

**DEVELOPMENT AND FIELD TESTING OF
ACTION-BASED PSYCHOSOCIAL RECONCILIATION APPROACH
IN POST-GENOCIDE RWANDA**

by

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Abstract

The 1994 Rwandan genocide and subsequent 2003 government release of genocide prisoners (perpetrators) created a situation where returning prisoners now live side-by-side with survivors in rural villages of Rwanda. While political and economical efforts have been made to facilitate unity and reconciliation, interpersonal reconciliation support is critically scarce in present-day Rwanda. The purpose of this research is to develop and conduct field-testing of a new action-based psychosocial reconciliation approach (ABPRA). The ABPRA is conceptually and empirically founded on Japanese Morita therapy and contact theory. The ABPRA is a practical synthesis of Moritian therapeutic principles and contact conditions empirically supported to facilitate positive attitude change aimed at fostering an interpersonal reconciliation process between the survivors and ex-prisoners. Four reconciliation dyads consisting of survivors and ex-prisoners of the 1994 Rwandan genocide living in the same village were recruited on voluntary bases to participate in two weekly hours of the ABPRA session. This lasted for eight weeks over two months in two remote villages in Rwanda. A post-session, semi-structured interview method was combined with the interpersonal process recall method to explore participant experiences. Thematic content analysis (Krippendorff, 2014) of data revealed five beneficial properties of the ABPRA: (a) healing, (b) attitude change, (c) reconciliation, (d) relationship building, and (e) psychosocial development. Despite its limitations, current evidence not only supported two theoretical foundations of the ABPRA but also generated descriptive information to enhance them. Implications and applications to counselling psychology, ecology and medium of healing and change, conflict mediation and resolution, war prevention, and peace building will be discussed.

Preface

This dissertation is solely based on my original literature review, development and field implementation in Rwanda. I have developed the action-based psychosocial reconciliation approach and implemented it in two remote villages in Rwanda. I have delivered the approach myself as a reconciliator. I have also conducted the interview myself with participants and collected data. Various organizations contributed to the delivery of this research project. Rwanda National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, and the Prison Fellowship Rwanda endorsed this research project and provided me with the letter of endorsement used for my ethics application for the Rwanda National Ethics Committee. Prison Fellowship Rwanda allowed myself to conduct this research in two reconciliation villages they operate. Prison Fellowship Rwanda provided a liaison between myself and the villagers and a professional Kinyarwandan interpreter who provided interpretation services throughout this research activity. Interview data was transcribed by my research assistant, Emmanuel Ndahimana, and translated by a researcher, Rosine Urujeni (LL.B., M.A.). I conducted all data analysis procedures except the cross-coding procedure. Three volunteers participated in the cross-coding verification of my text coding for qualitative analysis: They were Yoke Yong Chen (M.Sc.), Marie-Claire Reville (M.Sc.), and Stuart Smith (M.Sc.).

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This dissertation incorporates a model of attitude, attitude formation, and attitude function from my following publications:

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This dissertation also incorporates results from a systematic review conducted by myself for a course:

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Dedication

To all those who perished in wars and conflicts

And

To all those who are ready to take action for peace.

Development and Field Testing of Action-Based Psychosocial Reconciliation Approach in Post-Genocide Rwanda

Chapter 1: Introduction

History of Rwanda

Pre-colonial Rwanda enjoyed peace and harmony among three tribes: (a) Twa: the aboriginal tribe, (b) Hutu: the original agricultural farmers of the land of Rwanda, and (c) Tutsi: the settlers with a hierarchical structure positing their own king, Mwami (Kamukama, 1993). The three tribes held their own border system consisting of both Hutus and Tutsis. It was equipped with their own tribal council, Gacaca, acting as their justice system to resolve intergroup conflicts (Staub, 2004). In 1880s, the first European explorers arrived in Rwanda and began the process of colonization (University of British Columbia, 2009). German settlers considered Tutsis as “superior race” considering they appeared more European than Hutus. The horizontal tribal relationships, which had existed in Rwanda harmoniously for years, were turned vertical for the first time by the European settlers. They placed Tutsis at the top of the social hierarchy as superiors (Larson, 2009).

Between 1919 and 1962, Rwanda experienced the Second World War and Belgium colonization. In 1921, the League of Nations Mandate awarded Belgium with the administration of Rwanda as their mandated territory. Belgium continued relying on Tutsi power structures. European colonization solidified the ethnic divide combined with the Eugenic movement. So-called scientists were brought in to measure skulls, skin color, and eye color judging Tutsis as superior as they appeared more Caucasian. The racial/ethnic identification card (which was used here similarly as in the South African Apartheid Regime) was first introduced by the Belgium

colonial administration in 1926. From 1933 onward, the ethnic labels of “Tutsi,” “Hutu,” and “Twa” were put on all identity cards as a mandatory information (Larson, 2009).

From the late 1950s to early 1960s, anti-colonial sentiment arose among the Hutus (Kamukama, 1993). Over the sixty years of political oppression, their frustration had reached its peak. In March 24th, 1957 Grégoire Kayibanda, then the chief editor of the catholic newspaper *Kinyamateka*, published the *Bahutu manifesto* with the help of the catholic bishop and others (Larson, 2009; U.B.C., 2009). This work is considered the first attempt to describe the political problem from an ethn racial perspective. The Hutu emancipation movement was organized and led by Kayibanda. The movement demanded the emancipation of Bahutu and a racial quota system in education and employment. This movement developed into PARMEHUTU (Parti du Mouvement de l'Emancipation Hutu) which later became militarized (Kamukama, 1993). In 1959, the UNAR (Union Nationale Rwandaise) party was formed by Tutsis who asserted the existing Tutsi regime to become the basis of their independence. This party also became militarized (Kamukama, 1993). In the same year, the Tutsi king died of an uncertain cause which was an event that marked the beginning of the long history of interethnic war (Larson, 2009).

Under the Belgian colonial administration connivance, the first massacres of Tutsis by PARMEHUTU party loyalists occurred in 1959. Thousands of Tutsis were killed by Hutus and as a result, thousands of Tutsis left the country (Kamukama, 1993; Larson, 2009). The year 1959 witnessed a series of inter-tribal massacres. Tutsis who had left the country returned and attacked the Hutus in the country. Hutus attacked them in retaliation killing 12,000 Tutsis (Kamukama, 1993; Larson, 2009).

Post-Colonial Rwanda

Rwanda declared its independence on July 1st, 1962. Post-colonial Rwanda was a time of interethnic divide, resentment, hatred, anger, and fear of uncertainty governed by the majority party of the Hutu Emancipation Movement (PARMEHUTU). Grégoire Kayibanda was elected as the first president of Rwanda. Between 1962 and 1994, Rwanda witnessed continuous civil conflicts and warfare between Tutsis and Hutus. Numerous prequel massacres were documented which escalated into the 1994 genocide (Kamukama, 1993; Larson, 2009).

The 1994 Genocide

On April 6th, 1994 the airplane carrying Juvénal Habyarimana, the President of Rwanda at the time, was shot down as it prepared to land on the Kigali International Airport. This incident marked the beginning of the genocide. Hutu government military and extremist militia groups, termed *Interahamwe* (meaning “those who stand together”), attempted to murder all Tutsis (Larson, 2009). Death squads swiped the land from capital Kigali to all rural areas of Rwanda. The genocide lasted for approximately 100 days from April 6th to mid-July. The Rwandan genocide was one of the worst ethnic massacres in history in terms of its speed and scale. UNICEF (Chauvin, Mugaji, & Comlavi, 1998; Dyregrov, Gupta, Gjestad, & Mukanoheli, 2000) reported that between the months of April and July 1994, approximately 800,000 to 1 million people were systematically murdered. By a simple calculation, 10,000 individuals were murdered per day, 417 per hour, and 7 per minute. The major weapon for killing was the machete. Up to 55% of the pre-genocide population of about 7.5 million Rwandans were directly affected by the genocide. Almost all Rwandan children were exposed to severe traumatic incidents (Chauvin et al., 1998; Dyregrov et al., 2000; Kaplan, 2006). 600,000 children became orphans as the result of the genocide (Rollins, 2007). The RPF (Rwandan Patriotic Front) led by

Paul Kagame (currently the president of Rwanda in 2011) seized control of the Genocide by late July 1994. The 1994 genocide solidified the disharmony and hatred between Tutsis and Hutus (Staub et al., 2005) and led to a continuous intergroup tension between the two ethnic groups in present day Rwanda (Staub et al., 2005; Hilker, 2009). The country was left with hundreds of challenges including an urgent political shift from ethnocracy to modern democracy (Drumbl, 1999).

Aftermaths of the 1994 Genocide

The Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre (KGMC) identified three major scars of the genocide (Personal Visits, July 8th, 2009): (a) high prevalence of HIV as a result of war-rape (Mukamana, 2008), (b) an overwhelming number of orphans and shortage of orphanages (Parkes, 1996), and (c) severe individual psychological traumas of survivors (Chauvin et al., 1998; Hagengimana et al., 2003; Perrier, 2003; Sezibera, 2009; Shaal, 2006). The KGMC reported that by 2014, most people of Rwanda are still suffering from psychological traumata and the torment of living with devastating emotional scars (Bagilishya, 2000). In a sense, the genocide is an ongoing event in people's minds. It was estimated that more than half of the pre-war population, and nearly all children, were affected by this genocide and have been carrying some form of psychological and physical trauma (Cohen et al., 2009; Meierhenrich, 2007; Pham, Weinstein, & Longman, 2009; Rollins, 2007; Shaal & Elbert, 2006). Many still suffer from other forms of mental health challenges, such as depression (Bolton, Neugebauer, & Ndogoni, 2002; Shaal, Elbert, & Neuner, 2009) and somatic panic-attack (Hagengimana et al., 2003). While some efforts are under way to support the healing process of Rwandans (Brown et al., 2009; Chauvin, 1998; Olij, J, 2005; Onyut et al., 2004; Richters, Dekker, & Scholte, 2008; Scholte et al., 2004), they are far from sufficient. In addition to these mental health challenges, there was a serious

concern about the continuous ethnic tensions between Rwandans of Tutsi descent (survivors) and of Hutu descent (ex-prisoners) immediately after the 1994 Genocide (Hilker, 2009; Meierhenrich, 2007; Staub, Pearlman, Gubin, & Hagengimana, 2005; Sezibera, Broeck, & Philippot, 2009).

Ongoing Effort to Maintain Peace and Foster Reconciliation in Present Day Rwanda

As is evident from its history, Rwanda has witnessed a long history of interethnic divide, tension, conflicts, and violence between the two tribes as the result of European colonisations and other factors (Kamukama, 1993). Many pre-genocide massacres have been documented over the past four decades (Kamukama, 1993; Larson, 2009). In addition, the 1994 genocide has been considered a summative result of the escalation of deeply rooted interethnic tensions as well as a continuous failure of preventions and interventions (Grünfeld, 2009; Kamukama, 1993). Since the 1994 genocide amplified and solidified the existing ethnic tension between Tutsis and Hutus (Staub et al., 2005; Hilker, 2009), it had been strongly cautioned that, unless the underlying interethnic tensions are resolved, a future recurrence of mass scale murdering or war is unavoidable (Staub et al., 2005). However, Rwanda has learned from its history, has been putting tireless efforts into maintaining peace and fostering unity and reconciliation among its citizens (N.U.R.C., 2014a, b), and has achieved well-deserved peace and stability that its citizens can enjoy today (Personal visits, between September, 2011 to June, 2012). As would be anticipated, this progress has not been without its due challenges.

Challenges to Psychosocial Reconciliation

One of the challenges posed on Rwandans was the 2003 government reintegration policy to release confessed genocide prisoners back into their local communities. The decision added an additional challenge to this country. Since 2003, the Rwandan government has been releasing imprisoned war criminals who confessed of their criminal activities back into their own

communities. It is notable here that the 1994 genocide was considered an “intimate genocide” in which neighbours, friends, and relatives living in a same village/community killed each other (Staub et al., 2005). This means that the 2003 release created a situation in which many survivors must make the decision as to whether they wanted to live with the returning ex-prisoners in the same village/community of origin or not.

The following narrative was collected through my interview with a businessman while I visited Rwanda in 2009. It illustrates real life challenges of a Rwandan living under such circumstance.

Masahiro: “Hi I am Masahiro.”
 Besigye: “Masahiro, your name is easy for us to remember.”
 Masahiro: “Oh really?”
 Besigye: “Yes, ours use consonants and vowels alternatively. What are you doing here?”
 Masahiro: “I just got back from the KGMC (*Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre*).”
 Besigye: “Oh how was it?”
 Masahiro: “... (shakes head) ... (*appealing my speechlessness*).”
 Besigye: “I know.”
 Masahiro: “Do you remember that time?”
 Besigye: “Oh yes. I am a man of Tutsi descent. I was born and raised in exile in Uganda when Tutsi were seeking help as refugees. This nation as a whole is trying to recover from the trauma.”
 Masahiro: “How about the reconciliation process?”
 Besigye: “The reconciliation is not easy. Perhaps for the Tutsis’ ... I have my family member killed in the genocide. People who were interned in prison after the “war” (he called), were sent to the same village as I live in, and their children go to the same church and school as my son. Believe me, it’s not easy. The government tries to reconcile us under the name of “Rwandese” but again...(short silence) (shakes head)...believe me it’s not easy. I cannot say anything else. We cannot say anything, because we are all Rwandese now. If I mention Hutu or Tutsi now, I’m going to be put in jail. Believe me it’s not easy.”

(B. C. Bertin, personal communication, July 8, 2009, permission granted).

Besigye’s story is an example of the living circumstances some Rwandans are faced with today. It is not an uncommon phenomenon across Rwanda that the survivors and ex-prisoners of 1994 live together in the same village (Buckley-Zistel, 2006; Hinson, 2009). Besigye also shared his thoughts that it is perhaps hardest for those who were actual victims of rape and other forms

of torture who continue to struggle through emotional as well as physiological trauma (e.g., post traumatic stress disorder, HIV). He also described that people learned that even the Hutus were manipulated, threatened, and forced by the extremist Hutus to engage in acts of genocide.

Otherwise, they also could become the victims of genocide. Learning about this fact made the reconciliation process more complicated for Besigye. He described that he used to blame Hutu people “100%,” but now he can only blame them “60%,” and the remaining responsibilities lies with the previous government (B. C. Bertin, personal communication, July 8, 2009). This understanding has created a new moral dilemma and suffering in his case. While his emotions communicate anger and resentment toward returning ex-prisoners, his mental ability disables him to thoroughly blame the ex-prisoners. Today, a large number of survivors and ex-prisoners are said to be living with these moral dilemmas and emotional challenges (Buckley-Zistel, 2006; Hinson, 2009).

In addition to the emotional challenge of living with ex-prisoners and the suffering from the burden of a moral dilemma, Besigye’s story also reveals another crucial challenge to healing, truth, and reconciliation: the Banyarwanda policy (Zorbas, 2004). Learning from its past ethnic divide, the current government of Rwanda is emphasizing the united national identity of being the “people of Rwanda” (Banyarwanda policy) to prohibit further ethnic divide (Zorbas, 2004). This due shift in national identity has ironically silenced some victims/survivors and prevented them from sharing their true stories. The stories often involve the use of ethnic terms as was illustrated in the above case of Besigye. People are often put under moral pressure to not use the ethnic terms “Tutsis” or “Hutus” thus lacking a safe and open space for sharing the truth, processing the events, or reconciling their past. As a result, they carry a considerable amount of

pain, disturbance, anger, hopelessness, sorrow, and sadness without any psychological support (Hinson, 2009; Larson, 2009).

In order to ameliorate this situation and to bring justice, the Rwandan government has revived the traditional “judicial” system of Gacaca after the war. It was intended to be the primary means of reconciliation support for the community reintegration (U.N., 2011). Gacaca entails a group of elected individuals from a particular community conducting trials in their community. However, some have raised concerns about psychological damage that may have occurred as an unintended byproduct during these processes including re-traumatization and vicarious traumatization of survivors, renewed anger, rage, hatred, sadness, and retaliations towards witnesses without adequate and thorough follow-throughs of psychological aftercare (Apuuli, 2009; Brounéus, 2010; Kanyangara, 2007; Staub et al., 2005; Staub, 2006).

Challenges to Provide Psychological Reconciliation Support

Facilitating reconciliation among the survivors and ex-prisoners of 1994 has been considered as a valued priority for this country, and Rwanda has been putting every possible available resource into making differences (N.U.R.C., 2014a, b). However, the efforts undertaken in the psychological sector have significant challenges.

First, while the political reconciliation process (e.g., The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and the National Court System of Rwanda) is underway (N.U.R.C., 2014a, b; UN, 2011), individual and interpersonal psychological reconciliation tends to be placed as a lower priority item under clearer and presently more practical needs to ensure other socioeconomic necessities such as basic survival needs (e.g., food, water, electricity), national security, political stability, economical recovery and development, and infrastructure development (Boudreaux, 2007; Larson, 2009).

The second challenge is directly related to the current state of our own field of discipline. Currently, we have limited knowledge and understanding of the characteristics of the process of psychological reconciliation. While many have attempted reconciliation support, the majority of the interventions, literature, and research focus on either theoretical/conceptual (Dudgeon & Pickett, 2000; Galtung, 2005; Staub, 1996, 1998; Wessells, 2000), socio/political (Brounéus, 2008; Buckley-Zistel, 2006; Byrne, 2006; Clarke, 2010; Gibson, 2006, 2007; Hilker, 2009; Kaminer, 2001; Makinda, 1996; Melvin, 2010; Sarkin, 1999), economical (Boudreaux, 2007), social (Thurman et al., 2006, Thurman et al., 2008) or legal/psycho-legal (Allan, 2000; Allan & Allan, 2000; Humphrey, 2003; Landman, 2001; Sosnov, 2008; Zorbas, 2004) aspects of the reconciliation process. Our current understanding of the psychological process of reconciliation is far from adequate requiring more of a bottom-up approach for closer and more descriptive investigations of the phenomenon (Bar-On, 2005; Bar-Tal, 2000). As a result of this lack of process knowledge and understanding (at least in the Western academic communities), efforts to develop practical, effective, and efficient interventions suffer. This calls-out an urgent need to learn more about the process of reconciliation itself from and to collaborate with the people of Rwanda who are living in the very process of psychological reconciliation today before we in the West can even design effective psychological reconciliation support programs.

Finally, there is a challenge in logistics and a modality of service delivery. On an individual level, the majority of Rwandans are farmers and make their living out of their daily farming activities. Almost all of the few existing psychological reconciliation programs rely heavily on a session-based and verbal model where reconciliation dyads are asked to join weekly “reconciliation counselling” sessions (Hinson, 2009; Staub, Pearlman, Gubin, & Hagengimana, 2005). Ironically, such a session-based intervention modality poses a practical hindrance to the

dyad as they must interrupt their daily farming activity, which their lives depend upon, to participate in the session (Hinson, 2009; Larson, 2009). Some participants have to travel a long distance to get to the place where reconciliation counselling facilities have been built (Hinson, 2009; Larson, 2009). The current modality of reconciliation counselling process has the disadvantage of impeding people's daily lives (Hinson, 2009; Larson, 2009). Despite these practical challenges, there are a few who have developed and implemented a psychological reconciliation program in Rwanda with benefits. Amongst them, the works of Drs. Ervin Staub and Laurie-Ann Pearlman in Rwanda are cited as the seminal pieces of research in the area (Cairns, 2005).

Reconciliation: Seminal Works of Drs. Ervin Staub and Laurie-Ann Pearlman

Dr. Ervin Staub has been researching on the issue of psychological reconciliation since 1996 (Staub, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2003, 2004, 2006, 2008; Staub & Bar-Tal, 2003; Staub, Pearlman, & Miller, 2003; Staub, Pearlman, Gubin, & Hagengimana, 2005; Staub & Pearlman, 2006). Based on his theoretical understanding and research experience, he has developed a psychological reconciliation program in collaboration with Dr. Laurie-Ann Pearlman implementing it in Rwanda. The intervention program has been claimed to be a theory-based intervention as it incorporates the principles of psychological reconciliation identified by the foremost researchers in the area as their intervention program components (Staub et al., 2005).

In 2005, Drs. Staub and Pearlman published an article reporting the results of an experimental evaluation of their theory-based intervention program in Rwanda. To this day, this is the first and only study employing an experimental design reported on an approach to psychological reconciliation. Their program entailed both psychoeducational and experiential components and incorporated the elements of psychological reconciliation (Staub et al., 2005).

The psychoeducational components were delivered through interactive lectures, and the experiential components were delivered through large and small group discussions. The psychoeducational components addressed the following elements of reconciliation through didactic lectures: (a) understanding the roots of genocide, (b) understanding the effects of trauma and victimization as well as the paths to healing, (c) understanding basic psychological needs, and (d) vicarious traumatization. The experiential component involved encouraging the participants to share painful experiences in an empathic group-sharing environment.

This theory-based intervention was first employed as a training seminar to train local “facilitators of healing and reconciliation.” Then, the trained facilitators implemented and delivered the intervention to 194 rural Rwandan community members (Staub et al., 2005). In order to evaluate the effectiveness of their program, Staub and his colleagues (2005) have conducted a quasi-experimental study employing a 3 (treatment type) x 2 (treatment goal) x 2 (treatment focus) design. Participants were not randomly assigned to the group but rather “opportunistically” recruited through a local organization.

The treatment group was composed of three levels: (1) integrated, (2) traditional, and (3) control with no treatment. The integrated group received the theory-based treatment in combination with traditional treatment (Staub et al., 2005). Staub (2005) explained that the traditional treatment entailed any standard pre-existing intervention of the trainee organization and that there was a wide variability among such standard pre-existing intervention approaches. The critical difference between the integrated and traditional group was the absence of the elements of reconciliation in the traditional group. Each of the treatment groups was divided further into two groups according to their treatment goals. One group had the goal of healing from trauma while the other had the goal of rebuilding the community. The healing group

focused on activities such as sharing feelings and thoughts or learning about trauma while the community-building group focused on discussing more practical issues such as income generation, agricultural work, housing, and economic problems. Each of the treatment groups was further divided by treatment focus. One group espoused a religious perspective to reconciliation and incorporated many religious practices into their treatment, while the other secular group did not.

The effectiveness of the treatment on healing from trauma was measured by administering the Bosnia-Herzegovina version of the Harvard Trauma Questionnaire (HTQ) (Harvard Program in Refugee Trauma, 1999) and its subscales. The effectiveness of the treatment on reconciliation was measured by administering the Readiness to Reconcile or Orientation to the other Measure test developed by Staub et al. (2005). Initially, their measure consisted of 45 items reflecting theoretical concepts of forgiveness, reconciliation, and perception of and orientation to members of the other group. A preliminary validation study provided validity evidence via factor analysis. They reported that 24 items loaded above 0.40 on the first factor which accounted for 18% of the variance (Staub et al., 2005). From the 24 items, three were eliminated to increase the reliability of the measure. The final analysis indicated the reliability of the measure to be adequate ($\alpha = .811$ at Time 1, $.866$ at Time 2, and $.682$ at Time 3) (Staub et al., 2005). The final version was labelled as Other Orientation Measure (OOM) (Staub et al., 2005). Over the years of work conducted by both Staub and Pearlman in Rwanda, this is the only experimental study reported examining the effectiveness of their theory-based intervention.

Measures were administered to each group at three points in time: before, during, and after the treatment. Staub et al. (2005) reported that their results showed significant treatment

effect in reducing the reported trauma symptoms of participants who were in the integrated group as compared to the other treatment groups over three periods of time. The results also showed significant positive changes in orientation toward the other group in the integrated group as compared to the other two groups.

Critiques of Staub et al. (2005)

The seminal work of Staub et al. (2005) offered invaluable pieces of preliminary information for understanding the nature and process of psychological reconciliation. However, it also revealed methodological limitations and challenges which affected their claimed understanding of psychological reconciliation.

The first limitation of the study stemmed from its theory-based nature. It intervened by promoting participants' understanding and knowledge of researchers' theoretical understanding of the psychological reconciliation. It imposed their theoretical understandings onto the participants' experience. Two problems emerged from this. First, the program imposed the understanding of the researchers possibly not adequately representing the participants' full experience of reconciliation. The evaluation method used in this study was based on the standardized measures developed based on researchers' theoretical understandings of psychological reconciliation.

The Rwandan participants' subjective experiences of the reconciliation process could not have been fully captured by the simple use of such quantitative scales. This possibility was evidenced by the preliminary validation information of the measure indicating extremely low construct validity and compromised reliability. It posed threats to the validity of the findings. Did the outcome of their approach to reconciliation reflect subjective experience of participants fully? Their quantitative approach could not adequately address this question.

This preliminary information implied that our theoretical understanding of the process and outcome of psychological reconciliation is far from adequate enough to devise a measure of evaluation. More bottom-up investigations employing descriptive methods are required to fully explore participants' subjective experience and to expand and articulate the process and outcome of psychological reconciliation. Furthermore, our theoretical understanding of psychological reconciliation in the Western academic context may not be suitable for generalization in a Rwandan context. This threatens the cultural validity of the research findings. While the study conducted by Staub et al. (2005) showed support for his theory, full pictures of nature, characteristics, processes, and outcomes of psychological reconciliation remains unclear due to the previously mentioned methodological limitations.

The second limitation of this research stemmed from its design. The sample size in each of the groups was very small (less than 20) which limits the overall power and effect size (Cohen, 1988) of the treatment effects. Furthermore, participants were not randomly assigned, and possible confounding factors (e.g., pre-treatment trauma symptom levels) were not controlled making it impossible to investigate the effect of confounds. This was evidenced by the large variability in the initial scores of trauma symptoms and orientations to others among the three treatment groups. Initially, the integrative group showed considerably higher levels of trauma symptoms than the other two groups; whereas, the control group showed the lowest. At the end of the treatment, the control group showed an increase in trauma symptoms and showed the highest level. The integrative group showed a decrease and the lowest level. Variability among the initial scores was not scrutinized by employing stringent statistical procedures to determine the significance of this difference. Combined with the lack of random assignment, analysis of covariates, and testing significance of differences, the question remained unanswered as to

whether the treatment was effective in producing (through the means of reactivating painful memories) or reducing trauma symptoms. This is a critical limitation of Staub et al.'s (2005) findings, and further investigation is required before any conclusion can be drawn in terms of the beneficial impact of the implemented program.

Finally, the research approach situated in the post-positivist paradigm yielded results that were limited in their consequential use. The use of the standardized measure did not allow full descriptive expressions of participants' subjective experience of reconciliation. Quantitative data yielded by this study simply showed numerical indicators supporting the effectiveness of the theory-based treatment. Unfortunately, it did not generate any information to enhance our understanding of the characteristic nature of the process and outcome of psychological reconciliation.

Due to these critical limitations associated with an experimental paradigm, quantitative data analytic designs, and methods, our understanding of the process of psychological reconciliation and lived experiences of survivors and perpetrators still remains inadequate. Research has yet to demonstrate what facilitates and hinders the process of reconciliation and in what ways. In addition, there is little understanding of the characteristic/descriptive features of the outcome of the reconciliation process relating to numerical indicators. Most importantly, the study failed to capture lived and interpersonal experience of achieving psychological reconciliation. In summary, while the seminal work of Drs. Staub and his colleagues (Staub, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2003, 2004, 2006, 2008; Staub & Bar-Tal, 2003; Staub, Pearlman, & Miller, 2003; Staub, Pearlman, Gubin, & Hagengimana, 2005; Staub & Pearlman, 2006) provided important first steps toward the investigation of psychological reconciliation, more research espousing descriptive methodological approaches are needed to first develop our

adequate understanding of the full characteristic nature of the process and outcome of psychological reconciliation.

Forgiveness-Based Reconciliation Approach

As a result of the lack of a sound approach to healing and reconciliation, the task is almost entirely left up to a few religious organizations in present day Rwanda (Bayingana, 1997). Many of them employ a religious approach incorporating faith and spiritual components into their reconciliation efforts (Glynn, 1998). The majority of them utilize forgiveness-based approaches to psychological reconciliation (Hinson, 2009; Larson, 2009; Worthington, 2005, 2006). However, there are realistic challenges and limitations inherent to this approach.

Forgiveness-based reconciliation approaches aim at achieving the granting of forgiveness by the survivors for ex-prisoners. It is most exclusively conducted through verbal means of the ex-prisoners asking for the survivors' forgiveness. However, the extremities of the suffering that the survivors have faced are making this forgiving process extremely challenging or nearly impossible. Many survivors witnessed ex-prisoners murdering their families in front of their eyes (Hinson, 2009; Larson, 2009). Many of the victims were their loved ones; parents, partners, brothers/sisters, and their children. During the forgiveness-based reconciliation counselling, survivors are encouraged to face the ex-prisoners seeking the granting of forgiveness.

A documentary film *As We Forgive* by Laura Waters Hinson (2009) portrays the actual forgiveness-based reconciliation counselling session. In the documentary, a survivor whose father was murdered by an ex-prisoner sitting across from her is experiencing the agony and challenge of whether or not she is able to forgive the murderer. It is often the case that survivors cannot achieve forgiveness (Hamber, 2007; Hinson, 2009; Larson, 2009) as this process of forgiveness-seeking confronts survivors with grave pain.

Furthermore, the challenge of not being able to forgive is putting an increased burden of religious/spiritual/moral dilemmas on the survivors. The majority of Rwandans are either Christian or Catholic (Hinson, 2009; Larson, 2009). According to the Rwandan government, 56.5% of the Rwandans are Roman Catholic while 26% are Protestant. Only 1.7% claimed no religious affiliation (United States Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, 2007). These data indicate that the 82.5% of survivors in reconciliation dyads espouse either a Catholic or a Christian religious worldview. These data also imply that survivors often pay the grave emotional cost of not being able to forgive. The author observed actual reconciliation counselling sessions in the village of Mbyo and observed that survivors who could not forgive often ended up facing the triple torment of (a) re-experiencing traumatic memory in facing the ex-prisoners in reconciliation counselling, (b) feeling pressured to forgive by both “reconciliation counsellor” and the ex-prisoners, and (c) religious/spiritual/moral confrontation by religious virtues of not being able to forgive (personal visits, 2009). As the result, the current forgiveness-based model poses grave challenges or potential harm to survivors who are already suffering from the genocide.

Perhaps a Hindering Approach: Situating Healing, Forgiveness, and Reconciliation as Possible “Products” of a Reconciliation Process

The female survivor depicted in the film by Hinson (2009) was not able to forgive the murderer of her father during the reconciliation session. She also stated that the words of the ex-prisoner did not mean anything to her. They did not take away her “feeling” of pain. In addition, she stated that whether she would forgive him or not would not matter to her. What was painful inside of her would never go away. Her words communicate the critical limitations of (a) employing verbal means to facilitate forgiveness and (b) employing forgiveness as a pathway to

psychological reconciliation. In order to address these limitations, it is imperative to develop an alternative medium to facilitate forgiveness and reconciliation instead of insisting on an unrealistic and often hindering approach.

The Action-Based Psychosocial Reconciliation Approach (ABPRA) proposes action and interaction as alternative mediums to facilitate forgiveness and psychological reconciliation. Conceptually, the ABPRA situates healing, forgiveness, and reconciliation as possible products of the dyad's engagements in action and inter-action. "Actions speak louder than words." This philosophical stance towards reconciliation, healing, and forgiveness is simple, yet sincerely reflects voices from the survivors of suffering and challenges.

Chapter 2: Action-Based Psychosocial Reconciliation Approach:

Action as an Alternative Pathway to Healing, Reconciliation, and Forgiveness

This chapter provides an overview of the philosophy and two theoretical underpinnings of the Action-Based Psychosocial Reconciliation Approach (ABPRA).

The Philosophical Base of the ABPRA Toward Healing, Forgiveness and Reconciliation

The action-based nature is a unique characteristic feature of the ABPRA in which survivors and ex-prisoners engage in survivor and community needs-based action and inter-action (e.g., farming, daily labour, renovating houses, paving roads, building community facilities). Anchored in the therapeutic principles of Japanese Morita therapy (Ishiyama, 1986a, 1986b, 1988, 1989, 1990a, 1990b; Kitanishi & Nakamura, 2005; Morita, 1926, 1928; Nakamura et al., 2010) (as discussed below), ABPRA does not either force forgiveness through verbal means (via counselling sessions) or pre-require it in order for the dyad to engage in action and inter-action. Rather, the ABPRA situates forgiveness, healing, and reconciliation as possible products of action and inter-action. The medium of reconciliation in the ABPRA is the action and interaction among the reconciliation dyad and the potential products of the reconciliation process can be forgiveness, healing and reconciliation. Therefore, the ABPRA aims to provide sheer reconciliation process dynamics “in action” in a nonverbal way. It aims at creating reconciliation-in-action rather than reconciliation-then-action. By offering action as an alternative pathway to reconciliation, the ABPRA is designed to set aside the pressure to forgive and thus releases the survivors from the psychological burden outlined earlier. The ABPRA has the added bonus of allowing us to discover participants’ experience of reconciliation, healing, and forgiveness (if they occur), as it does not impose our view of what the forgiveness/reconciliation and forgiving/reconciliation process should look like. It simply

provides the medium of reconciliation through action and inter-action. In a way, ABPRA assists the dyad to live life together harmoniously through purposeful inter-actions to create an optimal environment in which the seeds of forgiveness and reconciliation can sprout. This is the philosophy and logic of the ABPRA.

Practical and Survival Needs Fulfilling Property of the ABPRA

Traditional/conventional models of reconciliation counselling impede people's lives. Participants have to travel to counselling facilities and spare one hour of session time per week. Even then, the forgiveness or the effectiveness of reconciliation counselling is not guaranteed. This time and effort is critical for people in Rwanda. Majorities of Rwandans who are suffering from the 2003 reintegration policy are living in remote areas and are poor and cannot afford the time to attend reconciliation counselling sessions. They simply need to work in order to meet their daily basic survival needs. The ABPRA utilizes its action and inter-action media to take care of the daily needs; at the same time it utilizes the very dynamics of labour and joint-labour as the critical media of psychological reconciliation. It is common that many ex-prisoners are also deeply scarred by their acts committed and are constantly in search of opportunities to atone their past deeds (Hinson, 2009; Larson, 2009; Staub, 2005; Staub & Pearlman, 2007). Through engagements in farming (action) and working together (inter-action), the ABPRA provides ex-prisoners with the much desired opportunities to atone their deeds and survivors with the much needed labour force (e.g., families) that was taken away in 1994.

Some laboratory experimental studies lend support for the effectiveness of satisfying victims' emotional needs in facilitating reconciliation with ex-prisoners and perpetrators (Shnabel & Nadler, 2008; Shnabel et al., 2009). The ABPRA incorporates and applies this

principle to in vivo Rwandan ecological field. The ABPRA is designed to utilize specific day-to-day labour needs of survivors and their fulfillment as the media of reconciliation.

Two Theoretical Foundations of the ABPRA

The ABPRA is based on the following two fundamental premises: (a) the engagement in action as the medium of healing and (b) the engagement in inter-action as the medium of reconciliation. The therapeutic effect of engagement in action in the ABPRA is theoretically grounded in the principles of *Japanese Morita therapy*. The beneficial effect of inter-action in fostering intergroup reconciliation is theoretically anchored in the principles of *contact theory*. This section elaborates the fundamental therapeutic principles of Morita therapy which forms the theoretical basis of the action-based nature of the ABPRA and the systematic review of research on its therapeutic effectiveness. The subsequent section reviews the principles of contact theory which serves as the other theoretical foundation of the inter-action component of the ABPRA.

