaviour</li> <li>- loss of comradeship for ex-combatants</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ able to form networks / support groups easily</li> <li>+ women's groups aid in rebuilding social capital/peacebuilding</li> <li>+ solidarity</li> <li>+ ability to access resources</li> <li>+ a sense of control in relationships</li> <li>- isolation</li> <li>- increased domestic violence</li> <li>- ostracism if rape victim or bear children of rape</li> <li>- cultural restrictions</li> <li>- loss of family in cross clan or ethnic marriages</li> <li>- need to help children process trauma</li> <li>- loss of trust</li> <li>- prostitution</li> </ul>
Political empowerment	For men and women	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ community groups advocate for changes in political representation</li> <li>+ new government open to new systems</li> <li>+ participation in grassroots organisations</li> <li>+ support from NGOs</li> </ul>	
	For men only	For women only
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ opportunities to join new government</li> <li>- excluded due to ethnicity or political party allegiances</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ critical consciousness of subordination in familial and societal settings</li> <li>+ increased representation</li> <li>- exclusion from peace processes</li> <li>- no laws to address sexual violence</li> </ul>
Physical empowerment	For men and women	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- physical injuries</li> <li>- hunger, disease</li> </ul>	
	For men only	For women only
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- increase in sexual transmitted diseases</li> <li>- increased maternal and child mortality due to loss of infrastructure</li> </ul>

Source: Author, Format adapted from: Scheyvens, 2002:60; Dombroski, 2005:144

<sup>22</sup> In some communities, for example Angola and Mozambique, anyone who has had contact with death or bloodshed during war are considered polluted. A cleansing ceremony is required to bring individual and collective healing and protection from the spiritual realm (Honwana, 2006).

It is clear to see from this summary table that the post-conflict situation is a very disempowering one for both men and women. This research to assess the impact of the PDW will highlight how psychosocial interventions can assist in empowering survivors of conflict situations. This aspect will be further developed in the analysis of the field research findings in Chapter Six.

### **Summary**

In this chapter the different categories of violence have been described including political, economic and social with the four levels of structural, institutional, interpersonal and individual violence also being introduced. War was shown to be an extreme form of violence with genocide a planned termination of one particular people group (Coloroso, 2007; Goldstein, 2001). The different experiences of men and women have also been considered in the conflict and post-conflict phase. It was shown that men are not always the perpetrators and women the victims; both men and women are losers in conflict situations.

Whatever the mix of male and female victims in various wars, one thing is clear. Neither men nor women benefit from war at the expense of the other gender. Women do not get a good deal, on balance, when men bear the burden of protecting them, nor do men get a good deal when they run around playing war while women bear the costs. Rather, *both genders lose in wars*, although they lose in somewhat different ways (Goldstein, 2001:402).

A specific look at the psychosocial impacts of conflicts has been discussed also showing that both genders need to be considered in post-conflict reconstruction efforts with consideration for traditional belief systems and practices. Drawing on Chapter Two's discussion on empowerment, a conceptual framework for the

thesis was developed in Table 3.2 which showed the disempowering, and empowering, impacts of war on both genders.

Chapter Four will give the methodology of the research. The case study on Rwanda will expand on these discussions on post-conflict development further in Chapter Five.



## **Chapter Four: Researching Rwanda - Methodology**

*Sitting, asking and listening are as much an attitude as a method. Sitting implies lack of hurry, patience, and humility; asking implies that the outsider is the student; listening implies respect and learning. Many of the best insights come this way (Chambers 1983:202).*

Keeping the above quote in mind, this chapter will explain the methodology and ethical basis of this research. The chapter commences with the explanation of the methods chosen, the research questions and the motivation behind this research. Throughout the chapter the ideas of insider-outsider issues, positionality and reflexivity, which are fundamental concepts when doing cross-cultural research, are considered. Underpinning this discussion will be the premise that, whilst challenging to undertake, "Cross-cultural research is valuable in that it unpacks, interprets, seeks to understand, builds alliances and offers diverse perspectives about differing realities" (Stewart-Withers, 2007:108).

The actual experience and practicalities of planning and conducting the research are then presented, as the methodology and data analysis is discussed. The issues of ethics, participant selection and data validity are presented. The challenges of this particular research, given the past and current context, are also covered. The chapter concludes by considering what some of the research limitations are.

### **Research methodology**

The research into the Personal Development Workshop followed a programme-focused approach with an evaluation into the effectiveness of the PDW in empowering participants. A people-based or social constructionist approach was to be used focusing on what people think and feel about the project. In this

approach reality comes from society instead of being set or naturally occurring. Social constructionist research acknowledges that there are no absolutes and that 'the researched' and the researcher are constructing their own reality (Laws, 2003). In line with this approach, qualitative data was gathered. Qualitative data focuses on how people live, and view, their lives. To gain this insight research methods need to be flexible, adaptable and sensitive (Chambers, 1983; Ellen, 1984; Payne & Payne, 2004; Scheyvens & Storey, 2003).

In qualitative research it is important to use a variety of data sources for data validity and to achieve triangulation (Babbie, 1989; Schneider et al., 2003). The data collection methods included semi-structured interviews, focus groups with community leaders and observation plus the use of secondary sources. Semi-structured interviews provide flexibility in questioning. It was felt that the information required to answer the research questions would come from more informal conversation and questioning than any structured questionnaire (Ellen, 1984; Laws, 2003; Scheyvens & Storey, 2003). Focus groups allow for open discussion and an exchange of ideas between participants (Ellen, 1984; Laws, 2003; Scheyvens & Storey, 2003). Observation as a research tool involves active looking and listening. It has a limited use due to its subjective nature but provides a starting point in some research (Payne & Payne, 2004).

The key research question being asked in this thesis is:

- Have participants of the Personal Development Workshop been empowered? If so, in what way?

The secondary research questions are:

- What level of empowerment has been achieved, for example, personal, empowerment within relationships or collective empowerment?
- What have the impacts of this empowerment been to the individual, family and community?

- Does the PDW, as currently structured, adequately address gender issues?

Table 3.2 in Chapter Three provides a framework that shows gendered empowerment and disempowerment in post-conflict situations. The empowerment approach was specifically chosen given that my background is not in mental health and therefore it was not appropriate for me to be assessing the different levels of trauma of participants. Previous research on trauma levels in Rwanda has been conducted by Leary (2007), Kanyaryeru (2007) and Pham et al. (2004). I used this opportunity to analyse a psychosocial project from a different perspective, thus adding to already available research.

From a pragmatic and personal point of view, there was some additional motivation behind the research questions, specifically the levels of empowerment achieved. In discussions with another WV staff member from Australia the following questions had been raised: 'should WV fund this project, it is expensive and do only individuals benefit?'; also 'how much healing does a country need, can't it just be functionally dysfunctional?' Therefore, through the use of the different levels of empowerment, I wanted to see if the impacts of an individual completing the PDW are just individual, or if they benefit the community and the development process as a whole. Additionally, without going into any analysis on the levels of trauma currently existing in Rwanda, I wanted to ascertain the extent to which there are still people in Rwanda that need psychosocial help, even 14 years after the genocide.

### **The researcher**

It is well recognised that in all research the researcher brings their own personal bias to a project, based on their background, personal experiences and opinions (Ellen, 1984; Laws, 2003; Scheyvens & Storey, 2003). In qualitative research this is something to be acknowledged and built upon subjectively. Reflexivity involves "a turning back on oneself, a process of self-reference" (Davies, 1999:4) and considers the influence of the researcher, from a personal and professional

perspective, in all phases of the research, from the selection of the research question to the finished written product (Crabtree & Miller, 1999; Davies, 1999; Fife, 2005; Payne & Payne, 2004). The following discussion therefore provides my positionality as the researcher as well as providing some explanation on my personal journey to arrive at the subject of this thesis.

I am a female in my forties, single, born in England, and raised in New Zealand since the age of five by British-born parents. My undergraduate degree was in food technology from Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand.

After some time working in a number of different roles within the apple and pear industry in both New Zealand and England, I joined a Christian<sup>23</sup> missions organisation, Youth with a Mission. During my almost five years with Youth with a Mission I spent two years living in Timor-Leste from 2001 to 2003. It was this experience that started my interest in post-conflict development. It was also during this time that I was exposed to numerous community development organisations.

On returning to New Zealand I secured a job in the marketing department with WVNZ in 2004 and started to study towards a Postgraduate Diploma in Development Studies. In 2006 I was appointed Programme Officer for East Africa covering WVNZ's projects in Tanzania, Uganda and Rwanda.

During my first monitoring visit to Rwanda, in November 2006, I was inspired by the associations that were supporting women who were diagnosed with HIV and AIDS contracted during the genocide. I also met other women whose children were being treated for malnutrition who had no expression of joy, happiness or hope. Both these groups of women were living in desperate situations, yet the solidarity provided by the women's association appeared to give the women the

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<sup>23</sup> I would describe myself as an evangelical Christian who believes in the presence of both good and evil spirits. I mention this as it does influence my perspective on life and later on in the thesis there will be a discussion on the spiritual aspects of the Rwandan context.

emotional support they needed. This highlighted to me the importance of considering psychosocial needs in post-conflict development.

I had heard about the PDW early on in my reading of WV's work in Rwanda and it sounded very interesting, so when I requested WVR's input into a research topic, and they suggested the PDW, I was happy to pursue it. I was also a little nervous as studying genocide and gender-based violence is not easy reading material. During the course of this study I have come to recognise the importance of this research as an opportunity to explore the value of this project. I have also had a growing understanding of the need to address psychosocial issues in development, especially post-conflict or post-disaster development.

In choosing this topic of research it was important to acknowledge potential conflict of interest given my role in WVNZ. Both the WVR staff and the community members were made well aware that I was conducting research as part of a Master's degree and that my visit there was one of a student. I endeavoured to reduce any negative effects this may have on the research through a number of ways that will be discussed throughout this chapter.

One issue to address was my role as an outsider. How could I relate to someone who has experienced the incredible trauma attached to living through a genocide, having no experience of living in a conflict zone myself and not having lost anyone I loved in tragic circumstances? Whilst it is important to consider this issue, it is also important not to avoid challenging research and instead concentrate on the value it can add (Scheyvens & Leslie, 2000). I did find the participants curious to learn about my life and a few of them asked me if I believed the genocide had happened and if I remember seeing it on the news. I said that I had heard of it but had no idea how bad it was and that I definitely

believed it had happened. I hope in some way this was helpful for those people to hear<sup>24</sup>.

### **Use of secondary sources**

A number of sources of secondary data were obtained from WVR. In 1999 an evaluation was conducted by a team from the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation in which facilitators, participants and representatives from two NGOs were interviewed (Robertson & Hajjiannis, 1999).

Another evaluation of the PDW project was conducted in January 2007 by Roslyn Leary, an independent Australian consultant working for World Vision Australia, to assess the effectiveness and impact of the projects they had funded using the PDW. Leary used qualitative methods in the evaluation with focus group discussions with PDW participants, community facilitators, community leaders and the general community. Structured interviews were also conducted with staff. Scaling questions were used to assess 11 trauma symptoms drawn from the Australian National Health Standards (Leary, 2007). World Vision Australia also funded a baseline survey in 2007 which investigated levels of trauma within three of their funded Area Development Programmes (Kanyaryeru, 2007).

Additionally, WVR has used a number of case studies to publicise the impacts of the PDW on participants (Habimana, 2007, 2008). These documents were used to provide examples of how the participants viewed their lives prior to attending the PDW and the changes that had happened.

Prior to leaving New Zealand, I also received two articles from Dr John Steward<sup>25</sup> which gave further information on the format of the PDW. Once in Rwanda I

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<sup>24</sup> It was mentioned that some Europeans had come to Rwanda saying they did not believe the genocide happened, similar to those that deny the Holocaust happened (Field Notes, 2008).

received an English translation of the course material as well as a DVD that Dr John Steward had put together on forgiveness and healing (Steward, 2003; Steward & Fullerton, 2006).

This information was valuable as a guideline in preparing the interview questions and to give an idea of what answers to expect. It also prepared me emotionally for the kinds of stories I might hear as well as making me aware of the need to provide a safe environment for the interviews to take place.

During the course of the field research a journal was kept daily. This process added my reflection on the research process and the interviews and focus groups as they were conducted. Also, casual conversations that were held with different WV staff members were recorded in field notes which provided further substance to the research process.

### **Fieldwork**

As part of my work with WVNZ I have traveled to Rwanda twice to conduct monitoring trips. Therefore, I was familiar with the area I would be working in and the staff I would work with. I was fortunate that one of these trips was in May 2008 and I took this opportunity then to organise the fieldwork trip<sup>26</sup>. The fieldwork was conducted over a two week period from 24 July to 12 August 2008 and focused on two Area Development Programmes run by WVR, Tubehoneza Area Development Programme and Kabuga Area Development Programme. During this time I stayed in Kigali and traveled to the projects on a daily basis. In total, four focus groups and 21 interviews were conducted across three World Vision Area Development Programmes and in Kigali City.

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<sup>25</sup> Dr John Steward is an Australian who lived in Rwanda in 1997-98. He was instrumental in establishing the PDWs with WVR and visits on a six-monthly basis to provide pastoral support for the HPR staff.

<sup>26</sup> For example, during this trip I met a PhD student from England who gave me lots of practical tips on getting around the city.

### **Semi-structured Interviews**

Questions had been prepared prior to leaving New Zealand, based on the secondary data available, and had been approved by my supervisors. On arrival in Rwanda I added some questions and had them checked by Didier Habimana, WVR Communications Officer, and approved by Josephine Munyeli, Healing Peacebuilding and Reconciliation specialist. Didier had collected the case studies from PDW participants mentioned above as secondary data, which will be referred to in the analysis section. As such, he was able to provide valuable feedback on the prepared questions and give advice on how to receive the information needed from the participants.

The semi-structured interviews were carried out with 14 community members (11 survivors, one youth leader and two ex-prisoners) who had participated in the PDW, with the questions focused on the changes that the participants experienced in their lives as a result of the PDW. Five WVR staff who had participated in the PDW were also interviewed with additional questions on their perceptions of the workshop as a beneficial activity for WVR to be implementing. Selection of the interviewees was undertaken by the WVR project staff. This will be discussed later in the section on selection of participants. The intent of the semi-structured interviews was to investigate the levels of personal, relational and community empowerment that had occurred for the PDW participants.

An additional two interviews were organised with AVEGA (Association of Genocide Widows) and ACT-Rwanda (Association of Committed (Christian) Teachers). These are two different organisations that have been trained in the PDW and are not employed by WVR. The format for these interviews was an adapted version of both the questionnaire for staff and for community leaders.

The practicalities of organising interviews posed some challenges. Interviews ended up being conducted in the mornings as this suited people's schedules better. This was good but it did not allow time for Chantal, my translator, and I to

process the information between interviews as people were waiting. Even if each person had been given a time slot to arrive in they still turned up together. This made me conscious in the interview that someone was waiting. In general, the interviews took 45 minutes which is considered an appropriate length of time from a research perspective (Laws, 2003).

### **Focus Groups**

Two focus groups were held with community leaders from each Area Development Programme. The community leaders are the people who select participants for the PDW. I was very interested to hear how they chose who should do the course and whether their expectations were met by the PDW. The idea of the focus groups was to also gain understanding of the community empowerment that might have occurred through the PDW.

WVR staff were requested to organise these focus groups, with four to five community leaders in each. The benefit of this was that the staff had the contacts and knew who would be willing to contribute to a discussion. The risk, however, from a research point of view, was that they would only choose people they thought would give a positive account of the PDW.

In practice, there were some challenges organising these focus groups as many of the community leaders were involved in preparation for the local government elections which were being conducted soon after the field trip. This was an unexpected challenge. In the end, the one focus group in Tubehoneza Area Development Programme only had three members and we conducted it at the District Government offices so there were a number of distractions. However, this group provided good information and had all completed the PDW themselves. The focus group participants in Kabuga Area Development Programme, however, hadn't completed the PDW and this was unfortunate in that they couldn't speak from personal experience, only observations.

Two other focus groups were held with two community associations in Nyamata Area Development Programme: Ukuri Kuganze is an association of survivors and participants in genocide and ARPT Inyeragutabara is an association of trauma counsellors set up as a result of PDW. Both of these groups provided an opportunity for an independent discussion on the strengths and weaknesses of the PDW, and the impacts on their people as participants and also on the community.

