Child Labor in Rwanda: Perceptions of Post-Genocide Gender Norms

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Acknowledgements

About the authors

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Abstract

In 1994, Rwanda was a country ravaged by ethnic violence of an incomprehensible scale as 800,000 people were killed within 100 days. Whilst the abhorrent events of Rwanda's genocide lack justification, the genocide marked a turning point for women's position in this traditionally patriarchal society. In this post-conflict context, this study investigates adults' perceptions of the gendered division of child labor, providing insights into the processes of change that have and continue to occur. This study was guided by Grounded Theory and employs qualitative methods to gain a holistic understanding of these perceptions. Through analysis of both primary and secondary sources, a conceptualization model depicting the dominant emerging concepts, the Influential Factors of Shifting Gender Roles in Muko, is developed. The model shapes the analysis of perceptions focusing initially on the shifting demographics in the aftermath of the genocide and subsequent institutional reforms, which are perceived to be highly influential in developing increasingly gender-equal attitudes amongst adults. Based upon the principles of Social Learning Theory, these attitude changes are transmitted to children through gender role socialization processes, and specifically through the conduit of child labor. As gender role socialization processes in childhood form the foundation for values and attitudes in adulthood, transmission of shifting gender norms will potentially contribute to enhanced gender equality amongst this community. Notwithstanding this, inconsistencies in actual behavior change were alluded to and demands further longitudinal quantitative and qualitative research to comprehensively analyze actual behavior and behavior change patterns.

Keywords: Rwanda, genocide, gender norm transformation, shifting demographics, institutional reform, transmission of gender role attitudes, enhanced gender equality

Abbreviations

AAIR	ActionAid International Rwanda
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GT	Grounded Theory
GOR	Government of Rwanda
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MIFOTRA	Ministry of Public Service and Labour
MIGEPROF	Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion
MINALOC	Ministry of Local Government, Community Development and Social Affairs
MINECOFIN	Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning
MINEDUC	Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research
MOH	Ministry of Health
NISR	National Institute of Statistics Rwanda
PTA	Parent Teacher Association
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women

Contents

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Chapter 1

1.1 Introduction

As a result of the 1994 genocide, the female population of Rwanda in 1996 was an astounding 70%, as a disproportionate number of males were killed, imprisoned, in exile or recruited to the military (Burnet and RISD, 1999: 1; Hamilton, 2000: 3). This shift resulted in a period of opportunity and transformation of women's position within society (Schindler, 2009: 1). In the aftermath of the genocide, women were required to participate in leading roles in rebuilding the country, as they were forced into new positions as breadwinners, guardians of orphans and members and leaders of associations, cooperatives and credit groups (Burnet, 2008: 371; Colletta and Cullen, 2000: 21; UNIFEM, 2002: 11). Adoption of these new roles necessitated a shift within the traditional restrictive gender norm ideologies pervasive in Rwandan culture, marking a rapid transformation from a patriarchal to an increasingly equal society.

Historically, Rwanda has been a patriarchal, patrilocal and patrilineal society with women relegated to subordinate roles (Adekunle, 2007: 100; Rombouts, 2006: 2). As such, women were systematically discriminated within the public arena through customary law, national legislation and cultural practices and taboos, which served to entrench women's subordinated position in society (Schindler, 2009: 10). Furthermore, within the household, women were primarily confined to the domestic, reproductive domain, whilst men were associated with the productive, breadwinner role (ibid: 21), a phenomenon which has been correlated with the inequality of women's position in society in many studies (Punch, 2001). Likewise, from a young age Rwandan girls were trained by their mothers in domestic and cultivation work, which transferred to their future roles of wife and mother, but which also yielded less remuneration and recognition as contributing to family. On the other hand, boys were assigned agricultural and other "energy-demanding tasks" such as looking after livestock (Burnet and RISD, 1999: 4; Feliciati, 2006: 21).

The intrahousehold division of labor has been identified as a platform that carries considerable symbolic significance for gender norms, whereby discrepancies in the allocation of tasks have been linked to, amongst others, parents' gender-role attitudes (Blair, 1992; Cunningham, 2001b). Gender norms, although manifested at all levels of society are found to be particularly pervasive within the household domain (Keleher and Franklin, 2008: 43). Moreover, children's experiences of the division of labor in childhood are found to be indicative of the enforcement of these norms and have an important influence on children's understanding of gender norms and their own gender-role socialization (Cunningham, 2001b: 112; Delap, 2000; Goodnow, 1988: 5). Thus, based on the premise that the division of household labor amongst children both reflects and perpetuates understandings of gender roles within society, this paper analyzes the perceptions of changing gender norms through the medium of child work.

As a nation in recovery, seeking to transform from its recent heritage as a nation divided to one of great equality, the efforts to create gender equity may be one of the more significant and defining characteristics of Rwanda's metamorphosis.

1.2 Statement of Purpose and Rationale

In the context of a nation rebuilding itself with a strong determination and commitment to achieving gender equality (MIGEPROF, 2010: 19; MINICAAF, 2010: 2), the purpose of this study is to provide insights into the processes of change in gender norms that have occurred. Based on empirical data in relation to these processes, this paper will develop theoretical concepts to contribute to current debate regarding the influence of institutional reform on gender norm transformation.

Previous studies of child labor have focused predominantly on hazardous or paid child labor and on the human capital implications of this work (Dammert, 2010: 200); however, limited research exists examining parental attitudes towards the household gender division of child labor. Parents' perceptions are an appropriate channel to investigate changing gender norms as they provide perceptions based on parents' own childhood labor experiences as well as perceptions of current patterns of labor division amongst their children, which is arguably reflective of parents' own gender role ideologies (Blair, 1992). Furthermore, child work has been recognized as a key component of gender role socialization and pertinent to understanding the pervasiveness of gender norms in society (Cogle and Tasker, 1982: 397; Goodnow, 1988: 17; McHale et al., 1990: 1414). By analyzing these perceptions, this

research will contribute to theoretical debate regarding the intergenerational transmission of gender norms in the context of a post-conflict society.

1.3 Aim and Guiding Research Questions

The aim of this research is to understand adults' perceptions of changes within the gendered division of child work in the context of rapidly changing gender norms in post-genocide Rwanda. Based on the accounts, observations and perceptions of those that have experienced the changes, we aim to gain an understanding of behavioral and attitudinal changes that have occurred within one generation. Using these perceptions as a point of departure, the research additionally strives to understand how these changes have occurred in a society with deeply embedded patriarchal origins.

Guiding Research Question:

What are adults' perceptions of changes within gender roles in relation to child labor within their community and household?

Sub Questions:

1. In what ways do adults perceive present child work to differ from their own childhood experiences?
2. What do adults believe are the most influential contributing factors to these changes?
3. How are changes in gender ideologies transferred to children?

1.5 Organization of Paper

This paper is comprised of 5 Chapters. The first chapter introduces the research problem and explains the aim and rationale of the research and concludes with the specific research questions under investigation. Chapter 2 entails an overview of guiding methodological philosophies and a thorough description of the approaches and techniques employed throughout the research. Furthermore, a detailed account of the process of data collection and analysis is provided. Chapter 3 describes the study context, both national and local, and provides an overview of previous research conducted regarding institutional reform, traditional gender norms in Rwanda, intrahousehold division of labor and transmission of gender norms. Analysis of the research data and conceptualization of emerging concepts is presented in the model of Influential Factors of Shifting Gender Roles in Muko in Chapter 4.

This model provides a visual representation of the concepts generated and shapes the subsequent analysis and integration with theoretical debate. Chapter 5 summarizes the theoretical concepts discussed and provides insights into potential implications of these findings and recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2

2.1 Methodology

Shaped by an *interpretivist* epistemology, this research endeavors to *understand* rather than *explain* changing gender norms in Rwandan society (Bryman, 2008: 15). Interpretivisim assumes that reality represents the subjective meaning of social actions and interactions (ibid: 16). An interpretivist approach strives to interpret and understand social life and to unfold the multiple layers of meaning embodied in social actions (Varsidas, 2001). This perspective is thus particularly apt for this research as we strive to gain a thorough understanding of peoples' perceptions of the complexities of rapidly changing gender norms in this society. Interpretivism in this research occurs on multi-levels as the research participants provide their interpretation of child work and changing gender norms, which is subject to the researchers' interpretation and, as Bryman (2008: 17) suggests, further interpretation within a social science framework of concepts, theories and literature. Consequently, the extent to which this study can be replicated is hindered; however, to increase its dependability, the research and process is thoroughly described and detailed within this paper.

This research is additionally developed through a *constructivism* ontological position, built upon the premise that meaning of social phenomena are constructed through interactions between people and their social world (Crotty, 1998: 42). As social phenomena are produced through social interaction, the constructivist position acknowledges that such phenomena are in a constant state of revision (Bryman, 2008: 17, Mikkelsen, 2005: 137). This position was chosen as we investigate the changing relationships between people and their social world, specifically, analyzing the participants' present internalized and subjective understanding of the influences of societal changes on child work and changing gender norms within this division of work.

2.1.1 Qualitative Research

This research employs qualitative methodology, which according to Denzin and Lincoln (2005: 10) is particularly apt when investigating "how social experience is created and given

meaning". In addition, qualitative research was chosen as it is recognized for its emphasis on enabling the collection of in-depth data, facilitating the elaboration and refinement of theoretical concepts (Ragin, 1994: 82-83). Thus, the use of qualitative methodology was selected to enable us to gain a holistic understanding of adults' perceptions regarding changing gender norms in rural Rwanda.

2.1.2 Grounded Theory Approach

This paper presents theoretical concepts that were developed through the application of the Glaser and Strauss' (1967: 45-80, 101-115) Grounded Theory (GT), a nonlinear inductive approach based upon the application of two key elements; "constant comparison" and "theoretical sampling". The GT approach is predominantly employed through the application of qualitative data collection methods and was chosen for this research as it seeks to achieve an in-depth assessment of specific social phenomena (Ragin, 1994: 82).

GT is an iterative and interpretive approach which necessitates that theory not be preconceived, nor tested, but rather developed in a holistic manner, where concepts and theories emerge through a constant comparative analytical process and are grounded within the data collected (Bryman, 2008: 415). Similarly, the application of qualitative methods entail a cyclical process of becoming familiar with and investigating relative evidence, with subsequent refinement and elaboration of concepts under investigation (Ragin, 1994: 83). Hence, as we became increasingly familiar with the context; this familiarity furthered our understanding, which was continually reassessed, adjusted and guided. Through this process, themes and concepts were developed, which in turn led to the evolution of our research questions (Dewalt and Dewalt, 2002: 13). Essential to the GT approach, concepts are regarded as the "building blocks" of qualitative theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 101). Given the small scale of this study, the generation of theory was beyond its scope; however, the concepts established through our research have been scrutinized in order to contribute to existing theory through validation and elaboration.

The methods used in qualitative and GT data collection have been criticized for resulting in copious amounts of data that must be organized and analyzed, and is often further hindered by tight deadlines (Bryman, 2008: 248). Additionally, GT's constant comparison is an intensive process that requires the commencement of analysis at the onset as well as throughout the data collection phases. In this research, necessary adjustments were made

throughout the process to deflect these limitations, including flexible scheduling, allowing adequate time between FGDs for analysis, and an extension to the fieldwork phase.

Through the use of the rigorous approach that is GT, concepts are generated that apply to the "specific social phenomena being researched" and are not generally transferable to a broader range of phenomena (Bryman, 2008: 248). Based on our interpretivist epistemological position, we acknowledge that emerging concepts from this research offer an interpretative portrayal of the phenomenon of changing gender norms in rural Rwanda. This however does not impede its legitimacy or representativeness, as the purpose of our research is to generate quality concepts, generalizable to theory generation rather than to populations (ibid: 392).