Healing Through Action-Taking: The Role of Japanese Morita Therapy

In contrast to the conventional verbal means of facilitating healing and interpersonal reconciliation, the ABPRA solely relies on the role of action and interaction in bringing about healing. Therefore, the exploration of the effectiveness of action requires full investigation. This is achieved through a systematic review of literature concerning the therapeutic efficacy of action-based Japanese Morita therapy upon which the ABPRA has been developed. While reviewing the examination of the principles of Morita therapy and its effectiveness, we may be able to anticipate similar therapeutic benefits in this action-based reconciliation process. The section below briefly describes some of the fundamental principles of Japanese Morita therapy.

Chapter 3: Principles of Japanese Morita therapy

Overview

Knowing the fundamental principles of Morita therapy (Ishiyama, 1986a, 1986b, 1988, 1989, 1990a, 1990b; Kitanishi & Nakamura, 2005; Morita, 1926, 1928; Nakamura et al., 2010) is essential in understanding the clinical/therapeutic rationale for the ABPRA.

Morita therapy was developed by Dr. Shoma Morita (1874-1938) around 1920 (Nakayama, 2008). It was originally developed as a specific residential treatment program for patients with *Shinkeishitsu* diagnosis (Japanese culture specific neurosis). Its principal medium of healing is a combination of isolation, rest, and action engagement. In the original residential treatment setting of Morita therapy, patients typically move through four stages: (1) absolute bedrest, (2) light manual work (e.g., handicraft engaging the upper body), (3) demanding practical work (e.g., gardening engaging the entire body), and (4) social reintegration (e.g., commuting to school/work from the hospital, visiting home, and engagement in complicated/demanding social activities) (Ishiyama, 1989). The original inpatient treatment format of Morita therapy has been modified and applied to various outpatient clinical settings, other areas of clinical and subclinical interventions, and psychological education (Nakamura et al., 2010). Recuperative and action-based principles employed in the original format have been distilled out of its residential context and applied in an outpatient format/context in contemporary practices. Various models of counselling have been developed such as the Active Counselling Method (Ishiyama & Azuma, 2003) incorporating principles of original inpatient Morita therapy. Recently, *The Guidelines for Practicing Outpatient Morita Therapy* (Nakamura et al., 2010) was published to facilitate standardized outpatient applications of the principles of Morita therapy.

Desire for Life

The desire for life is an existential drive/energy which propels humans to act constructively and thrive toward living a meaningful and purposeful life. The meaning of the term “desire for life” (Morita, 1928) is purposefully kept general and non-specific to allow and account for variations in its real life manifestations. In daily life, the desire can take many forms such as wants, needs, motivations, likes (preferences), wishes, hopes, longings, and choices. The desire for life is very similar to Maslow’s (1962) and Rogers’ (1961) notion of the self-actualizing tendency. However, the desire for life is uniquely different from other motivational constructs such as the self-actualizing tendency as it is conceptualized to have bilateral nature. Morita (1928) acknowledged that there is another coexisting drive naturally associated with the desire for life which is the “fear of death.” Morita accepted that as long as we desire or wish to live, there exists a naturally associated and unavoidable fear of death. Consequently, Morita therapists presuppose that we have this innate desire for life and also the fear of death. Even in the unique context of Rwanda today, the desire for life can be observed in people’s wanting and needs to live each and every day. It is observable in every action of people in present day Rwanda. “I want to live, or often I have to live; that is why I farm and that is why I wake up every morning” (E. Ndahimana, personal communication, July 7, 2009, permission granted). It is this energy or the desire for life that propels people to live each and every day.

Fear of Death

The fear of death is also a general term that refers to a collection of unpleasant affects associated with human lives. In contrast to the pleasant nature of the desire for life, the fear of death is an uncomfortable and distressing drive. Similar to the desire for life, the meaning of the term fear of death is also intentionally kept general and non-specific to allow variations in real

life manifestations. Examples include fear, anxiety, sadness, hopelessness, suffering, challenge, worry, concerns, obsession, distress, pain, sadness, anger, and depression (Ishiyama, 1986a, 1986b, 1988, 1989, 1990a, 1990b; Kitanishi & Nakamura, 2005; Morita, 1926, 1928; Nakamura et al., 2010). Morita (1928) considered these affective states as natural and factual parts of human experience. Morita conceptualized human motivation to be a double-sided construct which includes the dialectically opposing aspects of desire for life and fear of death. Therefore, he viewed the experience of the fear of death and its diverse real life manifestations to be factual and naturally associated, healthy, and functional facts of human motivation (e.g., the feeling a pain motivates people to seek medical attention). Sufferings found in the present-day Rwanda are evident. Survivors live with their suffering. It is not the healing from their suffering that is moving people forward in Rwanda today. People live with their suffering because they often do not have the choice of being healed from the scars of genocide (Hinson, 2009; E. Ndahimana, personal communication, July 7, 2009, permission granted). Morita's view of sufferings (*kurushimi*, *kutsu*) as factual, inevitable, and natural aspects of human experience offers an alternative stance toward suffering: it is neither "evil" nor "negative," and neither "bad" nor "disordered."

The State of *Toraware*: Distress-Causing Psychological Mechanism

According to Morita (Morita, 1928; Nakamura et al., 2010), the state of *toraware* (literally *toraware* means the state of preoccupation) is a neurotic psychological state causing distress. It consists of two principal psychological mechanisms: (a) vicious cycle of subjective aggravation/maintenance of symptoms (*seishin kougo sayo*) and (b) contradiction between ideal and real self (*shisou no mujyun*).

Vicious cycle of subjective aggravation and maintenance of symptoms. According to Morita (1928), the vicious cycle of subjective aggravation and maintenance of symptoms is

precipitated by two underlying sub-mechanisms: (1) attentional fixation (*chyui no kochoyaku*) and (2) subjective attempts to manipulate or control affective states (*hakarai*). *Chyui no kochoyaku* literally means *attentional fixation* which refers to the fixation of excessive attention to one's affective state or suffering. As a result of the excessive attention being paid to suffering, the initial suffering gets aggravated by developing oversensitivity to physiological/psychological signs of the suffering and results in the development of neurotic symptoms or distress. People who find themselves caught in the attentional fixation experience the “double-distress” of (1) the initial distress and (2) the distress of self-precipitated neurotic distress. Examples of this can be found in the cases of forgiveness-based reconciliation counselling. It has become clear that many survivors cannot forgive the perpetrators as the initial inability to forgive brings initial distress to the survivors. Many continue to be distressed by the moral dilemma of not being able to forgive. Therefore, many survivors experience the “double distress” of not being able to forgive as well as the distress from subsequent moral torment. This vicious cycle of subjective aggravation and maintenance of distress of not being able to forgive is often observable among survivor participants in the reconciliation dyad (Hinson, 2009; Larson, 2009).

The vicious cycle of *seishin kougo sayo* is also precipitated by *hakarai*. *Hakarai* refers to a subjective attempt to manipulate or control affective states or suffering. Due to the discomfort of the vicious cycle stemming from the attention fixation, the person in suffering attempts to engage in some kind of manipulation attempt trying to eliminate the symptoms and suffering ((Ishiyama, 1986a, 1986b, 1988, 1989, 1990a, 1990b; Nakamura et al., 2010). In the case of Rwanda, a survivor may continue to ponder, worry, and have excessive inner conflict for not being able to forgive. She then may resort to some kind of attempt in order to become able to forgive. Survivors often seek for the reason why they cannot forgive instead of accepting the fact

that forgiving is difficult, impossible, and/or unrealistic in this particular situation. However, the futile attempts at forgiveness or attempts to find the reason why they cannot forgive ironically serve as the very mechanism of fuelling further attention to the fact that they cannot forgive. As a result, they experience further distress through these futile attempts (*hakarai*). The key is to honour and accept the feelings of not being able to forgive without fuelling further attention to it. It is important to not manipulate one's feelings in order to induce forgiveness through verbal or any other artificial means. In the Morita therapy approach, survivors are invited to acknowledge, honour, and accept their conflicted feeling of not being able to forgive. No further manipulation or effort at forgiveness is necessary for them in order to engage in actions of healing. The analogy of a scab is often used to describe the "restorative" and healing properties of the "acceptance" stance espoused by Morita therapy. If one accepts and leaves a scab grown over as it is, it will dissipate and follow its natural healing course. However, if one continues to poke at or scratch it than it will never heal. The very attempt to manipulate the natural course of the scab becomes the irritating mechanism that maintains the wound. Similarly, the very attempt to try willfully to forgive someone's deed which is perceived as unforgivable could leads to a new layer of distress in many survivors.

Incorporating this principle of *hakarai*, the ABPRA asks survivors to accept and honour their feelings of not being able to forgive. This viewpoint is reflected in the following messages which are typically shared with the ABPRA participants: "It's ok and acceptable that you cannot forgive," "Let's act and inter-act on this," and "Let's focus on acting and inter-acting instead of tying and talk things over." The conventional reconciliation approach relies heavily on a verbal forgiveness seeking as the medium of reconciliation. However, such a demand for creating a certain emotional or psychological condition in oneself may result in creating further distress.

The ABPRA is designed to liberate survivors from the pressure of demanding forgiveness and unnecessarily distressing those who painfully experience inner conflicts and difficulties in forgiving. The ABPRA is designed to relieve survivors from the resulting distress of not being able to forgive by asking them to accept natural feelings and engage in action and inter-action without attempting emotional manipulations (*hakarai*).

Contradiction between ideal and real self. The second psychological mechanism precipitating the state of *toraware* is the aforementioned *shisou no mujyun*. *Shisou no mujyun* literally means a contradiction between ideal and reality (Nakamura et al., 2010). According to Morita (Morita, 1928; Nakamura et al., 2010), a person exhibiting *shisou no mujyun* has (1) a rigid or dogmatic worldview of how things should or should not be or (2) a self-image of how s/he should or should not be. Such a worldview or self-image leads him/her to a selective, judgmental and conditional acceptance of (1) spontaneous experiences in reality and (2) him/herself. In the case of Rwanda, many survivors are faced with the challenge of not being able to forgive ex-prisoners (Hinson, 2009; Larson, 2009). As indicated earlier, the vast majority of the survivors are either of Catholic or Christian background. As a result, it has been documented that many are confronted with the moral dilemma of wanting to forgive but not being able to do so (Hinson, 2009; Larson, 2009). For example, they think and know that it is virtuous and “right” to forgive an ex-prisoner due to their Catholic or Christian worldviews. Contrary to their belief, they find themselves not being able to forgive. The author observed that many survivors suffer from this contradiction between the ideal self (e.g., the virtuous self that can readily forgive the ex-prisoners who murdered one’s family and inflicted enormous pain) and the real self (e.g., the honest self that cannot forgive the ex-prisoners who murdered one’s family and inflicted enormous pain) as the result of the forgiveness-based reconciliation

counselling (Hinson, 2009; Larson, 2009). They experience a considerable amount of distress from the discrepancy between their religious/moral obligations to forgive and the factual confrontation of not being able to do so.

Applying this principle, the ABPRA aims to communicate the following messages representing the core notion of Morita therapy regarding the acceptance of genuine thoughts and feelings as they are without manipulation or ideological judgment: “It’s ok and acceptable that you cannot forgive,” and “It’s ok to be a person who cannot forgive.” Morita therapeutic approach again simply asks the survivor to acknowledge, honour, and accept the self that cannot forgive. Survivors participating in the ABPRA program are encouraged to honour the dilemma as it is and then set it aside proceeding to engage in the alternative reconciliation medium of action and inter-action.

The State of *Arugamama* (On Being As-Is)

The previous paragraphs have indicated that the central aim of Moritian approach is to assist the survivors in accepting and honouring their emotional states as they are in spite of how or what they are. This approach assists survivors to honour and accept themselves for who they are rather than for who they think they should be. It sends the messages, “It is ok (acceptable) that you cannot forgive,” “It is ok (acceptable) that you are a person who cannot forgive,” and “Simply acknowledge and honour your feelings and spontaneous emergence of authentic/natural feelings, set them aside and engage in action taking.” As these messages suggest, “liberating self from unresolvable anguish, inner conflicts, and other genuinely experienced sufferings as the result of acceptance without manipulation or self-tormenting with self-imposed idealism is something that Morita therapy aims to facilitate” (F.I. Ishiyama, personal communication, March 20, 2014). According to Morita (1928), the state of *arugamama* is characterized by one’s

capacity to accept the spontaneous occurrence of diverse affective experiences without being excessively fixated on or preoccupied with them and without adding on to a dogmatic worldview or self-image (aforementioned characteristics of the state of *toraware*). Fostering a capacity to allow oneself to experience diverse spontaneous affective experiences enables one to be at peace in spite of how one is and regardless of whether the experience is pleasant (e.g., being able to forgive) or unpleasant/distressing (e.g., not being able to forgive). This state of nonjudgmental acceptance of one's affective states is the principal characteristic of the state of *arugamama*. Furthermore, when one can cultivate a non-judgmental attitude toward diverse affective states, one can also cultivate a non-judgmental attitude toward a diverse self. The state of *arugamama* is also characterized by this diverse-self-acceptance. Instead of being constrained or distressed by the gap between how one should or should not be (aforementioned *shisou no mujyun*), the capacity to accept oneself in diverse ways fosters a harmonious way of being and living with diverse inner experiences including intense emotions and feelings, some of which cannot be readily accepted as they are due to one's values and religious beliefs. It could be noted here that the level of acceptance can be generalized from a micro level (acceptance of one's own affective states) to a macro level (acceptance of diverse selves). It becomes possible to allow survivors to nurture this attitude of *arugamama* through engagement in action and inter-action while honouring their sufferings at the same time.

Acceptance of What?

It is important to realize that the goal here is to accept the factuality, legitimacy, and validity of the emergence of affective states as a result of a particular experience but not the experience *per se*. For example, when applied to a female client who is in an abusive relationship, the Moritian approach supports her to acknowledge, accept, and honour her

affective states (e.g., feeling violated and humiliated) as a result of her experience (abusive relationship). At a certain point in therapy or in her life, she may come to realize that she needs to accept the experience as it actually happened rather than deny or repress it. She is encouraged to view her affective state as a factual, legitimate, valid, and even functional/adaptive consequence signalling her to take action. The person is then encouraged to act on this experience of being victimized as an active agent of change as well as for her personal safety. Moritian approach does not by any means foster the client's acceptance of the abusive experience or situation as natural, legitimate, or valid, nor does it support her acceptance of continuous victimization or living with the ex-prisoner.

Acceptance of Suffering Rather Than Controlling

It should also be highlighted here that Moritian approach does not aim to change but to facilitate the acceptance of one's genuine affective states as they are without wilful attempts to change or control them based on certain self-expectations or ideological beliefs. The principal goal of Morita therapy is to change the client's inaction by fostering this state of *arugamama* through and in action. The Moritian approach aims to engage clients in action taking but not in any attempt to manipulate their affective states rather in spite of their affective states. Instead, the ABPRA incorporates these principles by asking survivors and ex-prisoners to acknowledge and honour their affective states and accept them without any attempt to manipulate them (e.g., survivors' forcing themselves to "feel forgiving") as well as to engage in action and inter-action in spite of their affective states. After this takes place, the healing property of action can be expected. In Moritian approach, the medium of emotional change and healing is action, and the factor causing the change and healing is the new experience resulting from the action taking rather than from emotional manipulation through verbal or cognitive means. Similarly, in the

ABPRA, the media of healing are action and inter-action, and the factor causing the change and the healing is the new experience that the action and inter-action will bring. Morita therapy fosters clients' acceptance and honouring of spontaneous occurrences of diverse affective states by the method of engagement (or self-immersion) in purposeful action and interaction. The ABPRA aims at the same: the nurturance of the acceptance and honouring of the emotional sufferings of the survivors and their healing through engagement in purposeful action and interaction. The use of action as the medium of healing in the ABPRA is firmly anchored in these principles of Morita therapy (Ishiyama, 1986a, 1986b, 1988, 1989, 1990a, 1990b; Kitanishi & Nakamura, 2005; Morita, 1926, 1928; Nakamura et al., 2010).

While Morita therapy provides a theoretical and clinical rationale for the use of action as an alternative medium of healing, it remains unclear as to what kind of change action brings to the survivor. The following questions remained un-answered: what kind of benefit does the action-based healing bring to the dyad? What does the evidence suggest? Is it always effective? If so, in what way is it effective? These issues have been investigated in a systematic review of the literature that has been examining the efficacy of Morita therapy.

The Need for a Systematic Review of the Therapeutic Effects of Morita Therapy

In contrast to the traditional “talking” therapy model, the ABPRA is anchored in the action-based nature of Morita therapy. The ABPRA utilizes purposeful action and inter-action between survivor and offender as media of healing. Therefore, the effectiveness of action-based Morita therapy and of the potential experience of clients/patients/persons treated by Morita therapy must be investigated to identify factors and components contributing to therapeutic effectiveness. The following section reports a summary of a systematic review of the literature that has been examining the effectiveness of Morita therapy in this regard.

Systematic Review of Literature on the Efficacy of Morita Therapy

Purpose and procedures. Minami (2011) conducted a systematic review of literature examining the effectiveness of Morita therapy. The methods employed in this review follow the guidelines provided by Cook, Mulrow, and Haynes (1997). The purpose of this review was to systematically examine the effectiveness of the Moritian approach to healing and to reveal types of therapeutic benefits expected in applying the action-based Moritian approach. The *Japanese Journal of Morita Therapy* was selected as the initial source providing a pool of relevant published research articles. The rationale for choosing this journal was that this is the only peer-reviewed journal entirely dedicated to the study of theory and practice of Morita therapy and research on this therapeutic approach and its applications. Its first volume was published in April 1990 and has been published twice per year since. Types of articles included in the journal are (a) socio-historical, (b) theoretical/conceptual, (c) research and (d) practice. This review covered the latest 10 volumes Vol. 17(1), 2006 - Vol. 21(2), 2010, containing 135 articles.

In conducting this comprehensive review, I first read each published article carefully. Notes were taken to explore and generate potential systematic review categories (Cook et al., 1997). Based on this careful review, ten review categories were generated. They are as follows (a) sources, (b) sample size, (c) sex/age of clients/patients, (d) diagnosis treated/presenting issues, (e) treatment format (either residential, modified residential, or outpatient Morita therapy), (f) treatment duration, (g) presence or absence of combined pharmacological treatment, (h) treatment setting, (i) methodology or method employed to measure outcome/research design information, and (j) relevant information on treatment efficacy. The first stage of the review re-examined the entire 135 articles to identify and exclude (a) socio-historical and (b) theoretical/conceptual articles which do not contain any efficacy-related information or

testimonials from either clinician or clients/patients. A total of 53 articles met the final criteria and contained some type of efficacy report. The second stage of the review carefully re-examined the 53 articles to identify and extract all information in accordance with the above established 10 categories.

Findings

Out of the 53 studies reviewed, 49 (92.5%) employed a case study method to report their treatment effectiveness. Thorough examination of the information reported in the case studies showed that most studies included information obtained through other methods such as interview data (clinician-reported), non-participant observation (e.g., observation by clinician, nurse, parents, teachers, and/or coworkers), and client self-reports (verbal reports). In terms of reporting the effectiveness, almost all case studies included verbatim examples referring to the effectiveness of their treatment on clients/patients. These verbatim records served as the initial pool of data for thematic content analysis as a method outlined by Krippendorff (2014). The entire 49 case studies were thoroughly investigated to identify verbatim reporting pertinent to the effectiveness of the treatment. A preliminary thematic content analysis of the information yielded a total of 6 themes and 40 sub-themes. The results are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1

Themes and Subthemes Emerged from the Systematic Review (Minami, 2011)

Themes	Sub-Themes	N
Acceptance	Acceptance of anxiety	13
	Acceptance of self	12
	Acceptance of symptoms	4
	Acceptance of fear	3
	Acceptance of feeling	3
	Acceptance of facts (including her son's suicide)	1

Themes	Sub-Themes	N
Symptoms Reduction		
	Discharged upon full recovery,	6
	Complete	
	General	5
	Substance abuse	1
	PTSD	1
	Eating disorder	1
	Suicidal ideation	1
	Significant	
	Anxiety symptoms	5
	Paranoid symptoms	2
	General	1
	Obsessive symptoms	1
	Self-hatred	1
	TKO (Taijin kyofusho)	1
	Reduction	
	Obsessive symptoms	7
	Anxiety symptoms	6
	General	5
	Distress, feeling significantly better	5
	Depression	4
	Improved Sleep	2
	Paranoid symptoms	1
Engagement in Action in spite of Symptoms		
	Successful engagement in purposeful action	51
	Improved or Increased ADL	30
	Successful engagement in work	7
	Improved occupational performance	2
Improved Relationships		
	Interpersonal	5
	Family	4
	Couple	1

Themes	Sub-Themes	N
Personality Aspects		
	Increased	
	Self-confidence	3
	Motivation	3
	Self-esteem	3
	Emotional expression	2
	Insight into illness	2
	Personal growth	1
	Constructive attitude towards life	3
No Significant Effect		7
Total themes extracted		216*

Source: Minami (2011).

* The total number includes overlapping counts of one client reporting more than one therapeutic benefit.

Major themes extracted that reveal the therapeutic effects of Moritian approach from the thematic content analysis are (a) acceptance, (b) symptom reduction, (c) engagement in action in spite of symptoms, (d) improved relationships, (e) personality aspects, and (f) no significant effect. Except for the last category (no significant effect), all five major categories together represent Morita therapy or are parallel to core principal mechanisms of change in Morita therapy (Morita, 1928; Morita, 1926; Nakamura et al., 2010). In Morita therapy, acceptance of symptoms and successful engagement in action taking in spite of the symptoms is believed to lead paradoxically to the reduction or dissipation of symptoms/suffering itself. This then leads to improvements in interpersonal relationships and intrapersonal wellness. The findings from the above review of significant therapeutic themes, which are in alignment with the process and principles of Morita therapy, are indicative of strong empirical support for the healing property of Morita therapeutic mechanisms of change. This systematic review yielded meaningful and informative empirical support for the effectiveness of Morita therapy. Qualitative information

and themes identified by the review of case studies would become useful in predicting the potential beneficial impact of the ABPRA.

Healing Effect of Action-Taking in Morita Therapy

One conclusion that can be drawn from the results of this systematic review is that the action-based nature of Morita therapy can be effective. Action taking has been shown to facilitate healing. The systematic review offers empirical support for the clinical utility of the action-based nature of Morita therapeutic principles. With best evidence available, it is thus reasonable to expect that the ABPRA have a promising potential for its healing property for the engaging dyads. More specifically, it has a potential to help participants (a) accept their feelings, (b) take constructive action with their symptoms, (c) experience significant reductions in symptoms as the result of action-taking and inter-action, (d) improve interpersonal relationships among the reconciliation dyad, and (e) achieve personal growth. Paralleling the principles of Japanese Morita therapy, the ABPRA incorporates these properties to the action-based reconciliation process through fostering the dyad's engagement in action and interaction in spite of their feelings and suffering. This systematic review of Morita therapy efficacy (Minami, 2011) has provided both clinical and empirical rationale for the therapeutic effectiveness of action and interaction in the ABPRA.

Chapter 4: Reconciliation Through Inter-Action: The Role of Contact Theory

The ABPRA utilizes action as the medium of healing; whereas, inter-action provides the medium of interpersonal reconciliation. Needs-based inter-actions among survivors and ex-prisoners in the ABPRA aim to provide optimal and practical dynamics of intergroup contact which theoretically/conceptually lead to the heart of psychological reconciliation - the positive changes in orientation to the other (Staub et al., 2005).

Attitude Change as the Essence of Psychological Reconciliation

According to Staub (2008), the essence of psychological reconciliation is “a change in attitudes and behaviours toward the other group” (p. 396). The essence of reconciliation as attitude and behavioural change (or changes in one’s orientation and behaviour towards the other in a reconciliation dyad) is commonly integrated as part of the definition of reconciliation among various other researchers in this area (Bar-Tal, 2000; Staub, 2008; Staub et al., 2005). In essence, the expected outcome of the ABPRA should be some form of attitude change in each of the dyads towards each other.

Role of Contact in Psychological Reconciliation Process in the ABPRA

The ABPRA relies on the role of contact between members of two opposing groups through engagement in inter-action in bringing about the desired intergroup attitude change. Thus, it is required to review and examine the effectiveness of contact and “contact conditions” facilitative of positive inter-ethnic attitude change. This was accomplished through a review of literature concerning contact theory. This review of empirical studies yielded strong support of the effectiveness of intergroup contact in bringing about desirable attitude change. Theoretical principles of contact theory provided another theoretical/empirical foundation for the use of

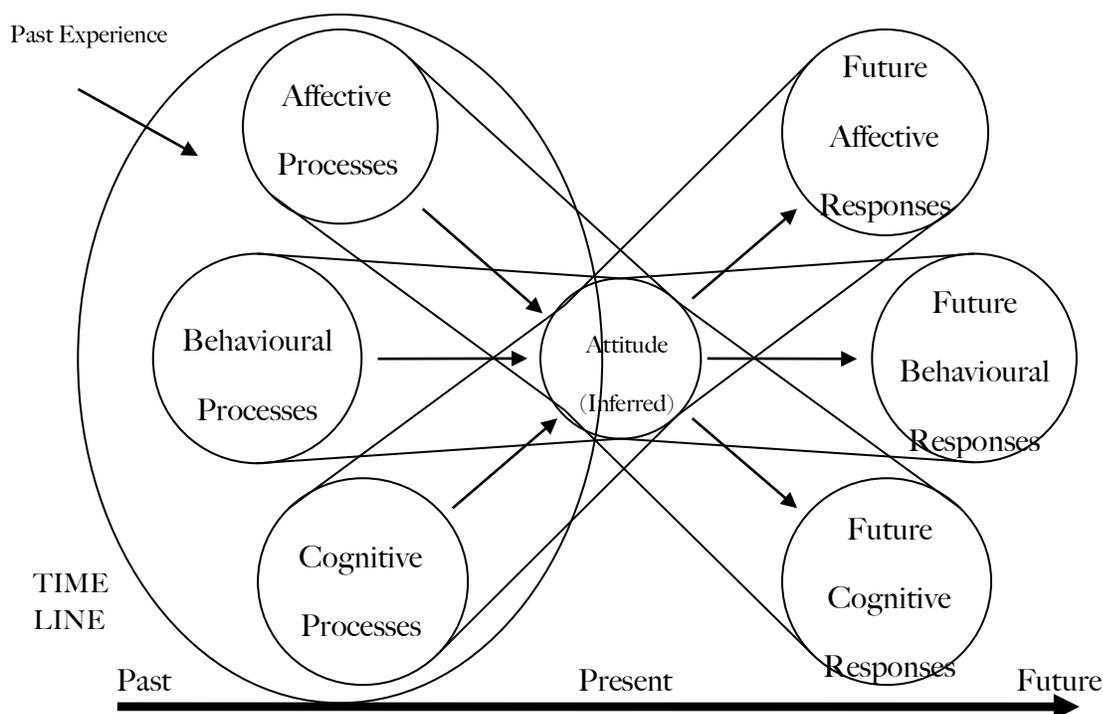
inter-action/intergroup contact as the medium of reconciliation in the ABPRA. In the subsequent section, general attitude theory is reviewed first followed by a detailed review of contact theory.

What is Attitude? - An Integrative Conceptual Model

Minami (2008a, 2008b, 2009) conducted a systematic review of the past two decades of research literature investigating the nature of attitude, its manifestations, formation, and process of change developing an *integrative* conceptual model of attitude (see Diagram 1).

Diagram 1

Integrative Model of Attitude (Minami, 2009)



Attitude can be defined as:

A hypothetical psychological construct (*a latent trait*), which refers to one's internal *state of readiness* or *evaluative tendency*, is formed based on one's past affective, cognitive and behavioural processes of/in experiences (*attitude sources*), which disposes one to emit either implicit or explicit affective, cognitive, or behavioural evaluative responses (*attitude functions*) towards a particular object or entity (*attitude object*). (Minami, 2009, p. 41)

According to this model, one's attitude is formed via the affective, cognitive, and behavioural processes in one's previous experiences with a particular attitude object. If we were to apply this to the interethnic situations in Rwanda, a Hutu person's interethnic attitude towards Tutsis would be formed based on his/her affective, cognitive, and behavioural processes resulting from his/her previous experience(s) with Tutsis. More specifically, the *affective* processes include their felt sense of fear toward Tutsis, of being dominated, invaded, and/or disgusted. The *cognitive* processes include resenting memories of the Tutsis' long history of ruling Hutus and/or thoughts that their treatment was unfair, unequal, and unreasonable. *Contingent consequences of behavioural* actions in previous experience(s) include how well or poorly they were compensated for their hard labour, and/or how they were punished as a result of disobeying the hierarchical status. These few examples of affective, cognitive, and behavioural processes in previous experiences all contribute to the formation of the Hutus' negative attitude towards the Tutsis.

The above integrative model of attitude also captures a "snapshot" of the cyclical nature of attitude source (e.g., A.B.C. processes in an experience – attitude formation – attitude functions - A.B.C. responses) which are consequences of the functions leading to further consolidation of changes in attitude (attitude consolidation or change). This integrative model helps to capture the fluid, multivariate, and developmental processes of attitude formation into a simple intrapersonal model excluding other interpersonal-systemic (e.g., sociological, ecological, economical, historical, and political) influences. It provides an essential component of attitude change: new contact/inter-action experience with the attitude object. Given one's interethnic attitude formed based on previous experiences with the object, the implementation of some form of experiential contact with exposure to the attitude object holds the potential for an attitude

change. This directs us to examine possible usefulness of contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954) and contact theory (Pettigrew, 1997, 1998, 2007) in fostering attitude change.

Contact Hypothesis/Theory: Seminal Work of Gordon Allport (1954)

Almost all researchers cited in this section (e.g., Amir, 1969; Werth & Lord, 1992; Brewer & Kramer, 1985; Pettigrew, 1997, 2006) credited Gordon Allport and his seminal research for the development of contact hypothesis. A particularly pertinent contribution of his work to this area is his insightful recognition of the role of the *nature/characteristics* of the contact (rather than a *mere* contact) for the attitude change. Rather than asking “whether” contact changes attitude, Allport (1954) asked the question of what kind of contact changes attitudes, or how contact change previous attitude? His contributions added complexity to the investigation of the dynamics of the contact hypothesis generating a milieu of contact hypothesis research into various subareas (Amir, 1969).

Allport (1954) states that “...the effect of contact will depend upon the kind of association that occurs, and upon the kinds of persons who are involved” (p. 251). Here he indicates “condition variables” associated with a particular *kind* of contact as well as personality or “person variables” of *people/parties* involved in the particular contact situation. Allport identified six different types of contact: (a) casual contact, (b) acquaintance, (c) residential contact, (d) occupational contact, (e) pursuit of common objectives, and (f) goodwill contacts. For each of these categories, he elaborated a number of characteristics.

Allport’s (1954) work set the trend for investigating necessary conditions for positive contact which had been shown to result in positive attitude change. He states that:

Prejudice (unless deeply rooted in the character structure of the individual) may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals. The effect is greatly enhanced if this contact is sanctioned by institutional supports (i.e., by law, custom or local atmosphere), and if it is of a sort that leads to the

perception of common interests and common humanity between members of the two groups. (p. 267)

Following Allport, researchers investigated potential characteristic factors in positive contact situations which then facilitated positive attitude change. Numerous studies have generally supported Allport's hypothesis and the relationship between *positive* contact and positive intergroup attitude change (Amir, 1969; Brewer & Kramer, 1985; Ray, 1983; Shibuya, 2000; Werth & Lord 1992). The focus of more recent research activities in this area shifted to identifying and investigating positive contact factors (Lee, Farrell, & Link, 2004) and to focusing on the mechanism of dynamic interplay among these factors in contact situations. This is further explained in the use of structural equation modeling in Turner, Hewstone, Voci, and Vonofakou's (2008) study as well as the use of path analysis in Binder et al.'s (2009) study. The next section of this dissertation summarizes principles found to be facilitative of positive "contact."

Principles of Positive Contact

Amir (1969) offered one of the most comprehensive follow-ups of Allport's model integrating research evidence supporting or challenging his contact hypothesis. This section utilizes the following categories of Amir's work to outline principles of positive contact conditions: (a) opportunity for contact, (b) equal status, (c) superordinate goal and cooperation, (d) intimate contact, (e) institutional support, and (f) prototype view of the encountered.

Principle one: Ensuring opportunity for contact. In order for a positive contact to occur, an opportunity for contact must first be provided. Amir (1969) explained that no change dynamics occur without opportunities of contact or involvement given. This provides the basis (dynamics) in which various mediating variables can be found. In the case of the interethnic

situation in Rwanda, an opportunity for intergroup contact must be provided. The ABPRA provides it through engagement in needs-based inter-action.

Principle two: Ensuring equal status. In order for a positive contact to occur, individuals from both groups must perceive each other as being of equal status. Consistent with Allport's view, Amir (1969) concluded that equal status contact is more likely to produce positive attitude changes via contact. This principle seems to highlight the importance of "shared" characteristics between two contacting parties which may foster a sense of sameness, empathy, and compassion or at least offer new identity cues that provide a particular social identity (e.g., "We are all Rwandan now"). Various studies investigated this principle further and shed light on more complex mechanisms underlying this principle. Brewer and Kramer (1985) reported that one's objective status does not necessarily correspond to the subjective *perception* of status. They emphasized the difference between *construal* of status and actual social status. Brewer and Kramer identified potential influences of irrelevant variables affecting one's felt sense or construal of status in a given contact situation such as race, sex, and historical status differences existing in a particular social/cultural context. These complex extraneous variables can operate in sync to influences one's construal process of status under any given conditions. Therefore, it is considered that objective social status match cannot always guarantee actual status match.

This finding is critically important in the case of Rwanda as the two contacting groups experienced long histories of ethnic divide, perceived identity difference, and status inequality. It suggests that the ABPRA be delivered reflecting the spirit of Banyarwanda (united Rwandans) and must ensure the tone of equal status ("We are working together to accomplish this task and

rebuild our community”) to be reflected in the norms and expectations communicated to participants throughout the entire process of the ABPRA.

Principle three: Ensuring superordinate goals appealing to both parties. This factor has been traditionally considered as a key factor in positive interethnic contact as well as contact hypothesis research. Amir (1969) identified that a “superordinate” goal (a) needs to be highly *appealing* to both parties involved and (b) can *only* be achieved by combining the energy and resources of both parties. Amir concluded that a contact between members of both groups leads to a positive attitude change if the two parties succeed in developing a common goal (superordinate goal) which rests in higher priority ranking than the other goals each group already has. Meta-analyses by Johnson et al. (as cited in Brewer & Kramer, 1985) examined the effects of being placed in a cooperative learning setting. Their study found that the tasks that promoted intergroup acceptance showed a positive development as compared to a competitive learning environment. The role that superordinate goals play in positive attitude change seems to be very promising at least under certain conditions.

When applying this principle to the conceptual foundation of the ABPRA, it becomes critically important that the ABPRA utilizes survivor or community needs-based tasks as the superordinate goal of interaction. For example, perpetrators help survivors farm, harvest, prepare crops, build houses, and work in other community development projects. The practical needs of survivors in Rwanda and the community are almost always related to basic survival tasks and activities in daily life. Therefore, the needs are inevitably appealing to the survivors. The desire of the ex-prisoners to atone their previous wrong deeds is evident in many ex-prisoners (Hinson, 2009; Larson, 2009) and provides an appealing need for the ex-prisoners as well.

Principle four: Ensuring intimate contact. Amir (1969), who also investigated mediating variables for positive contact conditions, concluded that (a) the frequency of contact is not associated with the positive intergroup relations, rather (b) the more one acquaints oneself with members of the other group, the more likely it will be that the resulting intimate relationship will lead to a favourable attitude change. The key is the level of intimacy between the two parties. If a high level of intimacy is reached, then a positive attitude change is likely to be demonstrated. Applying this principle to Rwanda, the contact through interaction must achieve some degree of intimacy between the dyad. The ABPRA does not aim at inducing this intimacy. It instead situates intimacy as the possible product to be developed through the contact. Despite the stance of the ABPRA towards intimacy, dyad's engagement in interaction, employing tasks that are closely and intimately connected to the day-to-day survival needs in a private setting (e.g., survivors' house, shared neighbourhood, and community), provides a promising possibility for intimate contact situations.