### **Observation**

There is a final evaluation day as part of the PDW which community leaders are able to attend. My trip was scheduled around one of these evaluation days. I intended to observe the process with the hope that I would be able to make contact with some participants to interview. This did not eventuate but contact was made with the associations for the focus groups mentioned above. However a number of small case studies were acquired from the sharing time and from the facilitator. These stories gave a strong indication of the high levels of trauma still within these communities. The day also provided an opportunity to witness the PDW process and the group dynamics. This was a valuable experience.

As one of the main aims of the workshop is to break down the barriers between the different groups in Rwanda, I made a special point to observe the interactions between the different participants, with each other and with the WV staff as the interviews and focus groups were being conducted. I also observed how they interacted with myself and Chantal, the translator. Notes were made at the end of each interview on how engaged the participant had been and what our interactions had been. Photographs were also taken of each person, sometimes with me. However, the photographs themselves do not always give a true picture of a person but serve as a reminder of the person involved.

In summary, it was felt that with the use of these three different methods, plus the secondary data previously collected, that triangulation of the data would be

achieved (Laws, 2003). Chapter Six will discuss in detail the findings from the interviews, focus groups and observation day and the secondary data. Prior to this though, there are a few specifics that need to be addressed, regarding the collection of the data, ethics, the use of a translator and bias.

## **Ethics**

A key consideration in conducting any type of research is to avoid conducting 'research rape', where the research is conducted purely to promote the career of the researcher and in turn exploits 'the researched' (Scheyvens & Leslie, 2000). In this respect, I endeavoured to follow this advice:

Genuine respect for local people and customs, flexibility in the research design, a sense of humour, and a willingness to share one's own experiences and knowledge with research participants, are all critical if cross-cultural and cross-gendered understanding is to be enhanced through the research process (Scheyvens & Leslie, 2000:129).

A low-risk ethics approval was gained from Massey University's Ethics Committee. The Department of Development Studies also requires an in-house ethics approval which was also obtained. An information sheet (Appendix One) and a consent form (Appendix Two) were prepared. Prior to each interview and focus group an introduction was provided verbally covering the details on the information sheet. Consent for use of name and information provided was also sought. The option of using a pseudonym was given to everyone and only one person requested that their name not be used: this was a WVR staff member who shared very personal information and use of a pseudonym was felt inappropriate therefore this person will be referred to as 'PDW participant' only.

There were a number of ethical issues to be considered with the research. It was important to protect the participants from any harm through the bringing up of

painful memories. I decided that I did not need to know the details of what happened to the person during the genocide as the research being conducted was about the training they attended after the genocide. Therefore, the questions in the interviews avoided asking for any particular details. It was felt by Didier, a WVR Communications Officer, that if they wanted to tell their story, the question on what they were like before the PDW would provide that opportunity. Interestingly, Chantal, my translator, had thought it would be ok to ask what happened to them during the genocide as she had previously done it as part of a WV baseline questionnaire for another project. However, she did also say that some people got upset when asked about their past<sup>27</sup>. For this research, it turned out that a question on their marital status and the number of children they had, gave an indication of their experience of the genocide. One of the participants became teary during his interview so we just took the interview slowly and I gave him time to gather his thoughts, it did not appear necessary to stop the interview<sup>28</sup>. Two participants of a focus group did tell their story in detail, one is a survivor and the other participated in the genocide. The perpetrator had been responsible for seriously wounding the survivor in question<sup>29</sup>. The survivor had completed the PDW and the perpetrator had completed another course run by WV and Africa Evangelical Enterprise. This course is described in Chapter Seven.

Another consideration was whether to ask the ethnicity of the participants. Again, in discussion with Didier, it was decided that ethnicity was not information that

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<sup>27</sup> According to Chantal, the researchers would pause the interview until the person had recovered and the researcher would offer their sympathies. It is acknowledged that this type of research would not meet Massey University ethical standards as it would have required greater support through trained counsellors for participants who needed this. For this reason also, personal details were not requested.

<sup>28</sup> In preparing for the research with Josephine, we had decided that if anyone became upset, we would stop the interview, give them some time to recover and then ask if they were happy to continue. If they were not happy to continue, the interview would be stopped. We would then contact the relevant HPR facilitator and advise them that this had happened so that they could follow up with the participant.

<sup>29</sup> Actually at one point during this story Chantal became upset. It was a very tragic story and, out of respect to the couple telling the story, I let them continue. However, I did not ask for any clarifications or details and just took things slowly to allow Chantal to recover.

was needed for the research. It was felt that through the stories they shared we would get some idea but that as it still is a sensitive issue, even for the World Vision staff<sup>30</sup>. On a previous visit to Rwanda, when we were visiting the genocide memorial site in Kigali and reading about the different clans of Rwanda (as distinct from the Tutsi, Hutu and Twa groups) I had asked a staff member I knew well which clan she belonged to. She answered that she was Tutsi. She seemed ashamed to say it even though she had misinterpreted my question; I had meant clan, not whether she was Hutu or Tutsi.

Part of the ethical considerations is the protection of the researcher. For this research all precautions were taken to ensure my physical safety. I also took precautions to look after myself emotionally. As mentioned earlier, this research is on a distressing subject and some of the stories we heard in the interviews were upsetting. To protect myself from being overwhelmed with the enormity and horror of the genocide, I chose not to make a return visit to the Kigali memorial site during this visit: this is where over 250,000 bodies are buried. I also chose not to enter the Nyamata Church, which we visited during the day at Nyamata Area Development Programme: this church contains some of the remains of the 5000 people murdered there during the genocide<sup>31</sup>. I did not take any written material on the genocide with me on the fieldwork trip and maintained communications with my supervisors, family and friends during this time. I also watched a lot of lighthearted movies.

### **Use of a translator**

As the majority of the interviews were to be conducted in Kinyarwanda, the local language, I needed a translator. WVR had an intern who they recommended as a translator. Chantal (21) was in her second year of a development studies degree in a Ugandan university. I considered her ideal as she was not a WVR worker

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<sup>30</sup> Longman and Rutagengwa (2004) concur that ethnicity remains a sensitive issue.

<sup>31</sup> This was a challenging decision as I did not want to offend the WV driver who had been particularly keen for me to see the church. However, I knew that Chantal was not keen to enter and so I chose not to either. I have previously visited Auschwitz, Dachau and Kutna Hora.

and therefore was able to be somewhat independent. She had participated in collecting baseline data for a healing and reconciliation project in another Area Development Programme and so was aware of the PDW. She had also been translating the course material into English from Kinyarwanda so knew the content of the course.

Initially, I had thought that it would be better if the translator was neither Hutu nor Tutsi for independence. However, the reality is that for someone to speak Kinyarwanda, they would have to be a Rwandan. I discussed this with Didier and he felt that her ethnicity would not be a barrier to collecting information and that her experience in collecting data would be beneficial.

The first day I met her we chatted and got to know each other and I gave her a copy of the questions for her to prepare. We also talked through the information that I was hoping to collect and the reasons for collecting it. I also briefed her on ethical issues regarding protection of the rights of our research participants, including the confidentiality of the information given and respecting the rights of the participants to have their own opinions. On the first day of collecting data we met with Josephine and she went through the questions again with Chantal and gave her the correct Kinyarwanda words to use with regards to how to refer to the PDW and the word for empowerment<sup>32</sup>.

One challenge with using a translator can be the impact on data, in this case the loss of imagery such as metaphors and proverbs (Bagilishya, 2000; Clark, 2009). Rwandans use proverbs and non-verbal gestures, such as touching one's breast or loosening the knots of one's belt, to express deep emotions without losing control (Bagilishya, 2000)<sup>33</sup>. I noticed in the interviews that were conducted in English<sup>34</sup> that imagery was used. For example:

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<sup>32</sup> Interestingly, Didier didn't have a word for this but it is actually part of the PDW curriculum and so Josephine used the word that was used in this context which stands for empowerment.

<sup>33</sup> During the interviews, if there were any emotions expressed or physical gestures made I noted these in my field notes. Interestingly, at the time I hadn't realised the significance, but when

*I liked the way people were open and in a way it was as if people had closed some rooms in their hearts and they could not enter those rooms but during those sessions a person could enter his or her room that he had closed before and though it was painful it was helpful (Assumpta, Kigali, 2008).*

Whilst encouraging Chantal to translate word for word as much as possible the lack of imagery in the translated scripts suggests that she may have paraphrased interviews. It was here that the secondary sources from Didier proved to be useful.

We did have one interview where Chantal seemed to get frustrated with the participant, and he in return was frustrated with her. Overall, during the interview he did not seem at ease. He left very quickly and did not spend time with the other participants, as most of the others had. At the time I could tell I would not get much information from him and so drew the interview to a close quickly. On reflection, and after listening to the tapes, I think he said what he wanted to say but from Chantal's perspective he had not found the PDW as life-changing as the other participants had. She was surprised by this and possibly thought he was not telling the truth because of this. This was only one episode and overall I was very happy with the work she did.

### **Selection of participants and the question of bias**

I chose to conduct the research in the two Area Development Programmes that I am familiar with, Tubehoneza Area Development Programme and Kabuga Area Development Programme. Both of these Area Development Programmes are in

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Boniface, an ex-prisoner talked about how the PDW had changed him he touched his breast twice, showing that there was a lot of emotion for him.

<sup>34</sup> Two of the interviews were conducted in English with Chantal present at one and not the other.

the Central Region of Rwanda, within a 30 minute drive of Kigali, and are funded by WVNZ. An advantage for me was that the Area Development Programme staff knew me and are familiar with my way of working and are also very supportive of this research. The disadvantage was, that in my role in WVNZ, I have influence over what projects are funded and how much funding they receive so there was a power dynamic present in my relationship with the WV staff and the community.

I sought to mitigate this power imbalance by introducing myself as a student. I had taken a small photo album of personal photos with me and sometimes these were shown at the start of the interview and sometimes at the end. The purpose for doing this was to share something of myself as I was asking them to share from their personal experience, but also to place me as an individual, not part of an organisation doing organisational research. I had also taken some postcards to show NZ scenery and one of a Maori dance group. This postcard opened up some discussions about the challenges in NZ in relations between European and Maori. At the end of each interview the participants were asked if they had any questions for me. This was often a nice time of personal sharing and many asked about my marital status and whether I had children.

For all the interviews the Area Development Programme staff organised who to interview, based on recommendations from the HPR facilitator for the project. Originally I had hoped to get some recommendations from other participants but this did not eventuate. After the first day I wondered if every story would be as positive as the first three, however, it was apparent the next day that there would be a range of experiences and levels of empowerment which made me feel confident to stick with the WV recommendations. There was consistency with some of the results but also enough variety that I felt the information being gathered was representative of a range of experiences of those in the PDW.

One known weakness of the methodology was that I was not able to interview anyone who had chosen not to complete the PDW and we only found one out of the 11 interviewed who had not found the experience very beneficial. I did take the opportunity during the focus group discussion with the Ukuri Kuganze group to ask those that had not completed the PDW, but knew people who had, about the PDW. I felt that this gave alternative independent perspectives on the course. I had also wanted to interview people in their homes and possibly interview their family members or neighbours to provide evidence of the changes in their lives. Unfortunately, due to time restrictions this also did not eventuate unfortunately.

I also needed to consider the power dynamic that exists between 'the researched' and the researcher, especially in light of my positionality. In one way I had power as I had initiated the research, developed the questionnaire, guided the discussion and when using translation, chose to interpret what I heard through my own perspective. However, those being researched also hold power in that they have a choice on what they share and how they answer the questions and they are the only ones that know whether what they said was the truth or not (Honwana, 2006; Scheyvens & Leslie, 2000). Likewise, as mentioned, the process of translation can add a filter to the information gathered (Scheyvens & Storey, 2003). I relied on Chantal to translate exactly what was said, and not paraphrase it or apply her bias. Based on my earlier comments about the loss of imagery I believe some paraphrasing may have occurred which was unfortunate.

In order to avoid any influence of the WV staff, and to allow for good taping (the tape recorder seemed to pick up any sound before picking up the voices!), interviews were conducted in private with just myself, Chantal and the participant. People seemed very free to share what they wanted to share and only one hesitated to share some negative feedback on the format of the course. After being encouraged by us, he said what he wanted to.

The timing of the research trip was organised to observe the evaluation day at Nyamata Area Development Programme<sup>35</sup>. This is a WV Canada funded project and has been running since 1999, therefore, it is the oldest Area Development Programme in Rwanda. The added benefit of going to this Area Development Programme is that none of the participants had met me before and were not aware of my role as a programme officer. As this was a Canadian programme, I had no influence in any funding decisions. The information gathered here would act as a control for the information gathered at Tubehoneza and Kabuga Area Development Programmes. I did not conduct interviews in Nyamata but observed the evaluation day. I was able to hear firsthand personal testimonies about people's experiences during the genocide and the way the PDW has changed their lives, as well as gaining some case study information from the PDW facilitator. I also conducted a focus group with an association that contains both genocide survivors and participants in the genocide (Ukuri Kuganze Association) and one that had started as a result of the PDW (ARPT Inyeragutabara Association). Again, the information provided in this group was consistent with that gathered in previous interviews and from secondary sources. Both these meetings were organised by Josephine on the day of the evaluation as members from both organisations were present at the evaluation.

For the interviews with staff I asked three staff that I knew had done the PDW if they were happy to be interviewed, which they were. The other two were organised by Josephine. These interviews were conducted in private with only myself, Chantal and the staff member present.

The interviews with the two other organisations that had used PDW were also organised by Josephine for me. Fred from ACT-Rwanda had been in the office for a meeting with Josephine and we were introduced to him and it was organised for Chantal and I to meet him later that day at his office. For our

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<sup>35</sup> The WV financial year runs from 1 October until 30<sup>th</sup> September. This evaluation day was the last one for the 2008 financial year and so my last opportunity to observe one before my NZAID funding expired.

meeting with AVEGA, Josephine accompanied us to introduce us to the staff there and then left when we conducted the interviews. I had made it clear to all the WVR staff that the research needed to be independent and so their presence was not required during the interviews, however, they made themselves available for the introductions.

Finally, one question that was raised was on the scope of the fieldwork as I chose to focus on the Central Region of Rwanda. The experience of the genocide was different for people in different areas. For example, Nyamata was an area where many Tutsis lived and so the impacts were particularly large there. In other areas the number of killings was not so large (*Field Notes, 2008*). It turned out that a number of people, especially in Kabuga Area Development Programme, were not originally from the area and had come there from outside after the genocide. The staff also had had a range of experiences and came from a number of different areas so a wide range of experiences was represented.

### **Data Analysis**

Following typical data analysis of qualitative data, a categorising process with a coding system was followed (Fife, 2005; Laws, 2003). Interview results were categorised under the three levels of empowerment: personal, relational and community. The before and after descriptions were separated physically (post-it notes were used for each different response) to highlight the empowerment progression. Participants were given a code which was recorded on the post-it note: this gave a quick visual indication on how many people had given that same response. Chapter Six and Seven will provide the findings collected and discuss the results. A few comments will be made here on the challenge of data validity in qualitative research especially in the context of Rwanda.

### **Data Validity**

During the course of writing up my thesis I had the opportunity to present my preliminary findings at the international development conference, Dev-Net 2008

in Wellington, New Zealand. In the audience was Professor Jan Pronk from the Institute of Social Studies in The Netherlands and previous UN Special Representative for Sudan (2004-2006). Professor Pronk challenged the validity of my findings based on the fact that they seemed too good given the current social climate in Rwanda. This was valuable feedback and in this section, which supports the fact that the PDW are still required, I will address those concerns.

Furthermore, during the same conference a comment was made by Gerard Prinsen from Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand, in which he described that some evaluation reports conducted by NGOs on their own projects can be 'Hallelujah reports', implying that evaluations conducted by internal NGO staff would not be objective. Whilst the research methods have included triangulation, it is acknowledged that the secondary data used in this research either comes from a WV staff member or by a consultant hired by WV, and is therefore not completely independent. The positionality of the researcher has been fully explained and also acknowledged and the findings shown in the following chapter will be reported with this given due consideration.