We ask readers to recognize that the concepts presented within the paper were, as per the GT approach, developed as a result of data collection and analysis of both primary and secondary sources, rather than conceived and then tested. Consequently, the concepts were developed and investigated through an inductive process that included validation of a variety of both primary and secondary resources. Therefore, the research point of departure is not as representative of the final research question as it may have been, had the intention been to test theory. In an effort to present a clear and concise argument, a conceptual model based on emergent concepts was generated and is utilized as a framework in which to present the discussion and analysis of said concepts; however, if the thesis were presented in a chronological order the concepts would be presented after the presentation of the analysis.

2.2. Methods

2.2.1 Primary and Secondary Data Collection

Whilst GT does not test theory, it is imperative for researchers to have an understanding of the area of study, which requires preparation prior to conducting primary research. Furthermore, a "qualitative approach mandates close attention to historical detail in the effort to construct new understandings of culturally or historically significant phenomena" (Ragin, 1994; 83). For this reason, secondary data sources, including Government of Rwanda (GOR) statistics and reports, have been used throughout and integrated within the process with primary sources, facilitating a thorough understanding of the context of changing gender norms within Rwanda (Suddaby, 2006: 367). Focus group Discussions (FGDs) were chosen as the central means of primary data collection as they are an efficient way of rapid data collection and provide a higher rate of views, opinions and

experiences than that of individual interviews (Hennink, 2007: 8), making them a highly effective tool for gathering qualitative data. Moreover, FGDs are a particularly appropriate tool for understanding social behavior and cultural values from the perspective of participants (ibid: 10).

2.2.2 Site Selection: Muko

Funding for this research was provided by ActionAid International Rwanda (AAIR) and subsequently the selection of Muko as the research site was partially based on the accessibility to the community given the support of AAIR. However, beyond the selection of the site, researchers have retained full control of the design, implementation, data and analysis with no constraints imposed by funders. Participants were informed their participation, or not, would not influence any direct support received from AAIR in any way, however information gathered would be used to inform AAIR of community needs. Notwithstanding this, however, we cannot guarantee that participants were not influenced by our affiliation with AAIR, and acknowledge this as a limitation of the research. At the time of the research, AAIR had not implemented any permanent programs within the community, AAIR's support had been limited to in-kind donations to a small percentage of the community that had been victims of flooding; therefore, the knowledge within the community of AAIR was limited.

2.2.3 Community Access

Prior to engaging with participants, meetings were held with the local leaders to explain the purpose and proposed research plan and seek permission to conduct the research within the community. The community leaders were very supportive of the process and played a key role, acting as 'gate-keepers' assisting in accessing participants as well as organizing the location of the focus groups. Participants and locations were selected based on our parameters and needs as specified by us for each group.

2.2.4 Theoretical sampling - Participant Sampling

Following the GT approach we utilized *theoretical sampling* as our governing sampling method, which is a category of purposive sampling, whereby research participants were selected on the basis of their relevance to the research question and concepts as they emerged (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Silverman, 2005: 130-131). According to Ragin (1994: 99), "the selection of the new sites [participants] follows directly from ideas developed from the first site and provides an opportunity to confirm and deepen the insights developed in that

setting". Therefore, as our research questions evolved and developed through the use of constant comparison as well of the emergence of themes and concepts through coding (discussed in detail in section 2.2.8), the purposive selection of participants shifted in order to investigate the most significant concepts at each stage. Using this technique, we used the data gathered from the initial FGDs, with purposively selected local leaders, to guide the subsequent FGDs with children, which in turn similarly guided the selection of participants and final FGDs with adults that had first-hand experience with the concepts under investigation (see 2.2.6 for details of this process).

GT dictates that the research process continue until a point of theoretical saturation is reached, whereby no additional data enabling further development of concepts is emerging (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 61). Due to the scope of this research, however, it was not possible to reach a point of saturation in this study. Notwithstanding this, a high level of consistency occurred across the FGDs, which is sufficient to generate theoretical concepts.

Theoretical sampling is generally utilized in large research schemes where multiple groups are deliberately chosen for comparison to determine if the concepts developing are isolated or crosscutting (Ragin, 1994: 99). Based on this analysis, concepts are subsequently modified into hypotheses and theories (ibid). We, however, are not utilizing this strategy to conduct an extensive research scheme, as the aim of our research is not to develop theory *per se,* but rather to explore and generate theoretical concepts, which can be used by future researchers in the generation of theories (Bryman, 2008: 545).

2.2.5 Focus groups
Participants for the focus groups were purposively selected through the support of local leaders based on the researchers' criterion of similar characteristics or position (local leaders, teachers and members of Parent Teacher Associations (PTA)), age (children between 11-15 years) and parental status. Homogenous groups were selected in order to encourage a productive group discussion and enable comparison between groups (Hennink, 2007: 125). Furthermore, the selection of homogenous groups was important to create a permissive, non-threatening environment, which was crucial to ensuring participants felt comfortable sharing their opinions, feelings and experiences openly, minimizing the potential for compromising information and hence strengthening the validity of data emerging (ibid: 116). Moreover, all focus groups were facilitated in a private location, either a vacant classroom or community room. Additionally, adequate time was spent at the start of each group introducing ourselves,

explaining thoroughly the purpose and process of research and how it will be used. We also asked each group member to introduce themselves and played warm-up activities with the children to ensure each member had spoken before the discussion commenced, which helped to create a sense of comfort and security within the group (ibid: 54). No adult or child declined participation in the FGDs.

The first two stages of FGDs comprised 3-8 members as we strove to achieve a group size that was small enough to ensure each member had an opportunity to participate, yet was large enough to generate a diversity of opinions (Krueger and Casey, 2000: 10). However, the depth of interaction within these groups was limited, perhaps in part due to the often reserved nature of Rwandans, particularly with foreigners, as well as working through translation which potentially hindered the natural flow of discussion and may have discouraged participants from engaging in in-depth interactive discussions. Consequently, the group size was increased to 9-12 members for the final stage of FGDs, in an effort to retain an efficient method of gathering a wider range of views and opinions. This method proved to be successful as the final FGDs were rich with conversation, debate and personal accounts.

To increase the credibility of our data, at the end of each FGD, we sought corroboration through respondent validation, by summarizing our notes and offering respondents the opportunity for further clarification and/or amendments in the event of any incongruences (Bryman, 208: 377-8).

2.2.6 Selection of the Focus Groups

Focus group discussions took place in 3 stages, with a total of 9 focus groups, comprising a total of 69 participants.

List of Focus Group Discussions			
Group Stage	Name	Number of Participants	Group Composition
A	Cell Leaders	4	Leaders representing each of the 4 Cells within Muko
A	PTA Members	6	PTA members from the Muko community
A	Teachers	3	Teachers from the Muko community
B	Children Group 1	6	Male and female children between the ages of 11 &15
B	Children Group 2	6	Male and female children between the ages of 11 & 15
C	Women Group 1	11	Women with children over the age of 34
C	Women Group 2	12	Women with children over the age of 34
C	Men Group 1	12	Men with children over the age of 34
C	Men Group 2	9	Men with children over the age of 34

The purpose of the first stage was to gain an initial understanding of the situation of child work across differing family compositions through gathering a range of views from participants that are directly involved with children and we assumed would have a thorough understanding of and opinions regarding the situation. Whilst the core focus of our research at this point was child work, based on preliminary analysis of secondary data, our initial enquiries centered on family structures. However, in line with the GT approach, our research question has evolved significantly throughout the research process and development of theoretical concepts (see Appendix I for summaries of guiding questions).

These FGDs were successful in gaining an overall insight into the nature of child work among children in Muko and the concepts and terminology used to discuss the issue. Additionally, analysis of this data found that the concept of a changing gendered division of labor amongst boys and girls began to emerge.

The aim of the first group of FGDs was additionally to gain a general understanding of the specific circumstances within Muko (Hennink, 2007: 11). Three FGDs were held with community leaders and professionals identified for their knowledge of the community as well as their familiarity with issues faced by the children of Muko. The groups were divided into school teachers, members of the PTA and Cell Leaders, which allowed for a focused discussion with topics they were most familiar. The data obtained from these FGDs was used as a foundation and served to guide forthcoming FGDs (ibid: 14).

We subsequently conducted two mixed-gender focus group discussions with children to gain an understanding of their perspective of the work they do and its gendered division. The initial research questions sought to provide a voice for the children; however, due to the limited time allotted for field research, we did not have adequate time to build trust and a rapport with the children (Scheyvens and Storey, 2003: 173). For this reason we held FGDs in order to create an environment where the dominance of the interviewer was reduced in an effort to generate a discussion among peers and thus a closer replication for natural social interactions (Hennink, 2007: 4-6). Children between the ages of 11 and 15 years were purposively selected, ensuring a small enough age difference to minimize adverse power dynamics and create a non-threatening environment (Hennink, 2007: 116; Matthews and Tucker, 2000: 305). Additionally, we perceived that this age group was old enough to articulate and discuss their views. Moreover, this age group aligns with the target group studied in Rwanda's National Child Labor Survey (MIFOTRA and NISR, 2008). From the

outset, we were conscious of potential gender-based power dynamics in mixed-gender FGDs (Hennink, 2007: 126); however, upon seeking advice from participants in the first FGDs to ensure cultural sensitivity, we were advised mixed-gender groups with children were appropriate in this context and would enable observation and potentially deeper understanding of the gender dynamics. Based on analysis of this data, few surprising correlations materialized regarding family structure; however, through the comparative analytic process with the former and latter primary and secondary data, the concept of a changing gendered division of labor amongst boys and girls developed.

Data from these discussions led to further investigation into recent changes in the gender demographics, institutional reforms, gender policies and laws and their corresponding impact on the gendered roles of children within the family unit. Consequently, the final stage of data collection involved four FGDs with purposively selected parents over the age of 34 to understand their perceptions of changing gender norms in the context of child work. This age group was selected, as they were old enough to recall and examine the periods prior to and post-genocide. Furthermore, they are more likely to have children of an age engaging in labor and hence would be able to provide accurate insights regarding today's division of child labor. The children's assertions were used to further develop our concepts and guide these final FGDs with adults, which were segregated by sex to create a permissive environment for participants and to enable clear delineation between the perceptions of men and women (Hennink, 2007: 126).

2.2.7 Analysis and transcribing interviews

FGDs were conducted in Kinyarwanda through translations between the researcher and the translator. Each FGD was digitally recorded and has undergone a thorough verbatim transcription process. Transcriptions were written entirely in English and notations were made as to whether the speaker was speaking English or Kinyarwanda. In most cases transcriptions were verified by a second Kinyarwanda speaker and in all cases the English was transcribed by a native English speaker. This thorough process has led to both greater credibility and dependability.

Employing the principles of GT, a primarily inductive data evaluation process was utilized for the coding and analysis through identifying themes, issues and concepts (Hennink, 2007: 209). A purely inductive process was not possible since the FGDs were semi-structured and topic driven; therefore, some deductive analysis naturally occurred. The transcripts were

11

thoroughly analyzed by both researchers and developing themes, issues and concepts were discussed and agreed upon throughout the discussion ensuring inter-researcher consistency. Furthermore, as emerging themes were identified their validity was tested through identifying consistencies within other parts of the transcript and within other FGDs which were then subsequently refined (Strauss and Corbin, 1998).

2.2.8 Coding and Emerging Concepts

To identify and establish concepts, data was coded throughout the research process and began shortly after the initial data collection. Through the process of *open coding* the data collected from the FGDs was broken down, examined, compared, conceptualized, and categorized; the resulting interpretations were then developed into concepts (Bryman, 2008: 543).

The first stage of understanding the qualitative data, known as *initial coding,* involved becoming familiar with the text and a line-by-line evaluation through open-minded flow of ideas and analysis (Bryman, 2008: 543). Codes were not preconceived, but were developed inductively, which highlighted issues and themes of greatest importance to the participants (Hennink, 2007: 221). The second stage involved *selective* or *focused coding,* which is a process of developing and refining core concepts and validating these relationships (Bryman, 2008: 543). Through constant comparison and validation with subsequent FGDs, the identified concepts were revised as the data was interpreted and compared with previous findings, thus many of the initial codes were discarded as the most revealing codes were emphasized and validated. (ibid: 415; Hennink, 2007: 222).