Principle five: Ensuring institutional support. Consistent with Allport, Amir (1969) stated, "the effectiveness of interracial contact is greatly increased if the contact is sanctioned by institutional support" (p. 334). Examples of sources and elements of such support include laws, customs, authority figures accepted by each party, social atmosphere, general public agreements, social norms, and human rights. These authors' research-based observations seem to offer valuable guidelines for setting parameters for effective delivery and methodological design of the ABPRA. It follows that the ABPRA needs to be implemented in collaboration with various local organizations. Participants need to be recruited and their joint labour needs to be endorsed by appropriate local organizations (e.g., Prison Fellowship Rwanda, National Unity and Reconciliation Commission). National unity, reconciliation, and healing are the primary goals on

the agenda of the present government of Rwanda (<http://www.cnl.gov.rw/>). Therefore, the local organizations and present governmental policy of Rwanda provide optimal institutional support for the contact.

Principle six: Ensuring prototype view of the encountered. Studies (Binder et al., 2009; Desforges et al., 1997; Scarberry et al., 1997; Werth & Lord, 1992) support that positive attitude change, as a result of encountering a member of a group, is more likely to generalize to others of the group if the member confirms a *prototype view* of the group held by the encounterer. According to Kunda (2002), a prototype is defined as “an abstracted list of features that are typical” (p. 30) of a member from a particular group or category. The studies mentioned above showed that a positive attitude change is most likely to occur and be more generalizable to other situations when one is in contact with members of the other group who possess representative characteristics congruent with one’s pre-conceived abstract conception of the group (Binder et al., 2009; Desforges et al., 1997; Scarberry et al., 1997; Werth & Lord, 1992). Applying this principle to Rwanda, the ABPRA aims to create interaction of the two ethnic groups. This means that the reconciliation dyad will always consist of a survivor of Tutsi decent and ex-prisoner of Hutu decent. This fact ensures the prototype view (Hutu or Tutsi) of the encountered party.

Meta-Analytic Review of the Effectiveness of Contact in Prejudice Reduction

In addition to the above principles of positive contact, a recent meta-analytic study conducted by Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) provided further strong empirical support for the beneficial effect of contact in reducing intergroup prejudice. Their study is a thorough piece of research synthesis on contact theory research covering 713 independent samples from 515 studies. The overall conclusion was that the intergroup contact typically reduced intergroup

prejudice. Such research findings offer another empirical rationale and support for the use of inter-action and intergroup contact as the medium of reconciliation (conceptualized as positive attitude change) in the ABPRA. Reconciliation through inter-action is firmly anchored in and informed by the empirically supported principles of contact theory.

The ABPRA as a Practical Synthesis of Morita Therapy and Contact Theory

This section offers a synthesized model based on the combination of the two theories reviewed above (Morita and contact) serving as two foundational features of the ABPRA. The ABPRA incorporates principles of Morita therapy and principles of contact theory into actions and interaction of survivors and perpetrators in their day-to-day practical context and utilizes the dynamics to foster their healing and reconciliation. Morita therapy provides clinical rationale and empirical support for the therapeutic effectiveness of the use of action. The principles of contact theory provide theoretical and empirical support for the effectiveness of contact in inter-group attitude change which is conceptualized here as reconciliation. The guiding principle of the ABPRA is based on the following theoretical premises: action fosters healing while interaction simultaneously fosters intergroup reconciliation. Additionally, the ABPRA aims to bring about healing and reconciliation to the dyad without interfering with the day-to-day functions and lives of people in Rwanda. The ABPRA is simple; however, it provides a practical, empirically supported, and productive alternative to the existing forgiveness-based reconciliation program.

Chapter 5: Research Purpose and Questions, and its Epistemological Stance

The purpose of this research is to (1) provide psychosocial reconciliation support through the implementation of the ABPRA and to (2) investigate participant experiences in the ABPRA as a process of psychosocial reconciliation. Table 2 summarizes the following aspects of the ABPRA: (1) intervention components integrated in the ABPRA, (2) media of intervention, (3) their theoretical anchors, (4) evidence base/empirical foundations, (5) dynamics of investigation, and (6) expected outcomes.

Table 2

Intervention Elements of the ABPRA

Intervention	Theoretical Anchor	Evidence-bases	Medium of Intervention	Targets of Investigation	Source of Investigation	Expected outcome
Psychological Reconciliation	Psychological reconciliation Contact theory	Pettigrew & Tropp (2006)	Action Interaction	Affective Cognitive Behavioural Processes	Post-Session Interview & IPR Theory-guided TCA	Change in orientation towards another group = attitude change
Healing	Morita therapy	Minami (2011)	Action Interaction	Healing	Post-Session Interview & IPR Theory-guided TCA	Healing

Based on our review of theories underlying the ABPRA and evidence base supporting the theories, it is likely to expect two principal beneficial outcomes of the ABPRA: (1) facilitation of psychological reconciliation and (2) healing experience for participants. Available theories and previous studies (e.g., Staub et al., 2005) suggest that the process of psychological reconciliation leads to some form of attitude change among the reconciliation dyad. Based on a critical review of studies on the nature and operation of attitude (Minami, 2008; Minami, 2009), attitude can be inferred from three observable attitude functions including affect, cognition, and behavioural manifestations. Therefore, it is expected that some form of change or simple process will occur in participants' affect, cognition, and behaviour while engaged in the ABPRA. The healing aspect of the ABPRA is explored in post-session interviews with participants.

Formulation of Research Questions

The present research asks the following broad and specific questions. Broadly formulated, “What change occurs in participants while they engage in the process of the ABPRA?” More specifically, “What affective, behavioural, and cognitive processes or changes occur while participants engage in the ABPRA’s action- and interaction-based psychosocial reconciliation process?” In addition, “Is the ABPRA facilitative of psychological healing?” If so, “What factors facilitate or hinder psychological healing in participants?” In order to investigate these questions, the ABC methodology was developed and employed in the present study.

Methodological Approach: Accessing and Exploring the Attitude Change via ABC

Methodology

The principal focus of investigation in this study is the potential change in attitude toward each other in each reconciliation dyad as the result of their joint engagement in shared action and mutual interaction. Therefore, attitude theory provides an optimal theoretical and methodological

framework for this investigation. Previous reviews of literature (Minami, 2008, 2009) suggest that attitude involves affective, behavioural, and cognitive (ABC) functions as discussed earlier in this chapter. The ABC methodology derived its name from the three functions and provides a conceptual/theoretical framework of this investigation. Each of the ABC components will be investigated by employing a post-session, semi-structured interview of the participants and interpersonal process recall (Kagan & Kagan, 1997, as cited in Bernard & Goodyear, 2009). This will be discussed later in this chapter.

Situating the Attitude Theory Framework and ABC Methodology in the Constructivist Epistemological Paradigm

This research is situated in the social-constructivist epistemological paradigm. Ponterotto (2005) suggested that constructivists espouse a view that “reality is constructed in the mind of the individual, rather than it being an externally singular entity” (p. 129). Contemporary theorists and previous researchers (e.g., Staub et al., 2005) clearly indicated that the process of psychological reconciliation is unique to each individual with some commonalities across individuals. The reality or truth of reconciliation can be conceptualized as residing in the mind or experience of the individual and in the interpersonal dynamics of the individuals involved. Constructivist epistemology offers an optimal theoretical angle to capture the individual construction and interpersonal co-construction of psychological reconciliation.

Traditionally, investigation of attitude and attitude change has been approached from a positivist or post-positivist epistemological stance characterized by the use of standardized attitude measures and experimental designs (Staub et al., 2005). However, considering our current inadequacy in understanding the nature and process of psychological reconciliation, it is premature to investigate the changes in attitude in this particular phenomenon of psychological

reconciliation from this paradigm. It makes it meaningless at this point to even devise any measures of reconciliation as we have limited knowledge of the nature of this process. The identified limitations of Staub et al.'s (2005) study clearly reflect the lack of adequate understanding of the process of psychological reconciliation. This urgently calls for more bottom-up and descriptive investigations of the phenomenon in question. As mentioned earlier, the ABC methodology with a constructivist framework seems to provide an optimal place to start this long-term process of investigation.

Ponterotto (2005) also argued that a hermeneutical process is at the heart of the constructivist view in that “a meaning is hidden and must be brought to the surface through deep reflection” (p. 129). He further suggested that this investigation could be enhanced by the interactive dialogue between researcher and participant. Ponterotto concluded, “a distinguishing characteristic of constructivism is the centrality of the interaction between the investigator and the object of investigation. Only through this interaction can deeper meaning be uncovered. The goals of constructivism–interpretivism are both idiographic and emic” (p. 129).

As a researcher and reconciliator, I implemented the ABPRA and conducted the research in collaborations with reconciliation dyads. It was foreseeable that I participate in the program through various roles such as a facilitator, a participant observer, an interviewer, a photographer, and a person. It was also expected that my presence and participation bring inevitable and unavoidable influence on their reconciliation process and data generation, collection, analysis, interpretation, and verification processes. Therefore, I accepted that I would engage in the hermeneutic process of research in collaboration with the dyad. The constructivist view, espousing the hermeneutic approach, highlights the importance of researcher engagement in the

dynamics of the investigation as well as in data collection and interpretation thus providing an optional epistemological stance towards the nature of this investigation process.

Chapter 6: Method

Participants

Initially, three reconciliation dyads consisting of three adult genocide survivors paired with three adult genocide ex-prisoners were recruited on a voluntary basis in close collaboration with Prison Fellowship Rwanda (PFR) in Kigali. The ABPRA was terminated after four sessions with the first dyad due to the deterioration in health of the ex-prisoner within the dyad.

Following this, another dyad was recruited resulting in four reconciliation dyads recruited in total.

PFR has been supporting the development and growth of eight reconciliation villages in Rwanda where survivors of the 1994 genocide live with the returned ex-prisoners. The executive director of PFR, Pastor Deo Gashagaza, had been working with the villagers and supported their reconciliation process for more than 17 years at the time the present research project was conducted. He had extensive experience and knowledge required to recruit optimal participants for this investigation. Participants for this study were recruited on a voluntary base from two of the reconciliation villages, Mbyo and Rweru, under close supervision of Pastor Gashagaza and PFR Communications Manager, Guma Alexandre. The term “ex-prisoner” is used by PFR to refer to the former perpetrators of the 1994 genocide who have returned from prison to the reconciliation village. This dissertation adopts the term and will be employed hereafter.

Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

Due to the possible risk of violence and aggression, a stringent inclusion and exclusion criteria was developed, evaluated, and approved by ethics committees from Canada (UBC Behavioural Research Ethics Board) and Rwanda (Rwanda National Ethics Committee).

Inclusion criteria:

- a) that participants are either survivors or ex-prisoners of the 1994 Rwandan genocide
- b) that participants are recruited or referred to the researcher by staff of PFR
- c) that participants show no evidence of psychiatric/psychological disorders
- d) that survivors must demonstrate needs for assistance with daily living activities (e.g., farming or renovating their house)
- e) that ex-prisoners must be willing to offer labour service to survivors
- f) that survivors must be willing to receive labour service from ex-prisoners
- g) that participants express willingness to engage in survivor-need-based joint-labour
- h) that participants demonstrate clear understanding of the nature, philosophical stance, and process of the ABPRA
- i) that participants agree not to engage in any act of revenge, retaliation, or harming others
- j) that participants agree to sessions being video- and audio-recorded for a data collection purpose
- k) that participants agree to be interviewed and have their interviews audio-recorded for a data collection purpose
- l) that participants are competent to understand, and agree to sign, the informed consent

The exclusion criteria:

- a) that participants who are neither survivors nor ex-prisoners of the 1994 Rwandan genocide
- b) that participants not recruited or referred to the researcher by staff of Prison Fellowship Rwanda
- c) that dyads not living in the same reconciliation village
- d) that participants who do not express voluntary willingness to engage in survivor needs-based joint-labour
- e) that participants who show evidence of psychiatric/psychological disorders
- f) that survivors who fail to demonstrate needs for labour assistance
- g) that ex-prisoners who refuse to offer their labour services to survivors
- h) that participants who do not show a clear understanding of the nature, philosophical stance, and process of the ABPRA
- i) that participants who indicate a desire or possibility to engage in the act of revenge, retaliation, or harming self or others
- j) that participants who disagree to sessions being video- and audio-recorded for a data collection purpose
- k) that participants who disagree to be interviewed and have their interviews recorded for a data collection purpose
- l) that ex-prisoners who show a lack of remorse or guilt
- m) that participants considered by PFR as extremely vulnerable and show a potential for experiencing extreme emotional distress in interacting with each other

- n) that participants who are unable to understand, refuse to sign, or express disagreement to the informed consent form which clearly lists the inclusion and exclusion criteria discussed above

The above inclusion and exclusion criteria were stringently applied at the initial screening/recruiting stage. Fluency in English was not chosen as a criterion. An impartial and professional interpreter was hired and available throughout the research project. Participants were encouraged to use whichever official language (e.g., Kinyarwanda or English) they choose and felt comfortable in expressing themselves.

Participant Recruitment

Due to the nature of this program, the cautions and attention was paid to ensure the voluntariness and safety of participation via ensuring inclusion rather than exclusion criteria were met. I visited with the staff of PFR, the two villages prior to the recruitment phase and held a village meeting to introduce himself and the research project to villagers attended. Several contacts were made during this visit to meet with the village leaders and key personnel in the village to inform the research process, expected benefits, and possible risks involved in this study. All village leaders showed their understandings and gestures to facilitate the recruitment. The Rweru village leaders elected a dyad to participate in this study under PFR's supervision and consultation. The dyad showed their voluntary willingness to participate in the program. The other two reconciliation dyads were recruited voluntarily from the Mbyo village a week following the initial introductory meeting. I held another meeting at Mbyo together with PFR staff and asked for two volunteer dyads. Two dyads raised their hands together, and the remainder of participants were recruited. Following the order in which they started the ABPRA, I labeled the two dyads recruited from the Mbyo as dyad one and three and the dyad recruited from the Rweru as dyad two. As mentioned before, one of the dyad recruited from the Mbyo

village, dyad one, became unable to complete the eight sessions as the ex-prisoner's health deteriorated due to HIV. The survivor from dyad one had another ex-prisoner who murdered other members of her family in the same village of Mbyo. He was approached and offered to participate in the program. He showed his willingness and voluntary desire to participate and was recruited as the ex-prisoner forming a dyad with the survivor from dyad one to form the new dyad four. Therefore, four dyads made up of seven participants in total were recruited. Dyad one completed four sessions, and dyad two, three, and four completed the eighth sessions of the ABPRA.

Participant Background Information

A comprehensive life history of each participant was not sought, as the focus of the research is not on the exploration of his or her lived experiences. However, essential information related to each of their dyads were sought in order to explicate the nature of relationship each dyad had before the engagement in the ABPRA. Gender, age, composition of family member at the time of the genocide (in 1994), composition of family member at the time of the present research, and their direct survivor-perpetrator relationship were summarized in the following Table 3.

Table 3

Participants Family Background and Relationship Characteristics

Dyad #1	Survivor P1S	Ex-Prisoner P1P
Gender	Female	Male
Age	39	49
Place of Birth	Gikongoro	Butare

Dyad #1	Survivor P1S	Ex-Prisoner P1P
Family Members in 1994	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 56 family members in total • Immediate family of 12, including mother and an adopted father with 10 biological siblings (6 girls and 4 boys) • 2, herself and her brother survived from the immediate family 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 6 family members in total • Immediate family of 6, including mother and father • 4 siblings • 2, he and his sister survived from the immediate family
Family Members at the time of research (2012)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extended: 2 aunts and 1 brother • Immediate: 1 husband and 10 children of her own 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extended: Both father and mother deceased • Immediate: Divorced with two children of his own
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The ex-prisoner murdered 4 siblings of the survivor and her biological mother. Her father was also shot by the <i>Interahamwe</i> on his escaping way to Burundi. The ex-prisoner was released from a prison in 2003. He returned to and started living in the same village of Mbyo with the survivor since. 		

Dyad #2	Survivor P2S	Ex-Prisoner P2P
Gender	Female	Male
Age	41	57
Place of Birth	Bugesera	Gikongoro
Family Members in 1994	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immediate family of 16 • The father had 3 wives • 1 biological mother and 2 step mothers • 12 siblings • 7 survived from the immediate family (1 Step mother and 6 children) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immediate family of 17 (14 children, a father and a mother + a step mother) • 5 boys 9 girls
Family Members at the time of research (2012)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immediate: 1 husband and 6 children (1 girl and 5 boys) of her own (7 but 1 girl died of being poisoned) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immediate: 1 wife and 6 children (3 boys and 3 girls) of his own (7 but 1 boy died of natural death)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The ex-prisoner murdered a cousin of the survivor. The survivor first met with the ex-prisoner and discovered that he was the murderer of the cousin 2 years prior to the beginning 		

of the ABPRA during a community meeting she was running as the village leader.

Dyad #3	Survivor P3S	Ex-Prisoner P3P
Gender	Female	Male
Age	52	63
Place of Birth	Gikongoro	Butare
Family Members in 1994	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immediate family of 10 • Mother, father and 8 siblings (2 boys and 6 girls). • She was married with a husband with 5 children (2 boys 3 girls) • Her father, 7 siblings survived and 1 sister were murdered. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immediate family of 14 • Mother, father and 12 siblings (8 girls and 4 boys). • 4 girls and 3 boys survived • Father and mother passed away of natural disease in a refugee camp.
Family Members at the time of research (2012)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immediate: 5 children (2 boys and 3 girls) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immediate: 1 wife and 7 children (5 girls and 2 boys)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The ex-prisoner murdered the survivor's husband in front of her. The ex-prisoner was released from a prison in 2003. He returned to and started living in the same village of Mbyo with the survivor since. 		

Dyad #4	Survivor P1S	Ex-Prisoner P4P
Gender	Female	Male
Age	39	42
Place of Birth	Gikongoro	Gisenyi
Family Members in 1994	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 56 family members in total • Immediate family of 12, including mother and father 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 17 family members in total • Had father and 2 of his wives

Dyad #4	Survivor P1S	Ex-Prisoner P4P
Family Members in 1994	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 10 siblings (6 girls and 4 boys) • 2, herself and her brother survived from the immediate family 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Father had 9 children with the elder wife and 5 children with the younger wife • His sister died of malaria • Mother diseased due to natural disease – poisoned by a neighbour
Family Members at the time of research (2012)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extended: 2 aunts and 1 brother • Immediate: 1 husband and 10 children of her own 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immediate: 1 wife and 5 children (2 girls and 3 boys)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The ex-prisoner murdered 7 people in the survivor’s family including her stepmother and 6 of her adopted father’s children – stepbrothers and sisters. The ex-prisoner was released from a prison in 2003. He returned to and started living in the same village of Mbyo with the survivor since. 		

All of the participants were at least age 39 or older. This indicates that at the time of the 1994 Rwandan Genocide, they had at reached adulthood (21 years of age) and had sufficient capacity to recall impactful events. Someone who is age 20 or younger may not hold sufficient memory of the personal impact of the 1994 event as he would have been 0-3 years old at the time.

Procedures

Initial orientation meeting and screening. Upon voluntary recruitment, I held an orientation meeting with participants individually. I first reassured that each participant cleared all of the inclusion/exclusion criteria. Careful attention was paid to screen out individuals with suspected or potential psychological disorders such as mood and anxiety disorders, especially post traumatic stress disorder. The referees of participants (e.g., the executive director and staff members of Prison Fellowship Rwanda and the reconciliation village leaders of Rweru and Mbyo) were familiar with the status (absence or presence) of psychological disorders among the

reconciliation villagers, and the refereed participants self-identified themselves with the absence of psychological disorders.

I explained to those who had been screened and chosen as participants of this study all items listed in the consent form (Appendix A) with the assistance of a professional Kinyarwandan interpreter. I communicated the philosophy, intention, and overview of the process of the ABPRA. Potential benefits including labour assistance for survivors as well as an opportunity for atonement for the ex-prisoners was communicated to the participants. Potential risks including possible emergence of psychological distresses such as resurfacing anger, fear, grief or sadness, flashbacks of unpleasant memories, or images were also communicated to the participants.

It should be noted here that survivors and ex-prisoners participating in this study had been living in the same reconciliation village for varying years (9 years for the dyads #1, #3, and #4 from Mbyo, and two years for the dyad #2 from Rweru). Daily encounters with each other were very common. It was reported by staff members of PFR that cases of severe emotional distress emerging and leading to hospitalization of villagers had been extremely rare. However, in rare cases in which a participant showed psychological disturbance beyond what was perceived by him/herself as normal, the following care plan was offered and to be followed up by myself, staff of Prison Fellowship Rwanda, and village leaders.

- 1) First, the participant will be offered a psychological debriefing session by the researcher, Masahiro Minami, who is registered in the Province of British Columbia, Canada as a registered clinical counsellor (Reg. #3431) with a professional Kinyarwandan interpreter.
- 2) If further support is either requested by the participant or determined necessary by the researcher, the participant will be supported by the village leader and staff of Prison Fellowship Rwanda to be referred to an appropriate service as follows:
 - a. If further physical health support is either requested by the participant or determined necessary by the researcher, the participant will be counselled by an *abajanama bubuzima* (Community Health Mobiliser, a trained health worker, who visits villages on a regular basis) and referred to a local hospital if necessary.

- b. If further mental health support is either requested by the participant or determined necessary by the researcher, the participant will be offered on-site psychological counselling by Professor, Dr. Simba Kananga (Kigali Health Institute). If ongoing mental health support is either requested by the participant or determined necessary by Dr. Kananga, the participant will be referred to the Ndera Neuropsychiatric Hospital.

All of the above information including the potential benefits and risks of the ABPRA and contingency care plan was clearly and legibly documented in the consent form in English and Kinyarwanda.

In terms of the frequency and duration of the ABPRA, I set the limit of two hours per day, once per week, for up to eight weeks in duration to achieve sufficient data collection. My participants and I collaboratively determined when we thought we had reached a point where no new information had to be added for the session.

Potential participants were offered an option to go home and think about their decision to participate in this study over the next 24 hours to allowing them freedom to change their mind about their decision for research participation. All participants expressed that they did not need time to think and would like to proceed with the program. However, a full day was given before signing the participants' forms. No participant chose not to pursue research participation.

Implementation of the ABPRA. A week after the initial orientation meeting, the dyads began to engage in the ABPRA. I met with each ex-prisoner participant first and walked together to the house of his paired partner. The ex-prisoner greeted her and asked for the task that she had set for the day. Then, the dyad engaged in a total of two hours of collaborative work in the field. Each dyad worked for two hours per week on the same day of the week for eight consecutive weeks. Table 4 summarizes the joint-labour tasks chosen by the survivors for each of the sessions.

Table 4

List of Joint-Labour Tasks Chosen by Survivors

	Dyad #1	Dyad #2	Dyad #3	Dyad #4
Session 1	Harvesting Sorghum	Harvesting Ground Nuts	Cracking Ground Nuts	Weeding Cassava Plantation
Session 2	Weeding Cassava plantation	Harvesting Corn	Weeding Cassava Plantation	Weeding Cassava Plantation
Session 3	Picking Corn Kernel	Picking Corn Kernel	Weeding Cassava Plantation	Weeding Cassava Plantation
Session 4	Picking Corn Kernel	Picking Corn Kernel	Weeding Cassava Plantation	Weeding Cassava Plantation
Session 5		Picking Corn Kernel	Weeding Cassava Plantation	Weeding Cassava Plantation
Session 6		Taking Seeds out of Tomatoes	Weeding Cassava Plantation	Weeding Cassava Plantation
Session 7		Making Clay-Bricks for House Renovation	Weeding Cassava Plantation	Weeding Cassava Plantation
Session 8		Making Clay-Bricks for House Renovation	Weeding Cassava Plantation	Weeding Cassava Plantation

Follow-up meetings. Three follow-up meetings with each dyad were scheduled and conducted by myself. The purpose of each follow-up was to provide participants with opportunities to debrief their experience in the study as well as to raise and address any research-related concerns. The first meeting was held at the completion of the final joint-labour session, and the second meeting was held one week after that. The first and second meetings were conducted in person by myself on research sites and took up to one hour each. All three dyads, except the dyad #1, decided to hold a celebration meal sharing and I joined the festivities with the research staff. The final follow-up interview was conducted by myself over the telephone three months after the completion of the second follow-up meeting. The final meeting took 15-20 minutes per participant with the assistance of a Kinyarwandan interpreter.

Methods of Data Collection

Participant experiences in the ABPRA were accessed by employing mixed methods with each method aiming at exploring ABC functions of attitude (e.g., affective experience, behavioural manifestations, and cognitive processes). A semi-structured post-session individual interview was consistently employed immediately after each of the eight sessions engaging the participants in the interpersonal process recall (Kagan & Kagan, 1997) activity twice per each dyad.

Method One: Semi-structured post-session interviews. At the end of each joint-labour session, each reconciliation dyad was interviewed individually. Specific questions were asked consistently in each interview session to explore each of the three components of attitude change (e.g., affective experience, behavioural manifestations, and cognitive processes). To explore affective and cognitive changes, I asked, “Is there

anything you felt in your heart or thought about while you were working together today?”

Notes were taken for the behavioural manifestations of an attitude function or attitude change. For example, if a participant noticed that her pair was committed (attitude), I probed, “What is the sign that you noticed that showed you that your partner was committed?” This question was posed in a consistent manner whenever participants reported behavioural attitude functions in their partner.

I also utilized a general inquiry of: “How was the session for you today?” to allow participants to offer an open-ended reporting of their experiences. I then probed for further exploration based on the participant responses. The interview was conducted exhaustively until the participants had nothing more to say or add on for the day.

Method Two: Interpersonal process recall. The interpersonal process recall (IPR) method (Kagan & Kagan, 1997) was conducted to explore the internal processes of participants. IPR is a method of accessing internal processes (e.g., thoughts and feelings) that occurred in participants through collaborative reviewing of a video recording of a process (e.g., in this case, the ABPRA joint-labour sessions). It means that the IPR allows researchers to explore what each participant was thinking about or feeling in a particular moment during the ABPRA. Typically, during the IPR a video recording of a session is viewed together with a researcher and a participant. The participant is then asked to pause the video at any time when s/he recalls a moment in which s/he was thinking about or feeling something.

The IPR was conducted on two occasions per dyad with two dyads (dyads #2 and #3) and on three occasions with a dyad (#4). Typically, the IPR sessions are conducted with each of the participants separately. All three dyads requested that they review the

video together on the two occasions, and the dyad #4 reviewed the video once separately. The entire session and duration of joint-labor including the closing ceremony were video-recorded for the purpose of the IPR. Consent to being video-recorded and photographed was obtained as a pre-requisite for participation in this research project. The video recordings of their joint-labour was played back and reviewed with each dyad. In each of these IPR review sessions, the participants were invited to stop the video at any point where they remembered something they were feeling or thinking about while engaged in the ABPRA. I then prompted the participant, “Can you recall exactly what you were feeling/thinking there and then?”

Although the interpersonal process recall was attempted, the IPR was employed only two or three occasions for an average of 20 minutes. There were two field experiences that led to my decision to decline IPR as the core method: (a) it turned out to be too time consuming to cover all the two hours of labour footage through the IPR and (b) it was consistently observed that participants were fascinated by the video recording of their joint labour and became consumed in the watching and enjoying of the footage. Therefore, no responses were made from the participants. On two to three occasions, IPR was attempted at the beginning and progressed into a semi-structured interview. In both semi-structured interviews and the IPR sessions, the same questions were asked. The limited obtained responses from the IPR were also put forth for the data analysis.

Each semi-structured post-session interview was conducted immediately following the ABPRA sessions and was employed as a principal method of accessing participants’ internal process consistently throughout eight sessions.

Method Three: Video-recordings and photographs of joint-labour sessions.

While it was not for the purpose of behavioural coding or rating, the video recording of the joint-labour captured a broad array of participant action and interaction during the ABPRA. Video-archives provided a pool of visual expression of participants' reported experiences and will be used as a visual aid to present participant-observed behavioural signs and manifestations of the partner's attitude manifestation in the Results section.

Materials

The following items were used for this field research: (a) a HD digital Camcorder, (b) an audio recorder, (c) other supplies to enable needs-based activities (e.g., farming equipment and tools if requested or necessary), and (d) documentation including informed consent forms specifying minimum safety requirements (reflecting inclusion/exclusion criteria) in both English and Kinyarwanda.

Amount of Data Collected

The first dyad engaged in a total of four sessions of the ABPRA and semi-structured post-session interviews were conducted with them for three of the four sessions. The data from the interviews from the first dyad were also included in the analysis.

Table 5 summarizes the length of each semi-structured post-session interview with each pair of a survivor and an ex-prisoner together as well as separately for an individual interview.

Table 5

Summary Chart of Interview Data (Interview Lengths Shown in Minutes and Seconds)

	Semi-structured post-session interview with the survivors	Semi-structured post-session interview with the ex-prisoners	Shared IPR followed by semi-structured post-session shared interview with the dyad together
Dyad #1			
Session 1	44:54	30:10	
Session 2	52:20	44:48	
Session 3	16:59	19:52	
Subtotal	114:13	94:50	
Dyad #2			
Session 1	50:13	33:31	
Session 2			56:30
Session 3			39:27
Session 4	20:48	30:44	
Session 5	26:06	32:58	
Session 6	28:20	21:58	
Session 7	23:08	19:16	
Session 8	69:55	28:18	
Subtotal	218:30	166:45	95:57
Dyad #3			
Session 1	36:19	34:23	

	Semi-structured post-session interview with the survivors	Semi-structured post-session interview with the ex-prisoners	Shared IPR followed by semi-structured post-session shared interview with the dyad together
Session 2			60:16
Session 3	36:17	43:36	
Session 4	22:41	30:17	
Session 5	30:10	38:24	
Session 6			78:04
Session 7	35:31	35:59	
Session 8	18:56	20:32	
Subtotal	179:54	203:11	138:20
Dyad #4			
Session 1	36:29	39:27	
Session 2	32:44	35:29	
Session 3	41:39	34:26	
Session 4			83:04
Session 5	38:49 (w IPR)	37:05 (w IPR)	
Session 6	23:49	30:33	
Session 7	16:34	16:04	16:42
Session 8	37:04	38:28	
Subtotal	227:08	231:32	99:46
Total	739:45	696:18	334:03

Overall, a general decrease in the interview time for all the participants in all dyads over the course of the ABPRA sessions was observed. The interview length of the first and last sessions were longer than the others. This is because their background information had been collected as part of the first interview, and their definitions of forgiveness and reconciliation were inquired as part of the last interview with each pair. Nevertheless, overall decrease in the lengths required to complete each interview is indicative of the gradual achievement of data saturation.

These interviews amounted to combined totals of: (a) 739 minutes and 45 seconds of interview data with survivor-participants, (b) 696 minutes 18 seconds of interview data with ex-prisoners, and (c) 334 minutes and 3 seconds of shared interview data. A grand total of 1770 minutes and 6 seconds (roughly 29.5 hours) of interview data were put forth, as the data containing participant experiences in the ABPRA, for the data analysis.

Chapter 7: Data Analysis

Data Preparation

The audio-recorded interview data were first transcribed and then translated by a hired Rwandan assistant who had a Master's level education and experience practicing as an attorney (LL.B).

Use of Thematic Content Analysis

Thematic content analysis (TCA) (Krippendorff, 2014) was employed to allow inductive analysis of the interview data. TCA allows researchers to analyze a qualitative set of data with no a-priori epistemological/theoretical assumptions which might otherwise influence the process of data coding. Rather, it allows for the emergence of themes based on a set of qualitative data. The nature and characteristics of the process of TCA provided an optimal fit to address the open-ended broad research question of the present study which was focused on exploring participants' experiences in the ABPRA. While both attitude theory, contact theory, and Morita therapy theory predicted a framework of possible change domains, changes unexpected by a priori theoretical/empirical assumptions were considered essential in this investigation of participants' experience as well. It was assumed that participants' experiences in the ABPRA was more complex, diverse, and broader than changes expected by the prior theoretical/empirical estimations. Therefore, the inductive process of TCA was employed for the purpose of revealing experiences which were expected and/or unexpected by the theory and of extending theories by facilitating the discovery of the unexpected. This point is fully discussed in the theoretical implications section of this dissertation.

Data Analysis Procedures via TCA

Data familiarization. Following the TCA method (Krippendorff, 2014), I read, re-read and familiarized myself with all the translated transcripts.

Initial coding trial. All transcripts were coded once by myself to generate initial meaning units. Sentence-level coding was conducted to ensure that it captures the complex nature of participant experience. Preliminary meaning units (MUs) were assigned to each sentence. For example, in coding sentence(s) from an interview session transcript,

Int.: “In the past time, he asked you how it would be if you had not met T (Ex-prisoner pair) and you answered to him that you would have been afraid of him.”
 Surv.: “Yes, still I should fear him but because we always meet and work together like that, the fear has disappeared. We no longer fear each other.”
 Int.: “So, when you work together, you can feel that there is no fear?”
 Surv.: “No, It is not there.”

In the above case, a meaning unit identified as “effectiveness of frequent encounter in vanishing fear” was assigned.

Inclusive and exhaustive coding. Coding was also conducted inclusively and exhaustively. This means that the coding process ensured that every possible meaning of the sentence(s) I could generate was extracted as meaning units reflecting the social-constructivistic epistemological paradigm that allows the meaning-making process to be co-constructive between participants and myself. In the case of the above quote, another MU of “felt-sense/experience (Gendlin, 1981) of disappearance of fear towards ex-prisoner” was also assigned to the same set of sentences quoted above. In developing initial labels for MUs, exact words used by the participants, translated by a Rwandan translator, were employed as much as possible to make them more relevant to the

participant's experience. In some cases, new words were assigned by myself to clarify the meaning expressed by the participants.

The second coding and the final coding check. Next, the second round of coding was conducted by myself to re-evaluate the preliminary MUs assigned to each of the sentence(s), and amendments were made. The final and third round coding check was conducted by myself to ensure each identified MU accurately and consistently represents assigned meaning.

Meaning unit tabulation. Next, MUs generated by the three rounds of coding procedures were extracted from the transcripts and tabulated in an Excel chart which resulted in a total of 1,179 sets of MUs anchored on a particular sentence(s) of participants from the transcripts. Each set of MUs contained more than one MU at this point.

Cross-coding and cultural/contextual validation. Next, the Rwandan research colleague who translated the original Rwandan verbalizations to English reviewed all the codings. Numerous discussions were held between us to ensure agreements in coding and labelling of meaning units. Disagreements in coding and labelling were discussed and reflected in either an amendment or acceptance of the original. The review by the Rwandan researcher also added an ecological and contextual validity by reviewing culturally-specific or context-specific coding and labelling of meaning units. For example, an indigenous term of *inyamaswa* was used by an ex-prisoner to refer to his pre-engagement experience; *inyamaswa* is roughly translated as “a wild/cruel beast.” The Rwandan researcher was consulted in occasions when culturally specific label of

meaning unit arose, to ensure that the label reflects accurate, relevant, and culturally sensitive representation of the indigenous concept.

Cross-coding. The next stage of data analyses involved a cross-coding verification. A total of 120 sets (10%) of the MUs were randomly chosen from the pool of 1,179 sets of MUs. The 120 sets of MUs were then randomly divided into three sets of 40 MUs sets which were assigned to three Master-level graduates for cross-coding. This process of data selection, grouping, and assignment was done randomly. All three graduates received a Master-level education and degree in Psychological Research Methods from an UK University and have all read this research protocol. They have also attended an hour-long workshop introducing the ABPRA procedures and preliminary findings.

