

Marital Dynamics in the Wake of Ethnic Cleansing: Evidence from Bosnia and Rwanda

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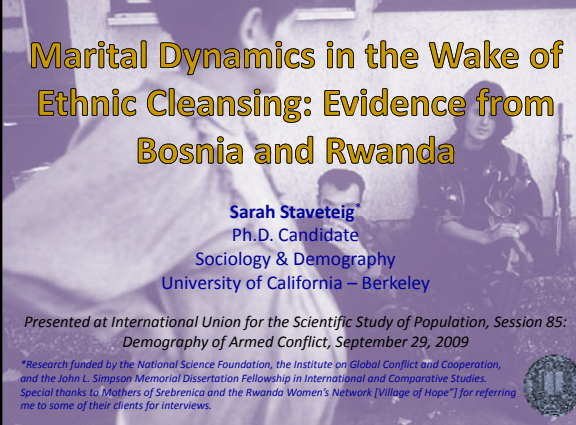


Photo: Ron Haviv

Central Question

How did the duration and intensity of wartime violence, sex-selective mortality, economic collapse, and displacement affect nuptiality patterns in Rwanda and Bosnia?




Photo: Ron Haviv

Preview of Results

- Marriages delayed during wartime; but some rebound during extended war in Bosnia
- Economics very important, especially among orphans and other vulnerable populations
- “Marriage market” squeeze has affected Rwanda more so than Bosnia despite difference in sex ratio of casualties
- Cultural resistance to remarriage among widows in Bosnia


Bosnia: 1992 - 1995

- Part of Former Yugoslavia
 - Power struggle
 - Serbian Nationalism
- 3 major ethnic groups
 - Muslims (“Bosniaks”)
 - Croats (Catholics)
 - Serbs (Orthodox)



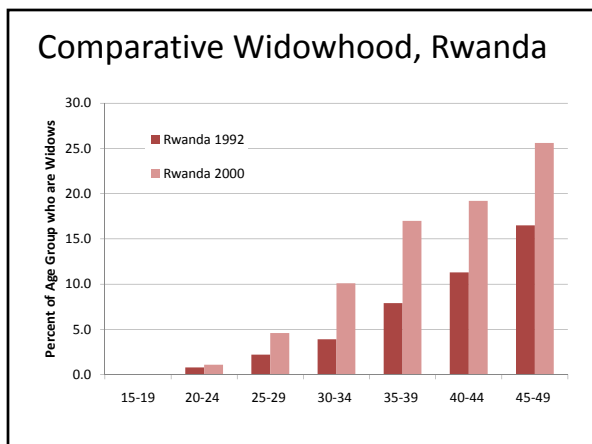
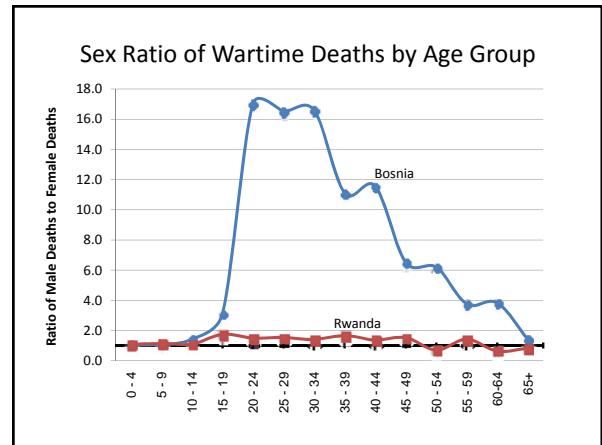
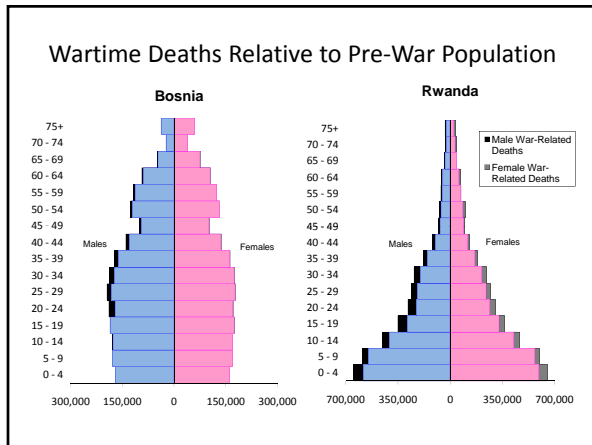
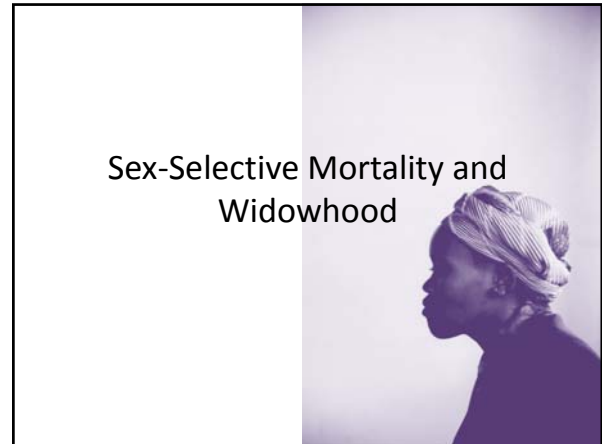
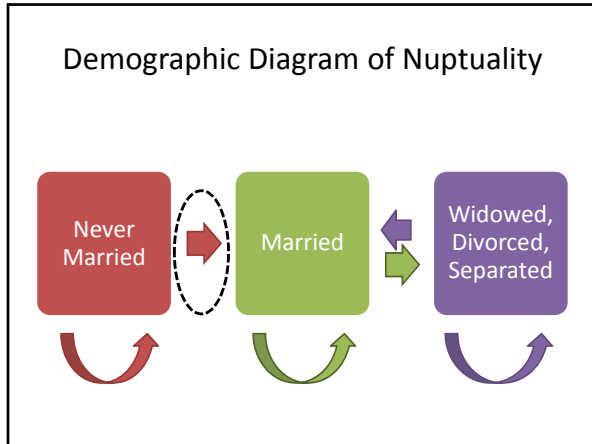
Rwanda: 1994