While these processes are referred to as stages, the process is non-linear and as new primary (FGDs) and secondary data was gathered the stages were repeated. As an intimate knowledge of the research was developed, through the fluid process of *constant comparison* of primary and secondary data analysis, concepts emerged and were refined and defined (Bryman, 2008: 543; Hennink, 2007: 225).

2.3 Criticism of the Sources

All FGD participants were informed that their participation was both voluntary and confidential; however, given the group nature of FGD, absolute confidentially is not possible, which may have hindered the level of forthright discussion. Further complicating this is the fact that some of the participants may be familiar with one another. That said, the discussion topics were not particularly intimate and the impact should be minimal. Moreover,

acquainted groups also have the advantage of having a pre-existing group dynamic, which can be conducive to greater in-depth discussion and promote debate within the group (Hennink, 2007: 119).

The participants may have wished to show their community in a positive light particularly to foreign visitors and in view of the GOR's considerable efforts in both the reduction of child labor (MIFOTRA and NISR, 2008: 5) and gender equality (MIGEPROF, 2010: 7; MINECOFIN, 2000: 19; MINEDUC, 2008: 5). We countered this potential limitation by validating emerging themes and concepts through comparison within as well as with other FGDs (Hennink, 2007: 223).

2.4 Ethical Considerations

Working with vulnerable communities, we were acutely aware of the power dynamics throughout the research process. We strove to minimize the impact of these disparities on the process, by working with integrity and being forthcoming, honest and transparent in the research process with research participants as well as community leaders (British Sociological Association, 2002: 3). In addition, we trained the translators in research techniques and the ethical standards of conducting research (see Appendix II for training guidelines). Prior to commencing, with the aim of ensuring transparency, the purpose, procedure, funding and dissemination plan of the research was thoroughly explained to community leaders and research participants and the latter were assured of their right to withdraw from the research at any time, take breaks as needed and to ask questions at any time (ibid; Scheyvens and Storey 2003: 143). A detailed consent form, translated into Kinyarwanda, was prepared, read verbatim and distributed to all participants (see Appendix III). For the research with children, we met with the parents or guardians individually and obtained their written consent for their children to participate. In addition, we met with each child individually prior to commencing the group discussion to obtain their informed verbal consent and ensure they felt comfortable participating in the research (British Sociological Association, 2002: 4).

Permission was sought for audio recording the discussion and participants were informed of their right to stop this device should they wish. Additionally, as recommended by Scheyvens and Storey (2003: 174) in the groups with children, the audio was given to a child in the group to start/stop in an effort to balance the power dynamics between researcher and participants.

Audio recordings and transcripts, structured interview schedules and consent forms were only shared between the researchers and translators, the former stored on the personal computers of the researchers only, and the latter in the researchers' file storage. No information disclosing the identity of the participants is used in this paper. However, due to the nature of focus group discussions, confidentiality of participants could not be guaranteed.

Finally, as a gesture of reciprocity and appreciation of participants' time and contributions, refreshments, notebooks and pens were shared with participants in each focus group.

Chapter 3

3.1 Background

3.1.1 Rwanda Context

Rwanda is a small, landlocked country in Central Africa bordering the Democratic Republic of Congo, Uganda, Tanzania and Burundi. With an estimated population of 9.9 million, Rwanda is the most densely populated country in Africa, with 82% living in rural areas and more than three quarters dependent upon subsistence agriculture (MOH,

(Adapted from, Maps of World, 2010)

2009; UNDP, 2009). Despite the Rwandan Government's considerable efforts in tackling poverty over the last decade, Rwanda remains one of the world's least developed countries, ranking 152 out of 169 countries in terms of its Human Development Index at 0.385 and, with 76.6% of the population living below the poverty line of $1.25 per day, is unlikely to meet the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) of eradicating extreme poverty and hunger by 2015 (UNDP, 2010). Land scarcity, high population density, continued population growth of 2.6% annually and limited opportunities for economic diversification are some of the most significant barriers facing rural Rwandans (UN, 2010).

Politically, Rwanda has made remarkable progress since the 1994 genocide, which resulted in the destruction of institutions, structures, systems, human capacity and infrastructure throughout the country. Peace and political stability have been re-established, reconciliation efforts are continuing, and democratic institutions and processes are being strengthened. As part of the year 2000 National Decentralization Policy, the Republic of Rwanda was divided into Provinces, Districts, Sectors and Cells, which aimed to achieve good governance, enhance local economic development and empower the people to actively participate in the political, economic, and social development of the country (MINALOC, 2001b). The Cell is the smallest political-administrative unit, and through elected representatives is the medium through which problems, priorities and needs of the people at grassroots level are addressed (MINALOC, 2010).

3.1.2 Muko Sector

Muko, one of 15 Sectors within Musanze District in the Northern Province of Rwanda, is a rural, subsistence-based community, with an estimated population of 16,500 in 2009, 38% of whom are under 18 years of age and 58% of whom are female (Muko Sector Office, 2011). Currently 95% of households in Muko are active within the agricultural sector (ibid).

Muko is comprised of four cells; Cyivugiza, Cyogo, Mburabuturo and Songa, the latter two which have female elected leaders. At the Sector level, two of the five leadership positions are currently occupied by females; the Social Affairs and Population and Statistics Representatives. Both men and women have the right to own land; however, no records are kept regarding the number of women who are the sole owners of land. Additionally, there are no official numbers relating to the number of children engaging in labor inside or outside the home.

3.2 International mainstreaming of gender

Good governance and supportive institutions are widely posited by the international community as key to the construction and stability of successful nations. Leftwich (2005: 962-963) identifies two central features particularly necessary for the development of fragile or failed states such as Rwanda. First, essential to development is "radical and rapid change in the social, economic and political institutions and, inevitably, in the social (class and other) structure and in the underlying distributions of wealth and power which they express" (2005: 962). Second, as opposed to growth, development requires a relatively even distribution of and access to rights and benefits. In the case of promoting gender equality, strengthening of

democratic institutions through legislative reform and the introduction and enforcement of policies which explicitly disavow discrimination are required to create a conducive environment to encourage this change (Smith et al., 2003: 187).

Sen (1990 in Moser, 1993: 27) further contends that the transformation of gender perceptions are largely influenced by political processes and particularly by the political recognition of gender issues. Given the state's potential to liberate or inhibit women's freedoms through social, economic and legal policies, feminist theorists further argue that the state intervenes most effectively in the lives of women through policies effecting the family, as the family represents the boundary between the public and private spheres where state influence in individual existence is at its greatest (Moser, 1993: 41-44). In addition, legislative and policy reform is particularly influential in enhancing women's agency through employment, education and asset ownership policies as well as enhancing political participation at all levels including adoption of strategies such as representation quotas (Sen, 1999; Smith et al., 2003: 187).

These assertions were evidenced in a study of gender discrepancies in investment in men and women and implications on lifetime incomes amongst rural communities in Ghana, Republic of the Philippines, and Sumatra, which concluded that efforts to improve gender equal distribution of assets and wealth will only be successful with supportive policies in place (Quisumbing et al., 2002: 231). Thus, political will and commitment are imperative in creating supportive and enabling conditions for increased gender equality in society.

3.3 Pre-genocide Gender norms in Rwanda

Gender norms, the powerful, pervasive values and attitudes that depict the way in which male and female roles are culturally and socially constructed, defined and understood by populations, enter virtually all spheres of society (Schindler, 2009: 3). These norms infiltrate, determine and are perpetuated through these spheres ranging from the division of labor within the home, outside the home, decision-making processes and employment to marriage practices and rituals and the criterion upon which resources are allocated and shared within society (Agarwal, 1997: 15). Through socialization processes these norms are not only transmitted to the next generation (Maccoby, 2007: 13) but, are also to some extent constructed by each generation (Grusec and Davidov, 2007: 284) and can be influenced by external factors.

In Rwanda, female subordination and discrimination was particularly pervasive across three domains of society; legislation, traditional norms and taboos regarding women's behavior and intrahousehold gender relations (Schindler, 2009: 9). The Rwandan legislative framework served to strengthen the role of women as second-class citizens heretofore assigned by custom (ibid). For example, the Family Code of 1992 designated the position of household head automatically to the husband, which upon his death succeeded to the eldest son (Feliciati, 2006: 23). Additionally, the Commercial Code, dating back to the colonial era, required the consent of the husband before a woman could participate in any economic activity outside the household, could seek credit, take legal action or appear as a witness in court without the consent of a male family member (Jefremovas, 1991: 382; Nowrojee, 1996: 17).

As recently as 1984, women did not exist within the policy-making government structure and pre-1994 representation in politics never rose above 17% (Nowrojee, 1996: 17; Sharlach, 1999: 391). Within local government, there were no female prefects prior to the genocide, and only 3.2% of sub-prefects were female (Nowrojee, 1996: 17). Within the private sector, women comprised only 12-18% of the workforce between 1986 and 1991, whilst only 13% of enterprises employed female staff (ibid: 18). In the public sector, women had greater representation of approximately 40%; however, these were predominantly concentrated in the lower ranking and lower paid positions (ibid). Consequently, women's potential for skill acquisition and gaining knowledge of and experience with political authorities, banks and the commercial sector was hindered (Newbury and Baldwin, 2000: 4; Schindler, 2009: 11).

In addition, discriminatory taboos were endemic in Rwandan society. For instance, it was taboo for women to engage in activities related to cattle, such as milking or bringing to the well, to build or repair their home, to cut firewood or to make decisions regarding farm management (ibid: 6). Interestingly, Kimenyi (1992, in Schindler, 2009: 10) argues that female subordination was evident and indeed perpetuated in the language, whereby females are excluded from being subjects of some categories of verbs. Likewise, one Rwandan proverb states that a woman who is not yet battered is not a real woman, whilst a second states a woman does not have her own identity; she takes that of her husband (Burnet and RISD, 1999: 16; Nowrojee, 1996: 16).

Within the household domain, research found that a pronounced division along gender lines existed in rural Rwanda, whereby women were assigned to "reproductive" roles, centered on

domestic labor and childcare, and men to "productive" activities engaging in manual and income-generating assignments (Blackden and Wodon, 2006: 15, Schindler, 2009: 21). Decision-making authority was additionally found to lie with husbands as women were excluded from making decisions regarding household economics and maintenance (Csete, 1993: 1285). Similarly, a UNCIEF report found that the intrahousehold labor allocation was regulated by husbands, as labor of household members was said "to belong to him" (UNICEF, 1997: 9).

Blackden and Wodon (2006: 15) assert that the gendered division of labor is often underpinned by social and cultural norms in the society. Furthermore, Punch (2001) illustrates that many studies have shown that the unequal intrahousehold division of labor and women's greater contribution to domestic work coincides with the inequality of women's positions in society.

Correspondingly, as will be discussed in further detail in Section 4.3.4, this highlights the significance of adults' perceptions and attitudes as they often dictate and influence the specific tasks children will perform as well as reinforce their children's behaviors both positively and negatively (Blair, 1992: 184).Thus the perceptions of the division of household labor among children provides an interesting avenue for insight and appropriate breadth in which to investigate gender norms.

3.4 Gendered division of labor and time allocation amongst children

Recognition of children's roles within the household and their important contributions to the familial labor supply in subsistence rural based economies have encouraged research into the division of labor and time allocation amongst children (Cockburn, 2002). Additionally, acknowledgement of the influence of children's experience of labor on gender-role socialization has warranted investigation of the genderization of the division of children's labor (Cunningham, 2001a; Goodnow, 1988).

In one of the earliest studies of the division of child labor, Cain (1977) investigated the direct and indirect economic contribution of boys and girls to their households in Bangladesh. Distinguishing between "productive" and "enabling" labor, the former earning income for the household, whilst the later freed other household members to engage in productive labor, Cain (ibid) found that girls were predominantly confined to the latter with their tasks concentrated within the domestic domain, whilst boys were engaging in agricultural labor.