Returning to Professor Pronk's comments he is correct in that the current climate in Rwanda is one of fear and impunity (Reyntjens, 2004). Hutus fear reprisal, and Tutsis fear the continuing genocidal ideology. The government has strict controls over the country including issuing new identity cards, with the ethnicity removed. Despite the efforts to punish the perpetrators of the genocide through the International Tribunal, local courts, and traditional justice systems (gacaca), this has only been for Hutus. The RPF have never been punished for the crimes that they committed during the genocide, nor have the Hutus for crimes committed prior to the genocide, therefore there is a sense of injustice from both sides (Clark, 2009; Longman & Rutagengwa, 2004; Reyntjens, 2004)<sup>36</sup>. In this situation it is difficult to imagine that attitudes and hearts are being changed. As far as the

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<sup>36</sup> Additionally a number of perpetrators of crimes during the genocide still walk free having not confessed to their crimes and witnesses are too scared to turn them in (*Field Notes, 2008*).

research methodology went, everything that was possible was done to provide a safe place for the participants to talk and as far as I was able to ascertain all the participants engaged in the process, with different levels of confidence.

In any qualitative research there is the inevitable question of whether the participants are telling the truth or not (Clark, 2009). Hatzfield (2005), in his research of perpetrators of the genocide, acknowledged that stories changed and his participants were "mixing lies, more or less spontaneous or tactical, into their accounts" (Hatzfield, 2005b:130). Additionally, in a culture of obedience, and dependency, interviewees may tell the researcher what they think they want to hear (Clark, 2009; Honwana, 2006). Noting this concern, however, should not prevent the voices of survivors and perpetrators being heard, while at the same time acknowledging their agency to tell the truth, or not (Honwana, 2006; Scheyvens & Leslie, 2000).

### **Limitations of this research**

This research has two main limitations. Firstly the scope of the research was limited to the Central Region of Rwanda and was conducted within two main projects, both funded by WVNZ. This limitation was due to a relatively short research period however those interviewed did show a wide range of experiences from inside and outside of Rwanda. Connected to this is the limitation that the interviewees for the semi-structured interviews were selected by WV staff. In order to overcome this, all interviews were conducted in private and the positionality of the researcher clearly explained.

Secondly, this research was conducted by a Westerner with limited experience of Rwandan culture and no experience of living through genocide. In general this type of challenge is faced by any cross-cultural researcher. It was the intent of this researcher that the research was conducted in a way that was respectful, accountable, reflexive, and a two-way interaction, thus providing an opportunity for both parties to learn from each other (Scheyvens & Leslie, 2000).

## **Summary**

In summary, this chapter has revealed the conceptual basis for this research. It has considered in-depth issues that were raised prior to and during the fieldwork process. This chapter has also articulated the methods used to collect the primary and secondary data. In line with research on empowerment, the qualitative research methods of focus groups, semi-structured interviews and observation, were used (Stein, 1997). The issues of positionality, reflexivity and insider/outsider issues have been considered throughout the chapter and the research. The research does not assume to cover all aspects of empowerment within the PDW but does seek to add to existing research, specifically on the impact of the PDW in participants' lives. Chapter Five will now explain the Rwandan context of the research.

## Chapter Five: Researching Rwanda - Context

*"The genocide in Rwanda was a failure of humanity that could easily happen again" (Dallaire, 2003:xxv).*

Rwanda, or 'the land of a thousand hills', is a small country with a mountainous and lush landscape that is famous with tourists for its gorilla population (Newbury & Baldwin, 2000; Nyamugasira et al., 2000). However, in 1994 this small African country shocked the world with a level of brutality and civil conflict not seen since the Holocaust and Kosovo crisis. The war of 1990-1994 culminated in a genocide in which 800,000 Tutsi and moderate Hutus were killed in a 100 day period starting in April 1994 (Des Forges, 1999; Prunier, 1995). Another 3 million people fled to neighbouring countries and another 1 million became internally displaced people (IDPs). The estimated number of orphaned children was 500,000-600,000 (Nyamugasira et al., 2000). The genocide left Rwanda in a very fragile position with a destroyed infrastructure and thousands of suffering people.

This chapter will introduce the Rwanda context with a brief history of the Rwandan genocide and the specific post-conflict context. The work of the NGO, World Vision International, in the post-conflict environment will be introduced briefly because the case study for this research focuses on a project run by World Vision Rwanda (WVR).

### Genocide in the making

The original settlers of Rwanda and Burundi were the Twa people (now less than one percent of the population). Then came the farming Hutus (85 percent), who were followed by the cattle-herding Tutsi (14 percent). Over time the three groups shared the same language, religion and culture (McCullum, 1995). Living side by side they often intermarried. Physically though, there were some differences: the Twa were pygmoid, the Hutu had a typical Bantu appearance

and the Tutsi were tall and thin with fine features<sup>37</sup> (Prunier, 1995). Society was organised through a clan structure with a royal court that ruled over part of the country (McCullum, 1995).

Over time one Tutsi kingdom, the Nyiginya, became stronger than the others (De Heusch, 1995; McCullum, 1995) and these Tutsis began to exploit the Hutu farmers. An elite caste system developed with cattle being the main form of wealth (McCullum, 1995). During the reign of King Rwabugiri (c. 1860-1895), administrative structures were established and the divide between Hutu and Tutsi became more defined, Tutsis were those with cattle and links to the powerful chiefs (Newbury, 1988). The ethnic divide was political with the power being held by the minority Tutsi population (McCullum, 1995).

The first colonisers were the Germans in the 1890s. They ruled Rwanda and Burundi through the Tutsi monarchy using a typical divide and rule strategy. They also replaced Hutu chiefs with Tutsi chiefs, contributing to the destruction of the social systems. The Belgians then gained control in 1916, after the Germans lost World War I; this was recognised by the League of Nations in the 1920s (Newbury, 1988). Tutsis were favoured in education and administration systems with Hutus excluded from schooling, except those who wanted to be Catholic priests (Prunier, 1995; Vassell-Adams, 1994). After World War II, Belgium administered Rwanda as a Trust Territory under the United Nations, however, the United Nations began to put pressure on Belgium to allow Rwanda and Burundi to become independent (Newbury, 1988). Rwanda regained independence from Belgium on July 1, 1962 (McCullum, 1995).

Prior to independence though, Rwanda experienced violent conflict as power shifted from Tutsi control to Hutu control. 'Hutu power' had risen during the 1950s

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<sup>37</sup> Theories by European anthropologists in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, focused on race, believed that the Tutsi were a Hamitic race descended from the Oromo people of Ethiopia. Erroneously these researchers believed that this made the Tutsi a superior race. These theories influenced European attitudes towards Rwandan society during colonial times (McCullum, 1995; Prunier, 1995).

through the political party, Parmehutu (Party for the Emancipation of the Hutu People), who called for majority rule and fostered hatred towards the Tutsis (Barnett, 2002; McCullum, 1995). This Hutu 'revolution' resulted in a Hutu-led government taking control when Rwanda gained its independence (Newbury, 1988). The first president, Grégoire Kayibanda, openly led attacks on Tutsis which resulted in around 130,000 Tutsis fleeing to the neighbouring countries of Burundi, Uganda, Democratic Republic of Congo and Tanzania (Meredith, 2006). This was the first wave of refugees from Rwanda and many more followed (Vassell-Adams, 1994). The following years were a time of persecution of the Tutsis, with a number of mass killings occurring during the 1960s and 1970s (Meredith, 2006; Staub et al., 2005). Kayibanda also used more subtle tactics to oppress the Tutsis, introducing a quota system, based on population percentages (9 percent for Tutsis), which restricted access of Tutsis to education and employment (Meredith, 2006; Uvin, 1999). While Hutu control continued, there was division regionally. The 'southern' President Kayibanda was ousted in a military coup led by 'northern' General Juvénal Habyarimana, who maintained a one-party dictatorship until March 1992 (Meredith, 2006).

By the late 1980s, over 500,000 Rwandan exiles lived in Uganda, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo and Tanzania. For them Rwanda was a mythical place of distant memories (Meredith, 2006). In Uganda hundreds of young Tutsis had joined the Ugandan army. They were trained and many of them rose to leadership positions. For these soldiers an increasing desire to return to Rwanda, and Habyarimana's lack of support to this idea, led to the official formation of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) in 1987 (Meredith, 2006). In 1990 the RPF, calling for democracy, attempted to overthrow the Habyarimana government with attacks from Uganda (Vassell-Adams, 1994). The attempt failed but tensions and insecurity had been raised and a number of uprisings and killings took place (Vassell-Adams, 1994).

By 1993 the situation had become so tense that the international community began to take interest. An International Commission of Investigation was conducted by 12 representatives from eight countries with hundreds of Rwandans interviewed. The report produced showed that around 2,000 Tutsis had been murdered and over 10,000 detained since the 1990 RPF invasion. A warning of impending genocide was given, but ignored (Power, 2002).

Bowing to international pressure, Habyarimana changed the constitution in July 1991 to allow for multiple political parties and in April 1992 formed a coalition government. By this time the RPF had a new leader, Paul Kagame, who was open to peace talks with the new government and in July 1992 a ceasefire was signed. Again forced by foreign donors to peace talks, Habyarimana signed the Arusha Accords on 4 August 1993. The terms of the agreement were: formation of a transitional multiparty government that included the RPF and opposition parties, UN peacekeepers would be deployed to maintain the ceasefire, demilitarisation and demobilisation of both the Rwandan army and the RPF, and the acceptance of Tutsi exiles to return to Rwanda (Meredith, 2006; Power, 2002). Whilst Habyarimana had signed the peace accords, it was well known that the Rwanda government had no intention of abiding by the agreement and plans were put in place for the genocide (Meredith, 2006).

The catalyst for the April 1994 genocide came when President Habyarimana's plane was shot down after returning from peace talks in Tanzania. The president himself, the president of Burundi and a number of members of Habyarimana's government were killed<sup>38</sup>. This action set in motion a planned and well executed genocide<sup>39</sup>, which used the established hierarchy of military, administration and political systems to exterminate Hutus who opposed the government first, and then aimed to kill all Tutsis. The main perpetrators of the killing, the Rwandan

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<sup>38</sup> The perpetrators of the crash have never been identified though there are a number of theories on who they were with the most likely being either the Presidential Guard opposed to the peace talks, or the Belgian Peacekeepers (personal communication).

<sup>39</sup> Lists of people to be killed had been prepared and were held at local government offices (Meredith, 2006).

army, *Interhamwe* (Those Who Stand Together or Those Who Attack Together) militiamen, the police and other civilian authorities, were joined by civilians to eventually kill around 800,000 people (Des Forges, 1999; Meredith, 2006). The war ended when the RPF overthrew the Hutu government and formed the new current government (Enloe, 1995; Human Rights Watch, 2004; Newbury & Baldwin, 2000).

### **Causal factors in the Rwanda genocide**

The above history gives a chronology of some of the key events in Rwanda's history, however, this history does not explain the factor that would cause one people group to want to exterminate another people group, one that they have lived alongside in relative peace for centuries. A number of factors have been identified and these will be briefly covered below.

The impact of colonisation has been quoted by some authors as the key cause of the genocide (De Heusch, 1995; Vassell-Adams, 1994). The Germans and the Belgians were blamed for their favouritism of the Tutsi over the Hutu and the divisions that this led to. Other authors believe that whilst these actions were divisive, they are not the only factors to be considered (De Heusch, 1995).

Another aspect to be considered is poverty. In the 1980s, 75 percent of Rwanda's foreign exchange came from coffee exports with some tourism included. With coffee prices crashing and food availability decreasing, Rwanda's economy became very fragile. The economic reforms and conditional 'aid' of the World Bank further plunged Rwanda into an economic crisis in the 1990s (Chossudovsky, 2003).

At the same time there was a hunger for land which led to ecological degradation. Rwanda was, and continues to be, the most populated country in Africa, with a subsistence economy and not enough land to provide for its own

people. When the Tutsis fled the country in 1959 their land was taken over by Hutu elites who used their power unfairly to access land (Huggins et al., 2005). One fear of the Habyarimana government was that if these refugees returned they would reclaim their land back, thus the return of refugees was not encouraged (McCullum, 1995). One result of this unfair land ownership was that Kigali had thousands of unemployed youth involved in crime, prostitution and small businesses (McCullum, 1995). These youth were available, bored, with no hope for a good future and so were easily recruited into the militia (Sommers, 2006). Uvin (1999) calls this opportunism or the desire for personal gain.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, another consideration in the genocide is the way that the people were manipulated by the Hutu government through the media and the language used to describe the Tutsi population. In the years following the 1990 invasion by the RPF, a propaganda campaign by Agathe Habyarimana's<sup>40</sup> family was run promoting ethnic hatred and fear in the Hutu population using cartoons, newspaper articles, songs and radio announcements (Dorn et al., 1999; Kellow & Steeves, 1998; C. Taylor, 1999). Hutus were told that the Tutsis were to be feared, that Tutsi women were beautiful and they would steal their men (Baines, 2005; C. Taylor, 1999). During the time of concentrated planning for the genocide in 1993, and then during the genocide, Radio des Mille Collines began broadcasting specific messages instructing the Hutu population to kill the Tutsis, otherwise known as the "cockroaches" (Dorn et al., 1999; Kellow & Steeves, 1998; McCullum, 1995)<sup>41</sup>. During the research one of the participants also mentioned the power of the media:

*I was not friendly to people. I used to hear on the radio about a certain tribe and what they had done and that made me not free with people...I*

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<sup>40</sup> Wife of President Habyarimana.

<sup>41</sup> The radio station also called for the death of the Belgium peacekeepers and specifically the UN Force Commander, Lt. Gen. Romeo Dallaire, describing him as the 'the man with the moustache' (Dallaire, 2003; Dorn et al., 1999).

*heard on the radio what was happening in the country and I hated listening to that (Onesphore, Kigali, 2008).*

From both sides there were unresolved issues. Generations of Hutus had suffered under Tutsi rule and thousands of Tutsis had suffered under Hutu rule. There were roots of hatred and there had been no forums for grievances to be aired and for justice to be sought (Guillebaud, 2002). This fueled the need for revenge (Guillebaud, 2002; Uvin, 1999).

The Rwandan culture is one of obedience. Rwandans have a fear of being different and so follow authority easily. At the time of the genocide, when people in authority were forcing citizens to kill others, many did not have the ability to refuse their leaders<sup>42</sup> (Guillebaud, 2002; Uvin, 1999). According to Prunier (1995):

greed was not the main motivation. It was belief and obedience – belief in a deeply-imbibed ideology, which justified in advance what you were about to do, and obedience to the political authority of the state and to the social authority of the group (Prunier, 1995:248).

An additional cultural aspect is that of Rwandan spirituality. In the 1991 census 90 percent of Rwandans called themselves Christian with 62 percent Roman Catholic, 18 percent Protestant, 8 percent Adventist, and the rest a mixture of African traditional beliefs or Muslim. Many Rwandans though still followed one of two main cults, both of which have strong connections with a fear of the ancestors and a lust for blood (Guillebaud, 2002).

In summary, though all these individual factors combined together could have caused the genocide, they do not *justify* the horror of the genocide. At the root of

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<sup>42</sup> It must be noted here that individual Hutus did stand against those in authority and refuse to kill or risked their own lives to hide Tutsis (Cobban, 2007).

all war is power, and fear of not having it. As Meredith (2006) says, “the genocide that followed was caused not by an ancient ethnic antagonism but by a fanatical elite engaged in a modern struggle for power and wealth using ethnic antagonism as their principal weapon” (Meredith, 2006:487). McCullum (1995) saw the root of genocide as “mutual fear and loathing – the Tutsis afraid of individual and collective extermination, the Hutus of further subjection and exploitation” (McCullum, 1995:4). And Des Forges (1999):

this genocide was not an uncontrollable outburst of rage by a people consumed by ‘ancient tribal hatreds’. Nor was it the preordained result of the impersonal forces of poverty and over-population. This genocide resulted from the deliberate choice of a modern elite to foster hatred and fear to keep itself in power (Des Forges, 1999:1).

Finally, and briefly, any discussion on the causes of the Rwandan genocide needs to acknowledge the roles of a number of international players, most significantly France, the United States of America, Belgium and the United Nations. In addition to possible causes of the genocide explained previously, another external factor was the competition between France and the United States of America for geopolitical purposes: France wanted to maintain a Francophone presence in Central Africa whereas the United States of America supported an Anglo-American presence. France was supplying weapons to the Hutu-led government, trained the Rwandan army, including the elite Presidential Guard, and supported the Hutu-led government through decisions made at the Security Council level regarding international interventions, or lack thereof, to stop the killing (Chossudovsky, 2003; McCullum, 1995; Meredith, 2006). The United States of America on the other hand supported the RPF<sup>43</sup>, through the Ugandan aid budget and by supplying weapons and training (Chossudovsky,

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<sup>43</sup> The United States of America did provide some small amounts of funding to the Rwanda government as well as training a number of army officers in the United States of America (McCullum, 1995).

