

Being a child born from rape during the genocide against Tutsi: A duality within the Needs-Based Model.

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ABSTRACT : Rape of women is one of the common human rights violations that occur during war and genocide. Some of these women become pregnant and subsequently give birth to the children. The children born from rape constitute a challenge to post-war/genocide recovery processes. They belong at the same time to a victim of rape, the mother ; and to the perpetrator, the father. The present article focuses on children born from rape during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda. We explore the needs and identity threats these children face, using the Needs Based Model, and the way these needs are translated into different behaviours. This article is based upon a study that included indirect interviews conducted with women who had been raped during the genocide. The findings are not totally consistent with the Need Based Model of the intergroup reconciliation approach in dual context. The morality-related needs are over the superiority of agency-related needs. Regarding duals' behavior, the heightened needs for positive moral image are translated into prosocial behavior, compassion, fleeing the environment which knows them; and desidentification. The heightened needs for agency are translated into anti-social behaviours such as aggressivity, drug abuse and competitive victimhood.

KEY WORDS-Children born from rape, Needs Based Model, prosocial and anti-social behaviour

I. INTRODUCTION

During war or genocide, the systematic rape was committed with the express purpose of torturing, destroying, creating widespread fear and demoralization, deliberately subverting community relations, degrading and humiliating targeted groups [1]; [2]. Women's rape in wartime is not a new phenomenon and its regularity has increased in the 20th century, transcending countries and contexts [3].

In patriarchal societies the identity of a woman never really stands alone. A value and position of woman is determined by her relationship with her brothers, her father, her husband, and her sons. A woman's identity is always related to her sexual relations with men, whether coercive or consensual. In such societies, if a woman is single, her virgin status determines her value (Williams, 1999) cited by [3]. Once raped, society no longer considers her as a person who can get married or socially viable; in addition, she faces stigma, exclusion, and economic insecurity ([4]; [5];[6]). In some societies, raped women are excluded and often sent for becoming martyrs (Williams (1999) cited by [3].

These conceptions play a big role in the politics of gang rape whereby rape is used as weapon for separating families [3]. Indeed, the impact of rape is more complex when the women become pregnant. In these situations, the attack has an intergeneration effect. Children born from rape constitute a challenge for the country, the community and their mother who has to raise the child ([7]; [6]). These children are conceived, raised in unusual circumstances that expose them to a range of unique psychosocial problems [8].

The mother who brought to term the children born from rape are suffering, both physically and psychologically [9]. And their children are exposed to the risk of poor parent-child relationships ([10]; [11];[12]). Children born of rape are considered at risk of child abuse or neglect, stigma, abandonment, and even infanticide [13]. Children's status as "war babies" may foster direct and indirect forms of violence by individuals, families and communities [13].

[10] state that if parents, and more specifically mothers, are exposed to organized violence, their parental functioning and family dynamics may be negatively affected, with a lasting adverse impact on children. However, Brison (2002) argues that the children born from rape can also constitute a reason to live for their mother through motherhood and allow her to reestablish feelings of happiness and trust, to find meaning in a life after sexual assault.

Some babies are considered by their mothers, who survived genocide and were raped, as a life-saver, a gift from God, or as a new family that replaces the one lost during the wartime ([14];[7]).

The children born from rape face also the problem related to their identity. Their mothers face difficult decision about whether to disclose the identity of their fathers to them or ignore their rapers' identity. The problem of legal citizenship and ethnic identities of the children born from rape has been raised, particularly in the families and communities that refuse to accept them and to acknowledge their heritage [15]. In addition, findings from research conducted by ([16]and [17] documented the serious identity issues, racial, ideological and moral prejudice faced by the children of Soviet occupation troops. The present article focuses on the identity issues of the children born from rape.

II. UNDESTANDING OF IDENTITY AMONG CHILDREN BORN IN THE AFTERMATH OF RAPE

During wartime or genocide, the issue of identity becomes highlighted and constitutes the core element of conflict. In the threat condition, a sense of identity of each group is heightened, the cohesion between members are reinforced and their identity become salient and validated (Coser, 1956) cited by [3]. The discourse and sentiments which derive from this cohesion and desintegration provide an extremely important way of constructing and manipulating sentiments. Each group will construct his enemies, his ethnicity, race, citizenship, religion, and all these become tools of exclusion [3]. These manipulated sentiments could be experienced in different ways and the children born from rape during wartime, who belong at the same time to a mother victim of rape and a father who is perpetrator of this rape, constitute one of these ways as described below.

The children born from rape are born in the uncommon circumstances with undetermined status and their families and society typically don't separate them from the circumstances of their conception [3]. As the identity turns essentially around dissimilarities and are understood only through contrast, babies born from rape during the war become a prism for these differences.