Many subsequent studies support the assertion that the division of labor and time amongst children is reflective of the traditional "reproductive" and "productive" dichotomy whereby girls work longer hours than boys and spend the majority of their work time engaged in traditionally female tasks centered in the domestic arena including cleaning, washing clothes and food preparation, whilst boys' work is concentrated in the agricultural domain harvesting, ploughing, grazing and caring for livestock (Admassie, 2003: 175; Edmonds, 2006: 800; ILO, 2004: 176; McHale et al., 1990; Punch, 2001: 806; White and Brinkerhoff, 1981). These assertions support the long established cultural norms found within Rwanda as described above.

Furthermore, a study of children's time allocation in Malawi, found that being female was the single greatest determinant of the allocation of fetching water and collecting firewood, tasks most commonly undertaken by children (Nankhuni, 2004). Research in Tanzania found that girls at all ages sustain heavier work burdens than their male peers whilst in Uganda, girls work on average 2.8 hours more per week than boys (Ritchie et al., 2004: 14). Lloyd et al.'s (2008: 110) study of adolescents' allocation of time across school and studying, labor market activity, noneconomic (domestic) labor and leisure in India, Pakistan, Nicaragua, Kenya and South Africa, found that in every instance, except rural Nicaragua, girls' mean daily hours of work exceeded boys. On all areas of work combined, girls spent longer hours than boys leaving boys more time for leisure activities (ibid).

In Rwanda, a recent survey of child labor amongst children aged 5-17 years found that the majority (64%) of children affected by child labor are engaged in non-paid family work, predominantly within the agricultural sector (MIFOTRA and NISR, 2008: 31). In addition, 83.6% of this age group are engaged in household chores, with the highest proportion (87.9%) found in the Northern Province (ibid: 26). Moreover, it concluded that girls, across all age ranges did a greater proportion of household chores, corresponding to similar findings from a 2005 survey which found that girls within the 11-15 age group spend 5-6 more hours per week on domestic chores than their male counterparts (ibid: 29). These findings suggest that the present division of labor amongst children is reflective of the traditional dichotomy amongst adults illustrated above.

3.5 Transmission of Gender Norms

Researching children's contributions to household labor in Bangladesh, Delap (2000: 724, 727) similarly found that the allocation of children's tasks are divided along comparable lines

to the adult division of labor, and suggests that it serves as preparation for future roles in adult life. Delap (2000: 729) concludes that children's labor deployment is greatly determined by cultural beliefs and gender norms. Furthermore, Blair, (1992: 179-180) supports this notion and shows that studies conducted both in developed and in developing countries, reveal that the gendered division of work amongst children reflects that found amongst adults and the more egalitarian the ideologies possessed by the adults, the more likely they are to support equal division of labor amongst boys and girls. Goodnow (1988) believes that such experiences, in fact, have significant implications for children's sex-role socialization. From both psychoanalytic and social learning perspectives, sex-role socialization involves a process of assuming the characteristics or behaviors of an identification figure or role model, usually the same-sex parent (McHale et al., 1990). Indeed, how children internalize their parents' values and attitudes regarding division of labor has been highlighted as one of the most significant implications of children's experience of labor, which will influence how they raise the next generation of children (Cogle and Tasker, 1982: 397; Goodnow, 1988: 17; McHale et al., 1990: 1414).

In a study of Boston families, Thrall (1978: 261) found that parents' attributes are related to continuity of ideologies between generations, as he found that the way one's parents brought one up was the most influential factor in one's own parenting style. Previous studies have additionally provided evidence that children's gender-role attitudes are associated with parental gender-role attitudes (Cunningham, 2001b). Conversely, however, Punch (2001: 804) argues that children's labor transcends gender stereotypes and does not always reflect the adult division of labor within the home or society. Thus, whilst some argue that the division of labor amongst children transcends gender norms, the preponderance of evidence suggests a strong correlation between the gendered division of labor amongst children and that of their parents, which is reflective of and underpinned by gender norms within society.

Chapter 4

4.1 Conceptual Model

Based upon the inductive principles and process of GT the conceptual model of Influential Factors of Shifting Gender Roles in Muko was derived from emerging concepts. Therefore, the model is a visual representation of the evidence presented by participants in the FGDs of the relationship of emerging concepts relating to changing gender norms in Muko (primary data); furthermore, secondary data has been utilized to inform the discussion and analysis.

Whilst the model shows a linear correlation, the relationship and occurrence of the phenomena are interdependent and foster one another; consequently, this is not an explicitly causal model but rather a framework in which the data is presented, analyzed, discussed and related to theory. Underpinned and united by liberalism, this analysis is presented through the use of Leftwich's perspective of institutionalism coupled with social learning theory and social constructionism.

Part 1

Genocide

Shift in Gender Demographics

Institutional Changes

Knoweldge Transfer to Adults

Part 2

Accpetance of Changes by Adults

Transmission of Attitudes to Children

Enhanced Gender Equality

**Conceptual Model:
Perceptions of Influential
Factors of Shifting
Gender Roles in Muko**

Furthermore, additional internal and external factors have certainly affected the shifts; however, it is not within the scope of this research to examine all of the factors that have contributed to the development of the country. Therefore, the factors investigated within this analysis focus mainly on those that were raised within the FGDs.

The model is divided into two parts and the findings are discussed within the context of each of these parts. Furthermore, each component of the model represents a central concept that
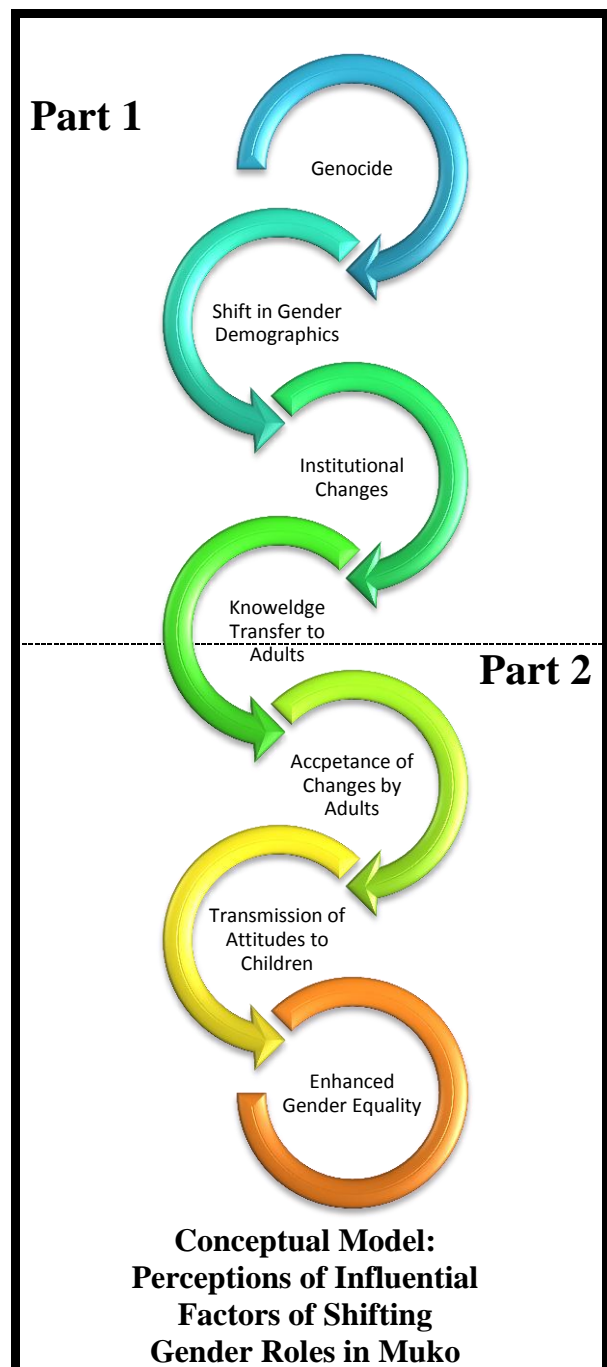
emerged within the FGDs and each is fully described and analyzed in succession within this chapter.

Part 1 discusses the top half the of conceptual model and investigates the relationship and impacts of dominant societal, institutional and cultural shifts affecting gender equality within the Rwandan context. The point of departure is the *Genocide* and its resulting impact on the population that in turn created a *Shift in Gender Demographics*. These shifts are further examined within the context of new GOR and subsequent *Institutional Changes*. Finally, the impact of these components are reflected upon in connection to community and gender relation transformations and evidenced within the observations from FGDs of *Knowledge Transfer to Adults*.

Part 2 discusses the bottom half of the model and illustrates an inter-generational shift of gender norms at the household level arising, in part, from the societal and institutional shifts described in Part 1. Part 2 furthers the discussion and analysis, relating the societal changes to gender roles within the domestic domain, specifically focusing on the intrahousehold division of labor. Commencing with the concept of *Knowledge Transfer to Adults*, the change in adults' attitudes pertaining to division of labor are discussed and *Acceptance of Changes by Adults* is subsequently analyzed. Principles of the Social Learning Theory are employed to deepen the analysis and provide a theoretical framework for understanding how the *Transmission of Attitudes to Children* transpires.

Finally, the model concludes with a discussion on the potential implications of this transformation and transmission of attitudes for *Enhanced Gender Equality* in this society. This discussion draws on the analysis and impact of the concepts above and provides concluding remarks and interpretations.

4.2 Part 1: Influential Factors of Shifting Gender Roles in Rwanda

Based on an analysis of the accounts and perceptions of adults in Muko a rapid societal transformation relating to gender equality has occurred in the span of one generation. The GOR has played a crucial role in this evolution through the creation and enforcement of institutional changes in response to demographic changes and the specific needs of a post-conflict society. These changes have constructed an environment conducive to greater gender equality, which has permitted a rapid transformation of gender norms as evidenced within the attitudes of the adults.

4.2.1 Societal Altering Events

While the events of the Rwandan genocide are beyond comprehension and without a semblance of justification, the ensuing broken society has arguably created a conducive environment for "radical and rapid change" (Leftwich, 2005: 962). This, along with sound leadership concerned with developing greater societal equality, may have led to positive changes in the process of achieving gender equality.
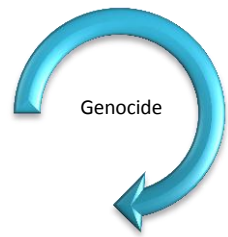
Genocide

In the aftermath of the genocide, Rwanda found itself at a crossroad. Racial hatred and inequalities motivated by a pre-colonial history of intolerance and violence culminated in the Hutu led, 100-day genocide of 1994, where as many as 800,000 people, of which an estimated 300,000 were children, were killed (Baines and Muna, 2001: 4). The majority of those killed were members of the ruling but minority Tutsi ethnic group with a smaller but significant number of moderate-Hutu victims. The genocide came to cessation through the interventions of the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF), which succeeded in effectively putting an end to the war and establishing a new government in 1995.

With approximately 10% of the population killed and another 25% fleeing to neighboring countries to seek refuge (ibid) the demographics of the country shifted considerably. The survivors subsequently faced the challenge of redefining and reconstructing their country, their communities and their households.