- Central Africa
 - Most densely-populated country in Africa
 - Infamous genocide in 1994, though sporadic violence from 1990 to 2005
- 2 major ethnic groups
 - Hutus (Agriculturalists)
 - Tutsis (Cattle Herders)



Multi-Method Study of Women

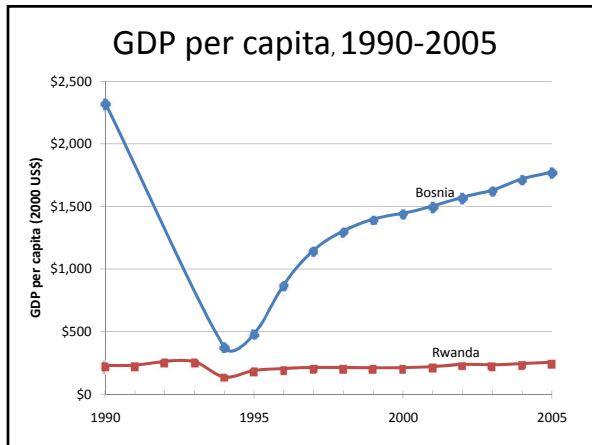
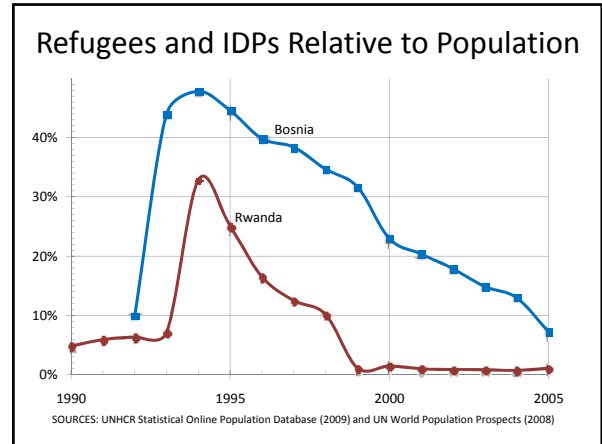
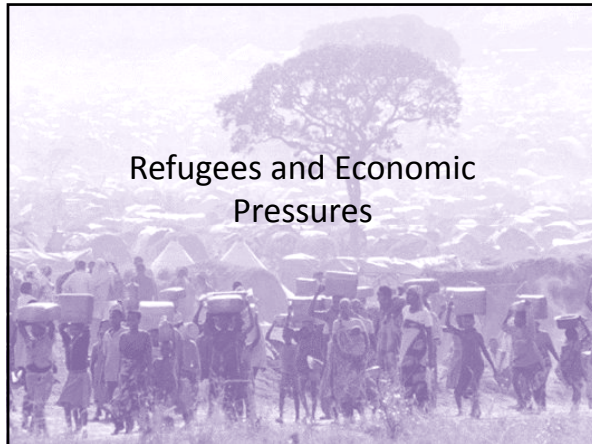
- **National Datasets**
 - Rwanda Demographic and Health Survey [DHS] 2000, 2005 (n=21,742)
 - Bosnia Living Standards Measurement Survey 2002 (n=2,412)
- **Secondary Statistics and Literature**
- **Qualitative Interviews** with 117 Women in Bosnia (n=56) and Rwanda (n=63)
 - Stratified cluster sampling [“EPI” method] (n=94)
 - Oversample of rape and concentration camp survivors located through NGOs (n=23)