Instead, once born, the identity of these babies is totally associated with the mother's rapists. Even if the child never encounters the father ([18]; 19) or the father's identity is unidentified, which is frequently the case given the collective rape and the context of the rape [20]in patriarchal societies, the child's identity is linked to the father. The only factors that matter in the perception of these children are the ethnic identity of the father and the shame related to their conception. Thus, they are viewed as objects of shame and humiliation ([21];[22] ; [23]). They are ascribed the perpetrator's identity [13] and are named as observed in the different contexts, in ways that illegitimize and dehumanize them.

The children born of rape in Bosnia are known as "a generation of children of hate". In Kosovo, they are called the "children of shame." Russian brat' in German, 'children of shame' in East Timor, 'monster babies' in Nicaragua. In the context of the Vietnam war, they were known as "children of the dust", in Sudan in Darfur children born to ethnic Africans are "janjaweed," or "devils on horseback"[8]. The hostility, stereotypes and stigma faced by the children born from rape in their communities have been underscored in other research. The findings from the interviews conducted with children born from rape of Bosnian women showed that all participants had experienced continued hostility from their relatives and community members and have suffered from internalized guilt within the home, making life difficult. In interviews with adolescents born from rape, a majority perceived themselves as scapegoats or 'the enemy to all'[18].

Despite the perpetrator's identity ascribed to the children born from rape, existing literature emphasizes the silence surrounding these children, possibly due to the complexity of characterising the victimisation of children born of rape. The children born from rape are generally not perceived as victims like raped women. Rape is depicted as a crime against, not both the child and mother, but the mother only [13]. According to [19], it is important to consider the child born of rape as a secondary victim, through the mother's victimisation. Children born from rape are indirectly victims of war crimes. After birth, they are exposed to infanticide, poor parenting, and discrimination [24].

We have seen much existing literature focused only on the perpetrator's status ascribed to the children born from rape by the community. Regarding the victim status, some researchers emphasize the fact that the children born from rape are not considered as victims and suggest they be considered as secondary victims. The needs-based model in dual situation where both parties serve simultaneously as victims and perpetrators will serve as basis to understand better the identity issues, as well as the needs and identity threats faced by children born from rape during the Genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda.

III. THEORITICAL UNDERPINNINGS : THE NEEDS BASED MODEL IN A 'DUAL' SITUATION

According to the socioemotional Needs-Based Model (NBM), after a conflict, members of the perpetrator group experience a threat to their positive moral image and acceptance by the social community to which they belong. At the same time, members of the victim group experience a threat of power loss and status [25]. Consequently, these identity threats felt by perpetrators and victims also produce different motivations to restore respectively the positive moral image, social acceptance and agency [26]. They can use different strategies [26], some of them can increase the distance with out-group members and others can favor the reconciliation.

In terms of increasing distance, the members of the victim group could either opt for revenge or prosecute their perpetrators for recognizing the harm and wrongs caused to the in-group to restore their group's power [25]; perpetrator group members could deny their responsibilities for the injustices caused to victims and/ or painful consequences of their actions [27]. In terms of promoting reconciliation, the members of perpetrator group could adopt positive attitudes towards members of the victim group, such as manifest empathy or ask for forgiveness [28] and victims can forgive or express messages of acceptance.

Although the original formulation of NBM referred to clear distinction between "victims" and "perpetrators", in many conflicts this distinction is not clear and both parties serve simultaneously as victims and perpetrators [29]. An experimental study conducted by [30], explored this duality. Participants were requested to work in dyads to distribute valued resources (i.e., credit points) and received feedback on the distribution or attribution task. The findings underscored that their partner's attribution was unfair in victim condition; in the perpetrator condition, their own attribution was unfair. Both their own and their partner's attributions were fair in the control condition and unfair in the duals condition.

The findings from this study showed the heightened needs for both agency and positive moral image in the duals condition. However, regarding the behavior, the heightened need for agency is translated into vengefulness by the victims (e.g. denial of credit points from their partner), but the heightened need for positive moral image was not translated into prosocial behaviour by the perpetrators (e.g., donating to the partner).

Similar results have been obtained from other studies. The results underscored in the intergroup contexts involving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict [30] and in the Liberian civil wars [31], the superiority of agency-related need over morality-related needs in determining duals' behaviors. These findings corroborate [32] observation which stipulates that victimhood is more psychologically deep than perpetration. Indeed, "dual" conflicting parties don't often develop a sense of perpetration but a profound sense of victimization, and engagement in competitive victimhood [33].

It might then be hypothesized that adversaries who themselves engage them in such "competitive victimhood" should at the same time satisfy the need for positive moral image (because the victim status is associated with innocence) and the need for agency (because receiving acknowledgment of one's victim status infers the right to various forms of empowerment, e.g reparations and third-party support) heightened among duals. When the two adversary groups adopt such a strategy, this tends to increase the distance between group members. Indeed the results from the study conducted by [34], have shown that the common-perpetrator-identity condition of the Israeli Palestinians and Jews reduced competitive victimhood and increased forgiveness through reduced moral defensiveness (i.e. need to protect the in-groups' morality at any cost). The same effects are obtained in the common-victim-identity condition via increasing a sense of agency. These findings support the idea that the inclusive recategorisation might be a strategy for overcoming competitive victimhood which is a major barrier to reconciliation.