4.2.2 Shifting Demographics, Shifting Balance of Power

In 1996, 34% of the households were female headed and approximately 70% of the population were female (Baines and Muna, 2001: 4). This prevalence of female-headed households began to challenge the necessity of cultural norms associated with the predominance of the patriarchal family structures

Shift in Gender Demographics

of the past and the acute shift of gender demographics began to fracture the society's patriarchal framework (Schindler, 2009: 2). It was no longer practical to determine the head of the household solely by sex.
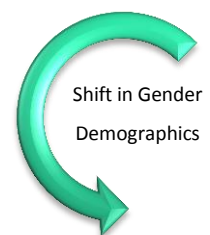
For the first time women began to perform "economic activities that were traditionally assigned to men" (ibid). With the absence of men, it was essential for women to assume leadership roles; as such, it was suddenly imperative for women to venture into the position

as the primary financial contributor of the household (Hamilton, 2000: 1). This new role enhanced women's freedom to avail of economic opportunities, which potentially has far-reaching implications for advancing poverty reduction (Schindler, 2009: 2). As of 2000, the working population (20-44 years of age) remained heavily unbalanced being 57% female and women producing 70% of the agricultural output (Hamilton, 2000: 1). As the genocide unequally affected women (victims of rape and genocide survivors, widows, single parent families, and caretakers of orphans), they also disproportionately assumed the responsibility of stabilizing and rebuilding the nation (ibid). Therefore, the role women played in the recovery of the nation was vital, as their contribution to economic and social reconstruction was crucial.

In times of war and instability, the role and influence of women is often extended in an effort to compensate for the loss of labor force as well as to support conflict initiatives. However, this increase has typically been followed by retraction to pre-conflict norms during the reconstruction phases (Hamilton, 2000). For example, Blumburg's (2001) qualitative study in El Salvador showed that while a number of women held influential positions during the protracted war, after the war without economic power and external support (regarding awareness and application of rights), the women felt that very little equality had actually been gained.

This however, is not the case with Rwanda. As of 2009, the population remained predominantly female with women comprising almost 53% of the population, and women aged 15 to 64 accounting for approximately 42% of the total population (NISR, 2010: 2). In addition, resulting largely from the genocide, 25% of the households were headed by female widows (Schindler, 2009: 3). While the ratio of women to men has decreased in recent years, women have held a majority status for over 15 years, which is a sufficient length of time for roles to revert to their previous state. Based on FGDs, however, females have retained an increased degree of authority and influence, both within their households as well as within the community. For example, one man openly explains,

> Women used to fear going to meetings where there are a large number of people. Now for example, my wife has joined ITOREZO. It is a political group joining people together, teaching them, training them, and teaching rules on how to be good citizens. As well as to know their rights and legal institutions given to Rwandan citizens, this also empowers them with the ability to talk in the congregation. But, nowadays my wife is the one that even encourages me to go for meetings (Participant1, Men2, 039).

24

Women in separate focus groups were also quick to point out that the meeting they were currently attending was a powerful example of the changes within their lives. In the past, they were forbidden from being away from home for an unknown period, and most importantly, they were not allowed to freely express their opinions and concerns.

Men and women also indicated a change in behavior at the household level, where, prior to the events of 1994, a man had final say and supremacy. While this study has not measured these changes, there was a significant level of agreement throughout the FGDs that the attitudes, practices and beliefs had undergone a rapid transformation since the genocide. The FGDs identified the implementation and enforcement of new policies and laws, as part of the reunification and reconstruction plan for Rwanda, as the leading contributing factor to this shift.

4.2.3 Top-Down Change

The post genocide GOR has made great strides to shift this traditionally patriarchal society to one that is more gender balanced, as legislative reforms can have far-reaching implications for enhancing gender equality, as discussed in 3.2. The political commitment among the country's leaders and policy makers as well as pressure from the international community, were key facilitating factors in mainstreaming gender equality in Rwanda's national development (Schindler, 2009: 12; UNIFEM, 2002: 10).

Institutional Changes

The significant shift in gender norms reportedly "came as a result of changes in government" (Participant1, Women2, 048), who are now "emphasizing gender equality so there is no difference between boys and girls in terms of what they do, the kind of work that can be done by a boy can also be done by a girl", (Participant1, Women2, 018). Specifically, the participants referred to the introduction of the Law of Matrimonial Regimes, Succession and Liberalities in 1999 as a turning point in the recognition of women's role and position within society. These reforms granted women the right to own and inherit property for the first time in Rwanda's history, to seek paid employment, enter into contracts and open bank accounts without the authorization of their husbands, reducing women's economic dependence on their husbands (Burnet, 2008: 376; Schindler, 2009: 12; UNIFEM, 2002: 10). This direct correlation of the new legislation with greater gender equality reveals a level of pervasiveness and dissemination of the GOR's top-down changes.

The establishment of quotas (30%) for female representation in decision-making bodies, as stipulated in Article 9 of the Constitution, including within the Government currently stands at 50.9% and is presently the highest in the world (Kanakuze, 2003: 3; MIGEPROF, 2010: 13). It has been considered extremely influential in supporting and promoting women's freedoms in many aspects of their lives and within society at large (Huggins and Randell, 2007: 2).

In April 2003, President Paul Kagame confirmed the Government's continued commitment to obtaining greater gender equality through such policies. Speaking in regards to parliamentary elections he said, "We shall continue to appeal to women to offer themselves as candidates/…/. Women's underrepresentation distances elected representatives from a part of their constituency and, as such, affects the legitimacy of political decisions/…/. Increased participation of women in politics is, therefore, necessary for improved social, economic and political conditions of their families and the entire country" (Xinhua News Agency, 2003 In Ballington and Karam, 2005).

Rwanda's policy and budgetary commitments to gender equality are also evident in the 2003 Constitution and the Vision 2020 and Economic Development Poverty Reduction Strategy development strategies, adopted in 2000 and 2007, respectively (MINECOFIN, 2000; MOD, 2003; The Republic of Rwanda, 2007). These policies seek to mainstream gender equality in all policy-making and depict the determination of the Rwandan Government to achieve the MDG of "gender equality and women's empowerment (Huggins and Randell, 2007: 2). Additionally, a Gender Responsive Budgeting Project ensures budget allocations to government initiatives are gender sensitive (MIGEPROF, 2010: 27).

The National Gender Policy, adopted in 2010, has the vision of positioning Rwandan society "free from all forms of gender based discrimination and see both men and women participate fully and enjoy equitably from the development processes" (MINICAFF, 2010: 2). In addition, the Girls Education Policy (2008: 2) sets out tangible measures to mainstream gender equality throughout the education system. Furthermore, the Education for All Action Plan (2003), set a target of eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement of basic education of good quality (MINEDUC, 2003: 7).

4.2.4 Governmental Influence evident within the home

However, merely changing policy and providing legal rights, such as land rights, access to education and freedom of speech are not enough to accomplish gender equality; change must encompass the echelons of society including the local governments, civil society, traditional institutions, and the community and household levels (Meinzen-Dick et al., 1997).

Through the FGDs, it was evident that previous government policies embodied and reinforced many of the prejudiced traditional norms and ideologies, which systematically inhibited gender equality.

> The past government did not give women freedom of speech, such as the exchange of ideas. Girls grew up knowing that it is forbidden for girls to eat goat meat and that it was meant for men only./---/The past government had made people become illiterates. During the past government, girls were not entitled to share of their parents' land (Participant4, Women1, 022b).

The absence of land rights for women was presented throughout the FGDs as evidence of the previous government's gender-biased agenda. "There was also some ignorance in the government policy. The government did not put much emphasis on girls' rights, like rights to own land. She only had rights [usufruct] on properties of her husband", (Participant3, Women1, 016). In the context of a rural economy such as Muko, gender prohibitive land practices and policies greatly impede the balance of economic and social power between women and men, as the bargaining power of women is suppressed (Agarwal, 1997: 8).

While the traditional cultural norms provided a foundation for the official policies of previous governments, these statements are an indication of the participants' understanding of the support and impact of official governmental policies. One man expressed the importance of cultural and societal conformity within the Rwandan culture,

> Our culture here in Rwanda is totally different from the culture of other countries near Rwanda. There is something called 'prohibited' if something is prohibited here it is absolutely prohibited. We also still abide by such culture today (Participant9, Men1, 022).

Given that the previous government's gender policies are largely aligned with Rwanda's cultural norms and expectations, the pervasiveness of their acceptance and recognition is not surprising. The post-genocide Government was however, faced with multi-dimensional

challenges in rebuilding the country socially, economically and politically. With legislative approval of the above-mentioned policies, the actual implementation of these polices would require acceptance and enforcement at local and household levels which directly challenged the cultural ideologies and dogmas. In an effort to persuade the masses to accept the new policies, the GOR propagated the necessity of the change through education and sensitization campaigns. For example, the Girls Education Policy of 2008 identified strategies, aiming for the progressive elimination of gender disparities in education, training and management structures, which included specific sensitization strategies targeted at raising awareness amongst parents, teachers and communities at large regarding the benefits of education for both boys and girls (MINEDUC, 2008).

The FGDs revealed a high level of awareness of new polices and laws relating to the agenda of greater gender equality introduced by the new GOR. Although not mentioned by name, the participants were aware of the significant implications of the Law of Matrimonial Regimes, Succession and Liberalities of 1999.

> I know someone that was a girl who lost her piece of land. She was married to a man but was not allowed to take anything from her daddy's property, but immediately after the law was put in place she was allowed to take back the land /… /. The changes there are so much. After the law was established, girls were given the right to claim shares on their parents' property. Previously when girls were married, they could not claim any property of their parents (Participant1, Men2, 033).

Community confidence in local government has been observed to bolster the success of gender equality initiatives. In Afghanistan, a case study examining projects seeking to enhance local government institutions, found that the capacity and support of local governance directly correlated the active and meaningful participation of women in the community (Nahakul and Shariq, 2011). Within Muko Sector, women currently hold two of the five Sector level leadership positions and two of the four Cell Leaders are women, which is well above the 30% quota imposed by the legislation. This high percentage of female leadership may have influenced participants' perceptions; however, the matter was not explicitly mentioned within any of the FGDs.

A number of participants made direct correlations between the institutional changes and changes within their household dynamics.

> When the constitution changed, a lot of things changed including promoting gender equality/…/ [Women now hold] government and leadership positions, my husband respects me and obeys me because of the law, and our children have his or her rights because of the law", (Participant2, Women2, 048-049).

Another participant stated, "The past government only stuck to old culture. But the present government has sensitized us to treat all children equally hence development of the family" (Participant6, Women1, 022).

The notion of implementation of new governmental policy affecting the dynamics at the household level shows a significant degree of its penetrative influence.

> Things have changed in our behavior. For example, during the time of our elders, a man would find a woman having a baby crying and a man beat that woman which was unfair. But, that kind of behavior cannot happen today. Even if the wife is yours and the child, you cannot just slap someone./…/ We also talk as a family now, sit together, discuss things, where things are not going well, girls can be free to talk to their Daddys and tell them their problems which was not allowed in the time of their fathers. (Participant1, Men2, 038).

A shift towards gender equal behaviors and ideologies is not uncommon as a country develops; however, such a rapid transformation of gender norms in Rwanda is noteworthy. The unique post-conflict context of Rwanda demanded an unprecedented response by the Government in order to rebuild a country ravaged by war. Led by a progressive Government, and subsequent institutional and policy reforms coupled with sensitization programs and awareness raising campaigns, a process of gender norm reconstruction has commenced. Adults' attitudes have evidently begun to shift, which will have far-reaching repercussions for societal gender norms and the gender equality processes amongst the next generation. As one woman optimistically stated,

> When it all started men thought that women were rising against them, but slowly by slowly they grew to understand the advantages of these changes./---/ It is impossible for the culture to go back to the old ways because the government has sensitized them [the men] so now they expect instead for the community to develop (Participant4, Women1, 039-040).

4.3 Part 2: Influential Factors of Shifting Gender Roles in Rwanda

The family unit and specifically the intrahousehold division of labor play a key role in gender role socialization (Goodnow, 1988). The household is generally considered the main

socialization unit whereby children are taught, implicitly or explicitly, the skills, values and behaviors to become well-functioning members of their social group(s) (Dubow et al., 2007).

Furthering from the concept of Knowledge Transfer to Adults, the concept of Acceptance of Changes by adults and subsequent transmission of gender role attitudes and ideologies to children through socialization processes emerged from the FGDs. Through analysis of the adults' perceptions, and employing the principles of the social learning theory, factors influencing the transmission of gender role attitudes are evidenced and explored.