Widowhood and Remarriage [Bosnia]

I was married in 1987. I only wanted one child, but my husband wanted more kids. Even before Srebrenica fell my husband wanted another child, and I said 'Where? How? We don't have any food.' And he kept saying 'you have to have another' because we only had one kid, and he really wanted another, but I didn't. I am the only cause. ...Then I lost my husband in the fall of Srebrenica in 1995. July 11. I had big losses. My brother also disappeared. My father, my father-in-law, brother-in-law, all of them. ... I'm not interested in getting remarried. That much I am sad because I will stay alone. That's from the bottom of my soul how I feel.

-42-year old Bosniak widow from Srebrenica who lives in rural "temporary housing" outside Tuzla with her daughter



27-year old Tutsi woman, survivor of wartime rape, now HIV-positive and married with four children.

We just fled. A big group of us. People were killed as we were advancing toward Burundi and when we arrived in Burundi only four [of my siblings] had survived. The other four were killed on the way to Burundi. I was wounded, I was shot. I was shot in the arm. I lost so much blood. And I was unconscious. I can't know how many people raped me. I only know I felt some pain, and I don't know exactly how it happened, we were with other people. We were smashed somehow, and I fell down. But when I woke up, I was alone, and damaged. I didn't ask the way because I can easily see where others had passed... I followed just the blood. Then I discovered myself in Burundi. I was just surprised to find myself in another country... I was taken to the hospital. I spent one month there, and when I got better, I joined other people in a camp. I stayed there for two months. I was not able to go back to Rwanda in July when other people were coming back. I just stayed there. Because I was not able to put on pants, just a skirt.

27-year old woman, [cont'd]

R: When I came back to Rwanda there was one [surviving] relative, my aunt, who was in Kigali, and she asked us to come and join her there. My sister said she couldn't go to Kigali and live there, just live by begging, but I said me, I'm completely broken, I must get to Kigali. I stayed there until 1995. In December 1995 I got married.

How did you meet your husband?

R: at church. At first it was just by visiting people, and I discovered my husband while out. People introduced us. In this way my family connected me to my new husband.

Was it important to you that you marry a Tutsi after what happened?

R: There were no Hutus in Kigali (laughs). Even if there were some, I would prefer not to have a Hutu. It was not possible for a Hutu to marry me.

Did you have any other boyfriends before you married your husband?

R: I was not willing to have boyfriends because I was somehow disgusted by men. I don't even know how I live with this guy [my husband]. Sometimes I just don't understand how I manage to live with him. I'm just disgusted.