No study has been conducted in order to investigate if the same logic of the Needs-Based Model extended to the 'dual' contexts as experienced by children born from rape. However, some existing research has highlighted in a different way the complexities of identity among children born from rape and the consequences related to these identities. The concern in the present study was to explore if, according to the Needs Based Model, the children born from rape have the heightened needs for both agency and positive moral image and how these needs are translated in terms of behaviours.

IV. OBJECTIVES OF STUDY

- ❖ To explore identity ascribed to the children born from rape and the way they identify themselves as members of a victim or perpetrator group.

- ❖ To explore, in the aftermath of genocide against the Tutsis, the way the children born from rape express the heightened needs for both agency and positive moral image related to identity.
- ❖ To examine the way these needs are translated into different behaviours.

V. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- ❖ What is the identity ascribed to the children born from rape and how do they identify themselves in terms of being members of victims/perpetrator group?
- ❖ To what extent, in the aftermath of genocide against Tutsis, do the children born from rape express the needs for both agency and positive moral image?
- ❖ To what extent are these needs translated in terms of behaviours?

VI. METHOD

VI. 1. PARTICIPANTS

The study was conducted in 2014 at Musanze district, in the northern province of Rwanda. The participants were obtained from Musanze District in three Sectors : Busogo, Kinigi and Muhoza. The sample consisted of 20 women. All were genocide survivors who had been raped during the genocide against Tutsi and were respectively under Ibuka group therapy. The interviews lasted between 20 and 30 minutes. Participants' ages ranged from 32 years to 59 years at the time of the survey. Seven participants were widows, 5 were married, 3 were single, and 4 were separated while 1 was divorced. The table below shows some demographic characteristics of participants

VI. 2. PROCEDURES

Ethical clearance to carry out research on Ibuka group therapy centers in Musanze district was obtained in 2014 from Kenyatta University. Permission was also granted from Ibuka authorities and from the Director General of Science, Technology and Research within the office of Ministry of Education. Explanations of the study were provided to the participants to clarify that the persons eligible for participation were those who were members of Ibuka, had been raped during genocide against Tutsi and had participated in group therapy. Many of those who were willing to participate stayed at the end of the discussion and signed up on a sheet of paper. Only 80 participants were selected. Participants signed a free and informed consent. The participants were informed that they could withdraw from the study if they did not feel comfortable to continue in the participation of the study. This research involved investigation of emotionally charged issues. For this reason, debriefing was conducted for those who were affected, due to recalling of what they went through. Consequently, those who required counseling on the same problem received it and/or were referred/given appointment to see trained counselors. In the present article, the researchers considered the findings from 20 participants who participated in interviews.

VI. 3. RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

The aim of the present article study was to explore if the same logic of the Needs Based Model extended to the 'dual 'contexts has been functioning also on the children born from rape during the genocide against Tutsis. The researchers explored if the children born from rape have had the needs for both agency and positive moral image and how these needs have translated in terms of behaviours. To respond to this aim the researchers analyzed the results from the indirect semi-structured interviews conducted in Kinyarwanda. Although the objective of the interview was to establish the effectiveness of group therapy in restoring psychological wellbeing of sexually violated women during the 1994 Tutsi genocide in Rwanda, some answers from the participants related to their children born from rape. In the present article, we focused only on the questions that gave the answers related to the identity issues of children born from rape. The following questions were retained to respond to the research aim.

VI. 4. INDIRECT INTERVIEW

What problems did you have before joining group therapy?