4.3.1 Social Learning Theory

The transmission of gender role attitudes reflects one of the key elements of social learning theory, which asserts that 'response consequences' play a crucial role in the socialization process of gender role development (Perry and Bussey, 1979: 1701). As children encode certain behaviors as same-sex appropriate or opposite-sex appropriate through observation, the selection of a particular behavior from their repertoire is largely determined by the response consequences that children observe, anticipate or experience (ibid; Mischel, 1966: 59, Perry and Perry, 1975: 1083). Anticipation of positive or negative reinforcements is highly influential in encouraging or reducing a certain behavior (Bandura, 1965: 593). That is to say, the more encoded behavioral patterns are rewarded and portrayed as appropriate, the more firmly the patterns are encoded, increasing the likelihood of general beliefs about such behaviors being extracted and generalized to other situations (Dubow et al., 2007). Supporting this perspective, Blair (1992: 184) asserts that parents influence the division of labor amongst children directly through the application of their own gender-role ideologies and attitudes through either positive or negative response consequences. These lessons learned during childhood subsequently form the foundation for values and attitudes in adult life (ibid: 201).

This analysis focuses on the attitudes and accounts of adults and does not measure the actual behaviors of children; therefore, the observational aspects of the Social Learning Theory cannot be investigated.

4.3.2 Changes in Adults' Attitudes towards labor

In the context of rapid institutional and social changes in post-genocide Rwanda, a considerable shift in attitudes regarding gender roles has taken place as discussed previously. Specifically, adults'

Knowledge Transfer to Adults

present perceptions of gender norms regarding the division of child work differ significantly to the anecdotal accounts of these norms during their childhoods.

In the past, reflective of many other traditionally patriarchal societies (Punch, 2001), participants indicated the existence of a clear gendered division along "productive" and "reproductive" lines. Girls were confined to duties within the domestic domain including cooking, cleaning, washing utensils, collecting firewood, sweeping and weaving, whilst boys generally cared for the family's animals and helped with the tasks such as cutting firewood and construction work, which were considered to be more physically demanding. This delineation was not a matter of choice but rather subject to deeply-entrenched customary practices;

> It was prohibited to see a boy sweeping the compound much as it was prohibited to see a girl grazing cows. Some things were prohibited according to some one's sex (Participant7, Men1, 018).

In addition, there was a consensus from all FGDs that girls spent more time working than their male peers, echoing the findings of many previous studies (Ritchie et al., 2004). Male participants shared accounts from their childhood of their sisters arising earlier than other household members in the mornings to commence their household chores, and in the evenings, when boys played together, girls continued working in the home cooking and cleaning. Similarly, women explained that they spent their days working "from sunrise to sunset" (Participant4, Women1, 008) with little or no time for leisure, contrasting to their male peers who recalled spending much time playing football and socializing with their friends.

The perceived discrepancy in the nature of work and time allocation between boys and girls was reflective of, and arguably perpetuated by the division of labor amongst their parents, whereby mothers worked longer hours and their work was concentrated within the domestic domain. Participants indicated a direct correlation between the work of children and parents as "boys were doing jobs like their fathers, like building, making furniture, making pots and doing some carpentry" (Participant1, Women2, 010) whilst "girls used to do the work their mothers used to do" (Participant1, Men1, 013). Consequently, based on the principles of the Social Learning Theory, it is warranted to assume that the traditional gender norms endemic within Rwandan society would be transferred and emerge in the gender role ideologies of adults today. However, as demonstrated above, this is not the case as these

attitudes and ideologies have shifted and today the dominant perception regarding gender norms in Muko is one of overarching equality between the sexes.

The perception of increased gender equality was exemplified across all FGDs. According to one participant,

> Now in this generation /.../ they are equal. Boys and girls do the same work. A boy can sweep, a boy can cook, which is very different from our generation during childhood (Participant1, Women2, 017).

This change was directly correlated with the development of parental awareness and understanding of child rights and gender equality;

> Parents are now aware that children are equal and should work equally. A boy can now cook and feed people at home but previously it was impossible. Now boys and girls do equal work because parents are no longer ignorant due to sensitization (Participant4, Women1, 019).

The apparent acceptance of Government led gender equality sensitization processes by adults appears to, at least in part, have influenced a shift of parental attitudes regarding many culturally designated gendered roles of their children, supporting Grusec and Davidov's (2007) concept of gender norm construction by each generation. These attitudinal changes have evidently influenced and are embodied within parents' reflections and opinions towards the division of labor amongst their sons and daughters.

Increased access to education and changing attitudes

In addition to these sensitization processes, simultaneous developments within the education sector prioritizing gender parity in education were also influential in the shift in parental attitudes regarding female education and gender equality. As women now have increased freedoms and opportunities available within the economic, political and social domain, the value of educating girls has received increasing recognition within Muko, which has direct and indirect linkages with the household division of labor amongst children.

Traditionally in Rwanda, education for girls did not include formal schooling but rather was focused on preparation for her future role as mother and wife (Feliciati, 2006: 21; Hamilton, 2000: 7) whereby,

> girls were naturally prepared to be future mothers and prepared to have their own homes because it would be a shame for a girl to get married without

knowing how to cook, take care of the young ones. So it was part of the training (Participant5, Men1, 025).

The prevailing perception was that boys were the ones who should go to school, whilst girls should contribute to the work at home and prepare for married life.

In the 1980s, girls in Rwanda were significantly underrepresented within the education system, comprising 45% of students in primary school, dropping to approximately 10% and 6% in secondary and university levels, respectively (Nowrojee, 1996: 16). Girls were often removed from school as they commenced puberty to prepare for marriage and in times of financial difficulties to contribute to the household (ibid). According to one participant,

> When you were studying as a girl, parents could drop you from school and let your brothers continue school, and you help your parents in household tasks and the boys continued studying. After turning 16 to 17 years old, parents thought that you should start planning your marriage and taking care of your family. You could start weaving grass mats, which you would then take to your husband's home after marriage (Participant1, Women2, 014).

During this time, there was little incentive to invest in the education of girls as future gains derived directly benefited the family she married in to, as once she got married "she will be of less importance to her family and instead will be of great importance to the family she will get married to" (Participant4, Women1, 011).

However, the institutional reforms emphasizing gender equality in education, combined with the recognition of the value of education for availing of the new opportunities open to females, led to a shift in women's and girls' value and recognition within the household and society. One participant explained that,

> Previously, girls did not go to school, but now girls go to school as boys do. People have come to know that what boys can do, girls can do. Seeing someone educated living on high standards of living motivates most of the girls to go to school. That has brought about big changes in gender norms regarding labor at home (Participant6, Men1, 034).

Thus, societal changes encouraging female education and enhanced opportunities available to women contributed to a change in perceptions regarding the value and potential roles of women within the household and society, which undoubtedly played a role in the shift away from traditional gender role attitudes.

Equal rights to education were additionally directly associated with a more equal division of labor amongst children as the hours girls spent studying reduced their availability within the home. These tangible modifications are also likely to have influenced the practicality of retaining the strict gender labor divisions of the past. It was no longer possible for girls to participate to the same extent in household labor that they had in the past; consequently, parents had to redistribute the division of tasks amongst boys and girls. One woman illustrated this phenomenon;

> Today the children, both boys and girls, are equal both in front of their parents and in front of laws of the government. A girl studies primary, secondary level and even if possible study University but this was not available long ago. With regard to work at home they all do equal work like because they study in shifts, if a girl studied in the morning, a boy will stay at home and do some domestic work and when a girl come back home she also does the remaining work (Participant4, Women1, 018).

Demonstrating an increased perception of equality regarding the division of labor between sons and daughters, this account highlights the interface of institutional reforms and changing adults' attitudes, the former fostering favorable conditions for the latter and effectively promoting gender equality.

4.3.3 Acceptance of change

Based on the assumption that parents' attitudes guide their parenting approach, adults' perceptions of the changes in attitudes directly influence the response consequences parents enforce, and subsequently the transmission of gender role attitudes to children. Throughout the FGDs, the apparent shift in attitudes toward greater gender equality was widely embraced as favorable developments for individuals, families and the community of Muko. The repercussions of these changes are far-reaching as participants correlated this shift with changes in the decision making processes within the home and community, women's property rights and representation in leadership positions as well as improvements in gender relations with greater respect for women in today's society. One man expressed that,

> These changes are good as we can see whereby sometime back a man could misuse the resources of the family because it was seen as his own resources but now a man cannot sell anything at home without authority and signatories of the woman and children at home. This has strengthened the families, if there's an issue at home, family members sit down and they share ideas. Men are no longer above the law (Participant1, Men2, 036).

Similarly, women spoke of the "great changes" (Participant6, Women1, 041) regarding their freedom of speech and opportunities to participate in discussion forums and intrahousehold decision-making processes. In the past,

> decisions in families were normally taken by men. Women would even be beaten up, but today decisions are between women and men and where necessary even their children participate in decision making concerning the family (Participant3, Women1, 045).

The changes in gender role attitudes were welcomed amongst adults as the subsequent benefits permeated intrahousehold relations and practices; women were now actively involved in decision-making processes with their husbands, could exert influence and authority over economic intrahousehold decisions and children were granted a voice and avenue to participate in family decisions.

Changes in gender norms have not alone altered perceptions of women's position within the home but also within society, where the value placed on women appears to have increased with these rapid changes. According to one man, the changes have,

> added value to the women whereby they now participate in each and everything, in leadership, in education, in any kind of job and business, anywhere you can find a women (Participant1, Men2, 035).

As women's freedoms and opportunities to participate in society were enhanced through legislative reform, female potential and capabilities were increasingly recognized. Women could now provide valuable contributions to the development of their families, communities and society, marking a dramatic shift from the stark subordination of women in all spheres of Rwandan society that prevailed prior to the events of 1994.

However, whilst this analysis indicates a comprehensive transformation of gender ideologies has taken place, participants acknowledged that inconsistencies do remain within the community. Reportedly, apprehension presently exists as to the importance of gender equality in a society where so many males and females live below the poverty line. Furthermore, participants stated that past cultural ideologies persist amongst certain groups, particularly amongst the older generation, and further sensitization is needed to enhance understanding of the benefits of gender equality. This acknowledgement indicates the process that is gender norm transformation and whilst it is apparent that a remarkable

ideology shift has taken place within a very short timeframe, it is unsurprising that discrepancies remain given the endemic and deeply entrenched nature of these norms.

4.3.4 Transmission of attitudes to children

Support and encouragement of gender equality amongst adults appears to have influenced parenting behaviors, as adults perceive their allocation of tasks to sons and daughters now to be non-gendered. One man explained that,
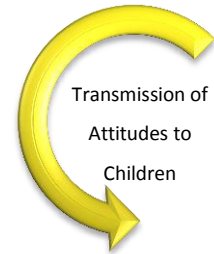
> The difference is now clear in work. I have a son and daughter who are in secondary school and when they are back, they share work. If the girl is cooking, the boy is going to fetch water, if the girl is sweeping the boy is collecting firewood. No work is now for girls only and no work is for boys only because they are equal with equal rights (Participant2, Men2, 020).

Parents' endorsement of a gender-equal division of labor and exhibition of, or indeed children's anticipation of, positive response consequences for these behavior patterns, will encourage children's repetition of said behavior. As parents' attitudes have become more egalitarian, and equality between boys and girls received increasing emphasis within the home, the perception of increased sharing of labor and cooperation between boys and girls in completing tasks emerged. Describing the allocation of tasks between her sons and daughters, one women asserts that,

> They now get up in the morning and go to fetch water together, for the family who has cattle they go to collect grasses together and if they negotiate they divide the jobs themselves, one goes to fetch water and another one goes to collect grasses (Participant1, Women2, 020).