2003). Additionally, policymakers in France, United States of America<sup>44</sup>, Belgium and the United Nations were all aware of the impending massacres, however, no action was taken to prevent them and protection was not provided to the civilian population in the form of a peacekeeping force that could be effective (Chossudovsky, 2003; Dallaire, 2003; Des Forges, 1999; Power, 2002).

## **Consequences of the genocide**

The genocide shattered Rwanda's culture and society. Family members killed family members, children were forced to participate in killings, and community leaders, such as school teachers and priests, were also among the killers (Nyamugasira et al., 2000). In the post-conflict phase this led to an atmosphere of fear, hostility and insecurity with some people intent on revenge. In turn, this atmosphere led to people feeling isolated, alone and abandoned. This social destruction<sup>45</sup> was across all areas of society, from ethnic and generational to economic and political, both at individual and community levels (Kumar et al., 1996; Newbury & Baldwin, 2000).

The post-conflict phase includes a number of different groups of people, all with their own needs and challenges. Nyamugasira et al. (2000) listed the post-genocide population mix in Rwanda as: survivors, stayers, old and new caseload, extremists and refugees. Survivors are those that had been targeted but had hidden and lived, around 200,000 people. This group included many children, now orphaned. Their needs included basic needs, housing, protection and justice. Stayers were those that chose not to flee to the surrounding countries but may be internally displaced, around four million people. These people had a fear of revenge killings and needed to be cleared of suspicion (Nyamugasira et al., 2000).

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<sup>44</sup> Including the CIA

<sup>45</sup> The focus of this thesis is on social reconstruction therefore other areas of reconstruction, such as the rebuilding of infrastructure, the judicial process and the issue of governance, will not be discussed in any depth.

The old caseload were the over one million returning exiles who had left in the troubles of 1959 or more recently. Many were raised in Uganda and were coming to Rwanda for the first time so they had to adjust to a new language and a new country (Newbury & Baldwin, 2000). For this group, the recovery of family land is very important, however this is an area of potential conflict. The new caseload, around two to three million refugees who fled into Tanzania, Burundi and Democratic Republic of Congo fearing retribution from the new government, returned to Rwanda between December 1996 and May 1997. Conditions in the camps were desperate with, for example, around 30,000 – 50,000 people dying in the Goma refugee camps of cholera (McCullum, 1995; Nyamugasira et al., 2000; Prunier, 1995).

Extremists from both sides were still present. For these individuals the conflict had not finished, they wanted revenge, justice and power. Some were in prison, some in the refugee camps and some free within Rwanda or neighbouring countries. Permanent refugees still remain in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Reintegration of this group back into Rwanda brings risks to peace as this group includes some Hutu extremists who still uphold the genocide ideology (Nyamugasira et al., 2000).

In 1996, a government survey showed that 54 percent of the population was female with 34 percent of households headed by women (Newbury & Baldwin, 2000). A large number of men had been killed in the genocide or in the following battles between the two sides. Over 130,000 men were imprisoned on genocide charges (Human Rights Watch, 2004). This left many women in post-conflict Rwanda with a large number of challenges including a lack of legal rights to land, economic deprivation, and trauma resulting from gender-based violence experienced during the genocide, and lastly HIV and AIDS (Newbury & Baldwin, 2000). These points will now be discussed in more detail.

Under Rwandan law in the 1990s, land rights passed through male members of the family. This led to widows and orphaned daughters potentially losing their property to the male relatives of their deceased husbands, father or brother. An urgent change to the law was sought by the Ministry for Gender plus a number of NGOs including UNICEF and Save the Children Fund. Local NGOs were involved in disseminating the information (Kumar et al., 1996). In 1999 the Rwandan Inheritance Law was passed allowing equal inheritance rights to male and female children. Even though widows are able to legally inherit from their deceased husband's property, in practice it is very difficult to change culture and traditions (Bouta et al., 2005).

Another area of vulnerability for women was economic. Many were left destitute, without a place to live and with a number of children to care for. Many women took in orphans and had to provide food, clothing and school fees for them. There were also the elderly and injured or sick to be taken care of. Rural women were used to cultivating food and cash crops but now also had to do the jobs men used to do such as house maintenance, caring for cattle and managing household finances. Urban women needed to find housing, pay rent and find employment or a source of income. Construction was previously considered a male only job but in the post-conflict situation women began to work on construction sites. Others turned to prostitution to support their families (Newbury & Baldwin, 2000).

Another particularly vulnerable group were the women who had husbands in prison, accused of involvement in the genocide. In many developing countries, families of those in prison, and hospital, are expected to provide food for their family member. Thus these women not only had the psychological pressure of being, in some cases, stigmatised by the community, they also had the economic burden of having to provide food and supplies for their husbands whilst they were in prison. The costs of travelling to the prison and back were also high when living in poverty (Newbury & Baldwin, 2000).

An additional stress for survivors was the return of over 800,000 former Rwandan exiles during the two years following the genocide. These exiles, mainly Tutsis, who had left in 1959 returned to live in mainly Kigali and Butare. Those that had grown up in Uganda and Tanzania spoke English, instead of French and Kinyarwanda, had different social experiences and brought with them their own ethnic tensions and issues (Newbury & Baldwin, 2000).

As Chapter Three showed, the use of rape as a weapon of war is historical and well recognised. It has serious psychological and physical effects on women (El-Bushra & Mukarubuga, 1995). The genocide in Rwanda contained specific gender-based violence which crossed political lines as Tutsi women were targets<sup>46</sup>. The Hutu genocide ideology taught that Tutsi women thought they were superior and were manipulating Hutu men to gain power over them (Alison, 2007; Human Rights Watch, 2004). Media portrayed Tutsi women as 'seductress spies' who were proud, dangerous and promiscuous (Alison, 2007; Weitsman, 2008). It is estimated that during the genocide, at least 250,000 women suffered forms of gender-based violence such as individual rape, gang rape, rape with sticks, guns or other objects (Bouta et al., 2005; Human Rights Watch, 2004). Many were raped prior to being killed and on many occasions sexual organs were mutilated in order to prevent them from being able to have children, should they survive the genocide<sup>47</sup> (Weitsman, 2008). From those that did survive, up to 5,000 children were born as a result of these rapes. In some cases the mothers chose not to keep these children and in other cases the children were kept but the family was stigmatised for having "children of bad memories" (Newbury, 2000:5). The psychosocial results of these rapes included loneliness, isolation, a sense of

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<sup>46</sup> When the numbers of Tutsi women had been reduced significantly, Hutu women were also targeted (Des Forges, 1999; Human Rights Watch, 2004).

<sup>47</sup> Some authors have reported that Tutsi women were raped intentionally by HIV positive Hutu men in order to infect the women with the HIV virus. This was debated by the Human Rights Watch in their 1996 report *Shattered Lives: Sexual Violence during the Genocide and its Aftermath* (Twagiramariya & Turshen, 1998).

powerlessness, a loss of dignity, depression and flashbacks. Physical results included fistula and chronic pain (Cohen et al., 2005; Kayitesi-Blewitt, 2006).

It was into this environment that numerous international aid organisations came in mid 1994. The international media coverage of the genocide attracted a large number of NGOs into Rwanda. Staff of over 200 NGOs established themselves in Kigali and focused on relief work supporting the refugee camps in the neighbouring countries, specifically Democratic Republic of Congo, Tanzania and Burundi (Kayitesi-Blewitt, 2006)<sup>48</sup>. Chapter Six will start with a description of the work of World Vision and specifically describe the PDW in post-conflict Rwanda.

### **Summary**

The situation of Rwanda before and after the genocide has now been explored as well as the different causes behind the genocide. It has shown that the post-conflict environment of Rwanda was one where the society had been totally destroyed. Survivors, especially women, faced almost insurmountable challenges (Newbury & Baldwin, 2000; Nyamugasira et al., 2000). This has provided necessary information to show the environment that led WVR to initiate the PDW. It also provides a context for the research process which was carried out to investigate whether empowerment was achieved as a result of participants completing the PDW.

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<sup>48</sup> By December 1995 this number had decreased to 102 (Kumar et al., 1996).



## Chapter Six: Empowerment in Post-Conflict Rwanda

*Ahabaye inkovu ntihashubirana*

A wound does not heal completely

(Rwandan proverb)

Is it possible for a country to recover from genocide? How does an entire population receive the psychosocial assistance that is required after experiencing such an event? This thesis has shown that the post-conflict situation is one full of disempowering impacts for both men and women (as outlined in Chapters Two and Three). Chapter Five described the Rwandan genocide showing that the post-conflict situation had huge psychosocial needs to be addressed by the new government and international community. Post-conflict Rwanda was a shattered society with an atmosphere of fear, hostility and insecurity. Survivors were left feeling isolated, alone, abandoned and in some cases, seeking revenge (Kumar et al., 1996; Newbury & Baldwin, 2000). Perpetrators were either hiding in refugee camps in surrounding countries or had been imprisoned in vast numbers into squalid prisons with a destroyed justice system unable to cope with the huge numbers of defendants (Cobban, 2007; Des Forges & Longman, 2004; McCullum, 1995; Prunier, 1995). It was in this situation that WVR started to address the psychosocial needs of both victims and perpetrators through the PDW.

### World Vision in Rwanda

For World Vision, as the enormity of the genocide was realised, an emergency response was conducted in April 1994 with food aid to displaced people, medical care and temporary shelter materials provided. Household items such seeds, tools, blankets, pots, pans, water containers and soap were distributed (Nyamugasira et al., 2000). WVR also ran four transit care centres for

unaccompanied children and assisted in tracing families and reunifications (MacLeod, 2000).

In 1995 WVR became involved in rehabilitation. Schools, health centres and homes were rebuilt, farmers were given improved seed varieties and taught new farming techniques to increase productivity, and farmer's associations and micro-enterprise groups were established (Nyamugasira et al., 2000). The first long-term development project, known as an Area Development Project (ADP), was started in 1999 as WVR entered the development phase.

In the course of the rehabilitation and now development work WVR recognised that, while there was an obvious need for physical rehabilitation, "inner healing must be given priority, otherwise wounded people are not able effectively to utilise the infrastructure or to contribute to the development effort" (Nyamugasira et al., 2000:192). A Healing, Peacebuilding and Reconciliation Department was thus established in WVR. This department began to use a number of workshops to help people heal including: the PDW, a three day bible-based workshop (in conjunction with the African Evangelical Enterprise), a healing of memories workshop, conflict resolution training and more. This thesis focuses on the PDW.

### **The PDW**

WVR recognised that each of its staff, mostly Rwandan nationals, had been psychologically affected by the genocide and many, if not all, were operating out of a state of shock, anger and unprocessed grief (Nyamugasira et al., 2000). As part of WVR's Healing, Peacebuilding and Reconciliation (HPR) work the PDW was developed to assist the then 300 staff of WVR to process the traumatic events of the genocide. Dr Simon Gasibirege of the University of Butare designed the workshop from strategies used by survivors of the Holocaust to heal their trauma (Nyamugasira et al., 2000; Steward, 2003). The workshop was tested by his team and revised by WVR's trauma coordinator at the time. The aim of the workshop was to bring staff to a point of healing where they could

work on behalf of, and with, not just their own people group, but those that were previously considered enemies, and be able to see different people's points of view. "In that way development genuinely becomes more comprehensive and all encompassing, rather than being just the pursuit of whatever is best for one's own group" (Nyamugasira et al., 2000:194).

The workshop was so successful that it was adapted for the communities that WVR is working in long term<sup>49</sup>. The goal of the PDW "is to offer an opportunity to contemplate and process in safety and confidentiality the genocide or other critical experience in the individual's experience" with the purpose of "improved wellbeing through a set of three workshops which allow participants to think about and understand bereavement, to deal with their emotions and hopefully start a process of healing and forgiveness" (Personal Communication with Josephine Munyeli).

The PDW is a voluntary workshop that starts with an introductory session, followed the next day with the first of three, three-day modules. A break of a month between each module allows participants to process and practice the learning, the workshop finishes with a one day evaluation. The format combines lectures on theory with individual exercises and small group discussions.

- Introduction session

This information day explains the workshop and aims to build trust between participants and a willingness to share openly with one another. The rules of protection for the small groups are discussed and contracts signed, this is essential for building an atmosphere of safety and trust. Many of the participants were not aware of the details of the course when they were invited along so at the end of this day, people are given the choice whether to continue the

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<sup>49</sup> By 2008 approximately 100 PDWs have been completed through Rwanda (Personal Communication with Josephine Munyeli).

workshop. This is an empowering experience for them to decide whether they are ready to start the healing process.

- Module one: Bereavement

This module creates a safe place where participants are able to share their stories, grieve their losses and start to heal. Participants are first taught the grief process and then in small groups, those that are able share their experiences and losses. During this module participants complete a number of exercises including; think and share about someone you lost prior to the genocide, think and share about someone you lost during the genocide, talk about the mourning period<sup>50</sup> and what you think about it and write a letter to someone you have lost.

- Module two: Dealing with emotions and feelings

This module addresses healthy expression of emotions and feelings as part of the grief process. The different feelings and emotions of fear, guilt, sadness, anger, joy, hurt and others are looked at from the perspective of 'the parent', 'the adult', and 'the child' within each person. The module aims to bring an understanding to feelings and help participants mature in their expression of their emotions. Examples of the exercises includes; participants looking at their own feelings, thoughts and behaviour over the workshop, thinking about feelings that were expressed or suppressed during the genocide, and analysing what they were taught about feelings and emotions from their parents.

- Module three: Forgiveness and Justice

This module teaches the theory and practice of forgiveness, from a Christian perspective, and how it relates to legal justice. Considerable focus is given to the process of forgiveness as the last stage of the grief process and its connection to healing and empowerment of the victims. A number of articles are read and discussed on forgiveness, the International Tribunal and social justice, and the

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<sup>50</sup> Since 1995 a week-long mourning period for the genocide is observed from April 7 each year. At this time reburials occur, there are commemoration ceremonies and church services, and many people visit the genocide memorial and massacre sites.

exercises relate to personal experiences of forgiveness both in past and current examples. One of the readings lists 12 stages toward forgiveness:

1. Decide not revenge – stop any offensive action
2. Recognise our wounds
3. Share our wound with someone
4. Identify the loss in order to bereave
5. Accept the anger and desire of revenge
6. Forgive ourselves
7. Understand our offender
8. Find in our life a meaning of the offence
9. Know that we are worthy of forgiveness and already forgiven
10. Stop pursuing forgiveness
11. Open ourselves to the grace to forgive
12. Decide to end the relationship or renew it

- Evaluation and feedback

A final day allows for evaluation, feedback and celebration. Personal testimonies are shared with the whole group and in the small groups and a gift exchange occurs between the whole group. The day ends with a shared meal. (Nyamugasira et al., 2000; Steward, 2003).

The research methodology in Chapter Four describes how the PDW was investigated using qualitative techniques. The discussion in this chapter will address the key research questions of the thesis which are; 'have the participants of the Personal Development Workshop been empowered? If so, in what way?' In answering 'what way?' the findings will be compared with the different levels of empowerment, that is, personal or psychological, relational and collective or community. The impacts of the different levels of empowerment for individuals, families and communities will be included. The chapter will conclude with a discussion on whether the PDW adequately addresses the gender issues

that were described in Chapter Three. Firstly though, the three levels of empowerment will be revisited and evidence from the findings will be given.

## **Personal Empowerment**

As noted in Chapter Two, Rowlands (1997) defines personal empowerment as developing a sense of self and individual confidence. Friedmann (1992) saw psychological power as equating to an individual's sense of potency, expressed in self-confident behaviour. Another similar definition of psychological empowerment was proposed by Stromquist (1995) as the feeling of self-esteem and self-confidence, and a knowledge of what can be done to improve one's situation. From the perspective of subjective well-being, other authors saw psychological empowerment as an individual's belief that they have the resources, energy and ability to achieve important goals (Diener & Biswas-Diener, 2005).

It was also mentioned in Chapter Two that disempowerment can be expressed as a sense of powerlessness, real or imagined, a learned helplessness, alienation and a sense of loss of control over one's life (Rappaport, 1981; Stein, 1997). Other expressions of disempowerment were feelings of confusion and disillusionment (Scheyvens, 1999). Chapter Three expanded this discussion in Table 3.2 showing the many disempowering impacts conflict has on both men and women psychologically.

