

**UNIVERSITY OF RWANDA**  
**COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**  
**CENTRE FOR CONFLICT MANAGEMENT**  
**MASTER OF ARTS IN GENOCIDE STUDIES AND  
PREVENTION**

**FOSTERING UNITY AND SOCIAL COHESION IN POST GENOCIDE RWANDA;  
CASE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN RWANDA**

A thesis submitted to University of Rwanda in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Master of Arts in Genocide Studies and Prevention.

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## **Declaration**

I MUTESEMBEREZI Pascal, hereby declare that, unless indicated to the contrary in this text, this research work entitled ***“Fostering Unity and Social Cohesion in Post Genocide Rwanda. Case of the Catholic Church”*** is the result of my original work and has never been previously submitted in any other university for an award.

I hereby certify that the above declaration is correct to the best of my understanding.

Signed.....

MUTESEMBEREZI Pascal

## **Dedication**

To the almighty God and my beloved wife Meloni RUTAGENGWA whose courageous efforts have enabled me to complete this work.

I am grateful to my supervisor Prof. MASABO Francois, whose guidance and lessons have enabled me reach this far and complete the research work. To all our CCM lecturers, you are wonderful people.

To all my respondents whom we interacted on my questionnaires and interviews, your ideas were very paramount.

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**MUTEMBEREZI Pascal**

## **List of Abbreviations**

CDR: Coalition for the Defence of the Republic  
CNLG: National Commission for the Fight against Genocide  
CSOs: Civil Society Organisations  
EU : European Union  
FAR : Force Armies Rwandais  
FBOs : Faith based organisations  
NGOs: Non-Governmental Organisations  
NURC: National Unity and Reconciliation Commission  
RPF : Rwanda Patriotic Front  
RTL: Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines  
TRC : Truth and Reconciliation Commission. South Africa  
UN : United Nations

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## **Abstract**

The study embarks on solutions related to the contribution of the Catholic Church in promoting unity and social cohesion among Rwandans in a post genocide Rwanda despite some of its priests involvement.

The study was exploratory in nature that used both qualitative and quantitative research approaches. The population of study used purposive sampling inspired by the catholic commission of justice and peace thus choosing the Catholic Church leaders, Genocide survivors, Genocide convicts, Local Government leaders and common citizens as participants.

The population of study is limited to only 50 people in different categorises of catholic priests, genocide survivors, genocide convicts, Local Government living in Kigali as it is not easy to talk to everyone.

The study only limits itself on the role of Catholic Church in fostering unity and social cohesion in post genocide Rwanda covering Catholic Cathedral Parish of Kigali Arch-Diocese.

The study reveals enormous contribution of the Catholic Church in uniting and promoting social cohesion among Rwandans notably the existence of peace and justice initiative that is implemented all over the country.

Key words used in the study are Unity, social cohesion, Catholic Church, genocide (survivors and convicts).

## **Chapter I: General Introduction:**

### **1.1 Study context and rationale**

Rwanda experienced the cruellest genocide of the century in just a period of 100 days from April to July 1994. Over one million innocent Tutsis and moderate Hutus were butchered due to ethnical and ideology differences. Various killing machines and propagandists were involved to make this happen such as media outlets to reach at the objective.

According to Wikipedia, after the independence in 1962, Rwandans lived in bad situations characterised by hatred and discrimination to the extent that many Tutsi were killed, others exiled for their safety and survival. Even the few who stayed were denied some rights to education, serving in public institutions and so on which is why the study seeks to assess the contribution of churches in restoring harmony among Rwandans as one way of uniting them hence promoting social cohesion.

With the taking power by Rwanda Patriotic Front in July 1994, the latter established the Government of National Unity aiming at promoting unity, reconciliation and social cohesion among Rwandans hence healing the victims of 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. The RPF government established mechanisms of power sharing amongst different political organisations that existed at the time after capturing power.

Religious based organisations including churches had to embrace such initiatives towards uniting Rwandans and their Christians in particular because many of them were directly or indirectly affected by the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi. The study therefore seeks to assess the role of the Catholic Church in fostering unity and social cohesion in post genocide Rwanda.