These perceptions of increased sharing of tasks between boys and girls echo previous findings that children who grow up with parents' possessing egalitarian gender-role attitudes are more likely to share housework (Cunningham, 2001a: 187). The division of labor in childhood has significant implications for children's sex-role socialization (Goodnow, 1988); and this pattern will greatly influence gender role attitudes and ideologies of the next generation of adults in Muko.

The change in parental attitudes was further evidenced in the perceptions of the nature of the work that parents teach their children. Previously,

fathers used to train their sons building, pottery and other jobs that were concerned with boys like grazing and others, and a girl was trained tasks of weaving, sweeping and other household tasks. But, now because of changes in development and civilization, there is no work for boys and no work for girls. They all work together, that is the change that I can see (Participant1, Women2, 039).

As parents endorse and support gender-equal behavior and attitudes amongst their children directly and indirectly, children encode these patterns as being socially accepted and appropriate, and, based on the principles of social learning theory, with continued positive reinforcement are increasingly likely to develop gender-equal attitudes themselves. These findings support previous research by Cunningham (2001b: 121) which concluded that maternal gender role attitudes[1] during early childhood had a considerable influence on the attitudes of their adolescent children regarding their ideal division of labor between the sexes. This correlation thus highlights the importance of gender-role socialization processes for the formation of young adults' gender-role attitudes and ideologies.

The analysis presented above indicates a rapid transformation of gender role attitudes amongst adults in Muko. However, it is noteworthy that whilst attitudes appeared to have changed dramatically since the genocide, it is unclear if these attitudinal changes have translated to behavioral changes, either amongst adults or amongst children. Whilst this study did not analyze behavior patterns, discussions focusing on perceptions of specific tasks conducted by boys and girls indicated that discrepancies persist. For instance, it transpired from all FGDs with adults and children that girls and women continue to work longer hours than their male counterparts, the latter having more leisure time for sports and social activities, reflecting findings from previous studies in traditionally patriarchal societies (Lloyd et al., 2008: 115). In addition, it appears a deeply-entrenched stigma remains attached to certain tasks which continue to be considered "female tasks" including sweeping and growing beans. These discrepancies echo the results of the 2008 Rwanda Child Labor Survey that found that girls work longer hours and engage in more domestic tasks than their male peers and suggest a potential inconsistency between attitudes and actual behavior patterns.

4.4 Analytical Conclusion

The experience derived from the division of labor in childhood is a point of paramount significance in gender role socialization processes,

Enhanced Gender Equality

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[1] Cunningham's study did not study paternal attitudes.

37

underpinning the formation of values and attitudes in adult life (Blair, 1992; Cunningham, 2001a and Goodnow, 1988). Whilst this study did not investigate tangible behavioral changes, the potential influence of the portrayed parental attitude changes is vast. As parents have begun to foster and present increasingly gender-equal attitudes, it can be argued that these shifts in attitudes will affect behavior patterns. The accounts above indicate that parents' perceive their parenting behavior pertaining to allocation of tasks amongst children to be egalitarian, which will thus shape children's experience of labor and subsequent interpretation and adoption of gender role attitudes. As gender role socialization in childhood forms the foundation for values and attitudes in adulthood, the shift in attitudes will likely contribute to enhanced gender equality within this society. Moreover, the discernible commitment of the present Rwandan Government to gender equality creates an environment, which not only facilitates developments in gender equality but also actively promotes and encourages transformation of traditional gender norms and ideologies. The synthesis of internal and external endorsement of changing gender norms and ideologies, we anticipate, will contribute to enduring changes in gender equality.

Chapter 5

5.1 Conclusion

This study analyzed perceptions of the processes of gender norm transformation that have occurred in Muko, Rwanda since the genocide that ravaged the country's social, economic and political framework. Specifically in this post-conflict context, the study aimed to understand adults' perceptions of changes within the context of gendered division of labor amongst children, a conduit that is recognized as reflective of perpetuating gender norms through gender role socialization processes. Guided by a Grounded Theory approach, this study developed theoretical concepts depicted in the Influential Factors of Shifting Gender Roles in Muko conceptual model. The model represents the findings based predominantly upon primary data analysis of FGDs and elaborated and supported through secondary data analysis and evidences elements conducive for the dramatic shift within adult attitudes regarding gender norms in this traditionally patriarchal society.

Parents' present perceptions of the gendered division of labor amongst children differ radically from anecdotal accounts of the division from their own childhood experiences, the latter clearly reflecting the "reproductive" and "productive" dichotomy characteristic of many

patriarchal societies. Interestingly, however, the overarching perception emerging from the FGDs in this study was the present existence of equality between boys and girls, as parents asserted that their children now engage in similar tasks and share the allocated workload. Notwithstanding this, discrepancies emerged within the perceptions of specific tasks undertaken by boys and girls, as some tasks such as sweeping and growing beans were still considered "female" tasks. Similarly, when discussing time allocation, the notion of girls spending more time working was raised, echoing the findings of previous studies in both developed and developing countries across the world. These discrepancies also support the findings of the 2008 Rwanda Labor Survey and suggest a potential inconsistency between the adults' perceptions and the actual behavior patterns of children. However, such a potential discrepancy is unsurprising given the endemic nature of the patriarchal gender norms that have dictated the social order in Rwanda for centuries. Moreover, the Rwandan culture, where traditional roles have been strictly adhered to and deviance from is condemned, did not create a facilitative environment for advancing social change. Given this context, the perception of equality may not be reflective of the actual change as the significance assigned to any advancement in equality may be distorted and overestimated.

Accordingly, the belief and acceptance of such rapid transformations is remarkable. In the past, women were considered inferior across all domains of society and were systematically subordinated through discriminatory legislation and customary practices. Women were confined to the domestic realm, were removed from school to prepare for marriage, were denied opportunities to participate in the labor force and were generally viewed as unworthy of investment. Presently, however, according to the FGDs, women and girls have received increased recognition of their potential and value throughout the echelons of society.

Parents within the study attested to the new opportunities available to girls, including greater access to school, inheritance rights, freedom to earn income outside of the home and perform tasks that were once solely performed by males, perceiving girls to be increasingly equal to their male counterparts. This was further evidenced though the perception of alterations within tasks performed by boys, namely longer hours and the inclusion within domestic realm such as cooking.

Participants largely based this attitude transformation on institutional reforms which were introduced by the newly established, post-genocide Government. This progressive Government recognized the key role women were required to play in reconstructing the

country in the aftermath of the genocide, as they were forced into new roles arising from shifting demographics. Adoption of these new positions necessitated structural changes to the patriarchal framework that governed Rwandan society as a concerted effort to rebuild this failed state commenced. Institutional reform established a platform, which, for the first time in Rwanda's history, actively promoted gender equality.

Through sensitization processes these institutional reforms appear to have been successful in highlighting the benefits of gender equality, thereby molding the process of transformation and fostering increasingly gender equal attitudes amongst adults. The unwavering acknowledgement of the GORs influence by the participants suggests a high level of pervasiveness and success of the policies, which appear to have been, to a degree, internalized at the individual level. As the benefits of gender equality in all spheres of society are recognized, attitudes are changing from within. Through the belief in these processes of change, rather than mere passive acceptance of reforms enforced by Government, the potential penetrative influence of these changing attitudes in shaping future gender norms and ideologies in Muko is enormous. Changing attitudes amongst adults establishes a foundation for behavior modification not alone amongst this group, but also amongst the next generation, as, based upon the principles of social learning theory, endorsement of gender-equal behavior within the household will play a key role in gender-role socialization of children. As children grow and develop in environments, both internal and external, which are supportive of gender equality, gender role socialization processes are likely to reflect this common disposition and subsequently contribute to enhanced gender equality in the future.

5.2 Limitations and Future Research

Whilst this study highlighted a dramatic and rapid shift in gender role attitudes it is based solely on the perceptions of the participants and did not measure or analyze the actual behavior or behavioral change. Consequently, the study is unable to validate these accounts; however, the evidence of perceived changes in attitudes signifies an internal change, which is crucial for gaining a holistic understanding of the process of social transformation.

Given the small scale of this study, the results are not generalizable to populations beyond Muko. Gender-role socialization processes are complex and are influenced by a myriad of factors, such as family composition, income and wealth and women's participation in the labor force. Whilst the results represent perceptions of the process of rapid gender norm

transformation amongst this community, further research is required to understand this process in the national context.

It was not possible to reach theoretical saturation within the scope of this study, which consequently focused on the development of theoretical concepts. These concepts, based upon the principles of GT, may provide a foundation or insight for generating theory and may be utilized to guide further research regarding this phenomenon. Additional quantitative and qualitative longitudinal research is necessary to fully understand the transformation and ascertain the actual influence of this change in attitudes on behavior and their influence on enhancing gender equality.

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Appendix I – Guiding Focus Group Questions

Group A

Research Introduction and Questions

- Welcome and thank the participants for their attendance.
- Introduction of researchersand translators.
- Reading and signing of Consent Form
- Answering any Questions
- The discussion is expected to last 1.5 – 2 hours.
- It is possible we will contact you with follow-up questions at a later date.

Opening questions: *As a starter each participant will be asked the following questions in turn.*

- As an introduction, let us go around the group and perhaps each person could give their given name and tell us if you have any children, and how many you have . . .

Introductory questions: *We will begin with general 'warm-up' questions. These will be followed by questions that introduce participants to the broadd area of child labor and educational attainment. They will also help us to define terms used throughout the discussion.*

- What age is person considered to be a child?
- At what age is a person legally an adult?
- Can you define what child domestic labor is?
- Can you define what child agricultural work is?
- Is there any difference between child and adult labor?
- Do you know any children that do this kind of work?
- Do any of you/your children do either?
- What kind?
- What does the term Child Headed Household mean to you?
- Are there many CHH in Muko?

Transition questions: *These questions will help us move into the discussion part of the interview.*

- Do you think it is helpful or harmful for children to do this work? Why?
- Do you think children should do this work?
- What is the frequency of domestic and household work?
- What type of jobs/tasks do they perform?
- How many hours a week do children typically work?

SHORT BREAK - DISTRIBUTE SNACKS AND FANTA - ASK PARTICIPANTS TO STAND AND STRETCH

Key questions: *These questions are vital to answering the research questions. The group should be warmed up before reaching these discussion points.*

- In general, do you think girls or boys do more (agriculture and/or household) work, or is it equal?
- In general, do you think older or younger siblings work more?
- What about the case of children from CHH verses children from AHH?
- Do you think this kind of work can affect children's ability to attend school? How?
- Do you think this kind of work can affect a child's level of attainment in school?
- Has this affected your children? Why and How?
- What is the community's general attitude of the community regarding this type of child labor? Why?
- What is the community's general attitude of the community regarding a child's right to attend school? Why?
- What is the community's general attitude toward girls attending school? Is it the same as boys attending school? Why?

Closing questions: *A summary of the discussion as well as a time for additional information to be discussed.*

- Considering all of the topics discussed today is there one important thing you would like to share with adults/officials about children working at home and their achievements at school?
- After a quick summary of the meeting – ask if this is an accurate summary of what was discussed. Is there anything missing or incorrect about this summary?

Group B

Focus Group with Children

Parent and guardian consent.

Research Introduction and Questions:

- Welcome and thank the participants for their attendance.
- Introduction of researchers and translators.
- Explain that we will meet each child individually first to explain what we will be doing today and then we will come back together as a group for the discussion. (*Reading and signing of consent form with each child individually)*
- Answering any Questions
- The discussion is expected to last 1.5 – 2 hours.
- It is possible we will contact you with follow-up questions at a later date.

Opening questions: *As a starter each participant will be asked the following questions in turn.*

- As an introduction, let us go around the group and perhaps you can tell us your name and a game you like to play

Introductory questions: *We will begin with general 'warm-up' questions. These will be followed by questions that introduce participants to broad area of child labor and educational attainment. They will also help us to define terms used throughout the discussion.*

- Up until what age do you consider a person to be a child?
- Can you tell me what you understand household tasks to be? What type of work is it?
- What do you think agricultural work is?
- Do all children do this work?
- Are there any differences between the work adults do and the work children do?