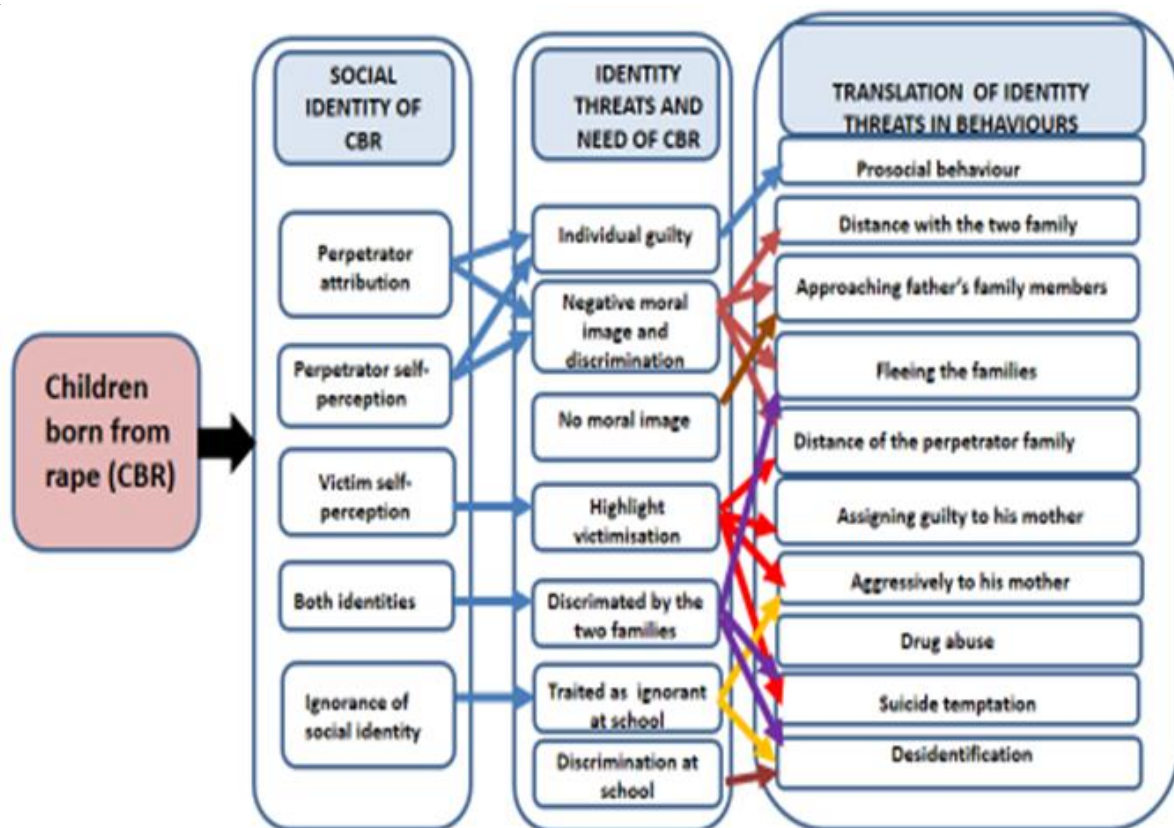
What expectations did you have when you joined group therapy?

Are there any challenges you have faced during group therapy process?

VI. 5. ANALYSIS METHODE

Since the research aim was to explore if the same logic of the needs based model extended to the 'dual 'contexts has been functioning also on the children born from rape during genocide against Tutsis, the research explored if the children born from rape have had the needs for both agency and positive moral image and how these needs have translated in terms of behaviours. The researchers carried out a thematic analysis [35]. This analysis implies an identification of the responses taking into account the particular aspects mentioned. On the categories identified in the interviews, the main themes and the sub-themes were differentiated.

The figure below provides a detailed analysis of the categories, themes and sub-themes that guide the presentation of the results.



VII. RESULTS

The presentation of the results were divided into three main categories representing the social identity of children born from rape, identity threats, and needs related to the social identity of children born from rape and translation of identity threats and needs into different behaviors. Each category had themes and sub-themes that guided the researcher in the presentation of the results. Under sub-themes, the quotes are mentioned for illustration.

VII.1. SOCIAL IDENTITY OF CHILDREN BORN FROM RAPE

VII.1. 1. ATTRIBUTIONS OF PERPETRATOR IDENTITY

During the interviews, the researchers realized that the children born from rape are ascribed the perpetrator identity and were perceived as objects of shame and humiliation. According to participants, the following were the quotes made during the interviews.

Participant N° 19 said:

“I joined the group therapy because I was discriminated by my family. My child born from rape was considered by the neighbor and my family as interahamwe (militias). Sometimes, when people see the prisoners, they tell my child to look at his relatives”.

Another participant (N° 2) agreed that his child born from rape is also perceived as a perpetrator and mention that these children born of rape are ascribed the identity of their fathers.

She narrated: *“Before joining group therapy I always felt in despair, unlovable, lonely and isolated due to what I went through as a result of 1994 Tutsi genocide. “I have a child born of sexual violence that is attributed to the perpetrator identity and perceived as interahamwe and as devil. I have troubling questions from him. When he plays, the neighbors say that he wants to kill other children. When he throws a stone playing like other kids, they say he has the behaviour of a militia. I wanted to have a company with whom I could socialize and find together solutions to the problems of my kid.”* She said (Int.2).

Some women declared that after giving birth to their children, they had difficulties to accept them. *“I had difficulty to breastfeed my child born from rape. I had trouble to nurture him and perceived him as animal, interhamwe as his father, a child of hate, and unwanted child”.* (Int.8)

The children born from rape were perceived by the community and family member as 'perpetrator children'. Although the children born from rape are assigned to this identity of perpetrators, they also have their ways of identifying themselves.