Groups of sentences revealing each of the 40 sets of MUs were sent to each of the above graduates. They were asked to rate each coding and resulting MUs with a rating scale of “fully agree,” “partially agree,” “disagree,” and “missing context to rate.” Scaling was used because the graduates did not have full contextual information to take into account culturality and contextuality. For example, in order for them to code sentence(s) which revealed the meaning of “*inyamaswa (the wild beast, in Kinyarwanda term)*,” the rater would have needed the cultural information of what “*inyamaswa*” meant in order to accurately code it from scratch. Due to the lack of their contextual knowledge and understanding of Kinyarwanda terms, they were simply asked to rate their agreement with the coding and resulting MUs using the provided scaling.

Table 6 summarizes the inter-rater agreement levels.

Table 6

Cross-Coding Result

	Fully Agree	Partially Agree	Disagree with any	Missing Context to Rate	Total
Rater 1	35 (87.5%)	2 (5%)	0	3 (7.5%)	40
Rater 2	38 (95%)	2 (5%)	0	0	40
Rater 3	37 (92.5%)	3 (7.5%)	0	0	40
Total	110 (91.67%)	7 (5.83%)	0	3 (2.5%)	120

The results showed a total of 91.67% full agreement among the three raters with the initial coding, 5.83% partial agreement, and 2.5% missing context to rate. No disagreement was reported with any of the sets with existing coding and MUs (0%).

Decomposition of meaning units. The next stage of data analysis involved decomposition of the sets of MUs revealed from a group of sentences into single MUs. The decomposition process involved breaking down of double-barrelled MUs into a single MU. In the previous example, a single group of sentences revealed two MUs of (a) “effectiveness of frequent encounter in vanishing fear,” and (b) “felt-sense/experience of disappearance of fear towards the ex-prisoner.” Therefore, such MUs were further broken down to two single MUs as emerged from the same group of sentences. The result of the decomposition procedure yielded a total of 1808 MUs and was put forth for theme extractions.

Theme extractions. The inductive process of TCA continued, and the 1808 MUs were read, re-read, and carefully familiarized, studied, and categorized under similar meaning generating a total of 336 subthemes under 70 themes after the first iteration.

Each of the themes super-ordinated an average of 25.82 MUs at this point. The second iteration was conducted to further organize similar subthemes and themes generating a total of 160 subthemes under 55 themes. Each of the themes was supported by an average of 32.89 MUs at this point.

Expected (Theoretically guided) categories extractions. At this point, the following set of categories with themes expected by the two theoretical foundations of the ABPRA were extracted.

Category 1: Morita Therapeutic Themes

Theme 1: Healing, Subthemes: Moritian therapeutic constructs

Category 2: Contact Theory/Attitude Change Themes

Theme 1: Affective change

Theme 2: Cognitive change

Theme 3: Emerged behaviour

Emerg ed categories extractions. In addition to the above category, four other unexpected categories emerged and were extracted. They are:

Category 3: Reconciliation themes

Category 4: Relationship themes

Category 5: Psychosocial themes

Category 6: Background/research relevant themes

Each of these categories above overlaps to an extent with either combination of the other categories as they are hypothesized to be interrelated and derived from the same pool of participant reported experiences (MUs).

For conceptual clarity, categories 1 and 2 include themes and subthemes that were explicitly expected and defined a-priori by any of the reviewed constructs suggested by the theories and previous research findings. The theory-guided category extraction deductively identified MUs that reflect any constructs defined a-priori by the theories or previous research. The constructs then became themes and subsumed under the category 1 and 2. Emerged category extraction occurred inductively by clustering together MUs reflecting similar constructs/concepts to form subthemes, themes, supra-themes, and then to categories. In sum expected (theoretically guided) categories, extraction was conducted deductively, and the emerged categories were empirically derived inductively.

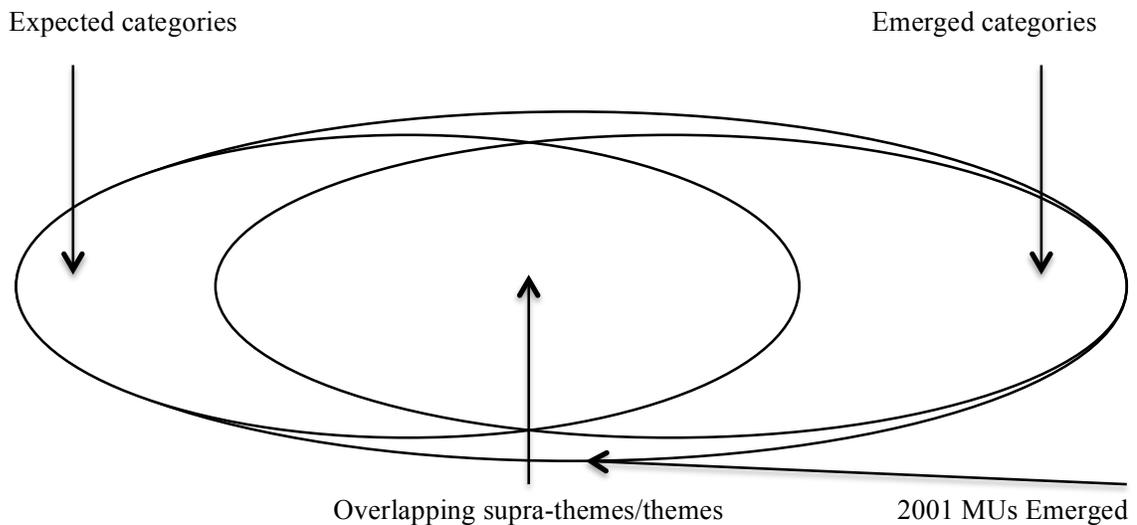
While the process of TCA revealed six conceptually distinct categories, each category overlapped to an extent with other categories by sharing the same themes. For conceptual clarity, the category to which a particular overlapping theme belongs while it is related to the other as well was chosen. This degree of overlap is considered more capturing of the fluid, complex, and interrelated nature of the elements of participant experience in the ABPRA. At this stage, each MU was also studied again to ensure that any double-barreled MUs (also reflective of a complex nature of participant response = experience) were assigned to two or more of the due themes.

The final extraction generated a total of six categories, 13 supra-themes (organizing themes), 40 themes, and 114 subthemes. A total number of MUs after the dual assignment of double-barrelled MUs was 2001 which suggests that each supra-theme super-ordinates an average of 153.92 MUs, and each theme super-ordinates an average of 50.03 MUs.

Diagram 2 illustrates both expected and emerged categories in relationship with the “universe” of MUs.

Diagram 2

Relationship between Expected and Emerged Categories and the “Universe” of MUs.



Expected categories include category of themes and sub-themes expected to emerge by prior reviews and research on Morita therapy, contact, and attitude theories. Emerged unexpected categories include themes and sub-themes unexpected by the prior research. Both types of category, regardless of whether they are expected or unexpected, emerged from the inductive process of data analysis through TCA from participant-reported experience. All categories were anchored in participant-reported experiences. While other only had one or none, most categories had multiple supra-themes which provided a general organizing framework to facilitate the ease of conceptual and theoretical understanding of the themes and subthemes. A complete explication of all

categories, supra-themes, themes, and sub-themes along with MU counts per each subthemes are provided in Table 7.

Table 7

Summary Table of Categories, Supra-Themes, Themes, and Subthemes with MU Counts

	Category		Supra-Theme		Theme		Sub-themes	MU
1	Moritian Therapeutic Themes	1	Healing	1	Acceptance	1		21
				2	Absorption	1		40
				3	Growth of the desire for life	1	for future action & action together	41
						2	to testify/be witness	33
						3	to share with/help others in similar suffering	25
						4	for atoning	16
						5	to reciprocate (Surv. & Ex-P.)	14
						6	to continue this program	9
						7	for celebrating program success/completion	3
				4	Emergence of purposeful action-taking	1	Conversations	114
						2	Emerged action	32

	Category		Supra-Theme		Theme		Sub-themes	MU
				5	Healing	1		17
2	Contact Theory/Attitude Change Themes	1	Growth of pleasant affects	1	Appreciation	1	for the pair	15
						2	for the program	12
						3	for good governance	10
						4	for God	6
				2	Compassion and Care	1	Care/Concern/worry for their pair	34
						2	Growth of compassion & sympathy	15
						3	Felt sense of being cared for/concerned/worried	14
						4	Care/Concern/worry for others in similar suffering	12
				3	Contentment & satisfaction	1		29
				4	Happiness, pleasure, joy, enjoyment	1	to work together	32
						2	to atone/be able to service the survivors	27
						3	Receiving service from the ex-prisoners	22

Category	Supra-Theme	Theme	Sub-themes	MU
			4 Experience of a general sense of happiness	14
			5 to be able to carry just “normal conversations”	14
			6 to restore relationship	11
			7 to testify	9
			8 Pleasant surprises	8
			9 for the pair	7
			10 for the progress/productivity generated	6
			11 of being cared for/supported	4
			12 for participation, program, completion	3
			13 of being forgiven	2
		5 Love	1 for others in similar suffering	18
			2 for their pair	12
			3 Felt sense of being loved by their pair	6

Category	Supra-Theme	Theme	Sub-themes	MU	
		6 Sense of Empowerment	1	9	
	2 Growth of unpleasant affects	1 Distress	1	3	
	3 Vanishing unpleasant affects	1 Vanishing affects perceived as unpleasant	1	21	
			2	Disappearance of suspicion	7
			3	Disappearance of shame and guilt	5
			4	Disappearance of solitude	4
			5	Disappearance of sorrow	4
			6	Disappearance of hatred	3
		2 Cleansing experience	1	21	
		3 Liberation, relief & unloading of emotional burden	1	19	
	4 Growth of pleasant cognitions	1 Hope	1	16	
		2 Pride and agaciro (dignity)	1	9	
		3 Opinions and thoughts	1	Opinions/Values stated	66

Category	Supra-Theme	Theme	Sub-themes	MU
			2 Thoughts/ideas emerged	10
		4 Trust, faith, confidence	1	21
		5 Commitment and Devotion	1 Commitment/Devotion	28
	5 Growth of unpleasant cognitions	1 Remembrance and Mourning	1	15
		2 Shame, guilt, remorse, conscience	1	11
	6 Participant observed signs/behavioural expressions	1 Participant observed signs/behavioural expressions	1 of commitment, devotion, hard work	29
			2 Growth of pleasant affect	25
			3 of sincerity/genuineness	18
			4 of forgiveness, unity and reconciliation	11
			5 Vanishing of unpleasant affect	5
			6 of good/developing relationship	5
			7 of shame, guilt, remorse, conscience	4

	Category		Supra-Theme		Theme		Sub-themes	MU
						8	of partner healing	4
3	Reconciliation Themes	1	Participant experience/view of the ABPRA	1	Beneficial impact of the ABPRA	1	Enhances personal development/productivity	25
						2	Facilitates healing	20
						3	Facilitates relationship development/RCN	15
						4	Provides time/opportunity to be together more often on purpose	15
						5	Facilitates voluntary self-disclosure and familiarity with each other	6
						6	Voluntariness	4
				2	Potential risks of the ABPRA	1		32
				3	Characteristics of encounter	1	Consistent/Frequent encounter	22
						2	Availability/Proximity	8
						3	Absence/not seeing often enough	4
				4	Media of reconciliation	1	Beneficial impact of action and interaction	36
						2	In words and in actions	10

Category	Supra-Theme	Theme	Sub-themes	MU
	2 Participant experience/view of reconciliation themes	1 Forgiveness	1 Decisional forgiveness	10
			2 Function of forgiveness	18
			3 Factors facilitative of decisional forgiveness	7
			4 Limitation of decisional forgiveness	5
			5 Felt sense of forgiveness	6
			6 Participant view of forgiveness	23
			7 Participant view of the relationship btw FGV & RCN	20
			8 Transformation of forgiveness	5
		2 Truth telling	1	17
		3 Unity	1 Participant view/sense of Unity/Togetherness	28
			2 of the relationship between Unity and reconciliation	12
		4 Reconciliation	1	30

	Category		Supra-Theme		Theme		Sub-themes	MU
4	Relational Themes	1	Born relationships	1	Restoration/Growth of relationship	1	Healing partner/relationship	41
						2	0+ relationship building	27
						3	Rehumanization	14
						4	Restoration/Reclaim of old relationship	11
		2	Mechanisms of relationship development	2	Receiving	1		22
				3	Sharing	1	Shared Feeling/thoughts	26
						2	Sharing sense of accomplishment/progress/benefit	15
						3	Shared healing process	6
						4	Shared remembrance of he past	6
						5	Shared the journey of unity, reconciliation, forgiveness	6
						6	Shared desire to continue working together	4
						7	Effect/function of sharing	6
				4	Counselling	1		32

	Category		Supra-Theme		Theme		Sub-themes	MU
5	psychosocial themes			1	Psychosocial impact	1	Community	19
						2	Family	14
						3	World peace	10
						4	Culture and politics	6
						5	Spirituality	4
				2	Testifying and witnessing	1	Testifying and Witnessing	57
6	Background/ Research Relevant Themes	1	Background information	1	Background information reported by the participants	1	Background information reported by the participants	65
				2	Participant reported lived experiences up to the start of the ABPRA	1	Pre-program experience of wounds/trauma/"bad" memories (survivor)	30
							Pre-program experience of healing process	17
							Lived experience of genocide	11
							Pre-program experience of carrying sin/guilt/shame (perpetrator)	5

	Category		Supra-Theme		Theme		Sub-themes	MU
							Pre-program experience of personal/internal reconciliation/FGV process	4
		2	Feedbacks on Logistics	3	Participant reported feedbacks to research		Experience with the reconciliator	64
							Logistics/Methodology/readiness	21
	Total: 6		Total: 13		Total: 40		Total: 114	2001

The themes contained in the Category 6 which referred to participants' pre-program life experiences, and/or other administrative and logistic issues related to the research activities were not directly relevant to demonstrate the impact of the ABPRA, thus was removed from the result at this point. However, this category provided invaluable information on the context in which the ABPRA was implemented. This information was helpful in improving the contextual validity of the data and data analyses process. Therefore, pertinent information from this category will be addressed and discussed in relevant sections throughout the result sections.

After the removal of the Category 6, five categories, 11 supra-themes (organizing themes), and 37 themes super-ordinating 106 subthemes with a total of 1784 MUs emerged as the result of the thematic content analyses. This indicates that an average of 162.18 MUs came under each supra-theme, and an average of 48.22 MUs came under each theme. The results are summarized in the Table 7. They are put forth as the direct results of the ABPRA and described in the following result section.

Chapter 8: Result Part One:
Researcher's Field Observations and Impressions of
Participants' Experiences in the ABPRA

Before moving on to presenting the result of the thematic content analysis, I wish to highlight and present ten of my most memorable learning moments and /or observations I logged in my field research journal. In this section, my own learning moments and observations are offered as part of the research results.

In order to implement the ABPRA in two rural villages of Rwanda, I brought myself to live there for one year to prepare everything from scratch. During the first 10 months, numerous trips to Rwandan villages were made along with the pleasure and honor of meeting with and interacting with hundreds of Rwandese living resiliently in today's Rwanda. Throughout my stay, I maintained a posture of being a student to learn about the process of psychological reconciliation, unity, forgiveness, and peace. Most fundamentally, I was a person who was eager to learn about how people of Rwanda are living together with their past scars today. After the first eight months, I fortunately encountered villagers of Mbyo and Rweru with the assistance of the Prison Fellowship Rwanda. Both I and the villagers of Mbyo and Rweru were aware that I was visiting them to implement the ABPRA and to conduct my research. However, the villagers did not welcome me into their community as 'a researcher.' They accepted me as 'Masa' throughout the course of this research. Their gesture was kind and humane and the posture of being 'Masa' in the villages remained during the stay in the villages. I also told villagers that 'Masa' is a 'student' who seeks to learn from them, the 'teachers' of reconciliation. Throughout the course of this research, I also accepted and addressed all

of the participants as ‘teachers,’ which is written in Kinyarwanda, ‘*umwarimu.*’ I addressed each of my participant with their first name accompanied by ‘*umwarimu,*’ such as ‘*umwarimu, Cecile (pseudonym used).*’ In turn, my ‘teachers’ accepted and addressed me as their ‘student Masa,’ in Kinyarwanda, ‘*umunyeshuri Masa.*’

These narrative experiences of mine provide support that this research was conducted in such a context reflective of a social constructionist epistemology. In such a context, I developed a close relationship with the participants which contributed to the process of constructing the results of this research. As a result, it is imperative to report my own observations, impression, experiences and learning as part of the results of this study. My observations and learning will be presented with photos capturing the moment of learning along with voices from participants.

‘Springing’ Joy and Appreciation

Every survivor reported that they experienced springing joy and appreciation for ex-prisoners by witnessing how hard and tirelessly they worked for them. I asked the survivors what were the signs they have witnessed that signalled to them that their ex-prisoner pair was working very hard, devoted and committed. Their answers were anything other than expected. All survivors reported the sign of devotion and commitment through their five senses. For example, a survivor reported that a speed in which an ex-prisoner worked in the field signalled to her that he was working in a devoted way.

*Photo 1**Survivor Spotting a Speedy Work of Ex-Prisoner*

Photo 1 depicts the moment when the survivor came back from fixing a rope leashing a goat to her field and noticed that the ex-prisoner worked far ahead of her. Her witnessing his speedy work brought her a pleasant surprise of experiencing his devotion. She reported feeling very happy and joy. Another survivor reported that she heard how hard her ex-prisoner pair was working. I probed her further. “What do you mean, you heard him?” She replied, “I could hear him breathing very hard (she imitates his heavy breathing). I could also see he was using much energy.” Another survivor reported that when she paused her work and looked up to her pair, she noticed there were large droplets of sweat on his forehead. The sight of the sweats communicated to her how hard and devotedly he was working for her. Every survivor reported such experience of springing joy as a result of experiencing the devotion of the ex-prisoners through their five senses.

As the researcher, I was used to participants describing what the change is through coherent words reported by the participants. But the change that they have allowed me to see was something beyond my expectations and something very simple for them: They felt them through their five senses.

Cleansing Experience

Throughout the program it was always my impression that ex-prisoners were the ones who were working harder in the field. Photo 2 depicts a moment in which an ex-prisoner volunteered to carry heavy crops for a survivor.

Photo 2

Ex-Prisoner Carrying Heavy Corns for Survivor



During a dry season in Rwanda, an average temperature at noon reaches over 30 Celsius every day. The dyads were asked to work together for two hours under direct sunlight. It could be very exhausting. However I noticed in sessions after sessions that ex-prisoners were working with smiles on their faces. I discovered that all ex-prisoners truly

appreciated the mere opportunity to atone previous “evil” deeds they have committed in front of the very survivors they have caused harm. Most of the ex-prisoners reported that working for survivors was like cleansing their hearts. All ex-prisoners reported that they feel like their hearts were being washed. Hearing their words, I discovered that ex-prisoners had been carrying their guilt, sense of sin, shame, torment by conscience, and self-hatred throughout their lives since the 1994. All of them shared with me that it had been enormously painful and ‘acidic’ for them to have had to carry their senses of sin, guilt and shame. The ABPRA provided them with a long desired opportunity to atone for their previous deeds. Ex-prisoners reported that it was only when they were providing services for survivors that they could feel their hearts were being cleansed. This observation and realization helped me understand why it was always the case that ex-prisoners were so motivated and smiled throughout their work, while survivors showed their exhausted faces from the heat and exhaustion.

Rehumanization

During one interview session, I asked one ex-prisoner a question: “What would have happened if you had never met up again with your survivor?” He answered passionately, that he would have continued to be an “*inyamaswa*.” I asked him what the word means. He explained that the word *inyamaswa* means a wild beast in Kinyarwanda. I probed further. “What do you mean by a wild beast?” Then he suddenly stood up, started walking like a Rwandan cow and explained to me what the wild beast is like:

(Each of the following quotes was directly adopted from the Kinyarwandan translator’s translation of the participants’ verbatim. Minimal editorial corrections are made on the text to preserve authenticity of expressions made by Rwandan participants, interpreters, and translators.)

Int. (Interpreter)

Surv. (Survivor participant)

Ex-P. (Ex-prisoner participant)

The reconciliator = the researcher = Masahiro Minami

Ex-P.: A beast is a creature that walks at night so that the people don't see it. The animal walks at night because they fear people so that they don't harm them during the day. Me too that is how I was during that time [before the ABPRA].

Int.: So, was it caused by the fact that you felt guilty and ashamed?

Ex-P.: Yes, it is because I felt guilty and ashamed.

Int.: As you met L and she forgave you, it brought back humanity and happiness in you.

Ex-P.: Yes, that is what it did. (MU-1106, 1107)

I discovered in this moment what his experience of having lived his life as an ex-prisoner, murderer and perpetrator had been like. The concept of *inyamaswa*, I was taught, represented his long held fear of retaliation from survivors, shame of having taken lives of the innocent people, and life filled with heavy guilt and torment by his conscience. He continued expressing that his experience of working for and with the survivor in the ABPRA had been like a process of re-birthing him back as a human being. Photo 3 captured the moment when the ex-prisoner passionately expressed that he was made a human again by the kindness of the survivor.

*Photo 3**Ex-Prisoner Expressing how he was Made a Human again by the Survivor*

In fact, three ex-prisoners reported that by providing services to survivors with the very hands they have used to harm them before, they felt that they were able to bring back humane characteristics such as kindness, genuine devotion, sincerity, and, being helpful toward others. At various point in my research, I celebrated together with the ex-prisoners the re-birth of them as human beings.

Special Healing Partner

I also posed the same question to survivors. What would have happened if you had never met up again with your ex-prisoner?" A survivor reported that she would have continued to carry her intense fear for the ex-prisoner the rest of her life and that her emotional wounds would not have healed fully. During the ABPRA she told me that she should be fearing him, but his continuous devotion and sincere dedication for her made it impossible for her to fear him any longer. She also told me that it was at this moment that

she experienced her emotional scars were being healed. The survivor initially expressed her leftover fear against her ex-prisoner pair at the beginning of the ABPRA. Over the course of eight weeks, she reported a gradual disappearance of her fear. She told me that working together with the ex-prisoner removed her fear and healed her emotional scars. I discovered that for her, working with the ex-prisoner pair was the very cure she needed. I also discovered that for her ex-prisoner pair, she was the very person who, again, rehumanized him. The survivor stated, “He heals my wounds,” and the ex-prisoner stated, “She made me a human.” Together, they called themselves a special healing partner. I inquired of them both, “Are you happy that you two have met again?” Both of them uttered “very much” at the same time, and they gave each other a hug. Photo 4 depicts the moment.

Photo 4

Ex-Prisoner and Survivor Giving a Hug to each other



It was a completely unexpected incident, but a pleasantly surprising expression of their joy of reconciliation.

The Worst Poison and the Best Antidote

The survivor from the dyad #2 taught me this phenomenon through her own experience of overcoming her fear toward her ex-prisoner pair over the course of their eight sessions. At the beginning of the ABPRA, she honestly reported her leftover fear for her ex-prisoner pair. However, she reported that as soon as they started their collaborative work together, her fear started vanishing. However, her fear came back when the joint-work session finished and the ex-prisoner returned home. To her surprise, her fear started disappearing again when the ex-prisoner came to work for her next week. After the second session, she reported her fear did come back again, but not to the extent as she experienced it in the first week. Over the course of eight sessions, her fear stopped coming back even after the ex-prisoner had gone home.

I have observed that as each dyad's relationship builds over time through their collaborative work, fears for each other in all dyads began to disappear. I observed this is a direct result of their nurturing trust, confidence, faith, and hope in their relationship throughout the ABPRA sessions. The survivor from the dyad #2 taught me that whenever she noticed her 'bad' memory was about to come back, she looked up to see her 'perpetrator' being devoted in helping her tirelessly right in front of her. The very sight of him, she reported, was the best cure at that moment to combat her emerging bad memories, bad images of him, fear, and rumination. She metaphorically expressed that he was her worst poison, but is now the best antidote available in front of her.

Photo 5

Survivor Peaking Up to See Ex-Prisoner “Doing a Good Thing”



0+ Relationship

One of the most critical contributions the ABPRA has made is the fact that it provided the sheer time, space, and purpose through which each dyad could develop a form of relationship. The term 0+ relationship emerged from my observations of the dyads’ mending and developing their scarred relationships. In conflict mediation, the focus tends to be on ‘mending’ the minus aspects of relationships. Throughout this research, I have witnessed that all dyads not only mended their relationships but also continued to build on their relationships. 0+ relationship refers to this relationship developed beyond mending the minuses in their relationship.

Each dyad ended up developing a particular type of relationship characteristic by the last session. It had been my impression that the dyad #2 appeared as an employer and her employee. As I discovered, the survivor was considered by others (e.g., families and

friends) as a little ‘bossy’ woman. Over the course of eight sessions, she began to feel more and more comfortable in making requests to her ex-prisoner pair to engage in more physically demanding joint-labours. In turn, she started preparing rewards for him. She started preparing a meal for him to eat after each session. Between their ABPRA sessions, she also brought her homemade sorghum beer to his home as her token of appreciation for his continuous hard work. She had also learned that the ex-prisoner has been financially challenged. Then, she decided to offer him a job to run and co-own a tomato farming business at their last session. Literally, they have not only mended their relationship but also nurtured it to the one of an employer and an employee. Photo 6 is the photo of the dyad standing in front of their first tomato garden.

Photo 6

Survivor and Ex-Prisoner Standing in front of their First Tomato 'Farm'



I had also gathered an impression that the dyad #3 had developed a relationship like the one of a wife and a husband. At the beginning of each session, I followed them walking to the survivor's field. Postures with which they walked and the conversation they have had with their laughter both gave me an impression of a wife and a husband walking together to the field. Photo 7 depicts the sight I have witnessed as they walked at the beginning of each session.

Photo 7

Survivor and Ex-Prisoner Walking together to her Field



At their follow-up session, they informed me that they have decided to marry their grand children. Literally, they became in-laws.

For the dyad #4, I had always felt an impression that they were like a brother and a sister. They informed me that they grew up together like a brother and a sister. However, the 1994 genocide tore their relationship apart as the ex-prisoner murdered her family members. The survivor reported that it was a devastatingly sad and frightening experience for her. But what was more shocking for her, and what hurt her the most, was to discover that her childhood best friend (the ex-prisoner) was the murderer of her family members. Over the course of the sessions, they reported that their working together gave them an opportunity to bring back many good old conversations about their common childhood memories, which reminded them of how it felt like for them in their childhood to be best friends. By their last session, they reported that they brought back

and reclaimed their old friendship and siblinghood. Photo 8 depicts a moment of carrying the ‘ambiance’ of their reclaimed best friendship and siblinghood.

Photo 8

Survivor and Ex-Prisoner Laughing together over a Joke after Joint-Work



Transformation of Forgiveness to Love

Under the ABPRA model, forgiveness was situated as a possible product of engagements in actions and interactions, thus it was not aimed to facilitate strenuously. However, from time to time I have taken an opportunity to address the issue of forgiveness with survivors. One day, it was the last session and I was asking persistently about her experience of forgiveness and what the process of forgiving had been like for the survivor. To my hindsight my persistent questioning must have irritated her. She was kind enough to answer my question and eloquently reframed her experience of forgiving into a transformation of forgiveness. I asked:

Int.: Did you feel forgiveness increasing today when you saw M (ex-prisoner) working very hard?

Surv.: Really. I always forgive him and I don't have any problem. I have forgiven him already. I don't have a problem with him. He is always committed while working for me without any problem.

Int.: This day you saw him working very hard and you felt sorry for him, did you feel the forgiveness increasing considerably?

Surv.: What increases is a love, not forgiveness. The forgiveness has been given. Now it is the love that increases. (MU-336)

It was my learning moment that, for her, what was increasing was love towards the ex-prisoner. I was made aware of my own insistence on pigeonholing her experience within the parameter of forgiveness. I never thought of love as the transformed figure of forgiveness. The survivor taught me this. Her words taught me that her forgiveness had reached and even transformed into her love and warm feeling towards the ex-prisoner by the last session. His consistent devotion also helped her transform her forgiveness by implanting warm feelings and nurturing love in her through his service. Photo 9 depicts the moment she helps him wash his feet after brick making out of her care.

Photo 9

Survivor Helping to Wash Ex-Prisoner's Feet



Peaceful Conversation = Normal Chat

What happens when survivors and perpetrators choose to work together? As a researcher I had always longed for the answer to this question. What I discovered immediately was that endless conversations occurred. Upon witnessing them conversing, I thought to myself: “They must be talking about a critical information related to the key to reconciliation and peace building.” One day, I was filming a joint-labour session of a dyad and witnessed that the dyad stopped their work suddenly, started leaning on their hoe, and started having a conversation. They ‘appeared’ as if they were arguing. The survivor used her hand gestures to try and explain something to the ex-prisoner. The ex-prisoner was listening to her for seconds with a big frown on his forehead and all the sudden faced away from her by voicing his frustration and irritation. Photo 10 depicts the moment.

Photo 10

Ex-Prisoner Facing away from the Survivor



As this occurred at an earlier session, I immediately reacted defensively, thinking to myself: “This is not working.” “They have started arguing.” “I have to do something to ensure their safety.” I called my on-site security guard and asked him, “What are they arguing about?” “Are they ok?” “Are they going to start a fight?” My interpreter on-site who was also observing the situation walked calmly to me and said, “Relax, Masa, they are just talking about a meat.” I replied, “Meet?” “What?” “What do you mean by meet, to meet and talk about something?” My interpreter replied, “No, a meat. A meat you eat.” It turned out that they were talking about different kinds of meat available at a market. The survivor told the ex-prisoner that she would be inviting her family to a dinner and she was going to prepare for them a Rwandan dish called *Ugari*. The Ex-prisoner asked whether she bought meat for the dish. She replied yes. He further inquired where she

bought the meat and she said at a market in Nyamata (a nearby market village). He further inquired whether she bought the meat at a butcher. She replied yes. He asked if she bought the meat that was hung at the butcher or the one taken from their fridge. She replied, "From the fridge." That was the very moment I captured that he faced away from her with 'frustration and irritation.' The truth was that he simply told her, "Ahhhh, that's not good! The meat from the fridge was imported and brought by a foreigner. The meat from the fridge does not have the same taste as our Rwandan cow as it was frozen. You should not have bought from the fridge. It tastes horrible." She replied, "Oh, I see. But it was cheap."

I stood appalled hearing what they were conversing. Whenever I spotted dyads conversing, I expected that they were talking about serious issues related to peace and reconciliation. But the answer participants allowed me to see was simple. I thought to myself, "What a peaceful conversation they are having." That was the moment I learned, "The answer doesn't have to be complicated." My 'Teachers' taught me throughout their sessions that the answer could take a very simple form of a chat, a normal chat they termed. I realized that it was me who was expecting a complex answer. But the answer I discovered was simple: normal chats occurred when survivors and ex-prisoners chose to work together. I learned that the ordinary things (e.g., normal chat) in an extraordinary relationship (survivor-perpetrator) make the ordinary, an extraordinary. Because they shared the extra-ordinary relationship (where normal chats were not possible before), the occurrence of simple normal chat was an extra-ordinary luxury for them. Throughout the sessions, hundreds of normal and peaceful conversations were born on various topics

(discussed in Result Part Two). All participants reported that their normal chats were healing for them and helpful in strengthening their relationships.

Shared Experience - Mutuality

Throughout the post session interviews, I started noticing that both survivors and ex-prisoners reported the same experience independently. For example I was interviewing a survivor and she was explaining how working with the ex-prisoner had been healing for her. In turn, I was interviewing the ex-prisoner later on to explore his experience. He also revealed that their work together had been healing for him. After he stated his experience, I informed him (upon the survivor's permission) that the survivor too experienced the healing. The ex-prisoner expressed his being intrigued by the discovery of the shared experience of healing through collaborative work.

Int.: It means that L (survivor) helps you to heal.

Ex-P: She helps me to heal so much.

Int.: She also said as you say.

Ex-P: Did she say that? You understand that we feel the same. As when you ask her things in my absence and when I come you ask me the same things and we give the same answers, it is like that we have the same thoughts and it is how we both got healed and she feels that she sees herself in me when she sees me. (MU-656, 657, 658).

He described his felt sense of unity, the togetherness or sameness, and of sharing the same healing experience with the survivor. Photo 11 depicts one of the moments of experiencing healing at the same time.

Photo 11

Both Survivor and Ex-Prisoner Experiencing Healing in Working together



Over the course of sessions, each reconciliation dyad developed and reported various shared experiences that met the mutuality in reporting. By mutuality, I refer to the circumstance in which each of a dyad was interviewed independently but reported the same experience. I have noticed this mutuality phenomenon in reporting throughout the interviews and the mutuality gave birth to the emergence of various themes capturing ‘mutually shared experiences’ (discussed in Result Part Two).

Community Witnessing

Over the course of implementing the ABPRA, I came to discover that it has a psychosocial impact. While each dyad was working in the field for two hours, many villagers walked by and stopped their walk to stare at the dyad working together. The following series of photo depict the dyad’s work being witnessed by the villagers.

Photo 12

A Villager Spotting the Dyad's Working together



Photo 13

Villagers Walking by and Spotting the Dyad's Working together



Almost all villagers of Mbyo knew that the two were a survivor and an ex-prisoner. Many who stopped by could not comprehend why ex-prisoners were working together with survivors. They could not believe it was possible for them to even be together and working. Some even spoke to the dyad asking why they can work together. The dyad always explained proudly that they were working together, reconciling, forgiving, being forgiven, forming unity, and foremost, building a peace. Many who stopped by reached their hand to celebrate their courageous efforts.

Photo 14

A Villager Stopping by and Offering a Handshake to Ex-Prisoner



Photo 15

A Villager Stopping by and Offering a Handshake to Survivor



Photo 16

A Villager Stopping by and Offering a Handshake to Survivor



By the end of the eight weeks, the majority of the villagers witnessed dyads' joint-works. Many villagers noticed that all dyads seemed happy and enjoying shared works together. Many in the reconciliation villages inquired of the village leaders about the program and volunteered to engage in the ABPRA themselves. Some even came as a dyad to visit the village leader to ask 'how' to do the ABPRA. Consistent joint-works by the participants emitted 'genuine enjoyment' which moved the hearts of the rest of the villagers to participate in the ABPRA themselves. As the result, the village of Mbyo decided to adopt the ABPRA as their village activity. This community witnessing phenomenon gave birth to a psychosocial development property of the ABPRA (discussed in the later section).

This section of the dissertation offered my own impressions, observation, and discoveries, augmented by a collection of photos and testimonials from the participants. As I participated in the process of this research, and in the construction of results, my own learning is offered here as part of the data and results of this study. All of the above impressions overlap with and lend support for the results of the thematic content analysis (TCA) of my interview data, to which I now turn. The next section of the dissertation presents the process of data analysis employing the TCA.

Chapter 9: Result Part Two:

Results of the Thematic Content Analysis

This section reports the results of the thematic content analysis (Krippendorff, 2014). Each of the five categories will be presented with its subordinated supra-themes and themes. Categories will be presented in the order of (1) expected, and (2) emerged categories. Each of the supra-themes is described and the themes that emerged are further explicated with sub-themes. Supra-themes and themes will be presented in the order which maximizes conceptual coherency and clarity rather than numerical indicator of which theme had the most number of MUs. Definitions of themes are provided for themes that are technical and/or research or context specific (as opposed to general language themes, such as happiness, love, joy etc....). Verbatim examples from participants' interview transcripts are presented selectively in pertinent places to either (a) emphasize the major themes that emerged, and/or (b) augment explications of themes with more concrete examples.