Transition questions: *These questions will help us move into the discussion part of the interview.*

- Do any of you do these kind of household tasks and/or agricultural work? Can you tell me more about what type of work you/other children do?
- How often do children work?
- How many hours do you/other children spend doing this work every day?
- How many hoursa week do children typically work?
- Do you think it is helpful or harmful for children to do this work? Why?
- Do you think children should do this work?

Break and Game:

Key questions: *These questions are vital to answering the research questions. The group should be warmed up before reaching these discussion points.*

- In general, do you think girls or boys do more (agriculture and/or household) work, or is it equal?
- Why do you think this?
- In general, do you think older or younger siblings work more?
- How do you think the work affects whether children stay in school or drop out?
- How does the work you do affect your life?

Closing questions: *A summary of the discussion as well as a time for additional information to be discussed.*

- Considering all that we talked about today, is there anything else important you would like to tell us about children working and attending school?
- After a quick summary of the meeting – ask if this is an accurate summary of what was discussed. Is there anything missing or incorrect about this summary?

Group C

Research Introduction and Questions

- Welcome and thank the participants for their attendance.
- Introduction of researchers and translators.
- Reading and signing of Informed Consent Form
- Answering any Questions

- The discussion is expected to last 1.5 – 2 hours.
- It is possible we will contact you with follow-up questions at a later date.

Opening questions: *As a starter each participant will be asked the following questions in turn.*

- As an introduction, let us go around the group and perhaps each person could give their given name and tell us if you have any children, and how many you have . . .

Introductory questions: *We will begin with general 'warm-up' questions. These will be followed by questions that introduce participants to broad area of child labor and gender . They will also help us to define terms used throughout the discussion.*

Please think of your own childhood:
- What type of work did **you** do as children?
- Were there any differences in the type of work boys and girls did?
- Why did they do these types of work?
- How much time did you spend working?
- Was there any difference in the time boys and girls spent working? WHY?
- Any difference in where boys and girls worked? WHY?
- What are the reasons for these differences? Why are there differences?
- How about the work your parents did? What was the division of labor amongst your parents?

Please think about children and the work they do:

- What type of work do **your** children do now?
- Are there any differences between the work that boys and girls do?....what are the differences
- Is it more common for boys or girls to perform household jobs? Or is it the same? **(ask for examples of tasks)**
- Is it more common for boys or girls to perform agricultural jobs? Or is it the same? **(ask for examples of tasks)**
- Can you give some examples of the work/task that **your** children do?
- Are there any differences in the length of time boys and girls spend working?
- In your opinion, do you think the boys and girls should do the same work/tasks?
- Do you think MEN/WOMEN feel the same about the work that is "male" work and work that is "female"? What are the differences? If yes, WHY are there differences?
- Are there any differences in boys and girls engaging in paid work?

SHORT BREAK - DISTRIBUTE SNACKS AND FANTA - ASK PARTICIPANTS TO STAND AND STRETCH

Key questions: *These questions are vital to answering the research questions. The group should be warmed up before reaching these discussion points.*

- Do you think the nature of work that boys and girls do has changed over the past 20 years?
- What are the differences between the work/tasks you did and the work/tasks of your

children?

- What are the differences between the work your sisters did and girls today?
- What are the differences between the work your brothers did and boys today?
- How has it changed?
- What has caused these changes?
- Has the work that you do changed?
- Have there been changes between the roles of men and women as well and the jobs they do?
- What are the reasons for these changes? WHY have things changed? Where have they come from?
- If so, what impact do you think this has had /is having on the next generation? Do you think things will stay the same or continue to change?
- What are the long-term implications of these changes?
- What is your view of these changes; are they positive/ negative and why?

Community Attitude /Awareness:

- What are your thoughts on children working, is it positive or negative?
- Are there any circumstances when it is not positive?
- What are the benefits/disadvantages of children working?
- In your opinion, what is the attitude of the general community towards children's engagement in paid labor?
- In your opinion, what is the attitude of the general community towards children's engagement in domestic/agriculture labor?
- In your opinion, what is the attitude of the general community towards boys vs. girls engagement in domestic/agriculture labor?
- What in your view are the differences, if any, in the attitudes of men and women towards child labor?
- What is the level of awareness amongst the general community about child labor policies and laws at national and international level?

Closing questions: *A summary of the discussion as well as a time for additional information to be discussed.*

- Considering all of the topics discussed today is there one important thing you would like to share with adults/officials about children working at home and their achievements at school?
- After a quick summary of the meeting – ask if this is an accurate summary of what was discussed. Is there anything missing or incorrect about this summary?

Appendix II – Translator Training Guide

Translator Training Guide

Guide Purpose: To educate field translators on the purpose of the research and methodology used. This Guide is for all members of the research team including researchers, transcribers and translators.

Research Objective Overview: The purpose of this research is to gain further insight into the issue of unpaid child labor in Rwanda, the extent and nature of this labor. This research will be used in preparation for our Master's Thesis. Additionally, it will be available to district authorities to contribute to their assessment of need within the sector, and potentially inform service provision.

Ethical Issues (Consent and Confidentiality):

1. The identities of interviewees shall remain confidential. Interviews are to take place in a private and secure location. Names of interviewees will not be used in any reports.

2. All interviewees must have informed consent to interviews. Informed Consent means the interviewee has been informed of who the interviewers are, who they represent, the purpose as well as the intended use of the interview.

3. Interviews may be recorded. In this case, informed consent must be obtained prior to the commencing of the interview. The interviewee has the right to request that the interview not be recorded. These recording will only be used for the purpose of data collection. They will not be shared with anyone outside of the research team.

Survey Translation

Translations: Prior to commencing surveys must be translated into Kinyarwanda. The translations must be accurate and clear. Translators should keep in mind cultural issues and the intended Interviewee. Language used should be simple, yet should not talk down to the interviewee. Translations must be checked for accuracy by another translator.

Cultural Advisors

Translators: Given that the Researchers are not native, in addition to translating, translators should act as cultural advisors for researchers. This means, any cultural misunderstandings should be avoided if possible as well as identified when and if they happen. By keeping cultural differences in mind the Translator acts as an important channel between the Researcher and the Interviewee. The ultimate goal is to make the **Interviewee feel comfortable** which will allow them to answer.

Semi-structured Interviews

An interview guide will be provided prior to the interviews, to insure all participants clearly understand the objectives of the interview. The guide is meant to support the interview process. However, it is possible the interview will diverge from guide. In this case both the Translators and Researchers should be willing to follow the natural progression of the interview, while keeping the purpose of the study in mind. In other words, if the interviewee is leading the conversation into and unexpected, yet relevant direction, the interview should continue. Conversely if the interviewee is leading the conversation into and unexpected, yet irrelevant direction, the interview should be guided back to its intended purpose.

Role of Translator: Translators are to accurately translate the conversation between the researcher and the interviewee. Translations should be as accurate as possible (literal translation) and Translators should be careful not to leave out any information no matter how insignificant the information may seem to the translator. If the literal translation causes confusion the Translator should adapt the verbiage as appropriate.

Role of Researcher: The researcher will direct and guide the interview through the Translator.

Note Takers: The Note Taker will take notes throughout the interview, including observations. Given the situation the note taker may be the Researcher or Translator.

Surveys - Questionnaires

Role of Translator: Translators are to accurately read questions from the questionnaire. The questions should be read from the questionnaire as written. The Translator should not lead the interviewee in any way. If the interviewee does not understand the question the translator is allowed to clarify. All questions are to be asked in the order they appear.

Role of Researcher: The researcher will observe and intervene as necessary. Additionally the Researcher will focus on taking notes and making observations.

Note Takers: If present, the Note Taker will take notes throughout the interview, including observations.

Focus Group Discussions

Small focus group discussions will take place in order to gain larger amounts of data in a shorter period of time. We will be working with groups comprised of 6-10 individual of similar backgrounds.

The Research will moderate the group and pose questions. The translator will translate for the researcher as well as help with clarification as needed.

A Discussion Guide will be used to assist with the flow of the conversation; however, it is not a rigid format for the group discussion. The discussion guide will be used to manage the

group discussion around the key topics, yet remain flexible to explore new issues as they arise or change the order of topics as they are spontaneously raised by participants.

All participants will be asked to sign an Informed Consent form.

Transcribing of focus groups will take place after returning from the field. The transcriptions will be done by the translators that were present during the focus groups whenever possible.

Interviewing children

Much of the interviewing for the research will take place with children, both from Child-Headed Households and Adult-Headed Households. When working with children, it is very important to make them feel comfortable and at ease with the research process. Efforts will be made to ensure this by using the following techniques:

- o Use simple, child-friendly language

- o Meet with each child individually to explain the purpose and processes of the research and to seek their consent. It is important that each child is given the choice to participate in the research and feels no pressure to participate. By meeting with the children individually before starting the interviewing we aim to minimize any peer pressure they may feel to participate.

- o Introductory games and/or art may be used at the start and throughout the interviews to help the children to feel at ease.

Expectations of Translators

1. Translators are expected to be respectful of the research process and to ask questions to avoid unnecessary misunderstandings.
2. Translators are expected to translate *everything* to the researchers, regardless of how insignificant it may seem.
3. Translators are expected to be on time.
   Phones should be off or on silent during all interviews. Phones may be used during breaks.

Appendix III – Participant Consent Forms

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Focus Group and Interviews in Rwanda

Names of Researchers: Emily Bradley and Annetta De Vet

Institutions of Researchers: Lund University, Sweden

Name of Research Sponsor : ActionAid International Rwanda

Explanation of Procedures: You are being invited to participate in an interview or discussion group being conducted by students from the Lund University Management in International Development (LUMID) Master's Program. This research is being funded by ActionAid International (AAIR).

This interview or discussion group is designed to help us understand your knowledge and beliefs concerning many issues relating to child labor, both domestic and agricultural.

You are one of many individuals being asked to participate in this group discussion or individual interview.

Participants representing many segments of the local populations will participate, including local leaders and officials, educators, head of households and children.

Research Objective Overview: The purpose of this research is to gain further insight into the issue of unpaid child labor in Rwanda, the extent and nature of this labor. This research will be used in preparation for our Master's Thesis. Additionally, it will be available to district authorities to contribute to their assessment of need within the sector, and potentially inform service provision.

Considerations: Some of the subject matters covered may be uncomfortable to discuss and answer for some people. You are free to refrain from answering any questions at any time throughout the interview.

Personal Benefits: You may not personally benefit from your participation in this research. However, your answers may provide us with information that will be used to develop AAIR programs within Muko Sector and throughout Rwanda.

Alternative Procedures: Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary and there is no expectation on the part of the Researchers, or AAIR that you participate. Your decision on whether or not to participate will notaffect the support you receive from AAIR.

Confidentiality: The identities of participants shall remain confidential. Interviews may be tape recorded. The participant has the right to request that the interview not be recorded. These recording will only be used for the purpose of data collection. They will not be shared with anyone outside of the research team. In the case a session is tape recorded, the recordings will be converted into written format.

Your participation means that you agree to allow the information to be used for scientific purposes, but your name will not be identified in any way in reports or publications.

Due to the group nature of focus groups confidentiality cannot be guaranteed amongst

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participants. If participants are uncomfortable with the group setting they will be allowed to leave the discussion group.

Costs for Participation in Research: There are no costs to you for taking part in this discussion group or interview.

Questions: You are free and encouraged to ask any questions you may have throughout the process.

Legal Rights: You are not waiving any legal rights by signing this form.

Statement of Agreement to Participate in Research Study: You have read this consent form or had it read to you in a language that you can speak, and its contents explained toyou. All of your questions have been answered. Your rights and privacy will be maintained. You freely and voluntarilychoose to participate in this study. You will be given a copy of this consent form. By signing your name or making your mark in the space below you voluntarily agree to join the study.

_____

Signature/Thumb Print   Printed Name   Date

Witness   Printed Name   Date