Timothy Longman (2001:166) argues that “Both Catholic and Protestant churches helped to make the genocide possible by giving moral sanction to the killing. Churches had longed played ethnic politics themselves, favouring the Tutsi during the colonial period then switching allegiance to the Hutu after 1959, sending a message that ethnic discrimination was consistent with church teaching. The church leaders had close ties with the political leaders of the time. It is reported that the catholic church played a big role in putting Kayibanda Gregoire to regime whose hate speeches against Tutsi culminated or prompted Hutu extremists to build on to kill Tutsis and after the genocide began, church leaders called on the population to support the new interim government, the very government supporting the genocide”.

However, some individual members of the religious community attempted to protect civilians, sometimes at great risk to them. For example, Mgr. Thaddée Ntihinyurwa of Cyangugu preached against the genocide from the pulpit and tried unsuccessfully to rescue three Tutsi religious brothers from an attack, while Sr. Felicitas Niyitegeka of the Auxiliaires de l’Apostolat in Gisenyi smuggled Tutsi across the border into Zaire before a militant militia executed her in retaliation.

Therefore, given to what happened as stated by the above, this study seeks to get answers to the following question:

- I. To what extent have Catholic Church contributed towards uniting and promoting social cohesion among Rwandans in a post genocide Rwanda given its complexity in the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi?

Comparatively, to date different churches ranging from Catholic Church to the born again have digested government programs of uniting and healing Rwandan hearts through their different programs and approaches. On the top of that, the Catholic Church conducts regular teachings aiming at uniting and healing Rwandan society as well as supporting different initiatives that lead to family reconstruction. Such initiatives are sometimes done in partnership with National Unity and Reconciliation Commission and civil society organisations.

### **1.2 Objectives of the study:**

The overall objective of the study is to assess the status of unity and social cohesion in post genocide Rwanda as fostered by the Catholic Church.

### **1.3 Specific Objective**

- To bring to light the contribution of catholic church in fostering unity and social cohesion in a post genocide Rwanda;
- To determine the enablers managed to get to the unity and social cohesion in a post genocide Rwanda.

### **1.4 Hypothesis of the study**

Despite having played a big role in 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, the Catholic Church is apparently involved in the promotion of unity and social cohesion among Rwandans so that people can live in harmony.

### **1.5 Research Methodology:**

Research methodology is understood as a systematic way to solve a problem. It is a science of studying how research is carried out. Essentially, the procedures by which researchers go about their work of describing, explaining and predicting phenomena.

The study is exploratory and used both qualitative and quantitative research methods. The study population involves church leaders from catholic churches, genocide survivors, local government leaders and opinion leaders and born again pastors

The sample size of the study is 50purposively determined as relevant people that suit this study. Twenty (20) catholic priests, ten (10) genocide survivors, (5) five genocide convicts five (5) local government officials, ten (10) citizens.

Further still, the desk work research gives adequate and specific literature related to research questions. Various documents and reports were analysed from multiple disciplines in order to better understand the role of churches in genocide against the Tutsi as well as analysing its current contribution to promoting unity social cohesion inpost genocide Rwanda.

### **1.6 Significance of the study:**

The significance of the study is two-folded. Afterwards, the study shows the role of catholic in promoting unity and social cohesion among Rwandans despite of the involvement of some of its member in planning of the 1994 genocide and its execution. Religious organisations have been eminent in leading annual prayer breakfast that brings together national and church leaders in the country hence contributing to national reconciliation, peace building and society healing.

### **1.7 Limitation of the study:**

The study does not focus on all religious organisations and churches to ascertain its noble role in promoting unity and social cohesion among Rwandans. The study only limits itself to the Catholic Church in post genocide Rwanda. Also, the sample size used represents the views of targeted 50 respondents living in Kigali as the study could not involve all people in the country.