Therefore, in assessing whether personal or psychological empowerment was achieved by the participants of the PDW, the findings will be compared with a number of these elements. Also considered will be the indicators of personal empowerment used by Leslie (1999) who included: courage, self-esteem, strength, happiness, solidarity, spirituality, a sense of control, confidence, ability to make and plan decisions, energy and a sense of hope for the future. Quotes

and information from the field research plus secondary data will be used to demonstrate this.

### **Overcoming isolation**

A number of people talked about how lonely and isolated they felt before doing the PDW. For some, doing the PDW and hearing other people's stories helped them realise that they were not alone, that other people had suffered similar, or worse, experiences than them. This gave them a sense of 'power with' instead of the loneliness, desperation and weakness that they felt before:

*I got to know that there were other people who had bigger problems than I had. This helped me to share my problems and helped me to feel at home, I feel like I am not alone (Lidivine, Kabuga, 2008).*

*I used to be very lonely before the training. I never wanted to talk to anyone, I wanted to keep everything private and wanted to be alone but after the training they taught me to think about the future and not the past. The training taught me to avoid being lonely and to stop dwelling on what happened to me (Felix, Tubehoneza ADP, 2008).*

### **Expression of grief**

It was recognised by church leaders early in the post-conflict phase that people were consciously or unconsciously bypassing the mourning and grief process and concerns were raised that, if this happened, the grief would emerge later on in negative ways. The processes of sorrow, grief, repentance, forgiveness, justice, reconciliation and peace were all seen as crucial to allow the people of Rwanda to heal (McCullum, 1995). The PDW offers people the opportunity to connect with their feelings and to express their grief. For most this is the first time since the genocide that there has been this opportunity.

*I was too hurt and I lost all of my feeling. I was like a tree – I was numb – I saw everyone as a corpse. I shared my feelings in the Healing, Peacebuilding and Reconciliation programmes and when I learnt about the programmes little by little I started healing (Leary, 2007:14)*

*During the first session I thought 'this is bad, it disorganises you, more and more and takes you back to those feelings that you were avoiding.' I didn't know it could come out as beautiful as it did (PDW participant, Kigali, 2008).*

There are a number of different types of grief; normal, delayed and absent, inhibited (or distorted), severe and chronic. Symptoms of the abnormal types of grief include severe emotional numbing and disbelief, depressive symptoms, social withdrawal, overt hostility and anxiety disorders (Jacobs, 1993). As described above, some of the ways people described themselves before completing the PDW could be related to grief.

The PDW is structured so that people get information about the grief process and gain an understanding on the symptoms of grief and stress, versus madness. The process of connecting with feelings of grief is often a traumatic one and, for some, it was very important to understand that what they were feeling and experiencing was a normal part of the process and that they weren't going mad. Olson (1992) found similar experiences in working through the grief process with war veterans, "feeling crazy is a fear often felt but rarely talked about during this phase of grief" (Olson & Robbins, 1992:83). Jacobs (1993) sees this as part of the severe grief syndrome. The community leaders in Kabuga ADP concurred with the above quote and mentioned that after the first session people were actually worse than when they started the course<sup>51</sup>. Literature confirms this is normal when processing grief (Herman, 1992; Olson & Robbins, 1992).

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<sup>51</sup> Nyamugasira et al. (2005) noted that one or two from each workshop drop out for varying reasons.

The PDW also uses exercises to help people process their feelings. A large number of the participants talked about the activity that involves them writing a letter to a loved one whom they lost during the genocide. All those that mentioned this challenge also recognised it as the most healing part of the workshop for them.

*The biggest challenge of the training for me was to write the letter to someone who you loved and lost during the genocide. I thought, 'who will I write to? I lost over 40 people'. They told me to write to someone I really loved and write to them like they are in another country so I decided to write to my husband. I asked him if the country he was in was the same place as our children (Daphrose, Kabuga ADP, 2008).*

*The part of writing the letter was the hardest part because some people were traumatised but it was also good because their inner feelings came out and they were able to share with people the different experiences they had had. People were crying (Felix, Tubehoneza ADP, 2008).*

Processing and expressing grief and the practice of forgiveness has also lead to new feelings.

*I became happy after the PDW, I learnt what happiness really is, I have peace in my heart, I learnt how to forgive, I forgave my friends and so now I am relaxed in my heart. I have peace (Louise, Nyamata ADP, 2008).*

*I didn't know that when someone cries you feel relaxed, you are ok. I used to see people crying and think, "they are crying, they are hurt". I didn't know that when you cry you feel relaxed. When I see people crying now I give them time to cry (Felix, Tubehoneza ADP, 2008).*

## Dealing with Trauma

The impact of trauma is long-term (Baingana, 2003). Even though it has been 14 years since the genocide, some participants had shown high levels of trauma prior to and during the PDW. Previous research into PTSD in Rwanda shows that 25% of those interviewed were found to have PTSD. Those who were more likely to suffer were women, those living in Rwanda before the genocide and Tutsi (Pham et al., 2004). PTSD can lead to effects such as a heightened arousal which can be a constant expectation of danger, anxiety, flashbacks, numbing of feelings which leads to relationship problems, recurrent nightmares, outbursts of violence and substance abuse, which traditionally is alcoholism (Goldstein, 2001; Herman, 1992). These reactions can then lead to psychosomatic symptoms such as headaches, stomach aches, loss of appetite, insomnia and heart disease (Herman, 1992; Wessells, 2006).

Prior to attending the PDW, Renata was very thin. According to her it was not due to a lack of appetite but due to how unhappy she was. Since completing the PDW she has put on weight which for her signifies that she is a new person (Renata, Kabuga ADP, 2008). Floride talked about suffering from severe vertigo and developing a rash after seeing blood or eating meat (Habimana, 2008):

*I was always suffering terrible headaches, feeling as if my head was so huge and divided into two parts. The upper part filled with water. When I tried to explain this to the doctors, they failed to understand my feelings and treat me accordingly (Habimana, 2008:2).*

Some have developed diseases like headaches. One woman during the mourning period, or when she talks about bereavement, one arm and one leg become paralysed – she said she was healed after the PDW but was nervous it would come back again (Field Notes, Nyamata ADP, 2008).

*Something has been released from my heart...Now I am able to sleep (Leary, 2007:14).*

On the evaluation day at Nyamata ADP there were two particular stories which highlighted the extent of trauma that is still present within these communities:

One man was nine years old when the genocide happened. He survived the genocide along with two of his siblings. After the genocide they moved to an orphanage. Since the genocide, though, he spends the month of April living in the cemetery (during the mourning period). He was always afraid and couldn't sleep alone, he had to share his bed with someone.

He got very sick during the bereavement session and ended up in hospital for two days. He was shouting 'they are coming to kill me' and was hallucinating that he was still carrying his brother (in the genocide he had carried his younger brother on his back). He kept saying 'I am going to put you down, don't ask me where mum is, if you keep asking they will come and kill us'. He had no sense of feeling when they were injecting him with sedatives.

He suffers from infections that can't be diagnosed, one testicle was removed and he has had six operations, feels a lot of pain and liquid comes out of his tummy button. He has been to specialists in Uganda but they still don't know what is going on (Field notes, Nyamata ADP, 2008).

This young man is now 25 years old. Since completing the PDW he is able to smile and now sleeps alone. His story highlights the impact the genocide had on the children that survived it and the trauma that some of the current youth of Rwanda are suffering from.

The second story highlights the impact the genocide is having on normal social practices such as marriage.

One man has kept the head of his father in his house and says he will not marry until he has the head of his mother. He said that before the PDW he thought he would kill a Hutu, "I wish I had a bullet that would come from my eye to kill a Hutu". Since the PDW he has attended his friend's wedding. These trainings have helped him a lot (Field notes, Nyamata ADP, 2008).<sup>52</sup>

The understanding that trauma can lead to medical symptoms was recognised by one of the groups that was interviewed. This group, the ARPT Inyeragutabara Association, meets in a room attached to the health centre and sees that their work complements the work of the centre. They recognised that a number of symptoms that people were going to the health centre for were actually trauma-related and needed to be treated through counseling and psychosocial help, not through medical treatment.

### **Hope for the future**

A reoccurring theme for the PDW was that it has provided people with a hope for the future. Whilst some of them previously had dreams and ideas of how they wanted their future to be, many seemed to not be able to turn those dreams into plans. For others, including Daphrose, they had no idea of what the future held and no idea of how to get there. This is an important factor in development projects in a post-conflict setting. When people are not able to look to the future, they are unlikely to be interested in activities that are based on improving their future such as income-generation, improving educational facilities or micro-enterprise (Bouta et al., 2005):

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<sup>52</sup> The facilitator for this course said this man has completed the PDW twice and still has a long way to go in his healing process.

*I had refused to register some of my children in school because I was saying that even their father who was educated had died. I was regarding education in Rwanda as useless and no meaning... I now think about the future and the development of the community (Habimana, 2008:2-3).*

*The PDW contributed a lot to helping me think more about the future. At the time I did it I was renting and I decided that I wanted to have my own house. I also wanted my children to go to school. The training really contributed to my thinking about the future. Now I own my house and I have managed to achieve some of my goals (Faustin, Kigali, 2008).*

### **Self-confidence**

One of the key indicators of personal, or psychological, empowerment is an increase in self-confidence. These two quotes show a link between self-confidence and hope for the future:

*Before the PDW I didn't feel like doing anything. My husband used to give me money to start up a business but I felt I couldn't do that. I don't want to work for anyone, I just want to be alone. After the training my husband noticed the change in me and he gave me some money. Now I have my own small business. I make tea, buns and bread and sell them from home (Yolande, Tubehoneza ADP, 2008).*

*I want to go back to school to study psychology so that my baby can have a good future (Juliette, Tubehoneza ADP, 2008).*

Another way this was expressed was in a number of the participants becoming, or wanting to become, PDW facilitators<sup>53</sup>. Each PDW is run by a trained WVR

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<sup>53</sup> A number of the participants from Tubehoneza ADP said that they would like to be facilitators as well to help others in their healing process.

staff member. There are also facilitators who are community volunteers that run the small groups. Generally there is one facilitator for a small group of five PDW participants. These facilitators have all completed the PDW for themselves and have undergone additional training from WVR to become a facilitator. After each PDW is completed, WVR chooses participants that have shown they have the qualities needed to become a facilitator<sup>54</sup>. A number of the people interviewed were already facilitators and a number expressed that they would like to be one. Some also said that they would like to be but didn't have the time available to offer to WVR for this role due to their leadership role in the community already.

From an empowerment perspective these participants that now are acting as facilitators, or would like to, are showing that they want to input into their community. They have moved beyond their own personal situations and the immediate relationships that impact on them personally, to wanting to contribute their time and skills for the benefit of others. In a post-conflict setting this suggests a significant level of empowerment.

In summary, and using the indicators for personal empowerment as proposed by Leslie (1999), it is clear from the discussion above that all the participants of the PDW have achieved some level of personal empowerment. In varying levels, a sense of hope for the future, solidarity, happiness, peace, release from fears, strength, self-control and an acceptance of self have been achieved. As mentioned earlier there was a challenge over the translation of the word 'empowerment' and so after asking about whether people felt empowered a few times and not getting a clear response, I only asked the direct question to random participants. However, some participants acknowledged that they had been empowered by using different, yet compelling, vocabulary:

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<sup>54</sup> According to Josephine Munyeli these qualities are: successful completion of PDW, at least an A level of education, a personality type that enables people to trust them and share personal experiences with them, and good facilitation skills.

*It helped me to move from one place to another (PDW participant, Kigali, 2008).*

*I am a new person, a new creation (Renata, Kabuga, 2008).*

*The PDW is an energiser, it lifts you from down and puts you up. After the PDW, you are able to live (PDW participant, Kigali, 2008).*

Returning to Table 2.1 in Chapter Two, linking the type of power being addressed by a development project, and using the underlying definition of 'power within', it is possible to see that the PDW is acting in the role of a development project that works to increase self-esteem, build confidence and bring personal development. In the post-conflict setting there are also the added needs of trauma and grief counseling, which were not the focus of this thesis.

### **Relational Empowerment**

The second level of empowerment defined by Rowlands (1997) was relational empowerment. This was defined as developing the ability to negotiate and influence a relationship and decisions made within it ('power with'). For Friedmann (1992), social power is the access to resources such as information, knowledge, finances and social networks. A number of the aspects of empowerment as defined by McWhirter (1991) can be considered relational, that is, the exercise of control over their own lives without infringing upon the rights of others, and supporting the empowerment of others in their community or society (McWhirter, 1991:224).

For measuring both the relational and collective dimensions of empowerment, Leslie (1999) used the indicators of; ability to access resources, a sense of control in relationship with others, the opportunity for fulfilling friendships, a critical consciousness of subordination in familial and societal settings, an interest in political processes and participation in grassroots organisations.

Referring back to Chapter Three and Table 3.2, the signs of disempowerment at a social level in post-conflict societies included: social isolation, loss of status if injured, disabled or did not fight, hatred of 'others', violent behaviour, breakdown of intimate relationships, loss of family/cultural/social networks, ostracism of rape victims or those that bear a child of rape, cultural restrictions, social pollution, loss of family in cross clan or ethnic marriages, need to help children process trauma and a loss of trust.

In this discussion on the impact of the PDW on relationships, the different types of relationships that people are involved in will be considered; their family, neighbours and colleagues. There are also the more distant community and national relationships which are expressed through attitudes towards strangers, especially those of a different group, either other Rwandese or other nationalities. Each one of these relationships will be considered in the following discussion and if there have been positive changes in relationships then it will be considered that relational empowerment has occurred (J. Taylor, 2000).

### **Building bridges within the family**

There is an impact on the immediate family when someone is not well emotionally. Some of the genocide survivors knew that they had been chosen by the community leaders to participate in the PDW due to their behaviour during the mourning period (Renata and Felicity). Renata mentioned that her neighbours told her she did crazy things but she doesn't know what she did. Her actions were impacting negatively on her children:

*My children have noticed a change in me. They are very surprised. Before they would tell the other children 'ahh Mummy has started again' but now they see me during the mourning period and I am the same person. I am happy and so are they (Renata, Kabuga ADP, 2008).*

Every day relationships between parents and children have also been positively influenced:

*I used not to talk to my children. I would come home and be very rude, I didn't want to talk to anyone. Now my kids are very open with me. They tell me anything they want and I want to sit with them, talk to them and read them stories. We have a happy family (Andrew, Tubehoneza ADP, 2008).*

Daphrose also mentioned about beating her child and how she learnt at the course that this behaviour was not acceptable and has since stopped (Daphrose, Kabuga, 2008).

A number of the participants in the research, only women, had taken in orphans after the genocide. For these mothers it was important for them to share the knowledge they had gained from the training with these children, as many were suffering from trauma and in need of help. Felicity has adopted four children from different families, as well as having four of her own. She talked about the oldest adopted child, now a 17 year old, who during the mourning period would go to her bed and cry. Felicity felt that this girl appeared to be quite disturbed. Since completing the course Felicity shares her notes with all her children, she doesn't give her 17 year-old daughter time to be alone or depressed but talks through how she is feeling with her (Felicity, Kabuga ADP, 2008). Dorosella is taking care of five orphans. The oldest one, a 20 year old, was unable to talk due to the trauma she suffered from watching her parents being burnt to death. Dorosella used the exercise of writing a letter to someone you lost with this girl and since writing her letter the girl is now able to speak and interact socially with other people (Dorosella, Kigali, 2008). In this way, the training has given parents the skills they need to help their children, and spouses the skills to help their partners.