Expected Categories of Themes

This section explicates categories emerged from the expected (theoretically guided) category extraction procedure. There are two: (a) Moritian therapeutic themes, and (b) attitude change themes.

Category 1: Moritian Therapeutic Themes

This category includes sub-themes and themes that were expected as the healing effects of the ABPRA. Principles of healing in Japanese Morita therapy are integrated in the process of the ABPRA; therefore it was expected to find Moritian therapeutic themes from participants' experiences. Five themes of (a) acceptance, (b) shift in attentional

focus and/or absorption, (c) growth of the desire for life, (d) emergence of purposeful action taking, and (e) healing emerged under this category, super-ordinated by a supra-theme of *healing*. This category of theme provides evidence for a healing property of the ABPRA.

Supra-theme 1-1: Healing. Healing supra-theme organizes Moritian therapeutic themes that reflect components and mechanisms of therapeutic change and healing in the ABPRA.

Theme 1-1-1: Acceptance. Acceptance theme emerged from a total of 21 MUs. Acceptance is defined here as one's capacity to be with, take or accept what is factual in and around oneself. With regards to the *target* of acceptance, survivors reported acceptance of:

- (a) self
- (b) the inevitability, humaneness, and naturalness of surfacing affects , and
- (c) remembrance of disturbing and/or traumatic memories,

A survivor reported:

Note: Throughout this section, participant narratives will be quoted in italics. Each quote was directly adopted from the Kinyarwandan translator's translation of the participants' verbatim. Minimal editorial corrections are made on the text to preserve authenticity of expressions made by Rwandan participants, interpreters, and translators. The following abbreviations will be used throughout the result section in verbatim reporting:

Int. (Interpreter)

Surv. (Survivor participant)

Ex-P. (Ex-prisoner participant)

The reconciliator = the researcher = Masahiro Minami

Int.: *That time, when you were working together for two hours, are there any past things that came back?*

Surv.: *No, they're nothing. Didn't I tell you that those are the things that others avoid? You don't want them. Really, if you want to come back to those things, they can affect you seriously. They can cause to think about many*

thinks and you can lose your mind. You need to see those things as they happened and you need to accept them. (MU-345)

Ex-prisoners reported the acceptance of the ‘crimes’ they have committed and took the ownership of their ‘sin.’:

Ex-P.: It really happened to me. If it didn’t happen to me, would I come to ask forgiveness from L [the survivor]? It happened to me, I committed that crime, but the joy that you see on me came after. (MU-1109)

In addition, a survivor reported the following factors as facilitative of her acceptance:

- (a) good governance of current government
- (b) the God and her faith
- (c) others who helped her (e.g., PFR), and
- (d) desire not to be ashamed.

With regards to effects of acceptance, both parties reported that acceptance:

- (a) helps them not to think further on a disturbing matter, and
- (b) orients them to move forward.

Theme 1-1-2: Absorption and shift in attentional focus. This theme emerged from a total of 40 MUs. Absorption is defined here as a characteristic of a state of mind in which one’s attention is focused on or diffused in a flow of physical movement targeted towards accomplishing a goal. Shift in attentional focus refers to a breaking of the mechanism of attentional fixation in Morita therapy. Participants’ engagements in purposeful actions and interactions in the ABPRA resulted in a shift in their attentional focus from being placed on their rumination (e.g., of traumatic memories, disturbing/distressing) to tasks in the ABPRA at hand.

Participants reported their experience of the shift and absorption in:

- (a) joint labour tasks, and
- (b) 'normal' conversations.

Participants reported that the shift and absorption:

- (a) brought them back to 'now' from their preoccupations (e.g., with traumatic memories, second guesses about the intent of the pair),
- (b) prevented further rumination:

Surv.: *When someone works alone, she thinks about many bad and good things and all of them come in her heart. But when you work with somebody, many good things come in. You talk about many things and the actions go on. So, there is an important lesson in that. (MU-1658)*

Int.: *You once told him that you would like to meet as much as possible. What's good about that?*

Surv.: *What is good is that we get profits through the activities and through the conversations that we share, we advise each other and that prevents anyone to step backwards in way of thinking. (MU-753)*

Int.: *He [the reconciliator] didn't hear you talking so much today. What happened?*

Surv.: *We didn't talk too much because of the hard work. We wanted to work very hard because it was the last day, and we were late to start. We wanted to avoid working until the midday because it is very sunny. Actually when you are working very hard, you stop talking because you want to show your work. (MU-858)*

Theme 1-1-3: Growth of the desire for life. This theme emerged from a total of 141 MUs. Desire for life is defined in the review of Morita therapy section of this dissertation. Participants reported the growth of many desires while engaged in the ABPRA. Types of desire reported by both participants include:

- (a) desire for future action and action together (subtheme 1, MU = 41)
- (b) desire to testify to others and be witnessed (subtheme 2, MU = 33)
- (c) desire to share with and/or help others in similar suffering (subtheme 3, MU = 25)

- (d) desire for atoning (by ex-prisoners) (subtheme 4, MU = 16)
- (e) desire to reciprocate (subtheme 5, MU = 14)
- (f) desire to continue this program (subtheme 6, MU = 9), and
- (g) desire for celebrating program success and completion (subtheme 7, MU = 9).

All participants reported the desire to continue working together. They all reported the desire to testify their progresses and proof of reconciliation in action (e.g., them being engaged in the joint-labour and having normal conversations together) to others in the community and to the world. They have all desired that others, who are in a similar way suffering as they are, should receive the ABPRA in order to facilitate their reconciliation process. Some of the participants offered to bring the ABPRA to others villages and implement the program.

All ex-prisoners reported their desire to atone and continue to have this opportunity to atone for their 'sin'. All of them commented that their atoning will continue and they desire to continue atoning others. An ex-prisoner reported his desire to help others he offended:

Ex-P.: It helps me so much that I think if I would meet others and help them with my hands in this way, it can make me happy also because I have hands. (P1S2P-MU21-201)

Both survivors and ex-prisoners reported that they desired to reciprocate each other's good will. Ex-prisoners reported that they had a strong desire to reciprocate good-will with survivors who granted forgiveness by working hard:

Ex-P.: What strengthens me is the forgiveness she gave me, and I feel that I cannot prevent myself to work for her. (P3S3P-MU3-1068)

Int.: So, where does the energy of working for her come from?

Ex-P.: The energy comes from the joy, if someone has done something good for you, she deserves everything.

Int.: It means that you also want to pay back her, the good things she did for you.

Ex-P.: Of course. (MU-1073)

Survivors, in turn, reported their desire to return the good will they felt they have received from the ex-prisoners' service through offering to work for the ex-prisoners as well.

Int.: What were your feelings when you saw him working like that [hard]?

Surv.: I was very happy. If I had something to give him, I would have to [give] because of the courage he showed. (P1S1S-MU33-46)

All survivors and ex-prisoners reported their desire to continue the ABPRA upon its completion. The follow up conducted after a year revealed that all dyads participated in the ABPRA continued their weekly collaborative work after the program ended. All dyads wished to hold a completion ceremony and festivities at the completion of the ABPRA. I participated in the festivities with all the dyads, and provided a certificate of completion of the ABPRA.

Theme 1-1-4: Emergence of purposeful action taking. This theme emerged from a total of 146 MUs. Emergence of purposeful action taking is defined here as an emergence of actions that were initiated by either survivors, ex-prisoners, or both, that were aimed at accomplishing certain goals. This theme contained the most number of MUs, which is consistent with the finding from the systematic review (Minami, 2011) of Morita therapy that the most frequently reported therapeutic benefit of Morita therapy by the patients or clients is the emergence of engagements in action in spite of symptoms. While they engaged in the ABPRA participants initiated and engaged in a wide variety of actions and interactions. The most frequent types of interaction that dyads engaged in together were a conversation (subtheme 1, MU = 114). All survivors and ex-prisoners

reported that they engaged in and enjoyed having a chat, or they called a “normal conversation” in every session while they are working together. Numerous conversation topics arose. What follows below are few examples of the topics of their conversations:

1. A boat accident that occurred (MU-1130)
2. Keeping meat in a fridge damages the quality of meat (MU-1192)
3. Community issues (e.g., MU-1621, 1622)
4. Traditional and modern diet (MU-1626, 1628)
5. Sharing jokes and humour (MU-1756, 1757)
6. Ceremony they shared together over the weekend (MU-1341)
7. Moral of Children nowadays (MU-1340)
8. Sharing personal news together (MU-1493)
9. Short trip a survivor made (MU-1112)
10. House renovation (MU-1507)

Photo 17

Survivor and Ex-Prisoner Engaged in a Conversation



All survivors and ex-prisoners reported that their having the ‘natural’ and ‘normal’ conversation has particular beneficial effects.

All survivors and ex-prisoners reported that conversations:

(a) are the medium to build their relationship further

(b) signal trust and build safety

(c) prevent rumination:

Ex-P.: What are good in several meetings are the conversations that we share which make her forget the bad actions that I did to her, and it helps me to overcome fear in me (MU-718)

(d) are ways to share burden:

Surv.: Yes, it [conversation] helps you to overcome all the issues you had before. When you are together, you talk about all things even if they may be as heavy burden to you or to him. (MU-598)

(e) reduce sorrow in survivors and fear in ex-prisoners

(f) are healing

(g) remove shame

(h) facilitate joy and bring hearts together:

Int.: You have said that your hearts get closer when you are working together, would you please let him know what causes your hearts to get closer?

Ex-P.: The reason why they get closer is that there is a long week which passes but we meet on Monday. For example, we were saying that we have spent a whole week in a ceremony but today we met and we chatted about what we saw and what we did without any suspicion.

Int.: You shared peaceful conversations.

Ex-P.: Of course we exchange peaceful conversations then our hearts get closer and the joy comes. (MU-1093)

(i) make ex-prisoners happy and wish to work harder.

Other emerged actions (subtheme 2, MU = 32) included the following:

(a) planning for future joint-labour

(b) initiating an income generating project together

(c) sharing meals after work

(d) joining a ceremony together

(e) inviting their pairs to their home to share the visit of relatives

- (f) introducing each other's family members, and
- (g) setting a boundary together of what is accepted or not, when working together.

Theme 1-1-5: Healing. This theme emerged from a total of 17 MUs. Healing is defined here as participants' felt sense of a beneficial change occurred in a form of either removal or reduction in unpleasant sufferings. The healing impact of the ABPRA was reported by all participants throughout the eight sessions. All survivors and ex-prisoners reported that the ABPRA:

- (a) heals their wounds quickly
- (b) heals their heart
- (c) heals ex-prisoner by cleansing their heart, and
- (d) heals by facilitating ex-prisoners' testifying.

All survivors and ex-prisoners reported that their healing must continue and will be a never-ending process/journey that they share together in the dyad:

Surv.: This program helps me to get healed in my heart, in my ideas, through the actions. I can see myself everywhere, in conversations and actions, I feel that everything is okay.

Int.: More than before?

Surv.: Yes, more than before. (MU-1584)

Int.: When you do that [work together] in public, what does it help you on your behalf?

Surv.: On my behalf, it helps me in my work but also it helps me in my heart. When I see him I feel free with him as usual not only in words but also in actions because the words without actions are useless.

Int.: It means that it heals the heart?

Surv.: Yes.

Int.: The unity and reconciliation continues but it also helps you to heal.

Surv.: Yes, it helps a person to heal the wounds very quickly.

Int.: Do you feel your wounds get healed when you work together?

Surv.: If someone has offended you and then after you get reconciled in words, it is seen that you are reconciled. But when the actions come, it is where you understand and accept that that person does no longer have grudge

because when I want him, he comes. In your conversations you tell the whole truth and he explains you everything. (MU-568)

Int.: Is there any time when you are working with L [survivor] that you say your heart is getting healed and you feel that in you?

Ex-P.: Yes, I always feel that in my heart whether we meet at the market or on my way. I feel that my heart gets healed in actions. (MU-614)

Themes of acceptance, absorption, growth of the desire for life, and emergence of purposeful action reflected participant experience of factors that are facilitative of healing in the ABPRA. They provide evidence for the healing property of the ABPRA.

Category 2: Contact Theory/Attitude Change Themes

This category includes sub-themes and themes that were expected as beneficial effects of the ABPRA in facilitating positive attitude change. The ABPRA was developed by anchoring its principles of contact in contact conditions empirically found to foster the growth of positive inter-group attitude change. Therefore it was expected to observe changes in participants' attitude towards each other. More specifically, this category includes sub-themes and themes indicating changes in participant affect, cognition, and behavioural manifestations that occurred while they engaged in the ABPRA with their reconciliation pairs. Six supra-themes of: (a) growth of pleasant affects, (b) growth of unpleasant affects, (c) vanishing unpleasant affects, (d) growth of pleasant cognitions, (e) growth of unpleasant cognitions, and (f) participant observed signs or behavioural expressions emerged under this category. This category of theme provides evidence for an attitude change property of the ABPRA.

Supra-theme 2-1: Growth of pleasant affects. Growth of pleasant affects supra-theme superordinates themes that captures types of affective experiences that were

perceived by the participants as pleasant, while engaged in the course of the ABPRA with their reconciliation partner.

Theme 2-1-1: Appreciation. This theme emerged from a total of 43 MUs.

Participants reported their feeling of appreciation:

- (a) for their pair (subtheme 1, MU = 15)
- (b) for the program (subtheme 2, MU = 12)
- (c) for good governance (subtheme 3, MU = 10), and
- (d) for God (subtheme 4, MU = 6).

Survivors reported feeling appreciation for the service their pairs provided:

Surv.: You observe his devotion and his presence those two cause you to thank a person (MU-309)

An ex-prisoner reported that he appreciates his pair's:

- (a) commitment to forgiveness granted, and
- (b) bearing the emotional pain from the past.

He further expressed that he would work and be there for her for the rest of his life.

In turn, his survivor pair reported feeling her appreciation:

- (a) for his devotion, presence, and
- (b) for commitment to providing services for her.

Participants reported feeling of appreciation for the program, especially for the effectiveness of the program in:

- (a) facilitating their reconciliation process
- (b) increasing their productivity via joint-labour, and
- (c) saving record, or visual evidence of their achieving reconciliation through video recording.

Ex-prisoner participants reported their appreciation for the good governance of their current government, especially the president, Paul Kagame, in support and promotion of the unity and reconciliation. They also showed appreciation for the 2003 release of the prisoners, the Gacaca process, and the unity and reconciliation policy, in support of their reconciliation process.

Theme 2-1-2: Compassion and care. This theme emerged from a total of 75 MUs. Participants reported:

- (a) care/concern/worry for their pair (subtheme 1, MU = 34)
- (b) growth of compassion and sympathy for their pair (subtheme 2, MU = 15)
- (c) felt sense of being cared for, concerned and/or worries by their pair (subtheme 3, MU = 14), and
- (d) care/concern/worry for others in similar suffering (subtheme 4, MU = 12).

Some survivors reported their care for the ex-prisoners, and others reported growth of care for their ex-prisoner pair over the course of session. As participants proceeded with the program and shared more joint labour/work together, they resulted in developing a mutual care.

An ex-prisoner reported feeling compassionate and/or sympathetic towards the loss of her husband through his own murdering and his sense of responsibility of her loss. Therefore, his conscience was touched to help her for the rest of his life. Survivors reported feeling their compassion towards ex-prisoners of their experience in prison, difficult present life situation, and current health condition.

An ex-prisoner was HIV+ as the result of the genocide and a survivor expressed her compassion and sympathy for his deteriorating health condition. The ex-prisoner

reported feeling cared for by her, and felt the care through her giving him advice on health as well as sharing food with him.

Photo 18

Survivor Offering a Gift of Corn to Ex-Prisoner



Both survivors and perpetrators reported that they feel cared for by their pair.

Survivors experienced the felt sense of being cared for through:

- (a) the receipt of devoted work
- (b) commitment shown by the ex-prisoners, and
- (c) their sense of proximity (that ex-prisoner was always around to help her).

Ex-prisoners experienced their felt sense of being cared for by survivors offering something to share (e.g., water, soft sorghum beer, meal) with the ex-prisoner after work:

Int.: L gave sorghum beer.

Ex-P.: Yes, she brought it to me.

Int.: How did you feel when she gave you the sorghum beer?

*Ex-P.: I feel that she wants me to regain the energy because she sees my zeal for working, I know that she thinks that I am thirsty and that's why gives me it.
(MU-789)*

Photo 19

Survivor Giving a Cup of a Soft Sorghum Beer to Ex-Prisoner



Photo 20

Survivor and Ex-Prisoner Enjoying a Soft Sorghum Beer Together

Both survivors and ex-prisoners expressed their care and concern for others who are suffering alike and wished that this program reach them. Some of them expressed that they are going to recommend the ABPRA directly to the others in suffering:

Int.: That means you were telling T [ex-prisoner] about the trip you made.

Surv.: Yes, we talked about it and I explained how it went and he was asking me if they had such activity of unity and reconciliation. He asked me if I told them the step we had already made. We were repeating all of that.

Int.: So, have you told them about it?

Surv.: I was telling them the big achievement we made but they have not yet achieve it. He [ex-prisoner] was telling me to tell them to come and learn from us and I replied him that I told them about that proposal.

...(omitted)

Int.: So, were they surprised by hearing that? Were they happy or how was it?

Surv.: They were happy and they said that finally they will reach those achievements.

Int.: Do you wish that they reach that?

Surv.: My wish is to spread it and reach everywhere so that they see our achievements. I am proud of our good achievements and they need to know them also. (MU-1114)

Theme 2-1-3: Contentment and satisfaction. This theme emerged from a total of 29 MUs. Participants reported feelings of contentment, satisfaction, and sense of accomplishment throughout the ABPRA. Almost all (24 MUs) instances reported under this theme were from the ex-prisoners. They have expressed their contentment and satisfaction:

- (a) with the given opportunities to be able to provide service for the survivors
- (b) in committing, achieving and accomplishing something for the survivors through their labour service
- (c) with their service contributing to the re-developing of their relationship with the survivors, and
- (d) with their hard work being rewarded by survivor's expressed appreciation.

Theme 2-1-4: Happiness, pleasure, joy, and enjoyment. This theme emerged from a total of 159 MUs. Participants reported feelings of happiness and joy of and pleasure, and enjoyment in working together (subtheme 1, MU = 32):

Int.: L [survivor], this is the third day T works for you, how was it?

Surv.: I felt that it was fine and it made me happy.

Ex-P.: And [for] me I feel good when I am with L working together on an activity, because when you call us confirming the day on which you will come, I feel happy as it is another opportunity for me to meet L again. Because of the forgiveness she gave me, that is my memorial sign to L.

Int.: It means that you feel happy when we call you because you get another opportunity to meet L?

Ex-P.: It pleases me so much.

Int.: L, how do you feel when you hear it?

Surv.: And [for] me if I hear that we will spend a day together working on a work, that he will be helping me again, and that we will be conversing again, I also feel very happy (MU-1000)

Int.: What makes you happy in this program?

Ex-P.: It is the works we do when we join our hands. (MU-1376)

Ex-prisoners reported experiencing these feelings with regards to their given chance to atone or be able to service the survivors (subtheme 2, MU = 27):

Int.: He heard that this is your first day you work for L [survivor], how was it for you?

Ex-P.: It was good. Didn't you see how I was digging? Was I suspicious? We were exchanging talks and laughter. (MU-359)

In turn, survivors reported experiencing them by receiving service from the ex-prisoners (subtheme 3, MU = 20):

Int.: Tell him how was today's work, last time you were happy.

Surv.: Today I am very happy also.

Int.: So, what made you happy the most?

Surv.: What made me happy was that we were conversing while working and we helped each other, if one was ahead, s/he would come back and support the other and we continued like that. (MU-134)

Throughout the ABPRA, both survivors and ex-prisoners reported:

- (a) experience of a general sense of happiness (subtheme 4, MU = 14)
- (b) happiness of being able to carry just “normal conversations” (subtheme 5, MU = 14), (as opposed to conversations related to genocide, forgiveness seeking or other topics perceived by the participants as ‘negative’)
- (c) happiness of restoring their relationship (subtheme 6, MU = 11)
- (d) happiness of testifying others of their reconciliation progress (subtheme 7, MU = 9)
- (e) happiness of experiencing pleasant surprises (subtheme 8, MU = 8)
- (f) happiness for the pair (subtheme 9, MU = 7)
- (g) happiness for the progress/productivity generated (subtheme 10, MU = 6)
- (h) happiness of being cared for/supported (subtheme 11, MU = 4)
- (i) happiness for participation, program, completion (subtheme 12, MU = 3), and

(j) happiness of being forgiven (subtheme 13, MU = 2).

Pleasant surprises occurred in a number of times, and survivors reported feeling happiness as the result. A survivor reported her surprise when her ex-prisoner came to work for her, which she doubted that he would:

Int.: The first day he [the reconciliator] came here to select you in order to work together, when he gave those papers [informed consent] you read, [learning that] you will be giving S [ex-prisoner] a work to do for you, how did you take it?

Surv.: I took it well but I felt that it wouldn't be possible because I was thinking that he [ex-prisoner] wouldn't accept it. But by the God's mercy, we made it as you asked.

Int.: What is the reason that you think made S to accept it?

Surv.: I think that he's guided by his conscience. You can push someone to work and he works without any effort, but when I observe how he is working voluntarily [now] using energy, I think his heart guides him. (MU-42)

Another survivor reported:

Int.: What was good today?

Surv.: Really, I was surprised today. I thought that I should have made those bricks before. I benefited a lot.

Int.: Even M [ex-prisoner] was saying that you were in need of bricks.

Surv.: Yes, I was in need of them but I thought that it is a hard task that I don't want to give to others, but I saw that it is not the case. If we have done this before I would have many.

Int.: Was it you who proposed to make bricks today or it's M?

Surv.: No, It's me.

Int.: How did you ask him so that he makes those bricks?

Surv.: I told him that we will go to work down there [in the field]. But after I told him that I am sick, I suggested him that we would make bricks and he accepted it. He told me that he knows how to make them.

Int.: It means that it is that time that you learned that M can make bricks?

Surv.: Yes.

Int.: So, how did you felt after learning that M can make bricks?

Surv.: I felt happy and I said that if we had done it before. (MU-748)

Photo 21

Survivor and Ex-Prisoner Making Clay Bricks

Theme 2-1-5: Love. This theme emerged from a total of 36 MUs. As the ABPRA progressed, participants began to report the growth of:

- (a) their love for others in similar suffering (subtheme 1, MU = 18)
- (b) love for their pair (subtheme 2, MU = 12), and
- (c) felt sense of being loved by their pair (subtheme 3, MU = 6).

Participants reported their feeling of desire to share the beneficial effects of the ABPRA with others in suffering (reported earlier). They have expressed their care and love for others in a similar suffering and requested that this program be extended to reach them (reported earlier). This theme overlaps and is interrelated with the desire to share the ABPRA with others, but is also a form of altruistic love observed in participant reported experience.

Felt sense of love and a growth of love for their pair grew over sessions across all dyads, except the first one with only four sessions where we could not observe explicit data on a growth of love (but care and compassion).

A survivor reported a growth of her love towards her ex-prisoner pair:

Int.: When he [the reconciliator] observes you working together, it is observable that you are very happy. You enjoy actions.

Surv.: Yes, I think that he sees what we do and how we do it.

Int.: When you work with T [ex-prisoner] your kind eyes at him shows your good heart for him.

Surv.: That's true, the way you see it, is the way it is. I look at him with a good look and a good heart, I love him.

...(omitted)

Int.: Do you think that you receive T's love and he cares about you?

Surv.: Of course yes.

Int.: He [the reconciliator] wants you to teach him. How is it possible to love the murderer of your family?

Surv.: It's like the grace of God. We as a human being, we cannot do anything about that. It is God who enables us to do that.

Int.: He knows that God helped you in that, but on your behalf, how did you manage to love T? What do you love on T?

Surv.: When I look at him and I see his commitment to actions, even when he only talks to me, I feel that I love him. I feel that I have forgiven him already. The only remaining thing is to feel that I love him. (MU-1176)

A survivor also reported feeling loved by the ex-prisoner:

Int.: What did you feel in your heart today?

Surv.: I felt a special love because it was the fifth session of receiving services of love. I felt that is a day of a special work.

Int.: When did you feel that in you exactly?

...(omitted)

Surv.: I felt it in me when were cutting those bushes and trees. He [ex-prisoner] was saying that they have grown up and I understood that it was a tough work. Normally those trees are dangerous to eyes and if their water falls in eyes they can cause blindness. So, when I saw him removing them for me, I felt very happy. I was afraid to cut them.

Int.: So at that time you felt love coming.

Surv.: I felt much love coming in my heart.

Int.: He asked F [ex-prisoner] what made him happy today and he replied that he was happy to cut those bushes while they could be cut by your husband. So, he felt very happy and it means that you were both happy while cutting those bushes.

Surv.: Both our hearts received much love, as you understand that he was also happy. (MU-1676).

Photo 22

Ex-Prisoner Chopping a Poisonous Tree for Survivor



Photo 23

Ex-Prisoner Chopping another Poisonous Tree for Survivor

The ex-prisoner, in turn, reported:

Int.: Thank you very much. Is there anything you felt in your heart today while working together?

Ex-P.: What keeps being in my heart is the unity and reconciliation, and it will stay in me and it inserted in me the love for L. (MU-1428)

Theme 2-1-6: Sense of empowerment. This theme emerged from a total of nine MUs. Both survivors and perpetrators reported that they feel empowered by working together.

Supra-theme 2-2: Growth of unpleasant affects. Growth of unpleasant affects supra-theme superordinates themes that capture types of affective experiences that were perceived by the participants as unpleasant, while engaged in the course of the ABPRA with their reconciliation pair.

Theme 2-2-1: Distress. This theme emerged from a total of three MUs. Distress refers to any reported incidence where either of the reconciliation dyad felt unpleasant

about anything. Two participants reported an incidence in which they felt unpleasant throughout the entire course of the ABPRA across all dyads.

On one occasion, an ex-prisoner (from the dyad #1) was sharing his family problems with his survivor pair. They have engaged in a form of counselling in which the survivor listened and tried to give him some advice. The advice she suggested was perceived by the perpetrator as sincere, genuine, and helpful and thus was received with great appreciation and with feeling of being cared for. However, he reported that his current family situation to be very stressful and he felt frustrated while talking to his pair. This distress was not the direct result of the ABPRA, yet it is included as a testimony that the ABPRA occurs in their real day to day life context where other frustrations can occur which are important considerations in delivering the ABPRA.

On another incidence, an ex-prisoner (in the dyad #2) began sharing his experience of 1994, of being in jail, and of his life after the 2003 release. While the intent of the ex-prisoner was to express his remorse and sincerity, it was received by the survivor as unpleasant. The survivor asserted her boundary and communicated to the ex-prisoner that she does not wish to hear about them for now. Ex-prisoner agreed and they have swiftly switched their conversation topic to another topic. I provided a post-session debriefing of this incidence with the staffs of PFR. Survivor expressed that it was no problem after she decided not to hear about it and the ex-prisoner received her request to stop. She expressed that she feels able now to set her own boundary with him. I provided a telephone follow-up in the evening of the day of the incident and the survivor reassured me that I worry about her too much.

During the two months of the ABPRA implementation, two incidences mentioned above were reported by the participants as unpleasant. These are reported here as information for future considerations to enhance the safety of the ABPRA.

Supra-theme 2-3: Vanishing unpleasant affects. Vanishing unpleasant affects supra-theme superordinates themes that captures types of unpleasant affect which gradually disappeared in the course of the ABPRA, reported by the participants.

Theme 2-3-1: Vanishing affects previously perceived as unpleasant. This theme emerged from a total of 44 MUs. Vanishing affects previously perceived as unpleasant refers to a gradual disappearance, vanishing, and/or fading out of feelings/affects that were perceived by the participants as ‘unpleasant’ before. These feelings include disappearance of:

- (a) fear (subtheme 1, MU = 21) in survivors towards ex-prisoners and in ex-prisoners of shame towards others,
- (b) suspicion (subtheme 2, MU = 7) in both survivors and perpetrators towards each other
- (c) shame and guilt (subtheme 3, MU = 5) in ex-prisoners through contentment in providing the service
- (d) solitude in survivors (subtheme 4, MU = 4)
- (e) sorrow in both survivors and ex-prisoners (subtheme 5, MU = 4), and
- (f) hatred in both survivors and ex-prisoners (subtheme 6, MU = 3).

For example, a survivor reported disappearance of her fear as they worked together and built trust.

Surv.: Me, when I work with him the hope comes back in me and the fear disappears. And I continue to keep building hope in me because I see that he has a good heart, so I don't fear him anymore.

Int.: Does it frighten you anytime?

Surv.: Actually when a person is working with somebody with who he has a problem and they have several meets, the fear slowly disappears for that person and as they continue to work together, he/she [develops] trusts in him. (MU-452, 454)

A survivor reported that the program takes her solitude away:

Surv.: This is a good program. When you are alone in the field, you cannot cultivate a considerable land. But we have seen that it is important if we partner, it will help us to dig ourselves out of solitude and working together and will make us happy. We understand that it is different from working alone. (MU-988)

Overall, this theme is considered a direct beneficial effect of the ABPRA (engagements in joint labour). Current results seem to indicate that emergence of various factors (mostly the achievement of the growth of the optimal contact conditions) have contributed to this beneficial impact, such as:

- (a) regular and consistent encounter with each other
- (b) engagement in common activity towards a common goal
- (c) facilitation of conversation and the resulting voluntary self-disclosure with each other, and
- (d) the resulting positive experience with each other.

All factors emerged out of the dyads engagements in working together and have contributed to the emergence of the beneficial experiences captured in this theme.

Theme 2-3-2: Cleansing experience. This theme emerged from a total of 21 MUs. Cleansing experience refers to an ex-prisoner's experience of a felt sense of sin, guilt, and evilness being "washed" or "cleansed" away as the result of their servicing

survivors. It was reported solely by ex-prisoners as the beneficial result of atoning in action through the ABPRA.

Throughout their participations in the ABPRA, ex-prisoners consistently reported their feeling of being ‘cleansed,’ and/or their heart being washed clean:

Int.: Working for a person like that it helps her [survivor], but also it helps you. In what way?

Ex-P.: For me, it helps me in the way that I feel cleaned in my heart in front of the people that I harmed (MU-202)

Int.: How do you feel when you are working for her?

Ex-P.: When I am working for her I feel cleaned in my heart and I appreciate that. (MU-433)

Int.: So, what were your feelings? It may be happiness, joy, sorrow? How was it?

Ex-P.: When I am with her, I don't feel angry. I feel tranquil and good, and if the hours were not passing, people would keep working.

Int.: Do you remember that at the second round you said that when you work with L [survivor], you feel your heart was cleaned. Do you still having the same feeling now?

Ex-P.: I still have the same feeling, the hart is [being] cleaned. (MU-1161)

Theme 2-3-3: Liberation, relief and unloading of emotional burden. This theme emerged from a total of 19 MUs. Experiences of liberation (feeling free), relief and unloading of emotional burden were reported by both survivors and ex-prisoners, but for different reasons from different feelings. Survivors reported that, by engaging in the ABPRA, they feel they can drop their emotional burden of trauma off ‘their shoulder.’ They have used the term ‘relief,’ ‘feeling free,’ ‘liberation,’ and/or ‘lightening’ in their heart to describe their felt sense of release from the burden of carrying their emotional trauma, as well as the relief from fear and suspicion for the ex-prisoners. A survivor reported:

Int.: So, what caused your heart to change?

Surv.: The reason why I changed is the real way of reconciliation which was confirmed. The activities that he was doing for me removed my suspicion. I no longer suspect him because I saw that he immediately felt free to me. I also felt free to him because in our conversations we told the whole truth to each other and I would immediately find him whenever I wanted him. (MU-835)

Ex-prisoners on the other hand reported feeling the same liberation, and relief but from different kinds of burden such as self-guilt, and/or torment of sin.

Ex-P.: Before when I met her, I wasn't free in my heart. I was accusing me but when we worked together like that. It's important to me because I feel free and there is no longer beats of accusation in my heart because we are the one and when we share conversations. It is very important to me. (MU-401)

Ex-prisoners also reported feeling relief by witnessing their survivor pair experiencing healing.

Supra-theme 2-4: Growth of pleasant cognitions. Growth of pleasant cognitions supra-theme superordinates themes that capture types of cognition emerged that were perceived by the participants as pleasant, while engaged in the course of the ABPRA with their reconciliation pair.

Theme 2-4-1: Hope. This theme emerged from a total of 16 MUs. Participants reported the growth of hope for:

- (a) their relationships to continue growing
- (b) their being able to continue working together
- (c) their being able to contribute to the development of unity and reconciliation,
and
- (d) peace.

Hope was mostly reported by the ex-prisoners.

Theme 2-4-2: *Pride and agaciro (dignity)*. This theme emerged from a total of nine MUs and was reported solely by the ex-prisoners. *Agaciro* is a Kinyarwanda word which is roughly translated as “dignity.” They reported that they think they have:

- (a) re-earned respect for themselves, and from their children
- (b) rebuilt dignity in their community, and
- (c) developed a pride of being able to service the survivors.

Theme 2-4-3: *Opinions and thoughts*. This theme emerged from a total of 76 MUs. Throughout the ABPRA, various opinions (subtheme 1, MU = 66) were stated by the survivor, and thoughts/ideas emerged (subtheme 2, MU = 10), and they were reported by participants during the interviews.

Many opinions emerged and were reported by all participants during the interviews. Major opinions include ones on valuing the program and working together.

I also sought their opinions of “What if they have never met with each other for the purpose of reconciliation?” Survivors reported their opinion that:

- (a) they would have still been angry
- (b) they would have not healed as they are healed now
- (c) they would not have overcome their fear of ex-prisoners, and
- (d) they would still have their problem in their heart.

Ex-prisoners reported that:

- (a) they would not have healed completely
- (b) they would have continued carrying their shame and fear, and
- (c) they would have been carrying their sorrow permanently.

Both sides of participants reported that they would have:

- (a) carried fear for each other, and
- (b) not healed.

All dyads reported that their relationship has developed into a healing partnership.

This experience overlaps with and will be reported later in the relational category.

Other stated opinions include ones on healing process and journey, and on the cause of their ex-prisoner's killing.

Other miscellaneous and concrete examples of opinions stated include:

- "The first day [of working together] is a special day which adds to [their] previous effort." (Ex-prisoner) (MU-952)*
- "Healing and reconciliation is a continuous journey." (Ex-prisoner) (MU-953)*
- "Gacaca was helpful." (Survivor) (MU-1044)*
- "One can never be free from conscience." (Survivor) (MU-1048)*
- "Remaining humble is noticeable by others and facilitates love from others." (Ex-prisoner) (MU-1164)*
- "It is a good thing to work together." (Survivor & Ex-prisoner) (MU-1620)*
- "There is no difference between working together and cooperating in life together." (Survivor & Ex-prisoner) (MU-1632)*
- "[I am] Leaving the past behind. Problem is over." (Ex-prisoner) (MU-1692)*
- "We would like no sorry from others as we are building and consolidating our relationship again." (Ex-prisoner) (MU-1693)*
- "Before we used to only live together in words and in visits, but not in actions together. But now we are in actions together and united in everything." (Survivor) (MU-1704)*
- "If we have no conversations, then we have no relationship." (Ex-prisoner) (MU-1735)*
- "Act of unity and reconciliation is necessary to develop a relationship." (Ex-prisoner) (MU-1737)*

In addition, various ideas were generated while they engaged in the ABPRA and later reported during the interview. Most of the generated ideas were to do with how to better work together in their future and how to better their community together.

Theme 2-4-4: Trust, faith, and confidence. This theme emerged from a total of 21 MUs. Throughout the ABPRA, participants reported growths of trust, faith and confidence with each other. They have reported that they have:

- (a) developed trust with each other
- (b) felt comfortable sharing their personal problems with each other.