VII.2. SELF-PERCEPTION RELATED TO SOCIAL IDENTITY

Some children born from rape perceive themselves as perpetrators and other as victims or a member of the two groups. There are also a number of these children who prefer to dis-identify themselves from all those social identities and others who seem unaware of their social identity.

VII.2.1. PERPETRATOR SELF-PERCEPTION

It is important to note that some children born from rape identify themselves with their fathers' families. The participant N° 17 disclosed her child's ideas. *"I want to know my father and his family. I am ready to welcome them and to love them"*

Other participants were disappointed to learn that their children identify themselves as their fathers. One expressed the disappointment as follows:

"I was disappointed to hear my child warning me not to insult the Interahamwe, as in doing so would be an insult to him too. I went in group expecting to find solution to problems caused by my child". Int.14

"The father's family members intercepted him and told him harmful stories which rose conflict between me and child". She added

Another participant, Int.7 had ideas that were similar to those shared in int .14, in the sense that her child was very attached to the perpetrator family.

She narrated : *"My child wants to see the members of his father's family and keeps telling me how the members of his father's family are his pure blood, that I refuse to connect him with his family which is not understandable. He told me that he is linked to his father no matter being a perpetrator"*. Int.7

Although some children born from rape can perceive and identify themselves as members of perpetrators' group, others identify themselves as survivors of the genocide and do not want to hear about people who say that they have relationships with perpetrators.

VII.2.2. VICTIM SELF-PERCEPTION

Some children born from rape during Tutsi genocide don't know their fathers and do not want to associate with a person who says that they have relations with perpetrators. This is reflected in the quote of Int.9.

She expressed what her child said:

"... I am happy to be a member of the survivors group, just on the side of my mother. I don't want to hear someone who tells me that I am a member of a perpetrator group, they did horrible things. I belong to my mother's family members". Int 9

Another participant perceived herself as a victim together with her child. It can be learnt from what the child expressed :

"I am a victim the only responsible person is you, my mother. Why did you accept to be violated ?" (Int.13).

Much as the participant N°13, another participant perceived also her mother as a victim *"Mum, even if the society ascribe to me the perpetrator identity, consider us as a shame of the community, me, you and your family we are all the victims"*: Int.16

Researchers have just seen that the community assigns to the children born from rape the identity of perpetrator, but these children themselves can identify themselves differently to these two groups. However, there are some of them who perceive themselves as belonging to the two groups but are not accepted by the two groups.

VII.2.3. PERCEIVE THEMSELVES AS A MEMBER OF THE TWO GROUPS AND DIS-IDENTIFIED THEMSELVES FROM THEM

There are children born from rape who have difficulties managing the two different identities and opposing family memory. They are born from the survivor family of their mothers and the fathers' perpetrator family. They have to reconcile or to integrate the memory of perpetrator history and memory of mother's victimization. They have also to live with dual opposing identities. They feel neither accepted by the mother's family members nor by the father's family members.

The participant number 4 had this to say :

"I came to this group therapy to get a new family of mine where I could find other siblings and a mum. It was at the right time for me because I had even thought of committing suicide. I have been rejected by my family that asked me to bring my son in his father's family. When I tried to take him to his father's family his wife refused. We decided to live alone and the situation was very hard for us from then my child doesn't want to be in touch with his family members."

(Int 4)

Another participant complained of the problem raised by her child while discussing. She said :

“ Yes, I have two families but finally I am linked to none. Where will I get the heritage ? From your own family or the one who violated you ?” She continued :

“I couldn’t find what to say and I was as well frustrated because even if my violator is in prison when I see his children and wife in comfortable situation I wonder why the violators don’t pay the indemnities, my child will not have any heritage. He is not registered neither in my family nor in the family of his father” int. 20 narrated.

The children born from rape struggle in identifying themselves to the two opposing groups to which they belong, but there are some others who ignore their fathers and their identity.

VII.2.4. IGNORANCE SOCIAL SOCIAL IDENTITY

The identity issues become more serious when the children born of rape reach the phase of adolescence. At this stage of development, they begin to explore themselves and their identities and ask questions related to their origins.

Int 11 expressed : “I have a child born of sexual violence and with troubling questions. For instance: who is my father? Which is my family? Am I really a curse born from a killer? At school he was ashamed when classmates asked him who his father was, as he used to tell me. I could not sleep with all these questions in my mind and I wondered when and how all this would end. With the help of this group my child and I were counseled, disclosed to my child and after disclosure he became stable at school with other kids and we are living peacefully.” Int (11)

In the case of Rwanda, where many women were gang raped, it is vastly more complicated to know the real father and therefore to tell children born of rape who they are. This becomes a source of psychosocial strain to both children and their mothers as they strive to protect the babies from stigma. This problem arises at school when children are asked to give the names of their parents.

One woman expressed the problem she met at school.