## **2. CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1 Conceptual and Theoretical Framework**

This chapter covers thoughts of other scholars/authors, publications and researches conducted on the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda as well as other related studies on the role of churches in Genocide. It also involves deskwork reading, articles in different journals and newspapers as well as policy paper documents. The chapter also defines key concepts and theories related to researcher's topic such as Genocide, FBOs, Unity and Social Cohesion. The researcher was guided by the literature available that implicated some of the Catholic Church in planning and execution of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. The researcher seeks to assess the role of the church in promoting unity and social cohesion after 1994. There were some initiatives that were being implemented by the church priests towards uniting and healing broken hearts of Rwandans and therefore this provoked the researcher to conduct assessment to see other initiatives that are done by the church to bring back unity and reconciliation of Rwandans.

### **2.2 Definition of key Concepts**

#### **a) Genocide**

The UN Convention on the Punishment and Prevention of the Crime of Genocide as adopted by the UN Assembly on 9/12/1948 and implemented on 12/01/1951 defines and describes genocide and its major characteristics as follow.

- Killing members of a group of people
- Cause serious bodily mental harm on a group of people
- Intentionally endanger or inflict poor conditions of life on a group of people aiming at their physical destruction in part or whole.
- Initiate and impose measures that will stop births among the members of a group of people
- Taking the children of one group away by force and give them to another group that is unknown and unrelated to them.

In other words, Genocide is commonly referred to as the systematic and widespread extermination of a cultural, ethnic, political, racial, or religious group with intention of killing them in whole or in part. The intention of the then regime was to wipe out all Tutsis and everyone who resembled them to never exist in Rwanda due to the hatred that inculcated in Rwandan society that Tutsis are enemies of the state and actually that do not belong to Rwanda. So the intention of the perpetrators was to kill all of them in whole or in part.

#### **b) Unity**

Unity is commonly referred to as the means of the state of different areas or group being joined together to form a single country or organisation. Merriam Webster (1828) defines unity as

“the quality or state of being multiple to oneness, living in harmony or state of being one”. Its philosophy is derived from the word of God thus unity is a trans-denominational that finds its roots in the teachings of Jesus. It is sometimes called practical Christianity because we teach spiritual principles that apply to everyday living. We honour the sacred Truth contained at the heart of all major religions. We teach oneness with God and with all of God’s children. In Unity, we honour diversity and believe that all persons are created with sacred worth.

### **c) Social Cohesion:**

Social cohesion is the willingness of members of a society to cooperate with each other in order to survive and prosper. For instance, psychologists look at individuals' traits and similarities among the group members. Social psychologists treat cohesion as a trait that combines with others in order to influence the way the group does things. Sociologists tend to look at cohesion as a structural issue, measuring how the interlocking parts of the whole group interact to allow the group to function. Beyond all these disciplinary differences, there are some generalizations we can make about how groups function as a unit.

Social cohesion<sup>1</sup> is also referred to as the degree of social integration and inclusion in communities and society at large, and the extent to which mutual solidarity finds expression among individuals and communities. In terms of this definition, a community or society is cohesive to the extent that the inequalities, exclusions and disparities based on ethnicity, gender, class, nationality, age, disability or any other distinctions which engender divisions distrust and conflict are reduced and/or eliminated in a planned and sustained manner. This, with community members and citizens as active participants, working together for the attainment of shared goals, designed and agreed upon to improve the living conditions for all.

It is also related to how people live in communities. Cohesion means the tendency to stick together. However, when the concept is interpreted in the empirical world, we should pay attention to the following aspects including an identification of the form of society, location of the positions and roles of different social groups within as well as clarification of constitutive elements of cohesion. Social cohesion built on social norms. Like other norms, social norms are standards of behaviour. These norms apply to the function individuals have in the group. Norms can include a dress code, standards of conduct, or admissions standards. Norms tend to keep a group working better together as long as the norms are uniformly enforced. Selectively ignoring norms tend to result in disciplinary measures for group members. If the group as a whole ignores norms, cohesion could be weakened by a feeling of apathy toward the norms and group as a whole.

## **2.3 The role of the churches in contemporary societies**

Galloza Sam in his article on theology exchange explains what churches ought to do in societies regardless of other factors. He begins with quotations in Matthew 28:19-20 “Go ye therefore,

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<sup>1</sup><http://www.dac.gov.za>

and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you”.