Marriage relationships have also been positively influenced:

*Before the training I used to complain a lot and quarrel with my wife but since I finished the training we have not had any misunderstandings. Now we work together (Andrew, Tubehoneza ADP, 2008).*

Leary also found this:

*Some women say our wives have poisoned us because we are not brutal and harsh with them. Now I come home and can be affectionate with my family and love to be with them (Leary, 2007:14).*

*I don't know about what happened there but when they came back they stopped beating their wife and children. It must be a good thing (Leary, 2007:17).*

### **Building bridges between neighbours**

Obviously the key relationships in Rwanda that needed restoring were between Hutus and Tutsis. For many of the PDW participants this was the first time that they had been in the same room as a person from 'the other side'. Some had not shared a meal or even sat next to a person from the other ethnic group since the genocide. People are living next door to someone that could have killed their loved ones or as they go to the market they meet people that they know killed people in their community. There are still many in Rwanda who have not been charged for, or confessed to, their crimes. The whole fabric of society had been completely destroyed and is underpinned by much mistrust (Kumar et al., 1996; Newbury & Baldwin, 2000; Nyamugasira, Ndogoni, & Nsabiyera, 2000). The PDWs are helping to change such perceptions:

*Before the training I used to think of Hutus as stupid, as very bad people. At the end of the course they asked us to play a game where we had to pick a friend and an ex-prisoner picked me. They told us to hug each other but I was still afraid, I thought "he is going to kill me!" But now I can talk to them and I take them as other people...I can share food with them (Daphrose, Kabuga ADP, 2008).*

*Before the training when I met the ex-prisoners I didn't really like them; I wouldn't consider them as people and I would get angry at them. After the training I was able to forgive them and share different problems with them. I was able to forgive them where as before I didn't really care about them (Noel, Kabuga ADP, 2008).*

The genocide destroyed friendships, within the groups and among people of different groups. However, through the PDW, friendships were restored and people were healed enough to be able to start new friendships:

*The PDW created a strong relationship between people, they became friends, they got to know each other, they now work together. In other words, friendship came back (Alice, Cell Executive Secretary, Kabuga ADP, 2008).*

A huge change in ideology needs to occur for people to be able to see beyond the group that a person belongs to and to value the person as an individual, especially when they have been taught for years that this other group is the enemy. For many, the PDW was able to achieve this:

*With the Hutus I had put them all in the same bracket – the old, women, children – I saw them all as killers. I put them in one basket. After the PDW I opened my brackets, removed the door, and took them out of the*

*basket. I am able to trust people from the other side, with some of them even more than one of my kind (PDW participant, Kigali, 2008).*

One aspect of this comes from an individual's personal empowerment and acceptance of their ethnicity, and acceptance of others. For some Hutus, who were innocent of any atrocity, the fact that they are Hutu brought them shame. For some Tutsi, when faced with a Hutu that is asking for forgiveness, they are unable to forgive. Daphrose believes that Tutsis need to learn how to forgive (Daphrose, Kabuga, 2008).

### **Inspiring community leaders and managers**

The PDW has impacted upon community leaders and WV staff in two key ways. It has given them the tools they need to help community members and it has changed their ideologies enough for them to be able to value all people. Many of the people interviewed held positions of power in the community. A number expressed that before going through the PDW, they just did not know how to help the people who were coming to them for help as they didn't have the skills or training:

*When people used to come to me with a problem and be upset I would tell them to go outside until they have finished crying. Now if someone comes to me and they are crying, I give my full attention to that person and ask them 'what is wrong?', 'how can I help you?' and I give them advice (Dennis, Cell Executive Secretary, Tubehoneza ADP, 2008).*

For the teachers, members of ACT-Rwanda (Association of Committed Teachers), the PDW has had significant capacity building impact. The teachers are finding that the skills they gained are helping them in the schools to be conflict mediators. They also train other teachers in the topics covered by the PDW (Fred, Kigali, 2008).

A few of the WV staff mentioned that they would like their managers to go through this training, believing that it would help the managers care more for their staff (PDW participant, Kigali, 2008). One staff member, who is a manager, mentioned that the PDW taught her to value people, not just the community members that her project works with, but also the staff that report to her. The PDW had helped her to see the person and not just the task, such as building houses or providing school materials (Assumpta, Kigali, 2008). Jacques, another WV staff member, mentioned that the PDW had given him compassion for the genocide survivors. Before completing the course he hadn't really understood their needs.

### **Building bridges with others**

It wasn't only relationships between Hutu and Tutsi that were destroyed in the genocide. For Rwandans who understood the role of the international community in the crisis, specifically the colonisers, a hate of Europeans resulted (Female, Kigali, 2008). None of the participants in the research mentioned the role of the UN, USA or France and their roles in the actual genocide.

For those that were Christians there was the added betrayal of the Christians, specifically Christian leaders, who were committing the atrocities, or aiding the militia in their activities (Longman & Rutagengwa, 2006). This led to a loss of trust in the church, in fellow Christians and in God (Longman & Rutagengwa, 2006; McCullum, 1995).

*I used to go to church before the genocide but then I thought 'these people are churchgoers, Catholics, Protestants, all different types, how could they do this?' So I stopped going to church and prayed at home. When I came back to Rwanda I went to church but inside my heart I did not forgive them. I hated God and many people (PDW participant, Kigali, 2008).*

In summary, this discussion into empowerment in relationships has shown that there has been many ways in which participants of the PDW have been empowered in relationships, both familial and community relationships. In some areas this has come from a change of ideology and for some it has come from their own personal empowerment and emotional healing.

Returning to the four different types of power; power over, power to, power with and power within, discussed in Chapter Two (Rowlands, 1997), this relational empowerment has led to individuals having the ability to resolve conflicts with those close to them and restore broken relationships, functioning as a form of peacebuilding. These results are an indicator that 'power to' and 'power over' has been gained. These results are in keeping with ideas about 'power to' and 'power over' because the power achieved is not one of domination but one that produces positive action to bring about social change. For those in roles of leadership, as parents or in the community, it has given them the tools they need to help their children, their spouses or others. From this capacity building it is clear to see that some participants have also gained 'power to' as a result of the PDW.

### **Collective or community empowerment**

For Rowlands (1997), the third level of empowerment is described as collective or political empowerment where individuals work together in grassroots organisations or political movements to achieve a higher level impact. To measure this collective dimension, Leslie (1999) used indicators such as the ability to access resources, a critical consciousness of subordination in familial and societal settings, an interest in political processes and participation in grassroots organisations.

Community empowerment has been described as when individuals and organisations come together and use their talents and resources to meet the

community's needs (Israel et al., 1994). An empowered community is one where people listen to one another, can see beyond their differences, look at the community's needs and work together to address them together (Wallerstein & Bernstein, 1994).

From the data collected in the field research it seems that collective and community empowerment has occurred in a number of situations. Political empowerment, however, was not found and this is where the design of the project, its goals and activities, as well as the context of the project, are important to consider. The goal of the PDW is not to raise conscientiousness around political subordination or gender equality<sup>55</sup>, but to bring to a divided population together in unity.

The following case study gives an example of collective empowerment from the PDW.

#### **Case Study 1: Empowering community groups**

ARPT Inyeragutabara Association started in 2002 with 20 members (now it has 16 as some have moved from the area). All 20 came from a PDW group that was conducted by WV in Nyamata ADP in 2001. The group consists mainly of nurses and teachers. After completing the PDW these 20 decided to start an association to put into practice what they learnt in the PDW training. The members received additional training from WV on counseling children and group therapy. Now the association runs group therapy sessions for children and trains and counsels children and adults. They receive referrals from WVR and have been lent an office at the local health centre.

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<sup>55</sup> Some writers say that post-conflict is the time to challenge gender inequalities and maintain any wins that have been won during the conflict (Turshen, 2001a; Twagiramariya & Turshen, 1998).

When they started they ran group therapy sessions with 7-13 year olds. They learnt that trauma is not just caused by genocide so they decided to deal with HIV positive people as well, especially children. They also teach adults about bereavement and how to control their emotions using the exercises from the PDW.

Since starting, the association has worked with 260 children, helped 140 community members, especially ex-prisoners through the gacaca<sup>56</sup> process, supported 1591 HIV-positive people and trained 353 people who work with WVR as community monitors of sponsored children. They would like to start training parents to help with children who are at risk of problems due to having a parent that is HIV positive (Field Notes, Nyamata ADP, 2008).

The above case study is an excellent example of community empowerment, where individuals have come together to form an association with the goal of helping their community. Other groups I met are also showing examples of an empowered community where people are caring for one another and working together to address the community's needs. Whilst these groups did not originate out of the PDW, the PDW has had an impact on individuals within these groups.

During the research I also met with Fred from ACT-Rwanda who started the organisation for Christian teachers that now has over 750 members. The organisation trains its teachers using the PDW training materials.

*The PDW helped me to be confident about who I am. I was even able to go out and ask for the registration of ACT-Rwanda. I was afraid of the authorities but when I realised what I am doing is what I have to do then I went and asked courageously. The PDW really helped me to understand*

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<sup>56</sup> Traditional justice system

*this is what I really want to do and to reach out to the other regions in Rwanda. It helped me to be proud of who I am and what I am doing... I really feel that if all teachers were to go through this it would heal Rwandan society. We noticed that teachers that went through PDW are now helping in the society, in the community where they are living. Especially in April when there is trauma, the community has identified them as having skills in counseling and helping others so they ask them when April is near to prepare and come and help (Fred, Kigali, 2008).*

I also met with the Ukuri Kuganze group and a few leaders from AVEGA group. Both these groups had been started by community members and some members have now completed the PDW. The Ukuri Kuganze, in Nyamata ADP, is working to assist genocide survivors by building houses, supporting them financially and donating livestock. AVEGA was initially started to help widows overcome their loneliness. Since starting with 50 members they have grown to 25,000 members, and provide counseling and social support<sup>57</sup>.

It has therefore been shown that participation in the PDW has empowered individuals personally, in their immediate relationships, and the community has been empowered collectively. Later in this chapter Table 6.1 summarises the indicators of empowerment achieved through the PDW.

In Chapter Three, references were made to the relationships between the different types of empowerment: does personal empowerment lead to relational empowerment and then onto collective or political empowerment? The following discussion will review the findings from this perspective.

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<sup>57</sup> During the research the AVEGA representatives said that they are hoping to run a PDW for widows and ex-prisoners.

## **The progression of empowerment**

The discussion above has separated the different levels of empowerment into three distinct categories, however in reality this separation is not so distinct. For example, isolation is an interpersonal reaction that comes from a low sense of self-esteem or self-confidence. A fear of others or lack of trust may also lead to isolation. Additionally as recognised in Chapter Two, empowerment does not follow a linear progression, which suggests that, if one is empowered personally this will lead to relational empowerment and then onto community empowerment, but it is rather a cyclic process (Batliwala, 1994; Oxaal & Baden, 1997; Rowlands, 1997). An individual may chose, consciously or subconsciously, to remain at one level and not move to the next. It is also impossible to measures one person's empowerment against another's. For example, for one person having enough courage to attend the course could be a sign of empowerment and for another attending the course may not be a challenge but actually contributing to discussions and sharing personal information could be a sign of empowerment. Empowerment is a personal journey (Rowlands, 1997). Daphrose (2008) recognised that she was not yet at the stage of forgiving others but she knew that was the next step that she needed to take. Two of the participants said that they had completed the PDW twice. They both found that the first time they were able to address their grief and the second time they learnt skills to help them help others. One man who was severely traumatised had completed the workshop two times and the WV coordinator felt that he still needed a lot of help. For those with serious mental issues, this workshop is not enough (Field Notes, Nyamata ADP, 2008).

Chapter Two located the empowerment approach within the gender and development framework. Chapter Three showed the different gender impacts in both conflict and post-conflict situations. Therefore, it is now important to

consider what evidence there was from the research findings of any gendered impact of the PDW, and whether it is addressing gender issues adequately.

**Gender Impacts**

Chapter Three showed that both men and women suffer during conflict and in the post-conflict situation, however there are differences in the challenges that they face (refer to Table 3.2). When referring to the Rwandan genocide, survivors are men, women and children. In this research 11 survivors were interviewed, five men and six women. There was no significant difference between the impact of the genocide on the survivors interviewed<sup>58</sup>. The following table is based on Table 3.2 and summarises the signs of disempowerment prior to completing the PDW and empowerment after completing the PDW. These attributes were expressed by the men and women survivors when they discussed how the PDW had changed them.

Table 6.1 Disempowerment and empowerment of PDW participants

	Signs of empowerment (+) or disempowerment(-)	
Personal empowerment	For men and women	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ makes plans for the future</li> <li>+ happy</li> <li>+ has courage</li> <li>+ feel released</li> <li>+ calm, not angry</li> </ul>	
	For men only	For women only
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- hot tempered and aggressive</li> <li>- lonely</li> <li>- no hope</li> <li>- desperate</li> <li>- did not feel strong</li> <li>+ has strength</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- overwhelming grief during mourning period</li> <li>- cannot concentrate in class</li> <li>- no peace</li> <li>- crying, sleep all day</li> <li>- thought God does not love me</li> <li>- isolated</li> <li>- unhappy, sad</li> <li>+ relaxed</li> <li>+ sense of solidarity</li> <li>+ feel like a new person</li> <li>+ started small business</li> </ul>

<sup>58</sup> Note that none of the women talked about GBV during their interviews and for ethical reasons their experiences during the genocide where not discussed.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ knows what to do when feeling lonely</li> <li>+ learnt how to solve problems</li> <li>+ has hope for healing and change</li> <li>+ knows God loves her</li> </ul>
Relational Empowerment	For men and women	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- did not talk to others</li> <li>- hated killers, white people and/or God</li> <li>- thought prisoners were not human</li> <li>+ learnt how to live with other people</li> <li>+ seeks help from others</li> <li>+ able to give advice</li> <li>+ happy family</li> <li>+ able to forgive and ask for forgiveness</li> <li>+ talks to others</li> <li>+ social, friendly</li> </ul>	
	For men only	For women only
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- could not forgive</li> <li>- did not know how to help others</li> <li>- could not approach other people</li> <li>- hated people who put him in prison</li> <li>- wanted revenge</li> <li>- reacted badly when annoyed by someone else</li> <li>- fighting</li> <li>- did not care about other people</li> <li>- quarreled with wife</li> <li>+ care for family</li> <li>+ knows how to start a conversation</li> <li>+ sees neighbours as close relatives</li> <li>+ has a love for people</li> <li>+ wants everyone to live</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- isolated</li> <li>- wanted to be quiet</li> <li>- not able to sit with ex-prisoner</li> <li>- not able to drink or share food with enemy</li> <li>- abandoned due to infertility</li> <li>+ tries to counsel husband</li> <li>+ open with others</li> <li>+ able to address problems with others</li> </ul>
Community empowerment	For men and women	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ wants to be a facilitator</li> <li>+ started community help associations</li> </ul>	
	For men only	For women only
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- ex-prisoners do not belong in society</li> <li>+ encourages others to participant in gacaca</li> <li>+ has skills to help others</li> </ul>	
Physical empowerment	For men only	For women only
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- did not know it was ok to cry</li> <li>+ knows it is ok to cry</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- thin</li> <li>+ put on weight</li> </ul>

Source: Author, Format adapted from: Scheyvens, 2002:60; Dombroski, 2005:144

Obviously some of the results recorded under one gender may apply to the other but were just not mentioned during the interviewing. Picking out some of the gender differences it is possible to see that for men anger and aggression were a

response to the disempowerment whereas for women it was expressed more through other trauma symptoms such as overwhelming grief during the mourning period, crying and unable to concentrate. For women there seemed to be more empowering impacts at the personal level. From a relational perspective men seemed to be more disempowered than women.

Interestingly, from the Nyamata evaluation day the most extreme cases of trauma reported were those suffered by men. Post-conflict literature generally focuses on women as suffering the trauma and assumes that the men were combatants (Alison, 2007; Moser & Clark, 2001). It is acknowledged by development agencies that women and children need more psychosocial support after traumatic events (Kayitesi-Blewitt, 2006), however, there is not a lot of discussion on the need for psychosocial support for men, non-combatant and combatant. As noted earlier, men who are given appropriate support, such as through the PDW, can go on to be better husbands, fathers and community members, thus helping to breakdown gender barriers.

The discussion in Chapter Four, describing the context of the Rwandan genocide, showed specific gender aspects of the conflict with the extensive and horrific use of GBV (Bouta et al., 2005; Human Rights Watch, 2004; Kayitesi-Blewitt, 2006). Tutsi women were specifically targeted as a result of the negative propaganda with respect to their beauty and behaviour (Alison, 2007; Weitsman, 2008). Additionally it has been seen in genocide, where the main aim is to exterminate one people group, that the murder or reproductive torture of women is the way to achieve this goal<sup>59</sup> (Coloroso, 2007; Weitsman, 2008). The following quotes give examples of experiences of Tutsi women survivors:

*I was living in Entebbe, Uganda and the bodies were coming down the river. I saw them with sticks poking out of their bodies; women had sticks*

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<sup>59</sup> It should be noted that GBV can cause infertility which has social consequences for the woman involved as shown in Table 6.1.

*stuck in their vaginas. I thought if I was in Rwanda now that would be me, I am a Tutsi (PDW participant, Kigali, 2008).*

One (Tutsi) lady married a Hutu and had 5 children. The husband died and the husband's family abandoned her and the children. Her family said they would accept her back but they would kill the children. So she is all alone. This lady had been gang raped in front of her children and she was so damaged her legs wouldn't go back together, the children had to cover her with blankets. The one brother who was really bad has died so things are a little better with her family but not resolved. WVR has built her a house and she lives there now (Field Notes, Nyamata ADP, 2008).