A survivor reported that (c) as her trust for ex-prisoner developed, her fear towards him disappeared:

Int.: Is there any difference that unity and reconciliation in both words and actions brings to you in healing?

Surv.: For sure, the actions are the ones which help a person to heal quickly, because you directly see that person. You trust him because you are always together. You no longer suspect him because you frequently meet. (MU-573)

Each dyad developed confidence and faith:

- (d) in their joint labour
- (e) in their restored relationship.

Ex-prisoners reported a growth of faith in:

- (f) survivor's forgiveness
- (g) him being forgiven.

An ex-prisoner reported his trust for survivor and her forgiveness, how it gives him a hope.

Int.: Are there any feelings you had today when you worked together?

Ex-P.: The feelings that I always have are that I trust her. I say that I am together with the person to whom I offended and who have forgiven me. So I feel that we have been united and I trust her.

Theme 2-4-5: Commitment and devotion. This theme emerged from a total of 28 MUs. Throughout the ABPRA, participants reported a growth of their commitment and/or devotion to their working together. Ex-prisoners reported the growth of their:

- (a) devotion to their survivors
- (b) commitment to providing services and atonement, and compensating in action for the survivors, and

(c) peace for the future.

Ex-prisoners reported their forever commitment to survivors:

Int.: As you have worked together for six days, does it ensure you that you can keep working together.

Ex-P.: It ensures me that we can keep working together as long as we are still alive. (MU-713)

Ex-P.: I will never get discouraged to help and advise her. (MU-1686)

Supra-theme 2-5: Growth of unpleasant cognitions. Growth of unpleasant cognitions supra-theme superordinates themes that capture types of cognition emerged that were perceived by the participants as unpleasant while engaged in the course of the ABPRA with their reconciliation pair.

Theme 2-5-1: Remembrance and mourning. This theme emerged from a total of 15 MUs. Throughout the ABPRA, participants reported emergence of memories of unpleasant past they hold, and or mourning of their loss, and tragic history. On the other hand, a survivor reported that:

(a) remembrance does not damage her process of restoring relationship with the ex-prisoner, and

(b) remembrance does not disappoint her.

Rather she considers the remembrance as her *capacity* which “benefits her” in teaching others not to repeat mistakes. She reported:

Surv.: Today I can teach him [reconciliator] that even if you may be in the unity and reconciliation process, try the actions, and have reconciled with the person whom you have problems with, that cannot prevent a person from remembering what happened to him/her, they cannot prevent you to talk about that because they help the person [survivor] he has offended and it help him [ex-prisoner] to avoid making the same mistakes. (MU-512)

Furthermore, both survivors and ex-prisoners reported that they remember and mourn their tragic past together (also reported in the relational category) which then led them to their healing together:

Int.: Today, I heard you two were talking about Rwandan history and how the genocide was prepared. Can you tell me more about that?

Ex-P.: We have talked about how genocide was prepared before when we were in primary schools. When I was in a primary school, they used to tell the Tutsi and the Hutu to stand up. And I said that if a Tutsi child stood up I directly recognized him/her as a Tutsi and he could directly know that N (the ex-prisoner) is a Hutu.

Int.: How did you feel when you remembered that history?

Ex-P.: When I remembered that history I understand how the government of that time was very bad because it taught us the discrimination.

Int.: How did you feel about that?

Ex-P.: It shocks me so much because if I hadn't known that my classmate was a Tutsi, I wouldn't have gone to hunt him/her.

Int.: It makes you sad because it was a bad government, which caused that.

Ex-P.: It is the bad government that caused that.

Int.: If you remember it, does it shock you and cause you to feel sorrow?

Ex-P.: It makes me feel shocked and I feel sorrow.

Int.: He [the reconciliator] is saying that when you talk about history, you are both shocked and you share the sorrow. Is he right?

Ex-P.: We are both shocked and we share the sorrow. (MU-1096).

Theme 2-5-2 Shame, guilt, remorse, and conscience. This theme emerged from a total of 11 MUs. Throughout the ABPRA, ex-prisoners reported experiences of growing shame, guilt, and remorse. They reported that as their atoning for survivors progressed, it began to stimulate their conscience which resulted in the precipitation of the emergence of shame, guilt, and remorse for their past “sins” they have committed.

An ex-prisoner reported his remorse and regret:

Int.: He [the reconciliator] sees your conscientious heart. He hears it from you and he can notice it in your actions and your devotion. Is he right?

Ex-P.: Yes, but you see I discovered it after. If I had known it before, all these things wouldn't happen to me. I had fallen into a complex trap. This is like a scandal that I always feel. If I had known it before to differentiate the best from the worst, this problem would not be on me. I would have done

good things and the people would be thanking me. We wouldn't be talking about this. (MU-206)

An ex-prisoner also reported his guilt:

Ex-P.: When I work for her, it's because I want her to develop. I don't wish her to go down. The genocide that we committed has left her with nothing. She feels that she owns nothing. That's why I wish her to develop and be like others. (MU-434)

Supra-theme 2-6: Participant observed signs/behavioural expressions

Participant observed signs/behavioural expressions supra-theme superordinates themes that explicate behavioural expressions and/or observable signs of attitude observed by the participants in each other while engaged in the course of the ABPRA.

Theme 2-6-1: Participant observed signs/behavioural expressions. This theme emerged from a total of 101 MUs. Participant observed signs and/or behavioural expressions refer to any signs or behavioural manifestations of something perceived by participants. An observed sign is defined here as any sign of something in their pair that participants have picked up through either seeing, hearing, touching, smelling, and tasting. A behavioural expression is defined here as any manifest behaviour of their partner, which was perceived by the participants as a sign of something. Concrete examples will be reported shortly. From these signs and behavioural manifestations, we can infer attitude change (Minami, 2008, 2009) perceived by the participants in their pair. With regards to this behavioural manifestations component of attitude change, I specifically questioned participants of their observed signs from each ABPRA session.

Throughout the ABPRA, survivors observed behavioural expressions and signs of ex-prisoner's:

- (a) commitment, devotion, and hard work (subtheme 1, MU = 29)

(b) sincerity and genuineness (subtheme 2, MU = 18), and

(c) shame, guilt, remorse, and conscience (subtheme 3, MU = 4).

For example, a survivor picked up a sign of her ex-prisoner's devotion and hard work through behavioural manifestations such as:

(a) sweating, or breathing hard due to working hard:

Int.: So, was T [ex-prisoner] working very hard today also?

Surv.: He worked very hard as usual.

Int.: What is the sign that showed you that he was working very hard?

Surv.: I saw him working tirelessly without looking back, focused on what he came to do.

Int.: Any thing else?

Surv.: He has sweating and you could see that he sticks with his work and used much energy.

Int.: When you saw him sweating while working, how did you feel?

Surv.: I felt that he was tired and I saw that he was exhausted. (MU-1111)

Photo 24

Survivor and Ex-Prisoner Working Hard



Int.: As far as you are concerned, what is the sign that showed you that M [ex-prisoner] was working very hard?

Surv.: As I observed him, I saw that he sacrificed himself using all his energy. I saw that he worked hard scarifying himself and there is a time I felt like I could tell him to have a pause as I saw that he was very exhausted.

Int.: So, what was the proof you see?

Surv.: I saw that he sweated so much. I saw that he looked like he lost a lot of nutrients, and by the end of the action, he seemed to be very exhausted because he worked very hard. (MU-842)

(b) speed with which ex-prisoners worked:

Int.: What showed you that S [ex-prisoner] did a great job? Is it because he sweated or it is because he worked very hard? How did you notice that?

Surv.: He was working much quicker than me. (MU-68)

Photo 25

Survivor Noticing the Ex-Prisoner Working Much Quicker than Her



Int.: What made you happy when you were working together?

Surv.: I saw that he was very committed and he showed the engagement. I even told him that we need to go home because the time was up but he didn't want to go home because he was still committed.

Int.: What else showed that he was committed?

Surv.: I saw that he was working very hard.

Int.: Was he working harder than you?

Surv.: We were parallel.

Int.: But he was faster than you?

Surv.: He was faster but he was coming back to support me so that we go on the same line. (MU-1498)

Photo 26

Survivor and Ex-Prisoner Working in Parallel



, and

(c) use of energy and the resulting fatigue:

Int.: Did T [ex-prisoner] worked very hard today also?

Surv.: He really worked very hard.

Int.: What is the sign which proved you that T worked hard today?

Surv.: If you see someone working nonstop, showing commitment without looking back, and if you see someone focused on the work that he's supposed to do, you can notice that he uses energy, and that he is happy of what he is doing. (MU-1320)

Ex-prisoners, on the other hand, reported observations of behavioural expressions and signs of vanishing unpleasant affect in survivors (subtheme 4, MU = 5) while engaged in the ABPRA.

For example, an ex-prisoner reported signs of survivor not fearing him:

Int.: When you work with L [survivor], is she motivated?

Ex-P.: Of course, don't you see that we talk, whisper and have good talks?

Int.: So, what shows you that L is motivated?

Ex-P.: When I come, she welcomes me. When she welcomes me I see that she wants me to come and meet her. And I feel that she doesn't hesitate on me, She gives a seat and I sit. If you see someone to whom you offended gives you a seat, comes, approaches you and talk to you when you go to see her, and you see her body touching my body, only that shows that she is motivated because she doesn't run away from me. (MU-739)

Both survivors and ex-prisoners reported behavioural expressions/signs of:

- (a) growth of pleasant affect in their pair (subtheme 5, MU = 25)
- (b) development of a good relationship (subtheme 7, MU = 5), and
- (c) partner healing (subtheme 8, MU = 4).

For example, an ex-prisoner reported the sign of survivor appreciation and care for him:

Int.: It seems that L [survivor] cares about you.

Ex-P.: I am going to give you a sign. Didn't you see one little bottle of water to drink? She saw that we were thirsty. That is how she cared about me. If she had a sorghum beer, she would have given it to me. So, she is happy and one gives to the other what she/he has. (MU-397)

Another ex-prisoner reported his observation of survivor's behavioural expression of love:

Int.: You didn't stop talking, and you were giving love to her through the actions, what is the sign that showed you that she gave love to you too?

Ex-P.: The sign which showed it to me is that she was talking to me and was not angry when I touched and ate the peanuts. (MU-960)

Photo 27

Survivor and Ex-Prisoner Cracking Groundnuts Together



Other reported signs observed, include ones of forgiveness, unity and reconciliation (subtheme 6, MU = 11). An ex-prisoner reported the first sign of survivor forgiveness and the resulting felt sense of being forgiven when she asked him for help for the first time:

Int.: Do you remember the first day you worked for her?

Ex-P.: Yes, I remember it.

Int.: What did you do for her on the first day?

Ex-P.: On the first day I cut those trees and repaired her fence.

Int.: Was she who asked you to work for her or you did it voluntarily?

Ex-P.: It was her who came and told me that she had a problem. I immediately understood it and I came to help her.

Int.: Do you remember what she told you?

Ex-P.: She thanked me because she had a party. Her daughter was going to be married.

Int.: At the first time she came to ask you to help her, how did she say that?

Ex-P.: She came and told me “do you know that before the genocide we were friends? Now I have a party, may you come and help me so that my guests sit comfortably”?

Int.: How did you feel after hearing that?

Ex-P.: I immediately understood that and I felt that she really forgave me. That one [the survivor] no longer fears me and I immediately received that.

Int.: It means that you saw her forgiveness through her requesting actions.

Ex-P.: Yes, I saw forgiveness through the request in actions.

Int.: How did you feel in your heart after hearing that?

Ex-P.: The heart immediately felt happy and I said "that person really forgave me because when she has what to do, she asks me to help her." (MU-945).

Another ex-prisoner reported the sign and the resulting felt sense of being forgiven via the survivor listening to him:

Int.: So, has she paid attention to you and listened how you suffered in the prison?

Ex-P.: Yes, she understood it.

Int.: How did you feel when you saw her paying attention and listening to your previous situation?

Ex-P.: When I saw her listening to me and I saw that she is happy for that, I noticed that she has forgiven me even if I offended her. (MU-374)

Above mentioned supra-themes of (a) growth of pleasant affects, (b) growth of unpleasant affects, (c) vanishing of unpleasant affects, (d) growth of pleasant cognitions, (e) growth of unpleasant cognitions, and (f) participant observed signs and behavioural expressions are all considered signs of attitude and attitude change in participants towards their reconciliation pair. These attitude changes occurred as the direct result of their engagements in the process of the ABPRA, and provide evidence for the attitude change property of the ABPRA.

In addition to the categories of themes explicated above, participants reported experience gave rise to emergence of three other unexpected categories.

EmergEd Categories

This section reports and explicates categories that emerged inductively from the *emerged category extraction* procedure. Three of such categories emerged as the result of the TCA (Krippendorff, 2014). They are: (a) reconciliation themes, (b) relational themes, and (c) psychosocial themes.

Category 3: Reconciliation Themes

This category includes emerged themes which capture participant experience of and views on major themes in reconciliation. Namely (a) the ABPRA (working together) as the medium, (b) forgiveness, (c) truth telling, (d) unity, and (e) reconciliation. Two supra-themes of (a) participant experience/view of the ABPRA as the medium, and (b) participant experience/view of reconciliation emerged. This category of theme provides evidence for a reconciliatory property of the ABPRA. Information contained in this category also enhances an efficacy of the ABPRA and our theoretical understanding of the process of psychological reconciliation.

Supra-theme 3-1: Participant experience/view of the ABPRA (working together). Participant experience/view of the ABPRA (working together) supra-theme superordinates themes that explicate participant reported experience of benefits, potential risks, and with other elements of the ABPRA.

Theme 3-1-1: Beneficial impacts of the ABPRA. This theme emerged from a total of 85 MUs. Throughout the ABPRA, survivors and ex-prisoners reported beneficial impacts of the ABPRA. Results showed that the ABPRA:

- (a) enhances personal development/productivity (subtheme 1, MU = 25)
- (b) facilitates healing (subtheme 2, MU = 20)

- (c) facilitates relationship development/reconciliation (subtheme 3, MU = 15)
- (d) provides sheer time/opportunity to be together more often on purpose
(subtheme 4, MU = 15)
- (e) facilitates voluntary self-disclosure and familiarity with each other (subtheme 5, MU = 6), and
- (f) facilitates voluntariness (subtheme 6, MU = 4).

Participants reported that the ABPRA is helpful in personal development through learning from each other by sharing conversations and information together.

An ex-prisoner reported:

Ex-P.: When we frequently meet as we used to meet once or twice a month, we exchange ideas which can motivate to do other things, which can lead me to development. Because after sharing with her, I keep the conversation we shared in my mind. And then when I arrive at home, I think about them. And I notice that they can help me to reach the development. And the difference now is that we meet most of the times. (MU-1606)

Survivor participants also reported that the ABPRA enhanced their survival - farming, agricultural productivity and efficiency, thus very helpful for their day-to-day lives. A survivor reported:

Int.: If you encourage other people to do the same things [the ABPRA], what are the good things from these works [they do] you can tell them?

Surv.: The services I receive. I wish to say this in cooperative that we would have one day to go to help one person. What is good from that when you work together, you do a great work than the work done by a single person. And you share the ideas through conversations. It is better for the people to converse while working together. (MU-1703)

Surv.: This program helps us so much in development. You see those cassava plants we are weeding? They will soon have a great value. He [ex-prisoner] is helping me to reach to the development. If it rains, these cassava plants will have better harvest because we removed all the weeds in them. (MU-17038)

Both participants reported that the more they work together, the more they heal each other. Healing of one was also acknowledged and observed and “felt” by the pair.

For example, a survivor reported acknowledgement of partner’s healing:

Int.: You have forgiven T [ex-prisoner]. You gave him forgiveness. But in this program, you don’t give, but you receive. Do you think that it is useful to offer a service to a genocide survivor?

Surv.: I think that it is useful because when he works for me, it heals him and it makes him happy. And that is important to both of us. (MU-1329)

Participants also reported that the more they work together, the stronger their relationships developed. Results seem to indicate that a number of factors lead to the development of stronger relationship. The ABPRA seems to

- (a) provide sheer time and opportunity for them to be and do something purposeful together, which
- (b) facilitates voluntary conversations and chats, which then
- (c) facilitates voluntary self-disclosures and other voluntary actions (e.g., generating ideas for their future works together, initiating a business plan together), which result in the development of strong/special relationships.

Participants reported:

Ex-P.: The reason why I accepted to work for her [survivor] is because I found it necessary and it allows me to meet her through the activities that we do. And those activities that we are doing are beneficial to all of us. (MU-955)

Int.: What is the other new thing do you see in this program?

Ex-P.: Another new thing I see is that, for example, I could visit her [survivor] like once or twice a month before, but now the difference is that we meet once a week and we converse. So, because of this program I am updated about her life and she is updated about my life in every week. (MU-1605).

Int.: He [the reconciliator] knows that you are neighbours. You meet in different places. But does this program help you to meet frequently than before?

Surv.: It is in nowadays that we find more time to converse freely and work together. Before we didn't get enough time to share. For example nowadays you see that we have almost three hours to share the conversations, and work together. So, it is during this period, that we take enough time.

Int.: It means that this program brings you an opportunity to meet F [ex-prisoner] and share the conversations with him.

Surv.: We take a long time of conversations.

Int.: Do they help in healing?

Surv.: Yes, they clean the wounds in hearts, everywhere. (MU-1591).

Theme 3-1-2: Potential risks of the ABPRA. This theme emerged from a total of 32 MUs. Throughout the ABPRA, I carefully observed and conducted a regular check-in on their potential experience and/or view of any potential risk of the ABPRA.

Participants reported their views of a potential risk throughout the ABPRA, however, they were all counter-evidence to the potential. Participants reported that the ABPRA:

- (a) is not facilitative of flashback (experience of any flashback was checked in every session and was denied thoroughly),
- (b) does not have any negative impact,
- (c) does not generate new fear or anger,
- (d) does not revoke or exacerbate their traumatic/bad memories, and
- (e) does not facilitate any sadness.

All participants reported that:

- (a) their working together went all well,
- (b) the camera did not bother them, but forgot about it after a while (5-10minutes)
- (c) the program is good.

All of the dyads decided and requested to hold a festivity of completion at the end of their labour. All above are based on participant reported responses to my inquiry on potential distresses experienced.

Photo 28

Ex-Prisoner Dancing of his Joy of Completing the ABPRA



Theme 3-1-3 Characteristics of encounter. This theme emerged from a total of 34 MUs. Throughout the ABPRA, survivors and ex-prisoners reported their experience and views of the characteristics of encounter in the ABPRA. Participants reported that the consistency and frequency (subtheme 1, MU = 22) with which they meet contribute to the:

- (a) *gradual disappearance* of their fear, anger, suspicion, and doubts, and to the
- (b) *gradual growth* of mutual trust, reassurance, felt-sense of forgiveness, improved and strengthen relationship, love, healing and mutual healing.

This theme overlaps with themes in the category 2 (discussed before), but refers specifically to the beneficial effects of the characteristics of encounters in the ABPRA. Results seem to indicate that the characteristics of encounter explicated in this theme (consistency and frequency) are factors facilitative of growth of pleasant affects (supra-

theme 2-1), the vanishing unpleasant affects (supra-theme 2-3), and the growth of pleasant cognitions (supra-theme 2-4). Participants also reported the beneficial impact of the availability and proximity (subtheme 2, MU = 8) of their pair, and the potential detrimental impact of absence of their pair's presence and labour (subtheme 3, MU = 4).

Theme 3-1-4: Medium of reconciliation. This theme emerged from a total of 46 MUs. The principal medium of healing in the ABPRA is action (engagements in purposeful action = labour) and inter-action (joint-labour/working together). Throughout the ABPRA, participants reported their experience of beneficial impacts of an action as the medium (subtheme 1, MU = 36). Participants reported that the action:

- (a) expresses (e.g., visual proof/behavioural signs)
- (b) builds (e.g., productivity, relationship)
- (c) “wipes off” (e.g., unpleasant affects and memories)
- (d) prevents rumination, and
- (e) facilitates shared healing.

Furthermore, participants also reported the importance of both action and verbal medium of reconciliation to be necessary and essential (subtheme 2, MU = 10) in reconciliation.

A survivor reported the importance of an opportunity to talk first:

Int.: What is the difference between the talks in verbally advising and the talks in the actions?

Surv.: All of them are good but they cannot happen without face-to-face talks. People cannot meet and directly start working. They need to meet first and talk about the problem, so they [talk and action] complete each other. There should be the talks of counselling and after come the actions so that that thing happens well. (MU-690)

Surv.: What I want to teach him is that, in order to reach well unity and reconciliation, he [the reconciliator] needs to put in contact those who

have problems between them. He must reconcile them through conversations but also through actions for an improvement. (MU-700)

The same survivor also reported the necessity for both medium of reconciliation and their unique role:

Surv.: The lesson that we want to give him is that he would always be strong to reconcile people who have problems among them. He needs firstly to teach them in words (theory) and then teach them how to work together because this can help to increase the hope and trust between them.

Int.: It means that the words are also important.

Surv.: The words are also necessary, because you cannot work with somebody that you don't know. The words allow you to know each other and then after words comes actions that help you to avoid fear between you. (MU-481)

All participants reported that the process of reconciliation must occur in words and in actions. All participants also reported that the reconciliation is not possible if one or the other is missing, thus the process of reconciliation must include both verbal and action media. A survivor reported her experience:

Int.: You have forgiven him and after the granting of your forgiveness, it came the unity and reconciliation. But can forgiveness alone build the relationship?

Surv.: When you want the relationship to increase, you start by forgiving. If he offends you and then after he comes to apologize, you need to forgive him. And when you forgive him, the anger and sorrow that were on your heart reach the end. Then after that the relationship keeps increasing, that is its source.

Int.: He is saying that forgiveness alone is not enough to increase the relationship.

Surv.: They all come at the same time. He starts by asking forgiveness and then you get reconciled.

Int.: It means that the unity through the actions comes after the forgiveness.

Surv.: The actions come after all other things related to forgiveness.

Int.: It means that if you want to increase your relationship, the actions come after the forgiveness. Right?

Surv.: Right.

Int.: It means that you also forgave other offenders but they went and they never came back to help you. But the actions which T [ex-prisoner] does for you increase your relationship between you and him than the other ones. Is that true?

Surv.: Those ones only asked forgiveness but after they didn't show any other actions. So, you hear that they are different.

Int.: That means that verbal [granting of] forgiveness is not enough to increase the relationship.

Surv.: Without any additional actions, there is a difference with that one who did something. Really, there is a big gap between the reconciliation in actions than saying that we are reconciled verbally.

Int.: Forgiving is different from restoring the relationship. Is that right?

Surv.: Right. (MU-1336)

Supra-theme 3-2: Participant experience/view of reconciliation themes.

Participant experience and view of reconciliation themes supra-theme superordinates themes that explicate participant reported experience and/or views of forgiveness, truth telling unity and reconciliation in the course of the ABPRA.

Theme 3-2-1: Forgiveness. This theme emerged from a total of 94 MUs.

Throughout the ABPRA, survivors and ex-prisoners reported their experience and views of forgiveness. These views correspond to the two different types of forgiveness suggested by the previous review of literature and evidence on forgiveness: (a) decisional, and (b) of forgiveness.

Decisional forgiveness. Investigation of background information revealed that every survivor participant achieved decisional forgiveness (subtheme 1, MU = 10), which they referred to as “forgiveness in words,” prior to the engagement in the ABPRA. The participant term “forgiveness in words” refers to the granting and receiving of the decision to forgive ex-prisoners, which is consistent with the concept of decisional forgiveness in the literature. Participants reported that their previous decision to forgive had some form of functions for them (subtheme 2, MU = 18).

Current evidence also revealed that, for survivors, reaching the decisional forgiveness helped them to:

- (a) face forward and towards their future
- (b) re-focus their attention from past to present
- (c) let go of their past
- (d) feel liberated
- (e) remove their solitude, and
- (f) bring their life back into normal.

Survivors also reported that it was (g) something that they had to do:

Int.: What helped you to feel that you forgive him [ex-prisoner] on your heart? Is there anything that you saw, is there anything you received, that helped you?

Surv.: What helped me to forgive him is the word of God that I was taught and I felt that I had to forgive. (MU-1278)

Participants also reported factors facilitative of their reaching the decisional forgiveness (subtheme 3, MU = 7), which include:

- (a) sincerity and genuineness expressed through truth-telling of the ex-prisoners during Gacaca
- (b) role of God, teaching of bible, and workshops on forgiveness conducted by PFR
- (c) apology received from the ex-prisoners, and
- (d) continuous visitations from their ex-prisoners begging them to forgive.

Participants also reported limitations of decisional forgiveness (subtheme 4, MU = 5). It took time a considerable time to forgive and was not easy to give. Decisional forgiveness can “be suppressed” if ex-prisoners do something bad as their previous images come back, and the “decision to forgive” alone was not enough for them to rebuild their relationship.

Felt-sense of forgiveness. Throughout the ABPRA, survivors reported:

- (a) feeling that their working together is “fueling into” her forgiveness that she granted to the ex-prisoner before
- (b) that they noticed their forgiveness in their actions, conversations and everywhere
- (c) feeling forgiveness after witnessing the hard work of ex-prisoners, and throughout the ABPRA.

These affective signs seem to indicate the emergence of survivor participants’ felt sense of forgiveness (subtheme 5, MU = 6).

A survivor reported:

Surv.: I think about it every day and when I see all those good actions he does for me, I feel like I forgive him all those bad things he did to me. I feel that he did it because of Satan because he is evil and causes us to always offend.

Int.: When you work together, is there any time you feel like forgiving him?

Surv.: When we work together, I realize that it is really good to forgive. If I haven’t forgiven him, he wouldn’t help me in such way. There is a profit in my forgiveness and God has attached a promise to it and I feel that there is God’s contribution.

Int.: When you work together, is there any time you feel forgiveness coming for him?

Surv.: It does come frequently. It is like a film that comes quickly (MU-1660)

Two survivors both reported at the last session, their experience of the felt sense of forgiveness:

Surv.: I see that he sweated so much. I see that he looks like he lost a lot of nutrients. And by the end of the action, he seems to be exhausted because he worked very hard.

Int.: So how do you feel in your heart when you see how M [ex-prisoner] works very hard with passion?

Surv.: I feel very happy in my heart and I feel that I have forgiven him and I feel that I would go to help him. (MU-844)

Int.: He [the reconciliator] says that you work with T [ex-prisoner] and you see how much he is committed using his strengths. But is there any time you feel in you that your forgiveness for him is getting strong?

Surv.: I really feel that I have totally forgiven him and I no longer think about what happened and there is nothing bad remained in my heart.

Int.: But, is there any time you feel like you forgive him more?

Surv.: Sure, it happens. (MU-1389)

Fruit and flower of forgiveness. Participants also reported their experience and view of forgiveness in general (subtheme 6, MU = 23) throughout the ABPRA, which explicates further characteristics and process of forgiveness. A survivor reported that their working together is producing a “fruit of forgiveness that must be grown.”

Surv.: In fact, forgiveness should provide fruits. When you ask forgiveness you need to grow fruits of forgiveness because when he comes to help me it shows to other people that he has asked forgiveness from his heart and they say that he is helping the household to compensate what he had done. (MU-325)

What the survivor meant by this metaphor is to highlight that the act of receiving the forgiveness ‘well’ by ex-prisoners must be followed by the survivors’ granting of forgiveness. As exemplified by the quote, survivor reported that her forgiveness granted to him was followed by his receiving it well in his action (e.g., service). The metaphor of ‘fruit’ also symbolizes ‘the concreteness’ of his appreciation of receiving the forgiveness in actions, which ‘testifies’ the community that he is being forgiven and receiving it ‘well.’

Another survivor and ex-prisoner pair reported together that the “flower of forgiveness must be watered,” showing an ongoing process of forgiving and being forgiven:

Int.: Is forgiving an ongoing activity or it is a finished activity?

Surv.: It is an ongoing activity.

Int.: How does it continue?

Ex-P.: Forgiving doesn't stop because I can offend her again. For example, I can pass here without greeting her. And she may think about it and ask herself why I don't greet her. If she tells me that I didn't greet her, I can apologize for that. You understand that forgiving doesn't stop.

Int.: It means that you are still being forgiven?

Ex-P.: I am still being forgiven until now.

Int.: L [survivor], you also keep forgiving him.

Surv.: Me too, I have to forgive him. Even if he offends again, I can keep forgiving him as I did it before.

Int.: T [ex-prisoner] you are like someone who is watering a flower so that it grows up well. Is it like that?

Surv.: You've got it.

Int.: Because if you don't water a flower, it dries. Does it?

Surv.: Yes, it dries up.

Int.: T, how do you understand it?

Ex-P.: I always soften her heart, as if I am watering it so that it stays cool. (MU-596)

This quote also highlights that their forgiveness must be 'fueled' regularly by some form of service in action to continue keeping it alive. Then the service continues to produce the fruit, which heals the survivor and ex-prisoner. This suggests forgiveness is not only a complex but also an ongoing process for participants, which involves both the decisional and the felt-sense of forgiveness, as well as granting and receiving forgiveness *through actions*. This process requires the consistent and constant nurturance through concrete interactions, atoning and services.

Forgiveness in words and forgiveness in actions. Furthermore, both survivors and perpetrators reported that forgiveness in words is not enough by itself. Rather, it must be accompanied or followed by the forgiveness in action:

Int.: He knows that you have forgiven him but also F [ex-prisoner] is still receiving your forgiveness and you are still forgiving him. Do you see it in the same way?

Surv.: As the actions are getting better, I keep enjoying them. Forgiveness is a continuous process which cannot stop as you can notice it through the actions, conversations and sharing everywhere.

Int.: He needs these lessons because it is you who survived a genocide who can teach them to him. Many people think that when someone forgives another,

the things are over and there is nothing else left to do. What do you think about that?

Surv.: I feel very happy because I have forgiven many people. But there are those I forgave but never since the day I forgave them, I have seen them again. And even when we meet, it ends in saying hello and that's all. We all pass each other. But it is not like that for F [ex-prisoner], he from time to time tries to be near me.

Int.: It means that forgiveness must be followed by actions. Is that right?

Surv.: Forgiveness must be followed by actions. (MU-1657)

Combinations of data so far seem to support the conceptual differentiation between decisional as well as felt-sense of forgiveness. Results seem to indicate that the two are parts of the process of forgiveness and require different factors to facilitate or achieve.

Participants' definitions of forgiveness. At the completion of the eight sessions of the ABPRA, I asked each of the participants, except the Dyad #1, to define forgiveness and describe the relationship between them. Participant definitions of forgiveness are presented with direct verbatim quotes below:

Survivors' definitions:

Forgiveness is the feeling in a person that s/he has freely and passionately or by saying I forget it, I loose it, and I abandon it. (dyad #2 Survivor)

Forgiveness is a love. Normally, if you love someone and then he comes to you to apologize for his offence and recognize that he offended you, that means he seeks love from you so that you forget all happened and develop love between you. It is to say I have offended you and I beg a pardon, forgive me, and you forget all those things you were thinking about and you say I forgive you from your heart without anyone's pressure. So, when you say I forgive you, you also forget all those happened and you don't have any other problem with him. (dyad #3 Survivor)

Forgiveness is soothing and good, because when you grant it to someone, you remain as a person who feels good in your heart because you stay with no judgments in your heart. When you grant forgiveness to someone, you don't count judgment on him/her because he has forgiven him/her already. You have removed all allegations and burdens on him/her. S/he feels cleaned and free because there are no longer accusations against him/her. It is good to grant forgiveness to

someone who wants it. That helps both of you to feel free in your heart. (dyad #4 Survivor)

Ex-prisoners' definitions:

The word forgiveness as an offender, it is the truth from your heart of asking forgiveness, and it is the truth that comes from the heart of the one who forgives you. So her/his heart truly forgives you. (dyad #2 Ex-Prisoner)

Forgiveness is a mercy which comes from someone's heart. Normally if someone forgives you the sin you committed against her, you feel very happy and you feel the love for her as she forgave you. (dyad #3 Ex-Prisoner)

The word forgiveness in Kinyarwanda means that if you offended someone and you come to confess and say "forgive me because I offended you." If you analyze the world forgiveness, there are many things involved. Because if you offended someone and you come to apologize, if s/he doesn't grant forgiveness to you, you call friends and you sit down together like this in what we call "Gacaca." Then they help him/her to understand that what you did, you did it intentionally, that s/he needs to forgive you. That is what forgiveness means. (dyad #4 Ex-Prisoner)

Participant reported relationship between forgiveness and reconciliation.

Participants reported that forgiveness is different from reconciliation (subtheme 7, MU = 20) and that their relationship has the following characteristics:

1. *Forgiveness in words exchange alone does not build relationship. (MU-1335)*
2. *Forgiveness in words is necessary, but not sufficient for reconciliation. (MU-1710)*
3. *Forgiveness in words without the act of reconciliation is useless. (MU-1739)*
4. *Forgiveness in words must be followed by action in order to develop relationship, and to reach reconciliation. (MU-1657)*
5. *Forgiveness and reconciliation must be watered – It must be an ongoing process of development. (MU-595, 596)*
6. *Forgiveness in words initiates and reconciliation completes and testifies proof to others. (MU-886)*
7. *Forgiveness in words must be followed up with the act of unity and reconciliation, which testifies the community that ex-prisoners were forgiven and they have reconciled. (MU-1740)*
8. *(Both decisional and felt-sense of) Forgiveness and reconciliation is parts of a process. (MU-915)*

Transformation of forgiveness. Finally, two survivors reported the transformation of forgiveness (subtheme 8, MU = 5). Both of them reported that their process of reaching forgiveness is over, and that what is increasing is their love towards the ex-prisoners.

A survivor testifies at the last session:

Int.: Do you remember the word you told to M [ex-prisoner] while forgiving him?

Surv.: I told him "I really forgive you and may God forgive you too".

Int.: This is a decision you took that time to forgive him. So now as you work together do you still feeling forgiveness for him?

Surv.: I no longer think bad things on him. I don't take him as the one who did that bad action. I no longer see his bad deeds. What I see is unity and partnership we have. Nowadays I see the unity that we have beyond his bad deeds to me.

Int.: So, did the forgiveness end by that day you forgave him or you keep forgiving him?

Surv.: Forgiving lasts forever but I don't think about it except when we talk about it. When he's giving me testimony or when we talk about other subjects, I don't think about him as an offender. I take him as a person whom I have forgiven. [Rehumanization of the offender to a person]

Int.: Did you feel forgiveness increasing today when you saw M working very hard?

Surv.: Really I always forgive him and I don't have any problem. I have forgiven him already. I don't have a problem with him. He is always committed while working for me without any problem.

Int.: This day you saw him working very hard and you felt sorry for him, did you feel the forgiveness increasing considerably?

Surv.: What increases is a love, not forgiveness. The forgiveness has been given. Now it is the love that increases. (MU-336)

Another survivor reported at their fifth session:

Surv.: When I look at him, and I see his commitment to actions. Even when he only talks to me, I feel that I love him. I feel that I have forgiven him already. The only remaining thing is to feel that I love him. (MU-1177)

Theme 3-2-2: Truth telling. This theme emerged from a total of 17 MUs.

Throughout the ABPRA, survivors and ex-prisoners reported beneficial effects of a truth telling. Results show that a truth-telling:

- (a) brought relief in survivors
- (b) communicated and expressed sincerity or genuineness of the ex-prisoners to survivors
- (c) brought cleansing experience to ex-prisoners
- (d) facilitated decisional forgiveness
- (e) was healing for both
- (f) was liberating and
- (g) was relaxing.

Theme 3-2-3: Unity. This theme emerged from a total of 40 MUs. Unity is defined here as participant's felt sense of togetherness, being one, and of the other in their own body.