We may differ in the answers to the above questions based upon our own individual experiences. However, it is more than clear that we are living in a time of great peril with a demoralizing effect and the progressive destruction of our communities. This greatly in part caused by the breaking down of family values. Therefore, the presence of churches in every society is to help heal and build broken hearts of the community and Christians as whole. To the context of Rwanda, given what happened, we normally see so many churches conducting crusades aimed at healing and uniting Rwandan community including genocide survivors and convicted perpetrators. This is the real work of religious organizations to any society instead of involving itself in destructive politics.

## **2.2 Empirical review**

### **2.3 Christianity and Construction of Ethnicity**

It is normally urged that European Christian missionaries played a crucial role in the development of ethnic ideologies in Africa. In addition to creating written languages, missionaries were instrumental in creating cultural identities through their specification of custom and tradition by writing tribal histories. Once these elements of culture were in place and available to be used as the cultural base of a distinct new, inscriptive ethnic identity could replace older organizing principles that depended upon voluntary client age.

In Rwanda, missionaries played a primary role in creating ethnic myths and interpreting Rwandan social organization not only for colonial administrators, but ultimately for the Rwandan population itself. The concepts of ethnicity developed by the missionaries served as the basis for the German and Belgian colonial policies of indirect rule which helped to transform relatively flexible pre-colonial social categories into clearly defined ethnic groups. Following independence, leaders who were trained in church schools relied extensively on ethnic ideologies to gain support, thus helping to intensify and solidify ethnic divisions. In Rwanda, the catholic missionaries arrived; they were enchanted by the Tutsi rulers encountered before the independence. To them, the Tutsi seemed tall and elegant, with refined features and light skin, in some ways closer in appearance to Europeans than to their short, stocky, dark Hutu compatriots. As elsewhere in Africa, in order to convert the population in Rwanda, the missionaries considered it important to understand the indigenous culture, social structures and the interpretations that came from their study of the culture greatly influenced both the colonial administration and subsequently Rwandan self-perceptions.

### **2.4 The context of Catholic Church after independence in Rwanda**

The Catholic Church after independence continued to its active role in influencing citizenry and policies that were put in place by the political structures of the country. In other words, the church was instrumental in socio-economic transformation of the country by building schools and hospitals across their areas of control.

## **2.5 The 1994 context and involvement of Catholic Church**

CAROL Rittner et al in the book entitled “Genocide in Rwanda, complicity of the churches, 2004 highlights thirteen parishes where all Christians perished under the control of their priests. The Catholic Church was at the forefront of this in partnership with the then regime in the planning of the genocide against the Tutsi. This prompted the Pope **John Paul II** to send a message to the Catholic Church on 10/04/1994 in Rwanda that reads as follows:

“I wish to recall now in particular the people and the church of Rwanda, who these days are being tried by an upsetting tragedy linked in particular to the dramatic assassination of the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi. With you bishops here present, I am sharing this suffering caused by this new catastrophic wave of violence and death which, investing this well-loved country is making blood flow even from priests, religious sisters and catechists, innocent victims of absurd hate. With you reunited in this African synod and in communion of spirit with the bishops of Rwanda who could not be with us today, I feel the need to launch an appeal to stop that homicide of violence. Together with you, I raise my voice to tell of you to stop these acts of violence. Stop these tragedies! Stop these fratricidal massacres!”

This was a very powerful message full of wisdom and humanity. It appears that the Pope had already understood what was going on in Rwanda and some kind of involvement of Catholic Church leaders in what he called violence. Therefore, he launched his appealing message to catholic community in Rwanda especially its leaders to disassociate from the killing regime.

The Pope’s call however, did not yield good results as he thought since churches became killing grounds for many Tutsi who sought protection from within.

It is urged that genocide depends on raising voices; it counts on the silencing of the dissent and acquiescence of bystanders. Every voice un-raised against the genocide gives aid and comfort to those who call for and support crime of crimes. Genocide can be prevented before it happens and it can be stopped after it is underway. He emphasizes on the statement issued by late Pope John Paul II that really showed the power of the Catholic Church even though his voice did not yield any positive results. This shows somehow the implication of church priests in the genocide against the Tutsi was very evident. One therefore wonders, if the Pope is the supreme authority of the Catholic Church, why then did these priests not respect his instructions?