One way to address the issues of GBV is to talk about it and the impacts of it with the women involved. The testimony above was shared during the evaluation day at Nyamata ADP. The structure of the PDW allows for individuals to share their experiences of the genocide during the small group sharing times<sup>60</sup>. Building a safe environment of trust between all the participants creates an opportunity for women to talk about their experiences of GBV (Byrne, 1995; McKay, 2000). As mentioned earlier, healing comes when there is 'power with' others who have had similar or worse experiences (Byrne, 1995). McKay (2000) notes that storytelling, acknowledgement of harm done and support, all lead to psychosocial healing. She goes on to say:

Because gender-based abuse during armed conflict is often unspeakable and considered shameful, there is likely to be silence within the community venues as well as within institutional systems of justice and reconciliation processes. Thus, recognitions through testimonials of gender-based violence becomes even more important to assure public acknowledgement of the wrongs and increase the potential for achieving gender justice (McKay, 2000:569).

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<sup>60</sup> This could possibly be improved upon even more if the small groups were women only.

When WVR started conducting the PDW in the communities, it focused on genocide survivors (both men and women). It then progressed to running the PDW in the prisons. It is only recently that they have started running combined PDWs where ex-prisoners and genocide survivors participate together. For some of the survivors, this increased the stress of the workshop considerably. However, it also provides them with an opportunity to show those that committed crimes what the impact of the crime was on the victims. For the ex-prisoners this has given them an opportunity to acknowledge their crimes and seek forgiveness, which in turn is aiding their reintegration into the communities. During my discussion with the representatives from AVEGA they mentioned that they would like to conduct the PDW with widows and prisoners (mainly men) in the prisons. Josephine felt this was a true sign of progress in their understanding of the PDW and the benefits it can bring to individuals and communities. Both of the ex-prisoners interviewed had found the PDW very helpful in their reintegration but also very confronting to hear stories from survivors.

*I learnt how to tell the whole truth and I can live on good terms with people now. Before I never talked to anyone now I talk to everyone. I had an accident and a genocide survivor helped me and showed me love. That shows me I have really changed, so much that a survivor would think of helping me. It is a really good thing I have changed (Boniface, Kabuga ADP, 2008).*

*A real challenge to me was that we were invited to come together with other people and sit and listen to what other people experienced. I never thought I would ever sit next to a survivor. I was really challenged to see the way people were talking to me (Martin, Kabuga ADP, 2008).*

One key gendered impact in the post-conflict environment is an increase in domestic violence. It can arise out of men's increased level of violence when

returning from conflict. It can also be a response men give to the sense of emasculation they feel resulting from being unable to protect their women and children, or due to the injuries suffered in the conflict (Bouta et al., 2005; Byrne, 1995; Sideris, 2001).

Leary (2007) indicated that the PDW showed positive impacts in reducing domestic violence and that husbands were noted to treat their wives better after completing the course. With this knowledge, and combined with the understanding of the gendered aspects of the post-conflict phase, I had intended to explore this area in some depth. In my discussions with Didier I asked if he felt that asking directly about domestic violence would be appropriate. He didn't think it was so I tried to obtain any information on changes in domestic relationships during the interview by asking a question such as, "Has your wife (or husband) seen a change in you?" During interviewing I chose not to probe into this area and thus, unfortunately, did not gain enough data to be able to investigate this area in any depth. As mentioned previously, some marital relationships have improved but no-one mentioned domestic abuse except for Daphrose who had been beating her daughter.

Highlighted in the second quote above is another gendered aspect of the genocide and that is the challenge of intermarriage. As mentioned in Chapter Four, women who have husbands in prison have an added economic burden, as well as potential social stigmatisation (Newbury & Baldwin, 2000). These quotes show the additional pressure of stigmatisation from their own children. The role of the PDW has been to support these women through this difficult situation through the processing of their emotions and techniques to handle emotions as well as providing a new supportive social network.

One Tutsi lady has a Hutu husband in prison. Some of her children have turned against her and threatened to kill her. One of her children supports

her. Another child says that she should be the one in prison (Field Notes, Nyamata ADP, 2008).

One (Tutsi) lady has four children, they blame her for marrying a Hutu. She loves them but they don't understand and get annoyed at her. Now she doesn't respond if they say anything bad to her (Field Notes, Nyamata ADP, 2008).

An additional benefit from the PDW is that it has helped people with other challenges, such as infertility as shown in Table 6.1. In many African cultures great pressure is put on women to have children. Children are a status symbol and closely tied to women's identities. A woman's infertility can be grounds for divorce, or for the husband to marry again (Mbizvo & Bassett, 1996). Thus for women, infertility is a very stressful situation:

*Before the training I really used to feel very bad. I have been married for years and have not had any children yet. I felt really desperate; my husband's family abandoned me because I had no children. At school I could not work hard but now after the training I started to understand that these things happen and you know you can work hard. I started thinking about how I can work hard. Now I am friendly, I work hard at school and I really think about the future (Yolande, Tubehoneza ADP, 2008).*

One woman lost everyone. She is married and hasn't had a baby in 14 years. Her husband is a cleaner at the hospital; she would sleep outside the hospital while he worked and say 'Why is God doing this to me?' (Field Notes, Nyamata ADP, 2008).

Another quite different gender issue addressed by the PDW is the matter of men being able to express their emotions. Earlier in this chapter a quote from Felix (2008) showed that he did not know that it was acceptable to cry and that crying

in fact was a positive expression of emotions. In Rwandan culture, men are not expected to cry and the use of proverbs and nonverbal gestures helps distance a man from his emotions and enable him to maintain self-control. The proverb “the tears of a man flow within” emphasises the need for inner strength (Bagilishya, 2000). In the PDW the second module teaches men how to handle their emotions including the healthy expression of emotions such as sadness, grief and anger. Table 6.1 showed some positive impacts of this teaching as the men had recorded that they were angry and wanted revenge prior to completing the PDW.

### **Summary**

Table 3.2 in Chapter Three showed clearly how disempowering the post-conflict situation is. Chapter Five described the atrocities of the Rwanda genocide and clearly conveyed the enormity and extent of the psychosocial needs of people in the Rwanda context. This chapter has used the findings gathered from the research into the PDW, and the two evaluation reports on the PDW, to show that this example of a psychosocial intervention has been able to be used to empower people. Participants in the PDW have been empowered at the personal level through personal development, building of self-confidence and processing their grief and trauma. Empowerment at the relational level has occurred as relationships within families and between neighbours have been built or restored. Community leaders and WV managers have acquired skills they need to help community members. Community or collective empowerment has occurred as community members have been inspired and equipped to work together to help others. These findings were summarised in Table 6.1.

Whilst not a gender focused project, the PDW is addressing some of gender issues in the post-conflict environment, specifically allowing women a voice to talk about any GBV they suffered during the conflict and helping men to express their emotions in a healthy way, thus reducing the occurrence of domestic violence. Other gender challenges of intermarriage and infertility are also being

assisted through the PDW. Following in the gender and development framework of masculinities, the fact that PDWs are not gender specific allows for both men and women to understand the gender issues of conflict and the post-conflict phase (Ninnes, 2005). They may however be some advantages in allowing the women more opportunity to process their experiences of GBV through gender segregated small groups or even running separate PDWs for men and women.

The next chapter will reflect on the PDW as a psychosocial intervention for post-conflict situations and finish the thesis with conclusions and recommendations.



## **Chapter Seven: Conclusion and Recommendations**

*“The PDW is an energiser, it lifts you from down and puts you up. After the PDW you are able to live” (PDW participant, Kigali, 2008)*

The three key themes of this thesis have been; empowerment, post-conflict development and gender. This chapter concludes the thesis. A brief overview of the thesis will be given showing the key themes that have been identified throughout the research. A discussion follows on the strengths and weaknesses of the PDW, from the participants' perspectives as well as the researcher's. The conclusions reached as a result of this research are then discussed and the thesis ends with recommendations for both researchers and practitioners.

### **Summary of the thesis**

Chapter One introduced the study outlining the main research aim: to assess whether the participants of the PDW have been empowered and what type of empowerment had been achieved. The research approach and general methodology were explained.

In Chapter Two the development of the empowerment concept under the gender and development framework was explored. Power is the root of empowerment with the four key types of power being; power over, power to, power with and power within. Both power and empowerment were found to vary in definition and dimension depending on context and time.

A number of alternative levels of empowerment were presented. Rowlands (1997) proposed three dimensions of empowerment:

- Personal – developing a sense of self and individual confidence.
- Relational – developing the ability to negotiate and influence a relationship and decisions made within it.

- Collective – individuals working together to achieve greater impact e.g. grassroots organisations, political movements.

Wallerstein & Bernstein (1994) and Israel et al. (1994) added a dimension of community empowerment from a community psychology perspective. Community empowerment focuses on individuals and the change that occurs in an empowered community when people listen to one another, identify their commonalities, discuss new ways to look at common problems and the needs within the community (Israel et al., 1994; Wallerstein & Bernstein, 1994).

Empowerment is an outcome as well as a process. A process which is a spiral and not cyclical as awareness is raised, areas are targeted for change and strategies are implemented which leads to a new level of awareness, new areas to be targeted and new strategies. In this way, the empowerment spiral impacts all that are involved: the individual, the group, the community and the external agent, such as a development organisation (Battiwala, 1994; Oxaal & Baden, 1997; Rowlands, 1997). Therefore, empowerment is seen as a transformative process for the individual involved and for those around them with no particular beginning or end (McWhirter, 1991).

Chapter Three discussed the complexities of conflict and the post-conflict situation with a special focus on the different roles both men and women play in both situations. Particular attention was paid to the psychosocial needs of both men and women during the post-conflict phase. The chapter concluded with a framework in Table 3.2 that showed the gendered comparison of empowerment and disempowerment in the post-conflict situation.

Chapter Four described the research methodology and the practicalities of the research process. The context of Rwanda, the history and the factors that led up to the genocide were discussed in Chapter Five.

The work of WVR was introduced in Chapter Six and the case study, the PDW, was explained in full. The findings of the research were discussed and showed that three levels of empowerment; personal, relational and community, were achieved through the PDW. The way that the PDW is addressing the gender impacts of the genocide was also discussed.

### **Reflections on the PDW**

As mentioned earlier, the PDW is one intervention of many that WVR uses in healing and reconciliation work. Additionally, WV is one of many organisations addressing this issue in Rwanda today. The scope of this research did not go into comparing other methods used by WVR or other organisations. However, an opportunity to compare specifically the two day bible-based workshop African Evangelical Enterprise (AEE) course did arise. Fred, chairman of ACT-Rwanda, had conducted research on different reconciliation workshops before choosing the PDW for the teachers he works with.

*I chose the PDW because it digs up the past and then it helps you to understand the past and then it helps to understand the causes of what happened. Then it helps you to understand who you are and accept who you are and then it helps you to do what you are doing joyfully. I looked into the AEE training which is more Christian. I looked at it but I wasn't convinced. I prefer the PDW because of the way it is structured: it gives people time to process and when I was comparing with the others - the other one - just a short time, two days, is not enough time to process and value each individual. The Christian one suppresses the emotions with scriptures but this one, the PDW, it accepts your feelings. You speak out what you are feeling and it gives you time (Fred, Kigali, 2008).*

In the focus group with Nyamata group some of the participants had completed the AEE course and not the PDW and one had completed both. I asked them to

compare the two programmes. The feedback given was that the benefit of the PDW was the time allowed. They felt the AEE course was very beneficial but too short; two days was enough time to start to understand the content but more processing time was needed.

*I did both trainings. The PDW is stronger than the other because the PDW is in sessions and each session is a different topic so they really help you and change you more than the two day training. I managed to learn a lot. I am happy because people are now united and talking to each other, something they really got from the training (Celestin, Nyamata ADP, 2008).*

I asked Donavine, the PDW facilitator at Nyamata ADP, what she sees as the strengths of the PDW;

*People don't normally want to face reality. The PDW helps people go deeper and many find terrible things. They don't want to face their lives. The PDW changes people. Now they are opening their homes to Hutus, and sharing their lives together (Donavine, Nyamata ADP, 2008).*

One comment that a number of the participants made was the value of the notes they were given during the course. They found that they were able to refer back to these during difficult times and also use them when telling others about what they had learnt.

*The trainings were good. I got notes from the training which help me daily. I liked the training and I use my notes (Dieudonne, Kabgua ADP, 2008).*

*My children are young but the adopted children, the first two, have problems. I think they are traumatised so we are always sharing together*

*what I heard in the training. I show them the notes and we discuss everything (Felicity, Kabuga ADP, 2008).*

As shown in Table 6.1 the PDW also addressed other issues that people in Rwanda face, such as infertility<sup>61</sup>. Others interviewees commented that the PDW helped many types of people, not just genocide survivors, but those living in poverty, Tutsis from other countries and children who are orphaned by the genocide or HIV and AIDS as well (Field Notes, 2008).

When asked if there are any weaknesses in the PDW, the majority response was that there was no weaknesses, however, suggestions and requests were made:

*I would suggest everyone in our association do the PDW... some people just come to the training they hear about forgiveness and they just forgive but they don't really get a lot from the training and it would be better if they had another time again; a second time doing the course...would be better if couples went for the training...the only weakness is that the time is not enough. They would wish for more days because there is a lot to learn...I would prefer each session a bit longer (Ukuri Kuganze Association members, Nyamata ADP, 2008).*

Dieudonne commented that he felt the training sessions should be all together and not separated by the month break as he felt people forgot what they learnt during that time. He had also studied psychology at university so for him attending the PDW was more about capacity building than personal change. It did change his thinking on the gacaca (traditional courts) though (Dieudonne, Kabgwa ADP, 2008)<sup>62</sup>.

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<sup>61</sup> It is not known whether the specific woman who mentioned infertility was suffering from it as a result of GBV experienced during the genocide or whether it was a condition she had.

<sup>62</sup> This was the one interview that did not go so well

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the PDW is not designed to assist those with serious mental issues resulting from trauma and the case of the young man at Nyamata ADP would likely be one that needs a higher level of intervention than the PDW is designed to supply<sup>63</sup>. This is not considered a weakness as it was not the goal of the PDW, however, one of the many challenges experienced in the developing countries, and especially post-conflict countries, is the need to provide quality professional mental health care (Jansen, 2006).

Chapter Three noted that gender issues often arise in conflict and post-conflict environments. It is therefore pertinent to ask: Is the format of the PDW gender sensitive? As discussed in the previous chapter, the PDW is run with both male and female participants and now with survivors and ex-prisoners together. It was not designed with any specific gender consideration being taken into account and the purpose of the PDW is not to address any gender issues, specifically the subordination of women. However, the PDW structure allows a safe place to be created for women to share their genocide challenges, including those of GBV, intermarriage and infertility. This could possibly be improved upon by having single sex small groups, instead of the mixed groups as it is currently run. Another option is to have single sex workshops however the benefits of survivors meeting with ex-prisoners and the positive gender impacts from the mixed groups would then be lost. The module on dealing with emotions and feelings allows men to learn about expressing their emotions thus allowing them to process their own grief as well as potentially reducing the incidence of domestic violence and improving marital relationships.

Is the format culturally appropriate? As mentioned in Chapter Four, the PDW was designed by a Rwandan specifically for the genocide survivors, based on psychosocial work with Holocaust survivors. One comment made by John Steward, who helped with the initial implementation of the PDW for WVR, was

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<sup>63</sup> There are services available for people such as the counseling service run by ARPT Inyeragutabara Association at Nyamata hospital and the main hospital in Kigali is able to treat mental illness.

that they were told Rwandans do not like small group situations and the basis of the testimony time in the PDW is using small groups (Personal Communication). I only asked one person specifically about the small group structures and her response was positive. In the questioning on the weaknesses of the PDW, none mentioned the small group structure:

*I liked the small groups because I was able to talk with the other people about what happened to me and what gave me courage was sharing my problems. I realised that they had worse problems so this made me feel strong (Yolande, Tubehoneza ADP, 2008).*

In Chapter Three, reference was made to the need for considering spirituality in development interventions, especially in the post-conflict phase. Traditional belief systems about spirits of the dead, especially those that were killed tragically, may need to be addressed in psychosocial interventions (Honwana, 2006). Traditional Rwandese believe that the spirit of a dead person will torment them. Therefore, to keep these ancestral spirits under control, they will identify themselves with a small group of controlling spirits. At the time of the genocide, many practising Catholics were also practicing traditional beliefs and were influenced enormously by the fear of these controlling spirits (Guillebaud, 2002).