“ My daughter born from rape during the Tutsi genocide does not know her father. When she told the teacher, the other classmates made fun of her and the teacher treated her as ignorant and asked her to come with a parent. When I arrived at her school, I told mistress to mention a name she wanted. And the mistress found herself in a situation where she did not know what to do. I don’t know his father because I was gang raped. I didn’t give the name of her grandfather.

(My father) like her father as it is done in most cases of single mothers because his uncle refused to mention his father's name as the father of an interahamwe child”. (Int 19)

The researchers have just observed that the community assigns to the children born from rape the identity of perpetrator but these children themselves can identify themselves differently to these two groups, ignore their identity or desidentify themselves. In the following section, the researchers discussed the identity threats and needs related to the social identity of children born from rape.

VII.3. IDENTITY THREATS AND NEEDS RELATED TO THE SOCIAL IDENTITY OF CHILDREN BORN FROM RAPE

VII.3. 1.IDENTITY THREATS AND NEEDS RELATED TO THE PERPETRATOR IDENTITY

VII.3.1.1. NEGATIVE MORAL IMAGE AND DISCRIMINATION AS CONSEQUENCES OF PERPETRATOR IDENTITY

The perpetrator identity ascribed to the children born from rape is associated with some needs and identity threats such as discrimination, rejection by the social community and negative moral image. Children born from rape during genocide experience negative environment, within the community and their homes. They suffer from stigma, rejection, abandonment from their mothers, fathers, step fathers and family members as consequences of their perpetrator identity.

One participant declared :

“ I came to this group because my family had neglected and quarantined me and my child born from rape, leaving us with no love and help. I wanted a family that I could rely on and be listened to in case I narrated the ordeal I experienced. (Int.15)

Another participant revealed through different interviews that the family members of children born from rape don’t like them. “None wishes to be associated to child of the perpetrators even their close relatives”. My other children always told my child born from rape that it was her family members who killed their father and family members. My child felt uncomfortable and when he tried to ask me to tell him the truth about his identity,

I did not have any answer and that revolted him. I joined the group therapy because I wanted to have a company with whom I could release my suffering. (Int.3)

Some mothers' victims of violence went after the genocide to live with their survivors family members who didn't want to receive their children. *"My uncle didn't welcome me into his house. He said that I shouldn't enter his house. He can't carry a baby of the Interahamwe and chased me away". I came to this group to find a family. (Int.19)*

Children born from rape are also rejected by their step fathers as it was narrated by the participant number 18:

"I was rejected by my family even by my husband. One day my husband stood up saying I do not want your bastard Interahamwe. How can I be sure that one day he will not wake up and kill me". She added:

"After hearing what my husband said, I sent him immediately to his grandmother, who also accepted to receive him difficultly. I joined the group to get comfort and shared experiences (Int.18)

Another participant mentioned that her husband and older children didn't accept her child who was born from rape. As she said:

"I decided to join the group therapy because I was about to become mad. My husband and my old children didn't accept my child born from rape, they told him some harmful words, they called him interahamwe. They always felt nauseated every time they saw him". (Int.9)

Other children born from rape tried to visit their fathers in prison and some of them were not well received. Their fathers expressed uncertainty about being their fathers.

"One day I attended Gacaca court someone testified that they had gang raped me during the genocide. When we went back home some one told my child that his father testified that he had raped your mother. He went to visit his father in prison without informing me and returned disappointed with suffering. He told him that he is not his father because her mother had been raped by a big number of men. (Int.6)

Another woman testified that she tried to leave her child in the bush and he was subsequently shamed by his the classmates. She explained:

"After giving birth to my child born from rape I left my baby in a bush and people got him back. My child has learned this story and cannot forgive me for this rejection. My child was also rejected at school, it is nicknamed by classmates "Judah". They move away from him and no longer play with him. " (Int.6)

The children born from rape are rejected by the social community, family members and have also some nicknames and stereotypes attributions which exacerbate their negative moral image. In the following points the researchers emphasized the individual guilty sentiments.

VII.3.1.2. INDIVIDUAL GUILTY

Children born from rape suffer from guilt in terms of the relation they have with their mothers and the problems faced by their mothers. As another participant expressed:

"My daughter born from rape experienced guilt towards me and perceived herself as a 'live reminder of rape'. In her opinion, I am suffering because of her and her own feelings of perpetratorship. I didn't know what to do in order to help her and decided to join the group. " (Int. 16)

Most of the children born from rape are rejected by the social community, family members because of their perpetrator identity. A few experience guilt from being the cause of their mothers' sufferings. However, researchers don't have results related to the needs or identity threats faced by the children born from rape who perceive themselves as victims. In the following section the researchers discussed how identity threats and needs of children born from rape are translated into different behaviours.