## **2.6 The positioning of churches after the 1994 Genocide**

Having witnessed the role of churches especially the Catholic Church in complexity with the killing regime during 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, many of religious organisations and churches have embraced the notion of national unity and promoting social cohesion among Rwandans. Many have contributed immensely to government programs of national unity and reconciliation hence promoting social cohesion in families. Apart from promoting such programs, some of these organisations have put up good infrastructures like churches, schools,

hospitals, healing and rehabilitation centres, hotels and banks that actually employ so many Rwandans to date.

Various churches include the Catholic Church, Anglican Church and several born again churches are so much involved in social healing of the survivors of the 1994 genocide against Tutsis. Actually, their programs do not target genocide survivors but all categories of people including genocide convicts and the youth who were not born during the genocide or other groups of Rwandans who lived outside the country as refugees only to return back after 1994.

Father Ubald RUGIRANGOGA started different programs of healing the wounds of genocide by reconciling genocide victims and perpetrators. His teachings have immensely united and promoted cohesion among Rwandans including genocide survivors and former perpetrators. Normally, this is what churches ought to have done instead of involving themselves in bloody politics and divisions. His teachings have healed Rwandan hearts including genocide survivors and genocide perpetrators since he teaches more about forgiveness and building that symbol of oneness among Rwandans. Every month, the father organises national crusade that brings together thousands of Christians and non-Christians together for prayers.

Father Ubald lost 80 members of his family and 45,000 parishioners. He miraculously survived by escaping through the Congo to Europe. After the genocide, he returned to Rwanda and began to preach healing, forgiveness and reconciliation throughout the country. He not only preaches forgiveness, he is a living example of its healing powers – forgiving the man who killed his family and even adopting that man's children when there was no one to care for them. He has assisted the Catholic Church and the government of Rwanda in implementing reconciliation programs across the country. Today, thousands come to hear him preach and receive healing through the Eucharist and his prayers.

Through the grace of God, Father Ubald has been given a unique gift of healing. He communicates the living power of Jesus's healing wherever he preaches. His healing services are tools of evangelization and encounter with the living Christ throughout Rwanda. Since that time, he has brought the power of forgiveness and the love of the living Christ into the lives of countless individuals who have been healed - physically, emotionally, and spiritually. Father Ubald's full time ministry includes speaking engagements, praying with people, evangelization, retreats, healing services and working for the centre for the Secret of Peace.

The Centre for the Secret of Peace is Father Ubald's vision of a place where all people can come to learn about forgiveness, peace and reconciliation through Jesus. It is currently being built on a 75 acre property owned by his Diocese in Rwanda.

Besides, father Ubald RUGIRANGOGA's teachings and prayers continue to heal Rwandan society especially those that were affected by the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. As if this is not enough, born again churches have organised themselves in what is called PEACE PLAN\_ an initiative that brings together various denominations to support government initiatives through prayers and thanks-giving programs, helping the most vulnerable groups etc. These

churches annually organize prayer breakfast where national leaders are invited for prayers and blessings.

Other born again churches have started programs of teaching genocide perpetrators/inmates within prisons to testify what happened and henceforth to be forgiven by the victims/genocide survivors. The essence of this is to promote social cohesion among Rwandans, forgiveness and harmony. This enables the healed convicts to show where many victims of the genocide were buried who are today discovered by the concerned authorities like CNLG & IBUKA.

## **2.7 The Government of National Unity stance on unity and reconciliation**

The Rwanda and Reconciliation Process; a publication of NURC (2016:08) “Rwanda is a sovereign nation that had its political and socio-economic organization, its culture and customs, existed long before colonization. Before the colonial period in 1897 and before Catholic Missionaries arrive, Rwandan people-Hutu, Tutsi and Twa social groups were strongly united and had the feeling of protecting their country together a sense of national identity”. In pre-colonial Rwanda, Unity was of, and for, all Rwandans, constituted of Hutu, Tutsi and Twa social categories or groups, who knew that they were above all Rwandans, that Rwanda was their country, and that nobody could say that s/he had the right to it more than the other. Differences only referred to the socio-economic life in relation to cattle raising and the land use, whereby cows culturally and comparatively represented wealth.