Marrying During War for Economic Reasons

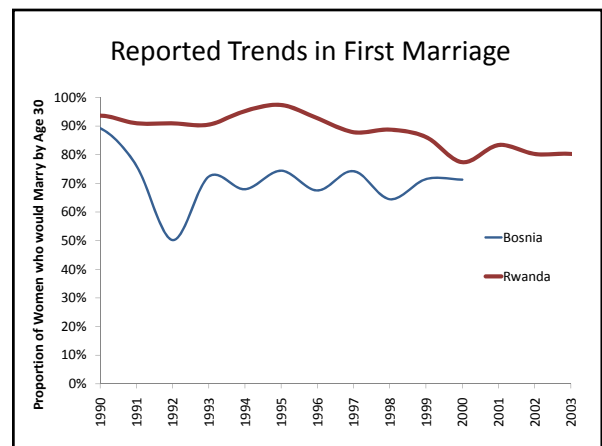
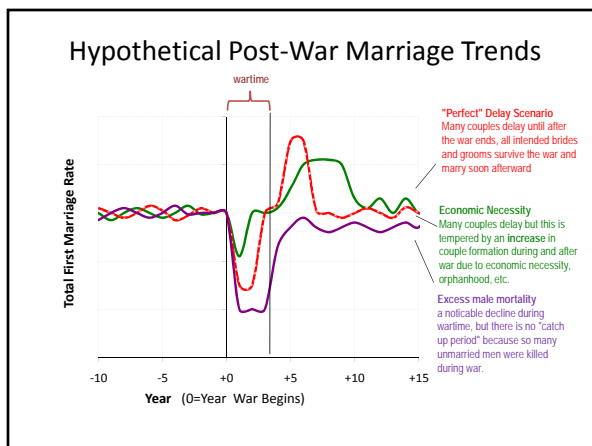
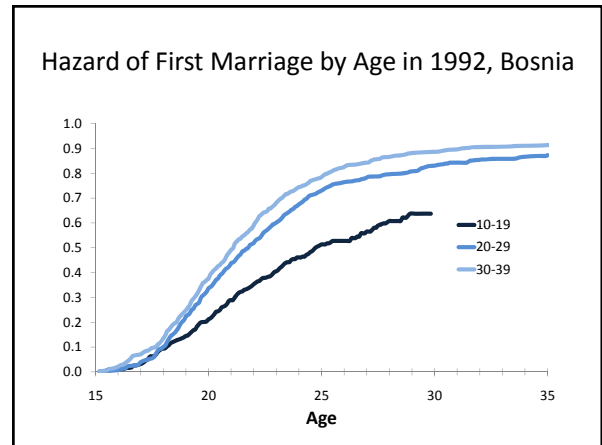
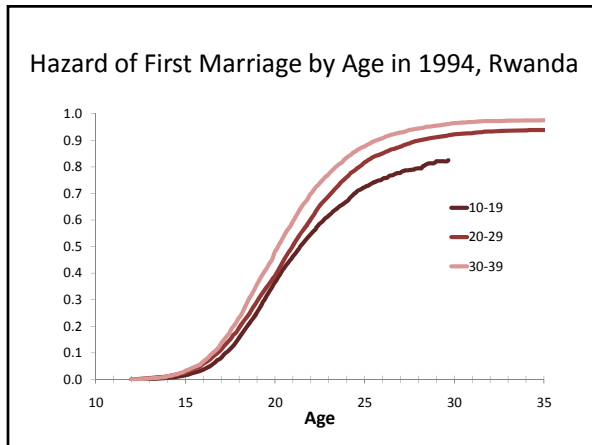
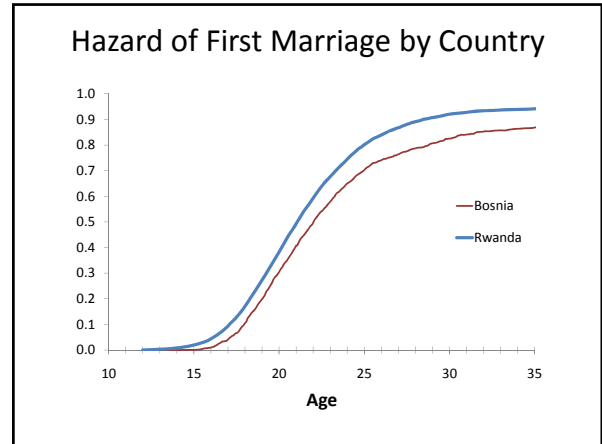
I got married [in Srebrenica during the war when I was 15] mostly because of the food. I didn't have anything to eat. My father was stuck in Ružica, and I was alone [sighs]. I knew my husband for six months before we got married. And then he died when Srebrenica fell.

When I came here I was in my seventh month of pregnancy. ...We had his funeral three years ago [when they identified his body in a mass grave].

-29-year old Bosniak widow from Srebrenica. Lives in refugee camp outside Tuzla with daughter. Does not want to remarry.

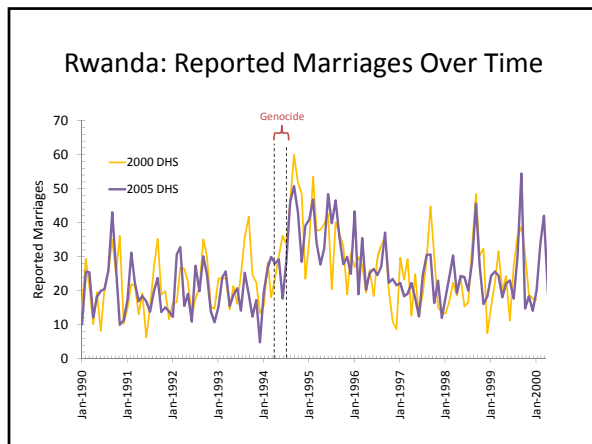
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Statistical Analysis



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Some Conclusions

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- Economics very important, especially among orphans and other vulnerable populations
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