VII.4. TRANSLATION OF IDENTITY THREAT AND NEEDS INTO DIFFERENT BEHAVIOUR

VII.4. 1. TRANSLATION OF NEGATIVE MORAL IMAGE AND DISCRIMINATION

VII.4. 1. 1. TRANSLATION OF GUILTY INTO PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

Some children born from rape suffer from moral image and discrimination but these sufferings are translated into prosocial behavior as another participant narrated :

"I had the chance to survive with my husband and other children who neglected and taken my child born from rape like a shame within the family. No one could communicate to him. But the child born from rape was amazed. He shared with others what he had, he told me that he loved them because they were brothers and promised me that he couldn't do any harmful thing to them like they did to him. (Int.3)

Another participant mentioned a case in which sufferings of children born from rape were translated into prosocial behaviours as she said :

"My daughter born from rape is worried about me, protects me, takes care of me and behaves like my parent or caregiver. She tries to protect me and to console me. (Int. 16)

Other children born from rape adopt other behaviors.

VII.4.1.2. TRANSLATION OF NEGATIVE MORAL IMAGE IN APPROACHING THE PERPETRATOR FAMILY (IDENTIFYING)

One participant said:

“I was disappointed to hear my child warning me not to insult the father and saying and talking about him as interahamwe, because in doing so would be an insult to him too and to his family.” (Int.17)

VII.4.1.3. TRANSLATION OF NEGATIVE MORAL IMAGE IN FLEEING THE FAMILIES

Some children don't accept the identity of perpetrator ascribed by the community and would like to flee from his environment as narrated by another participant:

“Before I joined group therapy, I had a problem of my son born from rape. He was stigmatized by their brothers and my family, not able to get in touch with the members of the community and everyone saw him as an outcast who was too dirty to come near others. He could always go to a hidden place for some hours whenever he thought about what had happened to him. The situation was very hard for him and decided to flee the environment that knows them and to begin a new life. Up to now I don't know where he lives.” (Int.9)

VII.4.1.4. TRANSLATION OF THE VICTIMIZATION

Some children don't accept the identity of the perpetrator ascribed by the society and would like to be seen as a victim. They tried to regain their self-esteem and empowerment by aggression.

VII.4.1.4.1. TRANSLATION OF THE VICTIMIZATION IN ASSIGNING RESPONSIBILITY TO HIS MOTHER

One participant said:

“My son accuses me to be responsible of his situation, and considers himself as a victim and asks me the following questions “Why did you agree to fornicate with Interahamwe? What were you looking for? Why did not you agree to die like others?” (Int.13)

VII.4.1.4.2. TRANSLATION OF THE VICTIMIZATION IN AGGRESSION AND DRUG ABUSE

Some of children born of rape accuse their mothers to be responsible of their sufferings in the following words:

“I fear my son born from rape during genocide would kill me. He beats me often and accuses me to be responsible of his situation. He abuses also drugs and alcohol.” (Int.4).

VII.4.1.4.3. TRANSLATION OF THE VICTIMIZATION IN SUICIDE TEMPTATION

Another participant expressed the suffering of her child:

“After visiting his father in prison and father told him that he was not sure if he was his father because her mother had been gang raped. He tried to commit suicide. He was tired and life had no sense for him and didn't know why he lived, he told me. I tried to convince him to join the group therapy and refused while some kids who attended their group therapy benefited a lot of things and are in good terms with their mothers.” (Int.6)

The needs of the children born from rape categorized in a way that those who were ascribed perpetrator status were translated in prosocial behaviour, approach of the perpetrator family or fled father's family and experienced guilt. For those who perceived themselves as victims, their sufferings were translated into aggression, suicide temptation, and other antisocial behaviors.

VIII. DISCUSSION

The findings of the current study are not coherent with the need-based model of the intergroup reconciliation approach [26] which postulates the heightened needs for both agency and positive moral image in the duals condition. For victims, their heightened needs for agency are translated into vengefulness (e.g, denial of credit points from their partners), contrary to perpetrators, they failed to translate their heightened need for positive moral image into prosocial behaviour (e.g, donating to the partner).

The findings from the interviews showed that all participants didn't express needs of both agency and positive moral image. Children born from rape were ascribed a perpetrator identity and regarding the victim identity, any person was perceived as a direct or secondary victim. This may be due to the patriarchal society, the child's identity is tied to the father, even if the child never meets the father, and even if the child's mother cares for and raises the child [3]. Once born, the identity of the war babies is inextricably linked to their rapist fathers' society [36].

Because of that ascription, most of the participants perceived themselves as members of the perpetrator group. They were given some negative nicknames and stereotypes which refer to the perpetrator identity, as interahamwe. They suffer from individual guilt, translated in prosocial behaviours such as to bring to their mother negative moral image in relation to their identity of perpetrator and are discriminated by the community and family members even their mothers. They have a heightened need of positive moral image which are translated in distance with the two families, fleeing the Families and distance of the perpetrator family.