The PDW is based on the Christian principles of forgiveness and reconciliation and WVR, as a Christian organisation, employs staff with Christian values. Each day of the course starts with a prayer. This could be a barrier to some community members participating in the PDW due to negative experiences with Christians or Christianity. It also raises the question whether traditional beliefs are being addressed through the PDW, and for that matter, in any of the interventions that WVR conducts. A few of the participants mentioned an improved relationship with God after the PDW. No one mentioned anything about ancestral spirits nor was the question asked during this research. The question though, of what impact these traditional beliefs are having in the trauma of the survivors and ex-

prisoners, is one to consider. During the Nyamata ADP evaluation day when the facilitator was telling us about the young man hallucinating, I asked if she thought there was any spiritual component to his distress and she was adamant that it was a result of trauma only. She did say that some people had wanted to pray for him at the time but that had been disallowed. I later questioned Josephine on this issue and her response was that the trauma they see in the participants results from their painful experiences, and in her time of working with this area, she has not seen anyone haunted by ancestral spirits.

### **Conclusions of the Research**

There are three main conclusions drawn from this research in answer to the research questions; Have participants of the Personal Development Workshop been empowered? If so, in what way?; What level of empowerment has been achieved, for example, personal, empowerment within relationships, collective empowerment?; What have the impacts of this empowerment been to the individual, family and community? And finally, does the PDW, as currently structured, adequately address gender issues?

Firstly, the findings from the field research in Chapter Six show that the participants of the PDW have been empowered at personal, relational and community levels. Returning to Table 2.1 in Chapter Two and linking the empowerment results to the different types of power also discussed in that chapter, it is possible to see that 'power within' is being addressed as the PDW works on increasing self-esteem, confidence building and personal development. At the relational empowerment level, the 'power to' impact relationships and assist others has been achieved as the PDW provides capacity building as well as peace-building skills. Additionally at the community empowerment level, community members have formed groups to assist others, showing that 'power with' has again been achieved through the capacity building aspect of the PDW. Thus the PDW, used as a psychosocial intervention in post-conflict Rwanda, is

contributing to personal development, capacity building and peacebuilding and in this way it is a very useful tool for WV to be implementing.

Secondly, some of the gendered impacts of the genocide have been addressed through the PDW. It was shown in Chapter Three that both men and women suffer during conflict and in the post-conflict situation. Table 3.2 highlighted the disempowering impact of the post-conflict phase on the different sexes and Table 6.1 showed the specific empowering effect of the PDW on participants. Whilst this research did not investigate the gender component fully, it did highlight that the PDW is having positive impacts on marital relationships through assisting both men and women to process their grief and trauma. It is also providing the support to women that experienced GBV, are in cross-clan marriages as well as those suffering from non genocide related but gender issues such as infertility. It is also addressing the issues for men on how to express their emotions, such as anger and grief, in a healthy way.

Thirdly, the empowerment framework applied to post-conflict development provides valuable information for assessing the impact of psychosocial interventions. By measuring trauma levels, previous evaluations of the PDW have used an individualistic (Western) model of evaluation (Leary, 2007; Robertson & Hajiannis, 1999). However, as mentioned in Chapter Three, in contexts such as Rwanda the individual exists in relation to others and some of the most traumatic impacts of war are those that impact on relationships within the family, neighbourhood and society as a whole (Turshen, 2007; Wessells, 2006). By measuring the impacts of the PDW at personal, relational and community levels, this research has shown that empowerment, and healing, has been achieved.

## **Recommendations**

There are three sets of recommendations from this research; firstly for WV, secondly for development practitioners, and thirdly for researchers.

### **Recommendations for World Vision**

Whilst the aim of this thesis was to investigate academically the levels of empowerment achieved through the PDW, the approach has also been a pragmatic one and it would therefore be remiss of the researcher not to include feedback for World Vision.

Firstly, to answer the questions raised by a WV colleague from Australia, 'should WV continue to fund this project, it is expensive and only individuals benefit?' the answer would be 'yes'. While the costs of this type of intervention can seem high the impacts are far-reaching. When working in a post-conflict situation, it can be difficult to source funding for addressing the intangible and difficult areas of justice, peace and reconciliation, as opposed to needs such as emergency food aid and housing. Following an emergency response it is vital to deal with the underlying issues causing such an event but this requires time and money (McCullum, 1995). In many cases, capacity building projects can seem to be too expensive for the results they achieve and there is more recognition, and more funding streams available, for projects that build infrastructure or are able to assist a large number of people (Kayitesi-Blewitt, 2006).

The PDW costs approximately \$320 for one person to attend the course. The benefit of using the empowerment approach to investigate the PDW in this research has been that the results discussed in Chapter Six show that not only the individual that completed the course, but also their family, neighbours and the community as a whole, have benefited from the course. For example, Andrew believed he had already helped 50 people since completing the course (Andrew,

Tubehoneza ADP, 2008). Additionally, some community-based organisations have been established as a result of the project and are now working with hundreds of survivors. The multiplier impacts of the project are long-lasting.

Secondly, 'how much healing does a country need, can't it just be functionally dysfunctional?' This research has shown that the PDW is still needed today and that the levels of trauma still existing in the communities warrant this type of intervention, from a humanitarian perspective. Additionally, from a development perspective, people completing a PDW are in a better position to help their families start a business and participate in community development activities. The examples given from Nyamata ADP in Chapter Five showed the level of trauma that was still present within the communities 14 years on from the genocide. The general comment was made that the participants from Kabuga ADP, which has just begun and so had only completed one PDW at the time of the research, showed a higher level of trauma than other communities. It was not the scope of the thesis to explore this further but it does raise the question of whether, because it has been so long, only the most severe cases of trauma are now evident. However results, from Nyamata ADP, that has been conducting PDWs since 1999, show that there are still people in the community that need psychosocial support.

*The strength of the training is that their hearts are now healed. Before they were wounded because of what happened to them. They think the training came at the right time. They have changed a lot and they feel they are now different (Celestin, Nyamata ADP, 2008).*

Another sign of the success of the PDW was the fact that participants were often keen to see others close to them have the opportunity to do the course. During focus groups, the evaluation day and some of the interviews a number of participants said they would like their spouses to complete the course. For some,

completing the training together was preferred, others did not mind separately, as long as it happened.

*They had planned for the spouses to go through the course because it is difficult, they need the same understanding. If one person goes through and not the other, it is like they are on parallel paths and I try to bring my husband to my side (PDW participant, Kigali, 2008).*

The staff at WV mentioned they would like their managers to complete the course, feeling that they would manage better and value people more if they had the PDW experience<sup>64</sup>. This is interesting as it shows the value the staff place in the PDW and highlights again the use of the PDW for capacity building, this time for managers.

Thirdly, the impacts of the PDW are sustainable and the teaching foundational for the individuals involved. Both Onesphore and Faustin completed the PDW in 1997:

*My life changed after the training and people I wasn't expecting to be able to talk, to be friends with, I can be. I feel relaxed, I am now a free man. I now feel released inside me and I can be friendly to people (Onesphore, Kigali, 2008).*

*The PDW will help me the rest of my life, it helps me with my daily needs and also when I have problems to deal with (Faustin, Kigali, 2008).*

Assumpta completed her PDW in 2003.

*The strength of the PDW is that it is foundational for a person's development because everything that we do starts in the head. It starts*

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<sup>64</sup> Since 2005 WVR has not run the PDW for its own staff.

*with the person, what you think about and what you want to achieve. It will help this person value the achievements he or she has reached. The PDW deals with the psychosocial part of a person and that is at the beginning of everything that we do (Assumpta, Kigali, 2008).*

Additionally the PDW has managed to change people's ideologies, specifically in how they view 'others'. This is a crucial point in peacebuilding and conflict prevention in Rwanda. Amazingly, the genocide ideology continues today in Rwanda. WV reported to me that graffiti saying "Kill the Tutsis" is appearing in schools. Fred from ACT-Rwanda saw the importance of working with the teachers in Rwanda to address these issues with truth at school, with the hope that they would be able to influence the children's thinking, and they in turn would influence their families. NGOs recognised that it would take years of healing with the enormity of the crimes committed and the huge number of traumatised survivors (McCullum, 1995). McCullum (1995) also reported that UNICEF were concerned that:

an entire generation of deeply disturbed youngsters will grow up with little understanding of the emotional and physical violence done to them, and will themselves become antisocial and violent as they grow older, forcing the ills of the past on an already emotionally overwrought society (McCullum, 1995:60).

A PDW participant concurs:

*It is a challenge to raise children in this society, they hear things at school and you try to teach them the history but not the negativity against the other side (PDW participant, Kigali, 2008).*

Fourthly, there is potential for the PDW to be used in other contexts. Whilst designed to help survivors of the genocide, the course material of the PDW is not

specific to only genocide survivors. Jacques was not a genocide survivor but the PDW gave him compassion to work with genocide survivors and also helped him process the murder of his brother and the desire for revenge that he was experiencing (Jacques, Kabuga ADP, 2008):

*I had a young brother, he was in the army when he died and I knew the people who had killed him. They poisoned him, they gave him something to eat and it killed him. I always felt like I wanted to revenge those people, I wanted to kill them and I didn't really feel like forgiving them. I used to have nightmares about killing those people so the PDW helped me to learn how to forgive. I was able to forgive those people who killed my brother and the nightmares have stopped (Jacques, Kabuga ADP, 2008).*

Additionally, the impacts of the genocide reached beyond the borders of Rwanda:

*I was living in Entebbe, Uganda and the bodies were coming down the river... The PDW should not just be for genocide survivors – I needed it and I wasn't one (PDW participant, Kigali, 2008).*

During a visit to Uganda in 2007 one of the WV staff there mentioned that he had been living in southern Uganda at the time of the genocide. Their job was to pull the decaying bodies out of the river and bury them. One of the staff that was there with him at the time has never recovered (personal communication). This probably shows more the need for trauma counseling for those involved in the emergency relief situation than for the PDW but it does highlight the extent of the impacts of the genocide.

Tutsis that had left Rwanda in 1959, and onwards, carried with them a hatred for the Hutus, which was installed in their children. Chantal was raised in Uganda and returned to Rwanda as a child. She realised during this research that she

had an inbuilt hatred for Hutus and felt the need to complete the PDW for herself (Field notes, Nyamata ADP, 2008). Others, who had returned to Rwanda as part of the old caseload, also brought hatred with them:

*One experience I had was with someone who wasn't even in the country who was a refugee in Uganda for several years. Since 1959 he was holding all the experiences they passed through in that time and then he was healed last year when he went through PDW (Fred, Kigali, 2008).*

There is also potential, therefore, for the PDW to be used as an intervention in any post-conflict situation as long as it is contextualised and trialed in that particular context by experienced facilitators. While the PDW was designed for the Rwandan context using Western methods and is successful in that context, it cannot be assumed that it will be useful elsewhere. As the earlier point shows, 14 years after the conflict psychosocial assistance is still necessary. This would suggest that this type of intervention could be effective in countries such as Timor-Leste, Solomon Islands, Bosnia, Kosovo, and others, to complement other development interventions being implemented.

### **Recommendations for development practitioners**

The PDW is one intervention used by one agency in a very specific context, however, this research highlights some general recommendations for development practitioners.

Firstly, long-term psychosocial impacts need to be considered in post-conflict development (Kumar et al., 1996; Sorenson, 1998). As discussed in the section above, this research has shown there are many people still suffering from trauma 14 years after the genocide. Requests from the participants for community leaders, managers and individuals (spouses) to do the PDW show there is still a felt need in the community for this type of intervention. Nyamugsira et al. (2000)

found that completing the PDW can cause a strain in relationships if only one spouse completes the course.

This research has shown that through this type of intervention, individuals have gained a sense of hope for the future. This is important to have when trying to build the capacity of communities and teach new skills. If people have no sense of hope then they will not participate in the activities which development agencies are attempting to introduce. This was shown in the way the community leaders chose those members who weren't contributing to the community to do the PDW<sup>65</sup>. It was also shown in the way individuals place importance on education for their children and themselves. Additionally, in the post-conflict phase it is important to create new communities, those without the divides that caused the conflict and ones where all members are able to work alongside each other and appreciate one another.

Secondly, it is important to consider the psychosocial needs of women and men, as well as children, in post-conflict development. Agencies need to look beyond the stereotypes and just considering reintegration of ex-combatants for men, but to also consider the trauma of men that were injured, lost family members and witnessed atrocities and assist these men with psychosocial support for as long as it is needed.

Thirdly, psychosocial interventions need to consider the culture and spirituality of the communities being worked with as well as incorporating best practice from other cultures (Dansie, 2007; Dyregrov et al., 2002).

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<sup>65</sup> In the discussions with the community leaders they had two main criteria for selecting community members to participate in the PDW; those who were traumatised during the mourning period and those who were not attending community meetings or participating in community activities (Field Notes, 2008).

### **Recommendations for further research**

Whilst this thesis has been able to answer the key questions that were asked, there were some other topics that have been raised as a result of this research which warrant further investigation.

Firstly, the gendered impacts of PDW could be explored further. Chapter Three has shown in detail that there are gendered impacts in the post-conflict phase arising partly out of experiences during the conflict. This thesis attempted to look at some of these in respect to the PDW, however, for a complete understanding it would need to be the key research question. Due to the sensitive nature of the question as well, it is envisaged that this would require the researcher to spend more time in the communities to build up relationships with the PDW participants and community members and thus would be more suited to a doctoral thesis.

Secondly, it would be valuable to research the impact of traditional belief systems on trauma symptoms. Again this topic is sensitive and requires good relationships within the community. Honwana (2006) has conducted indepth research on this area concentrating on children in Mozambique and Angola. However, there is room for further research from different contexts in order to increase development practioners understanding in this area.

### **Final Statement/Concluding Comments**

In conclusion, this thesis has shown that participants of the PDW were empowered at personal, relational and community levels. At a personal level the participants have developed to overcome isolation, expressed their grief, dealt with trauma, gained a sense of hope for the future and grown in self-confidence. At a relational level there have been positive impacts with bridges built within families and between neighbours. Community leaders and WV managers have been inspired and given skills to help community members. Relationships with the international community have been rebuilt and spirituality has also been restored. At a community level community members have been inspired and equipped to work together to help others.

The research has highlighted the need for development practitioners to consider the psychosocial needs of post-conflict communities for many years after a conflict has ended and has emphasised the need to target men, rather than only focusing women and children, in these interventions. It has shown the value of taking an empowerment approach, which looks beyond the level of trauma of the individual, to consider the impacts of a development intervention at the family and community levels.

## **Appendices**

### **Appendix One**

#### **Participant Information Sheet**

My name is Anna Parsons and I am a Masters of Development Studies student at Massey University in Palmerston North, New Zealand. As part of my university studies I am conducting research on the Personal Development Workshop run by World Vision Rwanda.

I would like to invite you as someone who has completed the workshop to participate in an interview which will take about 45 minutes. I will ask you to talk about the way the workshop has impacted your life

I understand that as part of the workshop you have agreed to 'rules of protection'. I respect these rules and will not be asking you any questions which ask you to discuss either your own or anyone else's experiences in 1994. I will only be asking you questions on the workshop that you did with World Vision. If at any time you feel uncomfortable or unhappy about any question you are welcome to say you do not want to answer that question. All the information you give will be kept confidential and will only be seen to by myself, my research assistant here and my university supervisor. Any recordings taken will only be listened to by myself and the research assistant. You are welcome to choose a different name from your own to identify the information you have given me.

When I finish my research the results will be published in a thesis which will be kept in the Massey University library in New Zealand and a summary of the results will be sent to the WV office here in the ADP and available to you if you are interested. The research may also be published in academic or professional journals and/or presented at academic or professional conferences as the opportunity arises.

I hope this process has answered all your questions.



## Appendix Two

# *Research on the Personal Development Workshop*

## PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

This consent form will be held for a period of five (5) years

I have been read / read the Information Sheet and understand the purpose of this research project.

I consent to my name being used when my comments or opinions are used in this research.

Or

I request my name to be omitted and a pseudonym to be used if my comments or opinions are included in this research.

I agree/do not agree to the interview being audio taped.

I understand that any notes and tapes from interviews will be destroyed at the end of the research process.

I understand that the information I share may be included in a thesis and may be used for publication in academic or professional journals, and for presentation at academic or professional conferences.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

**Signature:**

**Date:**

**Full Name - printed**

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