Felt sense of togetherness. Throughout the ABPRA, survivors and ex-prisoners reported their experience of a felt sense of unity and togetherness (subtheme 1, MU = 28).

Ex-prisoners reported their felt sense of togetherness:

Int.: Does it please you when you work together and show that you reconciled?

Ex-P.: Yes, it pleases me very much because every time when I am at my home, my heart is always here [at survivors house] and it is on her. (MU-468)

Int.: So, when you work together, both fear and shame disappear. What kind of feeling do you have in you after all?

Ex-P.: I feel in me that I am a human being like her, and that me and her, we are one without saying that we are separated. And I feel that we are on the same way. (MU-726)

Int.: What is your own profit that you gain in working with L [survivor]?

Ex-P.: The profit is that I see her in me when we are together.

Int.: Can you explain how you and L are one?

Ex-P.: The reason why we are one: When we are together cultivating, we share conversations and we both enjoy that time as we say that. That work will help both of us to develop.

Int.: That means and shows the unity is in actions?

Ex-P.: Yes, it is a unity in concrete actions.

Int.: He [the reconciliator] is saying that your relationship with L ..., you two work like a wife and her husband.

Ex-P.: Yes, as if we are one. (MU-1412)

Survivors also reported their felt sense of togetherness:

Int.: So, when you hear F [ex-prisoner] giving you advice about your house, you feel he cares about you?

Surv.: I feel that he is near me, and I feel that if I ask him any assistance, he will help me in any way. (MU-1501)

Int.: Last time you told him [the reconciliator] that when you are working together, it heals you. Did you feel that today?

Surv.: Today, the thing which made me happy, which healed me in my heart was that he told me he is worried about my house. I felt that on his heart. He cares for me and all my belongings. I felt I am near him. I feel there is no problem. (MU-1505)

These comments indicate that they have experienced a felt sense of “unity” in the form of a felt sense of “togetherness.” Previous review of literature/research did not reveal this “felt sense” manifestation of unity, which emerges in participants’ experience in their relationship. This finding enhances our understanding of the nature and psychological process of unity.

Relationship between unity and reconciliation. Participants also reported a relationship between unity and reconciliation (subtheme 2, MU = 12). Overall participants treated unity and reconciliation synonymously and as a process. Participants reported the metaphor again of a “fruit” of unity to indicate that the process dies out if no further effort is given. This also indicates a never-ending process of unity (and reconciliation). Participants also commented that their engagement in the never-ending process is the way of preventing future genocide, therefore it is a good thing.

Participants reported that unity and reconciliation both manifest themselves in actions and actions together, and no unity and reconciliation can occur without them (e.g., meeting, conversing, sharing through action and interaction). Results seem to indicate that unity, or the sense of unity and togetherness are emergent products of their engagements in the acts and interactions of the reconciliation process.

Theme 3-2-4: Reconciliation. This theme emerged from a total of 30 MUs. Throughout the ABPRA, survivors and ex-prisoners reported their experience and views of reconciliation.

Participants' definitions of reconciliation. Similarly to the case of forgiveness, I asked participants, except the Dyad #1, to define reconciliation at the end of 8 sessions.

Participant definitions of reconciliation are presented with direct verbatim quotes below:

Survivors' definitions:

Reconciliation, in our language, to reconcile literally means to put together. So we say that you put together [in contact]. The things, which are separated or broken for example, you can treat the broken bone until it becomes one strong bone again and the arm can work normally. So you put together the scattered things so that they are gathered into one thing. To get healed means that if something has been separated/broken, they become one again. It means that it is healed. It becomes a single thing. If it is separated, it is cut into two parts. But when it becomes one, then it is healed. (dyad #2 Survivor)

Reconciliation is when someone who offended you comes to you and tells you that he wants you to get reconciled. It means that he wants to reconcile and live together with you. Then you get reconciled and forget all that happened. For me, that is how it is. To get reconciled with someone is to get reconciled when he begs you a pardon and you move from that bad thing to good things. That is how I understand it. (dyad #3 Survivor)

The reconciliation is to forgive someone who offended you but who realize how much the offence was bad to you and come to confess for it and ensures you that s/he will never do it again. After s/he comes to tell you that it is necessary for you both to remove all the barriers that separated you and renew the true love that leads to the development different from the unserious one. Reconciliation is good and as far as I am concerned, I wish everyone who has a conflict with

someone to try to solve it so that there would be reconciliation between them. Because it is helpful. (dyad #4 Survivor)

Ex-prisoners' definitions:

Reconciliation is to approach the one you harmed and apologize for your sin. You reconcile with him/her and she/he forgives you. In those conditions you reconcile and that how reconciliation is according to me. (dyad #2 Ex-Prisoner)

The word reconciliation, if we take an example of a body like a leg which was hurt and then treated after and becomes better. That is like a reconciliation. It comes in the human wounded heart and it heals it, as we have been reconciled. It means that if a heart was wounded and then you approach that person whose heart was wounded because of you. And you talk to her, you get reconciled. But if you don't talk to her, there is no unity between you. Talking to her and helping her to do her work. (dyad #3 Ex-Prisoner)

It means that I offended you, we have been reconciled. And in reconciliation there included forgiveness and reconciling because of that offense. It means that you forgive me first and then after the friends come in. We sit together like we do now as a family and they say let us help you to get reconciled. For that, it may be possible that I get punished and then after we buy a drink and we share it and that's how we get reconciled. What I can add is that real forgiveness or real reconciliation is implemented through the actions. It means that if you have been reconciled with someone and ended there on the chair where you got reconciled. If you don't visit him/her after and help him/her to do a work s/he had which may be difficult for her/him, and if s/he calls others to come for a help while you are absent in that work, there is no reconciliation there. (dyad #4 Ex-Prisoner)

Felt sense of reconciliation. Participants reported an experience of a felt sense of reconciliation. This sense overlaps or is interrelated with the sense of unity or

togetherness to vast extent. Survivors reported:

Surv.: I feel very happy in my heart and I feel that I have forgiven him [ex-prisoner] and I feel that I would go to help him. There is a Kinyarwanda saying that the unity is consolidated by reciprocal visits. So you understand that if I don't help him also so that he sees that I also care for him, he would get discouraged and say that he worked for an ungrateful person. (MU-847)

Ex-prisoners reported:

Int.: He [the reconciliator] has been seeing that you are reconciling. As far as you are concerned how do you feel about the action of reconciliation?

Ex-P.: I even feel it in my heart. (MU-390)

Int.: Let him know something that you thought while you were working together today.

Ex-P.: What, I think that, entered in me forever is unity and reconciliation (MU-786)

Int.: Is there anything you thought today when you were working together?

Ex-P.: I always feel L [survivor] in me. I feel that the unity and reconciliation we are working on. (MU-818)

Ex-P.: What keeps growing in my heart is the unity and reconciliation. And it will stay in me and it inserted in me the love for L [survivor]. (MU-1420)

These reported feelings seem to suggest that participants experienced a felt sense of “reconciliation.” Previous review of literature and research failed to reveal this “felt sense” manifestation of reconciliation, which emerges in participants’ experience in their relationship. This finding enhances our understanding of the nature and psychological process of reconciliation. Results show that a psychological reconciliation, or a felt sense of reconciliation is also an emergent product of their engagements in the acts and interactions of a reconciliation process (acts of reconciliation).

Characteristics of psychological reconciliation process. Furthermore, participants reported the following characteristics of reconciliation process:

1. *Reconciliation is a long journey. (MU-333)*
2. *Reconciliation never ends. (MU-920)*
3. *Justice is an essential part proceeding reconciliation. (MU-1041)*
4. *Reconciliation is a multi-stepped process through (a) talking and sharing the truth, (b) making the decision to act and (c) to follow through and check what they talked (was followed through). (MU-691)*
5. *Reconciliation is to erase fear, built trust, and relationship. (MU-806)*
6. *Normal life and development reconvene after achieving the reconciliation. (MU-1630)*
7. *Reconciliation must be felt in heart and be “embodied” – felt sense of reconciliation. (MU-390, 726, 738, 751)*

8. *Each needs to feel the other in order to achieve unity and reconciliation.*
(MU-777, 786, 818)

Supra-theme of participant experience and view of the ABPRA (working together) provides further evidence base to enhance beneficial impact of the ABPRA and reduces its risks. Furthermore, it enhances and expands our theoretical/conceptual understandings of major themes in psychological reconciliation.

Category 4: Relational Themes

This category includes sub-themes and themes that explicates participant reported experiences of their relationship. Themes which explicate the nature of relationships that were born, nurtured and grew from the dyad's engagement in the ABPRA. They also explicate the mechanisms, importance and potency of relational approach to healing and psychosocial reconciliation. This category directly testifies a relational nature of the ABPRA process and their beneficial impacts. Two supra-themes emerged under this category, (a) born relationships, and (b) mechanisms of relationship development. This category of theme provides evidence for a relationship building property of the ABPRA.

Supra-theme 4-1: Born relationships. Born relationships supra-theme superordinates themes that explicate participant reported experience of growth of relationship between the dyads throughout the course of the ABPRA.

Theme 4-1-1: Restoration and a growth of relationship. This theme emerged from a total of 93 MUs. Restoration/growth of relationship refers to a development of a relationship which has a certain positive characteristics. Throughout the ABPRA, survivors and ex-prisoners reported the experience of a growth of different kind of relationships through their joint-labour.

Healing partner. Participants in every dyad reported a growth of *healing*

partnership or healing relationship (subtheme 1, MU = 41).

A survivor reported:

Int.: May it be the truth if he [the reconciliator] says that you help to heal each other when you work together?

Surv.: We are healing together because he [ex-prisoner] needs to work with me so that he can approach me. When he approaches me, he works with me and you understand that each one is important to the other.

Int.: It is because it helps you to chase fear and it helps T [ex-prisoner] to keep offering you services as the fear had disappeared already.

Surv.: Yes.

Int.: You have said that if you had not met T you would never be healed.

Surv.: Yes, I don't think that I would be healed and even if I got healed, I wouldn't be healed as I am healed today.

Int.: Do you think that you need each other so that you help each other to get healed?

Surv.: Yes of course, [we heal] because we meet and have conversations. (MU-1184)

In turn, her ex-prisoner pair reported:

Int.: When you work together you both heal each other. Am I right?

Ex-P.: We are healing each other because we exchange conversations. I ask her and she answers to me, so, you understand that we are cured.

Int.: It means that you help each other to be cured.

Ex-P.: Yes, we partner because what was on her heart is removed when she sees and talks to me and it also removed what was on my heart. And then we are both recovered. (MU-1232)

Many dyads described their relationship to be the one of a *doctor and a patient*. A

survivor reported:

Int.: Do you necessarily need F[ex-prisoner] to cure your wounds?

Surv.: He is necessary. Because if someone wounded found another one who cares for her, her wound gets cured. They keep treating each other. For example, if someone has a wound and doesn't wash it, it does not cure. But because of love, actions, and good conversations, it helps to cure from that sickness.

Int.: Is F like water that washes your wounds?

Surv.: Of course.

Int.: Is there anything you thought about today that you would like to share with him [the reconciliator]?

Surv.: As M [the reconciliator] has just put, he [ex-prisoner] is like water which washes my wounds. I feel that it [what the reconciliator said] is true.

When a patient doesn't get anybody to care for her, she doesn't recover very well. But if she gets some people who care about her, who visit her, she gets healed very soon and she is cured with hope. (MU-1590)

Her ex-prisoner pair reported in turn:

Int.: L [survivor] has said that you are like water which washes her wound, how do you consider yourself to her?

Ex-P.: As she sees my importance to her, I also see it like she does. Even if I committed a crime against her, there is a time that I also felt sad and she also felt very sad. But when we assist each other like that, I feel the wounds are totally healing. It is like that a doctor treats someone wounded.

Int.: Is she like your doctor?

Ex-P.: Yes. That is why I give that example of a person who is wounded. When he/she meets a doctor who cares about him/her and puts medicines to that wound, it is cured.

Int.: You partner to cure each other. (MU-1618)

A dyad reported that they treat each other by:

- (a) sharing and finishing sorrow
- (b) developing mutual trust via consistent engagements in joint-work to overcome fear and suspicion, and
- (c) providing opportunity for the ex-prisoners to atone, thus he can cleanse his heart:

Int.: L [survivor] has assured that she gets healed when she is with you.

Ex-P.: She also gets healed. You understand that we both share the same feeling. Me also, I get healed. I don't fear anymore. If the people meet and sit together and talk or work together like that, the sorrow finishes and the fear disappears on both sides, and the hearts are cleaned. (MU-636)

All dyads reported that their sharing of the work and conversations during the work is healing and that they share the healing journey together. All dyads also reported that they need each other to heal and their pair is an essential part of their healing process. All dyads reported that they would not have healed completely had they never met up again.

In one dyad, a survivor reported that her ex-prisoner was her ‘*worst poison and the best antidote*’ at the same time. The dyad reports an example of this:

Int.: Is it easy for you to talk about hard subjects?

Surv.: No, it is difficult. But we bear with it because we don’t wish to stay in sorrow anymore.

Int.: You are in a good relationship. You can remember either bad or good memories.

Surv.: Yes, there are things that we can think which remind us of bad memories. But we also fight those bad things by using good things.

Int.: It means that you assist each other?

Surv.: Yes.

Ex-P.: What can cause someone to forget bad things is like this moment we meet and work together. This one [survivor] forgets those bad things that I did to her. You understand, I come to support her because bad thing gets forgotten when you see someone who offended you come near you to support you instead of fleeing away from you.

Int.: He [reconciliator] is saying that when you are with the person who harmed you, that may remind you bad things but also that person’s good doings can be solution to those flashbacks that you would be having. Is it true?

Surv.: Yes, it is true. When you fight bad things by using good things. They disappear. (MU-549)

0+ relationship. Participants also reported the growth of 0+ relationships (subtheme 2, MU = 27). 0+ relationship refers to a growth of a relationship beyond mending the minuses previously held in their relationship. It reflects the development of a type of relationship perceived by the participants as special which goes beyond restoration of their past negative images (-) to 0 (all scars were paid off) to 0+ (relationship beyond mending and pay-off). Examples of such 0+ relationships were reported by the participants throughout sessions and will be presented in the following section.

Participant reported that they are building a good relationship that is caring and loving. A survivor called her ex-prisoner, “just another citizen of mine.”:

Int.: When you started your relation, there was a use of names such as a survivor or a released prisoner. Now you have reconciled. He [ex-prisoner] can enter into your house and you can enter in his. You can work together and your children can visit each other. How can you name that relation?

Surv.: He is a citizen friend who helps me in business. (MU-682)

One dyad called themselves like a wife and husband working together:

Int.: When L [survivor] went to breastfeed her children, you stayed working alone. Is there anything you remember that you thought about yourself?

Ex-P.: No. Didn't I have children also? When a baby cries and if my wife goes to breastfeed it while we were cultivating together, do I have a problem? I take her as my wife when she goes to breastfeed a child. It is all the same. (MU-1724).

Another ex-prisoner reported that his survivor pair is like his sister and wife to whom he should be providing unconditional services:

Int.: We say that your relationship and the way you work together is like a brother and a sister. Is it like that for you also?

Ex-P.: Yes.

Int.: So, how do you consider it? Is it like a brother and sister or they are just good old friends?

Ex-P.: I cannot say that my relationship with L is like normal friendship. According to me, she is like my sister. (MU-1764)

All participants considered their relationship to be special. All survivors reported that their ex-prisoner pairs are special and different from others they have forgiven before, as their pairs have committed to show their remorse in atoning action. A survivor reported:

Int.: They all participated in killing your family members. Do you see any difference?

Surv.: Yes. I partner with T [ex-prisoner] and he is different from those [who killed the survivor's family] who are in different areas.

Int.: How is he different from them?

Surv.: What makes him different from them is that they came and asked me forgiveness and I really forgave them. Until now, there is no problem between us because my forgiveness to them came from my conscience. But you understand that this one comes to help me in different activities like this. So, he is different from those who are far away from me, who don't

like to approach me. If we share the conversations, he approaches me and that helps my heart to feel relaxed. So he is different from those ones.

Int.: Can you tell him another difference between him and them?

Surv.: There is a difference. I have told you that those people after they were released, they came to me and asked me forgiveness and I forgave them. But afterwards, they didn't ask me if I had any work to do so that they help me. But this one knows my problems and he is always near me. That shows me the difference between him and them.

Int.: So, how is your relationship with those offenders who don't help you with anything different from the relationship you have with T?

Surv.: There is a big gap. They are not the same.

Int.: How is there a big gap?

Surv.: These actions we do and how we are always together. I feel that he is the one to help me to solve my problems. So, you understand that there is a big gap and they are different. (MU-1332)

In turn, her ex-prisoner pair reported that the survivor pair is special and different from others he harmed:

Ex-P.: So, you understand that, because I always meet L [survivor] and we greet each other, my relationship with her is higher than the relationship with the other one [he harmed].

Int.: Is it because of this program of offering services to L that keeps your relationship increase rapidly?

Ex-P.: This program of offering services to her helps in the increase of our relationship. (MU-1362)

Survivor in another dyad reported:

Surv.: I feel very happy. I have forgiven many people. But there are those whom I forgave, but since the day I forgave them, I have never seen them again. And even when we meet, it ends in saying hello and that's all. We all pass by each other. But it is not like that for F [ex-prisoner]. He from time to time tries to be near me. (MU-1656)

Int.: Is there any difference you see in your relationship with F and your relationship with others?

Surv.: This one is very strong between F and that one [the ex-prisoner she paired to form the dyad #1] who tried to help me in what he could do [but became ill due to the HIV]. But F is on the first level in actions and in conversations. We are always together in each step I make. We are together in most of the time.

Int.: It means that your relationship with F is stronger and closer.

Surv.: Of course. To partner in all actions, we have set aside everything that happened and we are starving for development. (MU-1707)

Ex-prisoner, in turn, reported:

Int.: Now you have a good and strong relationship with L [survivor], is it because you work together?

Ex-P.: Yes, because we meet and we talk and we exchange ideas. She has seen my bad manners. She has seen my goodness. And she has also seen what caused it. Now she has seen everything.

Int.: So, is your relation with her different from the others you have with those survivors who resettled [in other places]?

Ex-P.: It is different because we are always together and she sees how I live and I see how she lives (MU-1731).

Rehumanization. Two dyads reported the rehumanization of ex-prisoners

(subtheme 3, MU = 14). Rehumanization is defined here as ex-prisoners' felt sense of being a human, and humane again.

An ex-prisoner reported the feeling as if he were an *inyamaswa* before the engagements in the ABPRA. *Inyamaswa* is roughly translated into a *wild beast*, or a *mad dog*. Urujeni (Personal communication, 2012) explained that there exists a Rwandan value (quality) of *ubuntu* expressed to others in the form of behaving with humanity, being kind and merciful. She further elaborates that, in Rwanda, it is customary for a person to exhort or appeal to another, *gira ubuntu*, meaning consideration to be humane before anything else. The person, who doesn't have *ubuntu* towards others, is considered to be an animal (*igikoko*, or *inyamaswa*).

The ex-prisoner expressed:

Int.: Last week he asked you how it would have been if you two hadn't met.

Ex-P.: If we hadn't met, don't you think that I would still be an *inyamaswa*!

Int.: What do you mean by *inyamaswa*?

Ex-P.: A beast that is a bad creature and fears people.

Int.: So, did meeting L [survivor] bring back humanity in you?

Ex-P.: It chased the beast spirit and it brought back the love and happiness.

Int.: So, was it a very bad beast spirit?

Ex-P.: There was a very bad spirit in me.

Int.: He wants to ask you a curious question. What do you mean by a beast?

Ex-P.: A beast is a creature that walks at night so that the people don't see it. The animal walks at night because they fear people so that they don't harm them during the day. Me too that is how I was during that time [before the ABPRA].

Int.: So, was it caused by the fact that you felt guilty and ashamed?

Ex-P.: Yes, it is because I felt guilty and ashamed.

Int.: As you met L and she forgave you, it brought back humanity and happiness in you.

Ex-P.: Yes, that is what it did. (MU-1106, 1107)

As the session progresses, the ex-prisoner began to experience the feeling of being a human again by re-earning the *ubuntu* (along with the pride, and *agaciro*/dignity in theme 2-4-2) through his atoning and providing services for her.

By the fifth session, the ex-prisoner stated:

Int.: You have come a long way. You were being transformed from a beast into a human being as you have said it.

Ex-P.: I really was transformed from a beast into a human being, and now I am a human being. Because L [survivor] has forgiven me, I was removed from shame and fear. And when I meet other people, I feel that I am forgiven. (MU-1239)

By the 8th session he reported:

Int.: You have told us that before you met L you were like a beast, but now have come back in humanity?

Ex-P.: I have come back in humanity. I am no longer like a beast. I am alive. My heart is clean and I have a loving heart for her. (MU-1425, 1426)

Rehumanization of the ex-prisoner was also observed and 'felt' by his survivor pair.

Int.: It may be possible that in the future, there will be no longer a "genocide survivor or a perpetrator".

Surv.: If you observe well, they will disappear and every one will live like the other. I see that it will reach its end. It won't continue like that because I see the steps being made. You can notice that what existed before will completely disappear.

Int.: Do you think the title of a "genocide survivor" will disappear?

Surv.: What causes me to say that is this. Before genocide survivors met with genocide perpetrators released from the prison, survivors wouldn't understand that perpetrators were humans like other human beings. But

today, I look at the steps we already made, I can see the released person as you would see yourself. That's why I say that there will always be improvements until all things become the same until it disappears.

Int.: T [ex-prisoner] told us that you transformed him from a beast into a human being.

Surv.: Surely. (MU-1198, 1199, 1201)

The survivor experienced the emergence of humanity and fading of “perpetrator-ness” in the ex-prisoner pair as the collaborative work progressed. The term genocide perpetrator started to fade as they see the humanity in each other through sharing of work and conversations. It resulted in a growth of confidence in her that improvements in their relationship will continue to progress beyond rehumanization of the ex-prisoner till it erases their perceptions of “survivor and ex-prisoner.”

Restoration/reclaim of old relationship. A dyad also reported that they have brought back and restored their ‘good old’ relationship (subtheme 4, MU = 11). The dyad grew up together and “the ex-prisoner even danced for her wedding.” However, during the genocide, he murdered her family and deeply scarred their friendship. They have been trying to rebuild their relationship since and the regular and consistent engagements in the ABPRA accelerated their restoration and helped reclaim their old friendship. The dyad reported that the ABPRA facilitated the emergence of their conversations about their good old times, which reminded both of them of how they used to be good friends:

Surv.: Of course. Nowadays we don't hide our problems to each other. We share them so that if there are any solutions or suggestions, we can find them together. Or it can help both of us to understand the problems in our hearts and feel like we are helping each other.

Int.: It gives the image of how you were when you were still young. Is that true?

Surv.: It is our wish. If God helps us we can be like that again. We can forget and ignore all that happened and orient us toward good upcoming things.

Int.: It means that you are trying to bring back the relationship that you had before.

Surv.: We have already started and I think that we have made many steps. Because if someone knows your problems and try to help you to find

solutions, he has already entered in your life and that means that he doesn't hate you.

Int.: It means that you started to restore your past relationship.

Surv.: Yes. (MU-1596)

They continued to build reconnection through working together and gradually restored their old relationship. Sharing their personal problems with each other and giving and receiving advice with each other seem to have facilitated the restoration of their old friendship and generated their desire to bring back many activities they used to enjoy together (e.g., inviting each other's family together and sharing food – which occurred during the ABPRA).

Supra-theme 4-2: Mechanisms of relationship development. Mechanisms of relationship development supra-theme superordinates themes that explicate participant reported dynamics through which they have developed their relationships. This supra-theme also provides evidence for the relational nature of the ABPRA process and their beneficial impacts on psychological reconciliation process.

Theme 4-1-2: Receiving. This theme emerged from a total of 22 MUs.

Throughout the ABPRA, all survivors not only received services from the ex-prisoners, but also reported the felt sense of receiving from the ex-prisoners.

At an initial session, a survivor reported her felt sense of receiving his genuine service through an experience of a pleasant surprise, his show-up:

Surv.: What I thought the most that made me happy is to see how we were able to work together. He [ex-prisoner] said that he came back to work in order to help someone whom he did evil, on something important and at the same place where he committed the sin. I saw it as God's miracle.

Int.: Were you surprised?

Surv.: It made me happy a lot because we used to work together in cooperatives [in groups] everywhere. But I never saw him helping me only. He used to come to work for me when I had money. I used to call him to come to work for me then I paid money to him. But because now he decided to come and

*help me out on his own conscience, I thought that it was a huge miracle.
(MU-14, 15)*

At her second day, she reported feeling her sense of receiving benefits for her personal development:

Int.: This is the second day that S came to work for you. How was it?

Surv.: It was very nice and it made me happy. I am making steps in development and these activities are very important to me.

Int.: So, his work is helping you?

Surv.: Yes. Now I am very happy. (MU-138)

This act of receiving and the resulting felt sense of receiving in survivors' serves a testimonial of the spirit of the ABPRA in which survivors must receive (instead of *forgiving*) and must develop the sense that "they are receiving," in order for a change to occur.

Theme 4-1-3: Sharing. This theme emerged from a total of 69 MUs. Results seem to indicate that the ABPRA fosters sharing or a sense of sharedness among participants, which contributed to the development of their relationship. Throughout the ABPRA, survivors and ex-prisoners reported that they share similar feelings and thoughts with each other (subtheme 1, MU = 26) such as:

- (a) happiness and joy of being able to work together
- (b) pride and hope for their future and future work together
- (c) sense of commitment to working with each other, and
- (d) fatigue and hunger from their labour.

They have also shared unpleasant feelings and thoughts such as:

- (a) sorrow
- (b) grieving and mourning the past and their losses, and
- (c) disbelief of previous government that led them to the genocide.

They have also reported shared sense of accomplishments, progress, and benefits (subtheme 2, MU = 15). Both survivors and ex-prisoners celebrated:

- (a) the progress they have made in developing the strong relationship through their joint labour
- (b) the progress in terms of agricultural productivity, and
- (c) personal development.

The dyads also shared the sense of “problem is over.”

Participants also reported sharing other thing such as:

- (a) healing process (subtheme 3, MU = 6)
- (b) remembrance (subtheme 4, MU = 6) of the past
- (c) journey of unity, reconciliation, forgiveness (subtheme 5, MU = 6), and
- (d) desire to continue working together (subtheme 7, MU = 4).

Effects and functions of sharing (subtheme 6, MU = 6) were also reported by the pairs, which include that:

- (a) sharing facilitates healing,
- (b) sharing develops relationships through sharing of conversation and the resulting increase in familiarity with each other.

For example, an ex-prisoner reported the beneficial impact of sharing problems with each other:

Int.: It means that if you don't talk about it [problem], it cannot be easy for you to keep it in your heart. Am I correct?

Ex-P.: Yes, but as we are on the same action now or as we are doing the same work, there is no problem. The problem occurs when you keep things in your heart when you don't tell them to the person concerned. (MU-1543)

A survivor reported the importance of sharing conversations in increasing familiarity with each other and developing intimacy:

Int.: What is the important thing in this program which helps you to increase your relationship with F [ex-prisoner]?

Surv.: The most important things are the conversations and the actions we do together. They help one to feel more familiar with the other than meeting on the way to somewhere. It is different. (MU-1652)

Her ex-prisoner pair, in turn, reported:

Ex-P.: Normally, you cannot have a relation with somebody you didn't talk to. But when you sit together as we are now and talk more about a problem in its details and finding answers together. That is the better. (MU-1736)

Theme 4-1-4: Counselling. This theme emerged from a total of 32 MUs.

Throughout the ABPRA, survivors and ex-prisoners shared each other's personal problems and sought advice from their pairs. All but one dyad reported that either the ex-prisoner or the survivor shared their personal problem with their reconciliation pair, sought advice, and received them.

Results seem to indicate that relational mechanisms and dynamics of receiving, sharing and developing the shared senses have all contributed to the development of their relationships. These revealed relational mechanisms and dynamics not only are consistent with the contact conditions that facilitates positive attitude changes, but also informs us of more descriptive characteristics of each contact condition (discussed later).

Category 5: Psychosocial Themes

This category includes sub-themes and themes that explicated how the ABPRA (dyad's engagements in working together) impacted their psychosocial communities such as their family, neighbours, community, society and the world. These themes highlight the *psychosocial* (emphasis added) nature of the ABPRA. Two themes of (a) psychosocial impacts, and (b) testifying and witnessing emerged under this category with no supra-theme. This category of theme provides evidence for a psychosocial development property of the ABPRA.

Theme 5-1-1: Psychosocial impact. This theme emerged from a total of 53 MUs. Throughout the ABPRA, dyads' regular and consistent engagements in the ABPRA brought beneficial impact on:

- (a) their community (subtheme 1, MU = 19)
- (b) their family (subtheme 2, MU = 14)
- (c) world peace (subtheme 3, MU = 10)
- (d) their culture and politics (subtheme 4, MU = 6), and
- (e) their spirituality (subtheme 5, MU = 4).

Impact on their community. Participants reported how their working together impacted their community positively. Survivors reported their showing a role model for their community:

Surv.: Yes, I was very happy to work with him. Even the people, who were passing by, were very surprised. They stopped and observed us. They saw that it was incredible and a miracle to us. (MU-48)

Int.: So, is your relationship becoming stronger?

Surv.: It becomes stronger that the people can notice it and ask questions themselves about it. You heard them asking us how much we will be paid when they found us working together. It is a mystery to them. They were

thinking that we are working for money and when I answered them that it is ordinal thing for we don't do this to earn money.

Int.: Is there any importance you see in this?

Surv.: There is a great importance.

Int.: Is there any importance you see in your relationship?

Surv.: It is there and it is our pride to see people, who didn't think that we would live together like we are together, watching us in partnership in everything.

Int.: How do you feel when you show it every week?

Surv.: I feel that there is a great step in our love. (MU-1706)

Ex-prisoners reported the benefit of their work for their community:

Int.: He [the reconciliation] is saying that in his little Kinyarwanda, he heard you saying reconciliation through the actions and Gacaca. What were you talking about that?

Ex-P.: We were saying that 'working is better than saying.' We talked about what we achieved through the unity and reconciliation in actions. It is all about activities not words.

Int.: He is asking if the activities are better way to reconciliation.

Ex-P.: Saying that you were reconciled only when you meet, and without exchanging services... (pause in thinking). The actions are the proof that a survivor has been reconciled with a released one.

Int.: How is it when one says 'we have been reconciled' in words only?

Ex-P.: In words, I can say that we have been reconciled. But after I ask myself where the proof is. But when we work together, that shows the reconciliation.

Int.: It means that you both appreciate unity and reconciliation in actions.

Ex-P.: Sure. Me, L [survivor] and others in this cell! It [action] is what we appreciate. (MU-1083)

Impact on their family. Among the most they have impacted, participants were most pleased that their work showed a role model for reconciliation to their family and children, the “future of Rwanda.”

A survivor reported how their work influenced their children's view of them:

Int.: You have forgiven all of them [who harmed your family] in general but there is a relationship and love between you and F [ex-prisoner].

Surv.: Yes, I no longer hesitate with F, his family, his wife and all his children. I can go to visit his home. And if I don't find him there, I can tell to his children to give me something and the children are going to give it to me without hesitating. And if there is something to drink such as sorghum beer, they can serve me because they see how much I share with their parents without any problem. (MU-1668)

An ex-prisoner reported their work contributing to the future of his children:

Ex-P.: If you observe those actions that I do, except that today we did an easy work, but like those of cultivating you see that there is a development. It means that I help her [survivor] to develop and I develop also because I am searching for my better future and a good way. My children will walk without any problem now I am preparing a good way for them and help to develop. That is how I understand it. (MU-282)

Another ex-prisoner reported their work contributing to the development of relationship between their families:

Int.: So, it gave you the chance to find yourself in the activities, which you work together with L [survivor]?

Ex-P.: It gave me a chance. Unfortunately you came when my child had left her. Even our children visit each other. It gave a chance in a way that I meet L [survivor] with her children and her husband and I feel free and mine [his children and wife] come here too.

Int.: So it is not only you with L. Your families also visit each other.

Ex-P.: Yes, they meet. They visit each other and they converse.

Int.: Is it this program that helped your families to meet?

Ex-P.: Yes, this program has helped me to meet her and that allowed our families to meet. For example my wife is at Batima [name of a local market]. I think you [the reconciliator] have seen her. If L wants to let me know something, she tells it to her [his wife] and when I ask my wife if she has met L, she tells me that she saw her, and that she came to greet her. But if the program hadn't been implemented, she [survivor] shouldn't have known her [his wife] and greet her. Because even me [before], I didn't know the person whom I offended too, but knowing her [survivor] allowed my family not to be afraid of her. (MU-813)

Contribution to the world peace. Participants also reported their desire to contribute to the world and world peace through their actions together. All participants expressed their wish that the video recordings of their working together be shown to provide visual evidence of unity and reconciliation taking place in Rwanda:

A survivor expressed her wish for the reconciliator to be a peace commissioner:

Surv.: Another thing that I can teach him [the reconciliator] is that whenever. For example, like now he is doing a research. There are some people who come and do their research on unity and reconciliation and find good

results. But after, we hear critics on radios here and there saying that there is no unity, there is no unity and reconciliation in Rwanda. As for him [the reconciliator] who came to the field, he would explain to them and show them the reality. Because he [the reconciliator] has seen and experienced it. He should be a witness of what he saw, a peace commissioner, different from those who abuse us. (MU-778)

On another occasion, she also expressed her faith for the reconciliator to be people's conflict mediator:

Surv.: What came in is that I asked myself how will the results of our research be? Will it help us to expand the unity and reconciliation that Rwanda has achieved and convince those who are [in the world] against Rwanda denying that there is unity and reconciliation. Will they know it well?

Int.: He cannot sell this video of what you are doing. But is there any problem if he [the reconciliator] shows it to other people in order to teach them?

Surv.: Me, I think that it is better to let them [people in the world] know it because there are many people who are against our country, instead of understanding that we are in the country in which unity and reconciliation exists. We have been reconciled. It would also be a testimony for other people in other countries where there are conflicts. I think that with his research, he [the reconciliator] will one day be the people's mediator. While he [the reconciliator] talks to them they can see our testimonies, leave their conflicts and become reconciled.

Int.: Thank you for all the lessons you gave him [the reconciliator] and he will try to teach them to others.

Surv.: Ok, I am grateful for that too. (MU-859)

Ex-prisoners also reported their wishes for the reconciliator to spread the teaching and learning to "other parts of the world." For example, an ex-prisoner reported:

Int.: Is there anything you can teach him [the reconciliator] today?

Ex-P.: My lesson is always the same. It is the lesson of reconciliation through actions. And I allow him to tell to the people he meets in all the countries he arrives, that he comes from Rwanda, the country that has good governance and development, that has a commission of unity and reconciliation, where the people who had problems each other, are reconciled though the actions. He should let the whole world know all of this way. That's the lesson I always give him. (MU-921)

All participants expressed their wish to extend the ABPRA to reach people in the other parts of the world who are in their conflict to develop reconciliation and peace.

Theme 5-1-2: Testifying and Witnessing. This theme emerged from a total of 57 MUs. Throughout the ABPRA, all participants reported that their working together is the testimony to the community that they are achieving the forgiveness, unity and reconciliation. In fact, throughout the course of sessions, the dyads' consistent engagements in joint labour displayed the proof of forgiveness, unity and reconciliation in action/interaction to their community. Numerous villagers walked by and witnessed the dyads in working together and could not believe such act of reconciliation was ever possible. Dyads' working together served as a silent yet powerful visible testimony of their proof that forgiveness, unity and reconciliation are 'in process.' Countless villagers witnessed the dyads' working together. All participants reported that they felt happy, joy, enjoyment, healing, proud and empowered to testify and being witness by the community.