Contrary to the findings by [34], one of the children born from rape who perceived themselves as members of perpetrator group didn't suffer from negative moral image. This lack of negative image is translated in the need of approaching father's family members and visiting their fathers in prison. Other children perceived themselves as belonging to both groups and suffer from moral image and discrimination from the two groups; and to overcome these sufferings, some decided to dis-identify from the two families and others attempt to commit suicide.

Even if they are ascribed the perpetrator identity, there are some children born from rape who perceive themselves as victims and attribute the responsibility to their mothers. They suffer from their agency which are translated into antisocial behavior, the aggression, drug abuse and ignoring the father's family. Other children didn't know their fathers and suffer from ignoring their identity. At the stage of adolescent sometimes they become a shame in the classes when they say that they ignore their fathers' names. They become aggressive towards their mothers

Contrary to the results obtained in the intergroup contexts involving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict [30] and in the Liberian civil wars [31], the findings from interviews underscored the superiority of morality -related need over agency-related needs in determining duals' behavior of children born from rape. Perpetration is more psychologically deep than victimhood. However, the researcher would like to mention that the suffering reported by the mothers concerning the period before joining the group therapy and most of them joined the group between 2009 and 2014. The children born from rape have grown and a recent quantitative research with a big sample of them is needed for confirming these results. If these children continue to be associated with their rapist fathers, this will have serious negative effects on their development that necessitate a special intervention. Some initiatives and programs from the government and civil society have been taken and adopted in order to help children born from rape. Through income-generating activities, the livelihood programs foster self-sufficiency of children and help them to combat stigma, whereby community members would perceive them as productive, responsible. Other programs such as home-visits, psycho-social support and psycho-educational workshops that help mothers and children to cope with genocide -related trauma, family conflicts, trainings on development of parenting skills, communication, and to disclose with their children, their origins, father's identity and family heritage. The development of safe space peer-support initiatives enable children born from rape to help each other, to play the protective role in each other's lives, to share history, emotions, to hold friendship and foster social cohesion.

All of these initiatives, whether psychological, social and/or economic in nature, are essential to ensure the long-term health and well-being of this unique population of children, without a focus on the identity threats which are suffered by the children born from rape. In the context of Rwanda, researchers might then think about the 'Ndi umunyarwanda policy which consists in strengthening national identification, whilst also minimizing ethnic identities, endorsed by the Rwandese government after the 1994 genocide as a strategy for satisfying the need of agency and positive moral image that are major barriers to reconciliation.

This program evokes Common Ingroup Identity Model (CIIM) model. The model's general logic seems to suggest that it induces children born from rape to think of themselves as members of a common superordinate group and community and family members to perceive them as Rwandese. This can reduce their identity threats and negative moral image [37]. These groups' unaddressed identity threats constitute the barriers to reconciliation [25]. The children born from rape suffer at the same time as members of victim and member of perpetrator group. Establishing effective re-categorization strategies that, through highlighting a particular content of the common identity, would address groups' need for acknowledgment of their suffering and restore moral image [26].

Today, the official line stipulates that all irrelevant citizens of previous ethnic identities are "Rwandans". In the case of children born of rape, researchers optimistically think that through this strategy of recategorization into Common -Rwandan-Identity interventions it will be possible to restore both the positive moral identity of these children, agency, engaging in prosocial behavior towards family members, community and classmates. However, for Rwanda's policy to define identity through citizenship rather than ethnicity can be effective if children born of rape perceive themselves and identify themselves as Rwandans and community members perceive them as Rwandans and not associate them with the identity of perpetrator.

A dual identity model ([38]; [39]) should constitute another solution for children born from rape because it recognizes their victimization, provides them with respect for their identity while expressing at the same time, shared values with other Rwandese. A study has to be done on these children born during genocide against Tutsi in order to evaluate if the 'Ndi umunyarwanda' program proves more efficient than a dual identity strategy ([38]; [39]) in reducing their emotional needs and identity threats.

IX. CONCLUSION

Globally, the results are contrary to the results obtained in the intergroup contexts involving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict[30] and in the Liberian civil wars [31]. The findings from interviews underscored the superiority of morality -related need over agency-related needs in determining duals' behaviors of children born from rape in other words the perpetration is more psychologically deep than victimhood. A study is needed to evaluate if engaging with inclusive single re-categorization policy would reduce the identity threat of children born from rape in Rwanda post genocide against the Tutsi.

X. LIMITATION AND FUTURE RESEARCH

The researchers would like to mention that their analysis was based on indirect interview and can't generalize the findings given a size of their sample (20 interviewees). However, the present study allows the researcher to construct a questionnaire for a future quantitative research. The findings from the present study suggest several future research directions; some research could be done with a larger sample on:

- Identity problems of children born from rape
- The contribution of ``ndi umunyarwanda ``program in reducing the motional needs and identity threats for children born from rape.

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