NURC (2016: 26) “After the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi and the RPA liberation war that halted it, Rwanda was thus left with the traumatized survivors, countless orphans and widows, thousands of handicapped people and generally a very traumatized and vulnerable population. So much blood had been spilled and credibility of the state itself had been undermined by the Genocide in that some of its institutions had planned and carried out the Genocide”.

The Government of Rwanda is very clear on the notions of unity and reconciliation of Rwandans. After the RPF took power in 1994, it initiated different programs aimed at promoting unity and reconciliation of Rwandans so that they can live together. Thus, this led to the establishment of National Unity and Reconciliation and other related institutions as well as enacting the law that punishes genocide ideology and denial.

The Government of Rwanda put in place Genocide Memorial Sites so that people can remember their victims. These sites help genocide survivors and Rwandans in general to memorise what happened and closely with the past. All these institutions have their respective mandate towards building a country free from ethnicity and divisions. It is at this pace that religious organisations have picked it up to farther their activities to the Rwandans having got the ground laid to promote unity, reconciliation and social cohesion among Rwandans.

## **2.8 Research justification and framework**

This research aims to exploring the contribution of the Catholic Church in promoting unity and social cohesion among Rwandans after the Genocide. On several occasions, different

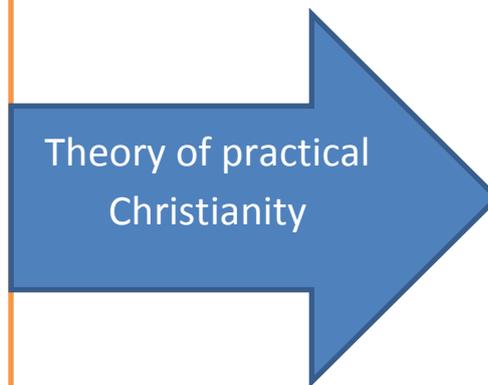
researchers have pointed out the complexity of the Catholic Church in 1994 genocide, and however, people tend not to focus on what these churches are doing to unity Rwandans. During pre-genocide period, the state and the church worked as “*husband and wife*” and thus such relationship resonates its complexity in the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. The study focuses much on how the Catholic Church is being engaged in fostering unity and social cohesion among Rwandan- exploring church’s different initiatives towards national unity and promotion of social cohesion given its brutal and active role in the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi.

**Figure 2.0 Illustration of the research framework.**

This framework is based on biblical scripture that aims at promoting love and care to the neediest people. In Johns 13:12:17 says “Now that you know these things, you will be blessed if you do them”. Therefore, as Christians, we ought to teach things that are benefit people rather than divide them. That is why in Rwanda churches need to teach people things that help them live as one people, heal their hearts for both genocide survivors and Convicts so as to live in peace. Hence all these variables were based to the contribution of the church in promoting unity and social cohesion among Rwandans.

**Independent variables**

- Togetherness
- Uniting and healing broken hearts
- Initiatives on massive crusades
- Resettlement of genocide convicts



**Dependent variable**

Unity and social cohesion

**Conclusion:**

This chapter mainly covers the literature interrogated to unearth the role of the churches in the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi as well as its contribution in promoting unity and social cohesion in a post genocide Rwanda. Various policy documents, research work, internet articles and newspapers were consulted to get into the gist of the study. Although, there is a lot of literature on the role of churches in 1994 genocide against Tutsi, little research is missing on its enormous contribution to promoting social cohesion and uniting Rwandans in particular reason to why the researcher conduct this study.

## **CHAPTER III: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **3.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents methodology of the study such as approaches, population of the study, sample size, data collection techniques, limitation of the study as well as justification and framework. It is very crucial part of the study as it contains different techniques of reaching at the information needed by the researcher to prove the hypothesis and research questions.