A survivors reported how their working together produces a "fruit" people can see and helps heal the community:

Int.: The people think and talk about you when they see you working. How do you take that?

Surv.: Me, it makes me happy to see that people see us growing good fruits in our country. This helps the Rwandan society to heal, because one can grow fruit and can heal many people to further liberate themselves in their hearts. (MU-326)

An ex-prisoner reported that he heals through testifying and being witnessed by the community:

Int.: L [survivor] has said that she gets her wounds healed when you work for her. But how does it help on your side?

Ex-P.: The first thing is that when I am on her field I get healed. Because there are some people who cannot believe that I can arrive on her field due to the problem I had with her. And they ask themselves how I am able to work for her. But me, I know the reason why I work for her which is not

known by others. So, it is that reason we [him and the survivor pair] both know, that makes me happy.

Int.: What is the reason unknown by others that you know...?

*Ex-P.: The reason is that I have offended her. And those who heard how I committed a crime against her..., they cannot understand how I can take a hoe and go to cultivate for her. But me when I am with her sharing [many things], I enjoy, the others who don't understand what is all about.
...(omitted)*

Ex-P.: The reason why I said it is that during Gacaca, there were many people who heard the explanations I was giving while confessing. And then when they see me with her, they remember my explanations and they cannot understand how we can be together.

Int.: Are you healed by the fact that people see you working with her? Does it make you happy?

Ex-P.: Yes.

Int.: How does it heal you?

Ex-P.: The reason why it heals me is that I enjoy working for her and that makes me feel that the wound I had before is no longer there. (MU-1612)

Participants also developed their further desire to testify their progress and proof of forgiving and being forgiven, unity and reconciliation ‘in actions’ and ‘interactions’ to their community, society and the world.

This theme reveals the mechanisms (testifying and witnessing) that make the ABPRA a psychosocial reconciliation approach, which impacts individual, dyads, their community, society, and the world. Psychosocial impacts reported above, facilitated by the means of testifying and witnessing provides evidence for the psychosocial property of the ABPRA.

Limitations of the Data Analyses

The ABPRA was developed based on the therapeutic principles of Japanese Morita therapy and on contact conditions empirically found to facilitate positive attitude change. Therefore, the resulting beneficial impacts of the ABPRA were analyzed by employing the optimal and cogent theoretical frameworks of Morita therapy, contact and attitude theories. However, characteristics of the source of data (post-session, semi-

structured interview, and IPR) and of the method of data analysis (TCA) are such inductive that it does not require inherent theoretical assumptions or expectations, including the theoretical frameworks employed in these analyses. Therefore it is possible to analyze the same set of data by employing other theoretical frameworks, constructs, and/or empirical frameworks. The present research offers a way of making sense of the data obtained based on the prior theoretical expectations and rationale set by myself.

This study was situated in the social-constructionist epistemological framework, thus my participation in the creation, analysis, and interpretation of the data was assumed, expected, and communicated. Under this epistemological framework, it was expected and assumed that I, myself, am the most context-sensitive person to conduct the TCA, aside from the possibility of conducting it together with the Rwandan participants. The present research also incorporated the cross-validation of the initial coding of the transcripts conducted by myself with the three objective and impartial researchers who are trained in and familiar with the TCA method. While rigorous procedures were applied during the analysis, including the objective cross-validation procedure, it is assumed, due to its epistemological nature, that the data analysis was also influenced by my theoretical orientations as well as own experience of implementing the ABPRA as the reconciliator. It is possible to have others conduct another set of TCA by applying more impartial coding systems, which may lead to an emergence of other categories.

Finally, the dyads participated in this study were all consist of a female survivor and a male ex-prisoner. It is possible to explore further potential gender differences in the effectiveness of the ABPRA.

Chapter 10: Discussions and Implications

Emerged Properties of the ABPRA

Table 7 summarizes the categories, supra-themes, themes, and subthemes emerged from the TCA. Five categories of themes emerged directly serve as an evidence base for the unique properties of the ABPRA. The collected data, analyzed in terms of thematic contents, evidenced that the ABPRA had the following five beneficial properties. Each of the properties of the ABPRA was further divided into 19 different types of beneficial effects it brought to the participants over the course of eight sessions.

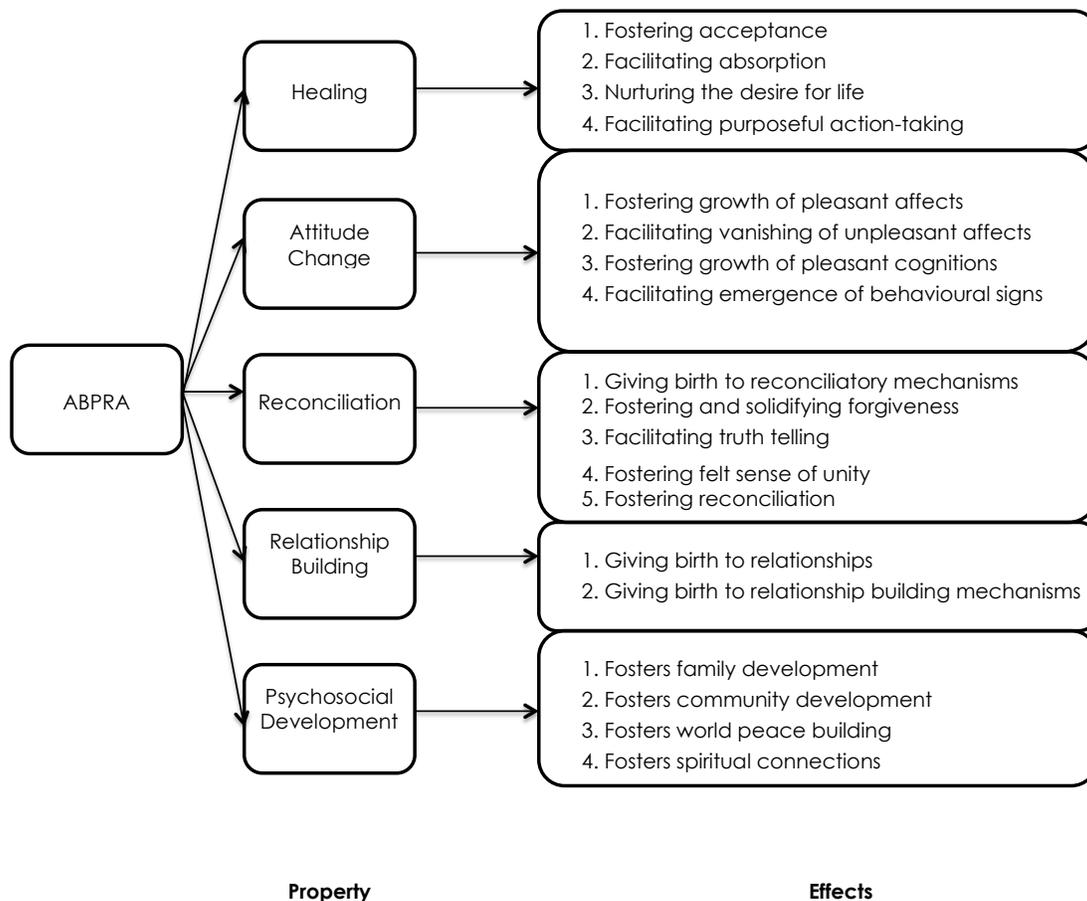
1. Healing property
 - a. The ABPRA fosters acceptance.
 - b. The ABPRA facilitates absorption.
 - c. The ABPRA nurtures the desire for life.
 - d. The ABPRA facilitates purposeful action taking.
2. Positive attitude change property
 - a. The ABPRA fosters growth of pleasant affects.
 - b. The ABPRA facilitates vanishing of unpleasant affects.
 - c. The ABPRA facilitates growth of pleasant cognitions.
 - d. The ABPRA facilitates emergence of behavioural signs of attitude change.
3. Reconciliatory property
 - a. Beneficial mechanisms of the ABPRA.
 - b. The ABPRA fosters and solidifies forgiveness.
 - c. The ABPRA facilitates truth telling.
 - d. The ABPRA fosters felt sense of unity.
 - e. The ABPRA fosters reconciliation.
4. Relationship building property
 - a. The ABPRA gives birth to strong and special relationships.
 - b. Relationship building mechanisms of the ABPRA.
5. Psychosocial development property
 - a. The ABPRA fosters family development.

- b. The ABPRA fosters community development.
- c. The ABPRA fosters world development.
- d. The ABPRA fosters spiritual development.

Diagram 3 depicts beneficial properties and/or effects of the ABPRA.

Diagram 3

Properties and Effects of the ABPRA



Healing properties of the ABPRA. Current evidence seems to suggest that the ABPRA facilitates healing in its participants. Some factors facilitative of this effect have become clear. It was indicated by the participants that the engagements in tasks (e.g., farming) and in tasks together (e.g., naturally occurring normal conversations) seemed to have facilitated the “flow” (Csikszentmihalyi, 2002) or the absorption (Watkins, 2008) in

participants' mental state. The state seemed to have prevented them from ruminating further on previous images of their pair and/or traumatic memories. This phenomenon experienced is consistent with the mechanism of forming a vicious cycle of subjective aggravation and maintenance of symptoms (*akujiyunkan*) through attentional fixations (*chyii no kochyaku*) in Morita therapy (Nakamura et al., 2010, Minami, 2011). As the participants focus more on their tasks, their attention was decentralized from rumination to their tasks at hand. While the Guidelines of Morita therapy (Nakamura et al., 2010) does not explicitly report this absorption effect with evidence, it is an integral part of the process of change in Morita therapy, particularly in Phase 2 (light work phase) and Phase 3 (heavy work phase) of residential Morita therapy (Ishiyama, 1989; Morita 1926, 1928). Therapeutic effects of absorption in tasks have also been acknowledged, employed, and validated in some of the new forms of evidence-based CBTs (e.g., Rumination-focused CBT, Watkins, 2000, 2007, 2011; Mindfulness-based interventions, Segal, Teasdale & Williams, 2002). The results of the current study seem to indicate that the component of the absorption is explicitly incorporated as an integral part of the conceptual modeling of the process of change in Morita therapy.

Consistent with the Guidelines (Nakamura et al., 2010), engagements in the ABPRA seem to have also fostered acceptance in participants, nurtured the desire for life, and fostered the emergence of purposeful action taking, which have all contributed to the experience of healing in participants.

However, it revealed a significant dimension to healing which was inexplicit in the previous literature on Morita therapy: healing occurs in a relationship. The importance of a relational approach to healing in Morita therapy has been explicitly

emphasized by a few practitioners (Ishiyama, 1990a, 1990b; Ishiyama & Azuma, 2004; Ishiyama & Minami, 2009). The present study and the ABPRA provide further evidence to support that the therapeutic relationship (between the dyads and with the reconciliator) is an essential 'container,' metaphorically speaking, and the principal 'source' of change and healing. Therefore, nature and process dynamics of therapeutic relationship (Egan & Schroeder, 2009; Hubble, Duncan, & Miller, 1999; Jordan, 2010) must be fully considered and integrated as a part of healing process in the ABPRA and in Morita therapy.

Attitude change property of the ABPRA. Consistent with previous literature reviews on attitude (Minami, 2008a, b, 2009; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), the ABPRA facilitated the positive attitude changes in participants. Changes in their attitude towards each other were observed through their changes in the following three areas: (a) affect through fostering new and repeated experience of pleasant affects, vanishing unpleasant affects, (b) cognition through growth of pleasant cognitions, and (c) behaviour through participant reported behavioural signs of attitude change in their partner. The current research evidence not only supports the previous meta-analysis of contact conditions, which were found to foster a positive attitude change (Pettigrew, 1998, Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) but also adds invaluable, concrete, descriptive, and process information to explicate each condition. The meta-analysis by Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) revealed six contact conditions empirically found to facilitate positive attitude change, and the current evidence adds further descriptions of how each condition occurred and experienced by the participants in the context of the ABPRA.

Principle One: Ensuring opportunity for contact. Current evidence suggests that regular, consistent, and frequent encounters seemed to have provided the sheer opportunities for the survivors and ex-prisoners to meet and engage in purposeful actions (e.g., farming) and interactions together (e.g., “normal” conversations). The encounters provided the ‘container’ and ‘dynamics’ where change became possible and emerged.

Principle Two: Ensuring equal status. The current study treated the survivors and ex-prisoners as Rwandans and as ‘teachers’ of reconciliation to myself. It was ensured that the works of the ABPRA are mutually beneficial and mutually engaging, meaning that both parties engage in the same labour together. Ensuring this equality precipitated cooperation among the dyads, and facilitated other beneficial dynamics of change (e.g., sharing resources, exchanging ideas, advice, future interaction plans etc.).

Principle Three: Ensuring superordinate goals appealing to both parties. While survivors and ex-prisoners owned a few distinct self-interests (e.g., atoning for ex-prisoners, and receiving for the survivors), they developed and shared many goals together, such as achieving reconciliation, further solidifying forgiveness, shared healing, healing partnership, removing fear for each other, humanizing and being rehumanized, testifying together to their family, community, and the world, and finally a shared sense of contributing to peace building in Rwanda. Current evidence revealed numerous other superordinate goals that they shared which could only be achieved together in their relationship.

Principle Four: Ensuring intimate contact. We did not need to ensure this condition. Rather, the intimacy grew as the dyads engage in the ABPRA and as sessions progress. The dyads developed their intimacy on their own through voluntary exchange

of “normal conversations,” voluntary self-disclosure, sharing personal problems, and receiving advice from each other. This condition in this study was nurtured, not ensured. Furthermore, current evidence indicates the nature and types of intimate relationship developed. Participants described them as “healing partnership,” family-like relationship, intimate relationships with felt sense of affection for each other.

Principle Five: Ensuring institutional support. This condition was supported by PFR and the political climate of Rwanda at the time of conducting this research. PFR has been promoting reconciliation for the past 18+ years and their effort ‘set the tone’ among the villagers. Rwandan government also prioritizes and promotes unity and reconciliation policy and thus has provided an optimal environment to meet this contact condition. Participants also reported their appreciation for the good governance of their current government.

Principle Six: Ensuring prototype view of the encountered. This condition was ensured from the beginning via inclusion and exclusion criteria. The participants must be either the survivor or ex-prisoner of the 1994 Rwandan genocide. Furthermore, all survivors reported that their ex-prisoner pair as one of the others who killed their family members. They have also reported by the end of the ABPRA sessions that their pair is different from the others.

The present research not only provided another piece of empirical support for the contact conditions and theory but also added useful descriptive process information of how each contact condition can look like and be achieved in concrete examples. The present research also reveals how each condition was experienced by the participants. It expands the theory by offering an example of concrete case study. This information is

useful in designing further program and/or enhancing the ABPRA. For example, an enhanced version of the ABPRA (EVABPRA) can be developed by designing in pre-ABPRA phases, specifically designed to foster each contract condition through engagements in some form of activities and collaborative activities. Then the standard delivery of (engagements in) the ABPRA can be done over the growth of all contract condition to enhance the potency of the ABPRA. EVABPRA can also be more macro and socio-political level of intervention as it involves more macro-component (e.g., institutional/political support).

Reconciliatory property of the ABPRA. This property of the ABPRA was discovered out of the emerged category of themes explicating participants' experience of major themes in reconciliation. Previously, we had close to no knowledge of the process of psychological reconciliation. The ABPRA offers a model of psychosocial reconciliation. Through participants' lived experience, it revealed the nature of the process of a psychological reconciliation.

Current evidence provides further support for the distinction between the decisional and felt-sense of (emotional) forgiveness (Worthington, 2005, 2006; Worthington, Witvliet, Pietrini, & Miller, 2007), suggesting further that the ABPRA (a) solidifies decisional forgiveness through ex-prisoner's commitment and engagement in the act of atoning and survivors receiving and witnessing of them, which in turn (b) fosters survivor experience of a felt sense of forgiveness.

The ABPRA also fosters 'felt sense' of unity and reconciliation. Current evidence revealed and seems to suggest that there is a slight difference in nuance between the felt sense of unity and of reconciliation. Closer examinations of data revealed that the felt

sense of unity refers to their sense of “togetherness,” and that reconciliation is about *being together again in actions*. For the participants, the felt sense of unity and reconciliation meant that they are “back together and living a normal life together again.” These felt senses of forgiveness, unity and reconciliation were fostered and nurtured through regular, consistent, frequent encounters and engagements in the ABPRA. Based on our evidence, the current study proposes that a psychological reconciliation can be defined as *a process of being back together and living a normal life together again that nurtures shared felt senses of forgiveness and being forgiven, togetherness, and together again in actions*.

Relationship building property of the ABPRA. In addition to the above discussion of the explication of the process of psychological reconciliation, current evidence also suggests that the process involves development of a strong and special relationship in the dyad. This relationship was developed through giving, receiving, and sharing. Furthermore, the process of psychological reconciliation must nurture the felt sense of receiving (e.g., of atoning, service), and shared sense (e.g., shared sense of healing, benefit) in the dyad. Current evidence suggests that the process of psychological reconciliation is an interpersonal process and phenomena that is an emergent property of the strong and special relationship nurtured between the dyad over a period of time. Psychological reconciliation as an emergent interpersonal phenomena was not explicitly revealed or conceptualized in the previous literatures and theory-based researches (Staub, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2003, 2004, 2006, 2008; Staub & Bar-Tal, 2003; Staub, Pearlman, & Miller, 2003; Staub, Pearlman, Gubin, & Hagengimana, 2005; Staub &

Pearlman, 2006). The present research adds evidence for a new interpersonal paradigm for the phenomenon of psychological reconciliation with its evidence.

Psychosocial development property of the ABPRA. The present research proposed a model of psychological reconciliation and the evidence indicates that the beneficial impacts extend to *psychosocial* development. Current evidence seems to suggest that the ABPRA not only fosters an interpersonal psychological reconciliation process, but also fosters inter-family, community, and world peace development. This lends support for the ABPRA to be of *psychosocial* intervention approach. The role of testifying and witnessing was found to be significant mechanisms contributing to the psychosocial property of the ABPRA.

Theoretical Modeling of the Mechanisms and Temporal Process of Change in the ABPRA

While current study revealed and explicated, in detail, the beneficial properties of the ABPRA, it is limited in revealing the causal relationships between the effects or components of the effects. The TCA revealed five categories, ten supra-themes, 37 themes and 106 sub-themes. It is possible to speculate on, based on the participant reported experience, and to develop a theoretical modeling of mechanisms and sequential change in processes that occur over the course of the ABPRA. For example, evidence seems to suggest that the ABPRA fosters the growth of many pleasant affects over a period of time. Furthermore, it also revealed factors, which are facilitative and/or hindering of growth (e.g., consistent encounter, emergence of voluntary disclosure of personal information, growth of compassion and sympathy, leading to the growth of love).

While these are informative, we have limited knowledge of (a) a sequential pathway through which these facilitative factors interacted, (b) to what extent, (c) in what way or manner, to contribute to the growth of the pleasant affects (magnitude of causal influence relationship), and (d) over what period of time (temporal duration required for the change to occur) to produce a beneficial impact. Addressing these questions is beyond the scope this research. However, it is suggested here that the future research develop the conceptual modeling of the process of change, and to empirically test causal relationships between the factors revealed in this study and measure durations required for the changes to occur. These investigations would enhance our understandings of the process of change in the ABPRA, which leads to the enhancement of the efficacy and efficiency of the ABPRA and its implementations.

Implications to Counselling

Current evidence suggests two implications to counselling. First, a relational approach of counselling psychology (Egan & Schroeder, 2009, Hubble, Duncan, & Miller, 1999) provides optimal theoretical, empirical, as well as clinical bases to facilitate and empirically investigate this interpersonal and psychosocial phenomenon of reconciliation. Relational constructs typically employed in the area of counselling psychology directly shed light on the interpersonal dynamics of psychosocial reconciliation.

Secondly, the current study and evidence seem to challenge the medium of healing dominant in the area of counselling and psychotherapy: the verbal exchange. Current evidence supports beneficial effects of engagements in action and interaction as alternative media of healing, and a way of facilitating change through visceral medium.

While current evidence also lends support for the importance of verbal exchange in healing, it also suggests the need, usefulness and the effectiveness of an addition of action and interaction as media of healing. Expanding the media of intervention to include action and interaction will significantly enhance the potency of and effectiveness of counselling and psychotherapies. Use of action and interaction in healing and change have also been incorporated in several other approaches in counselling and psychotherapies, especially in the area of trauma care (Herman, 1992; Kurtz, 1990; Ogden, Minton & Pain, 2006; Shapiro, 2001; Van der Kolk, MacFarlane & Weisaeth, 1996; Westwood, & Wilensky, 2005).

Chapter 11: Applications

Methods and media of healing employed in the ABPRA and the current study can be applied to numerous and a broad range of areas. In this section, a discussion of a few of these possible domestic applications of the ABPRA in a day-to-day Canadian counselling practice, as well as an effort to apply this method internationally, is reviewed

Domestic Applications

The ABPRA was developed as an approach to (a) healing, and (b) interpersonal reconciliation. In a way, it provides an alternative method of counselling, psychotherapy, and conflict mediation and resolution.

Action as a medium of healing. The medium of healing in the ABPRA, an action (and interaction), can be applied and used as an integral part of healing in any form of counselling and psychotherapy. The heart of the action-medium approach to healing is its capacity and potency to influence an experiential domain of change in clients. It can be applied effectively and provides alternative paths to address psychological disorders that are heavily influenced and exacerbated etiologically by the role of one's own cognitive involvement (e.g., treatment resistant depression or disorders co-occurring with personality disorders). The media of healing and change employed in the ABPRA suggests a useful and effective alternative path to influence experiential domains of change in clients with these types of issues. The effectiveness of the action medium also stems from its capacity to bypass cognitive dealing of issues, thus it does not pose clients at risk of further exacerbating their symptoms as the result of their own unhelpful cognitive processes (e.g., such as rumination, preoccupation, secondary reappraisal) (Watkins, 2008) or exacerbation of the symptoms in the course of treatment. This point

was illustrated in the example and limits of forgiveness-based intervention section of this dissertation.

Interaction as a medium of mediation. The medium of intervention in the ABPRA, an interaction or engagement in purposeful actions (working) together can be applied to various forms of conflict mediations and conflict resolution settings, such as (a) family mediation and reunification, (b) couples counselling and mediation, (c) any form of an interpersonal or general conflict resolutions, (d) offender social rehabilitation and reintegration (e.g., engagement in community volunteer service, in support of talk-based rehabilitations), and even (e) intra-personal conflict reconciliation (e.g., developing an action plan to come to terms with something).

In the case of family mediation, it can be suggested that a family engages in purposeful actions together to *do* family issues instead of only talking about the issues. It is often the case that the very mediation discussion leads to escalation of an argument and to creation of other issues over a situation where the process of mediation gets stuck or not going anywhere. In such cases, the ABPRA provides a useful alternative path by inviting them to brainstorm ways in which the family can act on and interact on, or engage in purposeful activities to resolve issues. Current evidence seem to suggest the family engage in purposeful activities that are beneficial to each member of the family: such as (a) cleaning a house and each room together, (b) preparing a meal together, (c) trying and experiencing each other's hobbies together, and/or (d) develop and engage in projects of mutual interests to each member of the family.

Then the dynamics as the result of the engagements in action and interaction will bring about the desired change, similar to the beneficial impacts of the ABPRA, to the

family: such as (a) emergence of natural conversations as opposed to often a forced conversation in a family mediation setting, (b) emergence of the desire to work together again, (c) development of shared feeling, and (d) development of strong relationships by fostering sharing and the growth of shared senses among the family members. The ABPRA provides a promising alternative to such process of family mediation or mediations in general.

An Example of International Applications

Mbyo Movement. As all the participants in this study suggested, the ABPRA and its method can be applied in other areas affected by ethnic/civil conflicts or a war. Current evidence suggested that the participants of the ABPRA develop a shared sense of peace, the desire for peace, and the sense of contributing to the development of peace in the family, community, and the world. This psychosocial property of the ABPRA, especially speaks to the potential application of the ABPRA as a peace building and war/conflict prevention approach.

In fact, all participants in this study decided by the end of the 8 sessions that they would like to continue their work in dyad even after the completion of the program is done for this research. The ABPRA for this research was implemented in the months of July and August 2012. We have extended the program for another year at the Mbyo village with four new dyads (the second cohort study), who participated in the ABPRA over the period between September 2012 to August 2013. In total, the ABPRA was implemented in the village of Mbyo for 14 months reaching seven dyads.

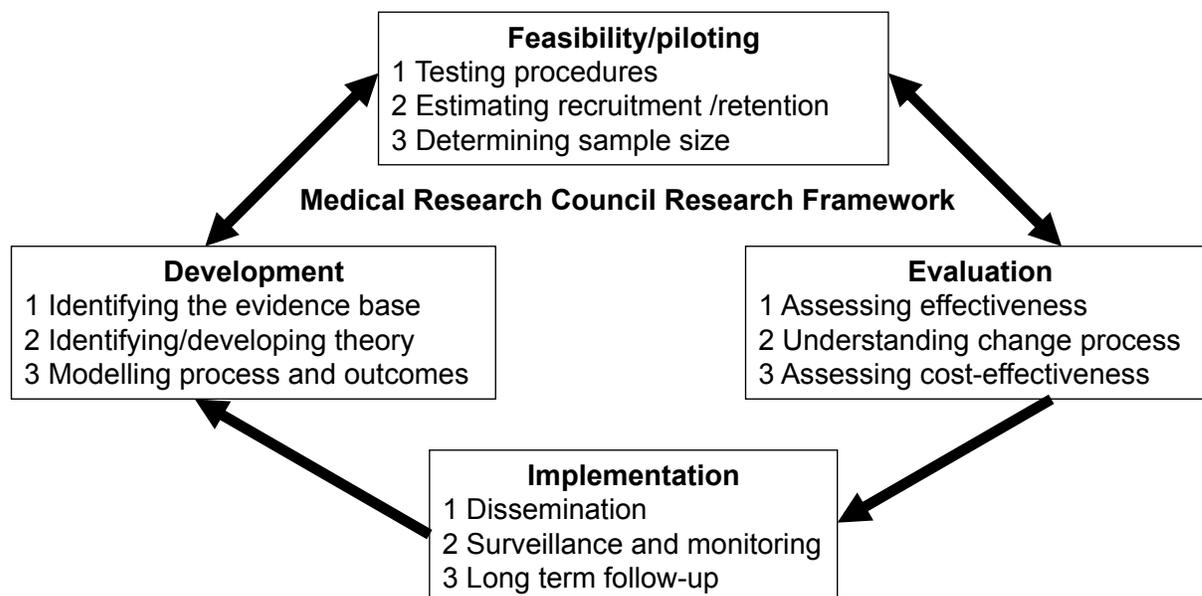
During the implementation period, dyads consistently engaged in the ABPRA weekly and enjoyed their shared engagement in the act of healing and reconciliation. As

the psychosocial property of the ABPRA suggested, numerous villagers walked by and stopped to witness the dyads enjoying working together or sharing their laughter together, consistently over the period of 14 months. The psychosocial impact of such testifying and witnessing was significant. As a result, many villagers started inquiring to the village leaders that they, too, wish to engage in the ABPRA (that they saw) and the villagers began to work in dyads in the village on their own. Now, the ABPRA has been adopted as the psychosocial reconciliation activity in the village of Mbyo, and the movement was named by the villagers as, “ubwiyunge mubikorwa” (reconciliation in action).

The development of the ABPRA into an evidence-based peace building and war/conflict prevention approach. Encouraged by the current evidence and inspired by the Mbyo movement, a new project has been launched to develop the ABPRA into the world’s first evidence-based peace building and conflict/war prevention approach. The field development so far was plotted on a framework to develop an evidence-based complex intervention, published by the British Medical Research Council (MRC) (MRC, 2000, 2008; Campbell et al., 2007; Craig et al., 2008). The guideline by the MRC provides a framework for synthesizing available as well as due required further evidences, along with guidelines on methods and designs to develop evidence-based complex interventions. A full and comprehensive discussion of the MRC guideline is beyond the scope of this dissertation. In sum, it provides us with the following framework and guidelines to follow.

Diagram 4

Key Elements of the Development and Evaluation Process (MRC, 2000, 2008)



The framework proposes four phases of development and evaluation beginning with phase 1: development, and proceeding through phase 2: feasibility and piloting, 3: evaluation, and 4: implementation, with all forming a circular process of evaluation and re-evaluation.

Applying this framework to the present effort and progress so far in Rwanda, the development (Phase 1) of the ABPRA was rigorously based on the extensive review of empirical evidence and meta-analysis of contact theory over the past three and a half decades (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), and an exhaustive systematic review of evidence on therapeutic effectiveness of Morita therapy (Minami, 2011). The evidence base generated from the 14 months of field piloting and testing implementation (Phase 2) serve as the piloting/feasibility data. This equips us to proceed to the next phase of evaluation (Phase 3).

Phase 3 evaluation of the ABPRA involves the (a) assessment of effectiveness, (b) understanding of the change processes, and (c) assessing the cost-effectiveness of the ABPRA. The assessment of the effectiveness of the ABPRA will be conducted via multi-site, multi-year, randomized controlled trial of the ABPRA in the eight rural villages of Rwanda. An effort is also underway to develop the ABPRA protocol and an outcome measure. This dissertation and the descriptive evidence base generated from the piloting phase provide the foundation for the development of the protocol and the measure. The outcome measure will be developed based on the categories, supra-themes, themes and subthemes emerged from the present study, which will directly serve as the domain and subdomain specifications of the new outcome measure. Items will be developed directly from the pool of MUs and participant reported verbatim. Economic analysis will be conducted professionally by economists to weigh the cost of developing the evidence-based ABPRA (EBABPRA) directly over the cost of future conflicts and war interventions (e.g., military budgets).

Pilot evidence collected, including the current evidence outlined by this dissertation, provides an invaluable application foundation to prepare the next phase of the development. If the next phase demonstrates promising results, we will be able to provide the world's first evidence-based peace building and conflict prevention approach. This approach be adopted by various international organizations such as the United Nations (U.N.), the United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees (U.N.H.C.R.), the European Union (E.U.), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and/or the International Committee of the Red Cross (I.C.R.C.) as an evidence-based peace building

and conflict prevention approach. This effort underway is suggested here as an example of global applications of the ABPRA.

Chapter 12: Conclusion

In summary, this dissertation reported the development and field-testing results of a new, action-based psychosocial reconciliation approach (ABPRA). History of the birth of the 1994 Rwandan genocide was introduced along with the present day problems as the direct result of the genocide and the 2003 government release of the prisoners back into their community. The paper also highlighted the challenges and limitations of the dominant forgiveness, and verbally-based reconciliation approach, revealing the limits of emotional facts and the verbal medium of reconciliation. The dissertation went on to outline the theoretical and empirical bases for the development of the ABPRA, in addition to discussing its rationale and mechanisms of the predicted changes. Beneficial impacts predicted by the theory and previous research were not only supported, but also went above and beyond prior theoretical expectations. The results of the TCA revealed 5 beneficial properties of the ABPRA with full explication of the beneficial effects under each property. They are all anchored in the MUs representing participant reported experiences. Major themes in the reconciliation were either enhanced or expanded through the analysis of current evidence generated. Despite the limitations, the current study provides useful descriptive information and evidence base to further this research and develop the ABPRA into the world's first evidence based peace building and conflict prevention approach.

The present research teaches researchers and practitioners important lessons. First, in order to intervene a form of suffering, we must first learn about the suffering. Furthermore, we must not only learn what the suffering is, but also mechanisms through which the suffering emerge. The current research addressed the phenomenon of

interpersonal reconciliation and the psychological impact of its stagnation. Field observations and the analysis of the forgiveness-based intervention process helped me identify mechanisms which led to the limitations of this approach. Clear identification of limitations illustrated ways in which development of alternative ways could address the suffering. In this study the development of the ABPRA was based on the limitation to address stagnations in interpersonal reconciliation. In sum, nature and mechanisms of suffering must first be investigated to design intervention to address it.

Secondly, in order for us to explore phenomenon which inherently resides in people's experience (in this case, the psychological reconciliation), we must learn about it from the people who have experienced, lived through, and been living with the phenomenon. Current study revealed that the phenomenon of psychological reconciliation is a highly individualized, and evolving process-construct which is held and in constant state of flux in people's lived experiences. Epistemologies, theories, methodologies, methods, data analysis and interpretation techniques we employ must all be attentive and sensitive to such fluid and ever changing process of the phenomenon of investigation.

Thirdly, in order for us to explore a relational construct, such as (psychosocial, interpersonal) reconciliation, we must explore and learn about it in the context of a relationship between two or more people. The current study seems to suggest that a relational phenomenon might not be fully explored without the involvement of the two forming the relationship. Once again, our epistemology and research methodologies must all be attentively mobilized and optimally tailored in order to capture the relational phenomena validly.

Fourthly, in order for us to explore a construct or a phenomenon that is ever-changing, we must commit to follow through the change chronologically in order for us to claim our thorough understanding. All participants in current study stated that unity and reconciliation are a never-ending processes. We therefore, must continue our investigations throughout their lives if we wish to claim a thorough understanding of the process construct or phenomenon.

Fifthly, investigation of qualitative nature must be conducted to explore the construct or phenomenon that is 'scientifically immature; By scientific maturity, I mean the degree to which a particular construct or phenomenon being investigated through scientific means and the diversity of evidence available in informing the nature of the construct. A review of the literature revealed no valid knowledge of the process understanding of the phenomenon of psychosocial reconciliation. Therefore, a more descriptive investigation of the phenomenon of psychological reconciliation was needed. Current study reveals overwhelmingly rich, complex, and ever-changing nature of psychosocial reconciliation, which points to numerous directions for future research investigations. Exploratory, investigative, and bottom-up process research must precede confirmatory, affirmative, and top-down outcome research in order to explicate and enrich our scientific quest to generate knowledge on scientifically immature constructs.

Sixthly, we must always be attentive and sensitive to the 'ecology' of our intervention and intervention medium. In modern developed countries, it is often viable to bring about desired change through a verbal medium. In our case of counselling and psychotherapy, utilization of words and dialogues as the medium of change and healing is celebrated. However, the limitations of verbally based medium of change in the remote

areas of a developing county has been experienced. Furthermore, daily demands of people living in such remote communities could not always afford them to resort to the medium that does not generate productivities in their very daily lives. Current study utilized actions and interactions as the media of change. At the same time, it provided means of generating the productivity. Researchers and clinicians working in such ecology of developing countries must be attentive to the needs of the context. The present research shows that a research and clinical activity can generate productivity. The limit of ecology also informs us of the nature and ecology of our developed world context. Our developed society has evolved an ecology that is heavily reliant on verbal means of bringing about change and healing. The current research cautions us that we must be aware that the medium being employed on a day-to-day basis in this developed ecological context does have an inherent limitation, especially if it is applied in other ecological contexts.

Finally, the present research also sends us a hopeful message: It is possible to nurture unity and reconciliation between survivors and perpetrators of the worst ethnic massacre that took place in our shared time. Participants in this study are the living 'evidence' that it is possible. All four ex-prisoner participants stated that they are ready to take bullets and machetes for their survivor pairs to defend them if another genocide is to occur. They all testified that they know what it is like for them to carry their sense of sin, guilt, and torment by conscience. They expressed that they would rather perish by defending the innocent right, than to take their lives again. As a researcher, I was touched and at the same time I experienced hope: that it is possible to prevent future genocides if more people can experience what our participants experienced. It is possible to prevent

future conflicts and wars, if more people experience the shared felt sense of unity and reconciliation as our participants did. It is possible to build peace by sharing the experiences of the ABPRA with people who have fought against each other to join their hands and share living lives together through purposeful actions and interactions. It is possible to have a globe in peace if we strive together. All participants in this research are living evidence that nurturing peace is possible.

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