S. Rajaseka et al, 2013 defines research methodology as a systematic way to solve a problem. It is a science of studying how research is to be carried out. Essentially, the procedures by which researchers go about their work of describing, explaining and predicting phenomena are called research methodology. It is also defined as the study of methods by which knowledge is gained. Its aim is to give the work plan of research.

Research methodology is the systematic, theoretical analysis of the methods applied to a field of study. It comprises the theoretical analysis of the body of methods and principles associated with a branch of knowledge. Typically, it encompasses concepts such as paradigm, theoretical model, phases and quantitative or qualitative techniques.

### **3.1 Research Approach and Population of the study:**

The study is explorative by nature and used both qualitative and quantitative research approaches. The population of study involves Catholic Church leaders, genocide survivors, genocide convicts, local government leaders, opinion leaders and common citizens as guided by church commission of peace and justice. The population of study is limited to people living in city of Kigali as it is not easy to talk to every concerned category all over the country.

### **3.2 Sample Size**

The sample size of the study is 50 purposively determined as relevant people that suit the study. Twenty (20) catholic priests, ten (10) genocide survivors, (5) five genocide convicts five (5) local government officials, ten (10) citizens.

### **3.3 Sources of data collection& techniques**

Sources of data collection are categorised into primary and secondary sources. Interviews and discussions with the targeted population helped me to get the information needed. Besides, other information was obtained from desktop research, policy documents, newspapers and journals. Data was collected using different ways including desk research by scanning all related publications and questionnaires to obtain adequate literature in line with research questions. Questionnaires related to research questions and interviews to different respondents were used to get all the needed information, observation techniques especially focusing on activities done by churches.

### **3.4 Limitation of the study:**

The study does not focus on all churches to ascertain its noble role in promoting unity and social cohesion among Rwandans but instead limited itself on Catholic Church whose activities are based in City of Kigali.

As regards the geographical area of study, not all sampled respondents were obtained from the all over the country; instead were selected from within Kigali to respond to the questionnaires prepared. Finally, while analysing data, the study used excel and SPSS programs in sorting, analysis of the data.

### **Conclusion**

This chapter covers research methods and techniques used while collecting data for the successful study. It involves sampling techniques, research design, population of the study, limitations and data collection techniques that help the researcher to gather data for interpretation and analysis among others.

## **CHAPTER IV: DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION:**

The chapter covers data presentation, analysis and interpretation. The data was collected by use of questionnaires and interviews as data collection tools. Besides, documentation complemented secondary data. The study was exploratory in nature however, it was analysed qualitatively and quantitatively. Before, the data was analysed, it was first processed basing on the variables of the topic and its relevance.

### **4.1 VIEWS FROM STUDY RESPONDENTS:**

Different views were collected and captured regarding the contribution of the Catholic Church in promoting unity and social cohesion among Rwandans after 1994 Genocide against Tutsi. Despite some of the church's priests got involved in the genocide, however, it was revealed that the Church on the other part after 1994 genocide against the Tutsi has put up various initiatives aimed at promoting unity and social cohesion among Rwandans for example the establishment of peace and justice commission in all its parishes organizing crusades throughout parish, establishment of peace and unity clubs all over its parishes, conducting research related studies in those areas that regularly inform them on the progress of their work.

These initiatives are organized to deeply understand reasons beyond doubt that caused the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi as well as suggesting alternatives. In search for answers therefore, some actually wondered that for such atrocities to happen, there seems to have been retardation in spreading the word of God, love and that spiritual guidance against the evils that were happening.

### **4.2 Catholic Church involvement in promoting unity and social cohesion**

<b>Indicators</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Greatly involved	40	80%
Averagely involved	8	16%
Less involved	2	4%
Not at all	0	0%
Total	50	100%

Therefore, as you can see in the above table are views of the respondents on the contribution of the Catholic Church in promoting unity and social cohesion among Rwandans. The 80% of them confirmed great contribution of the church as it is attributed to the church programs that aim at fostering unity and social cohesion among Rwandans for example those interviewed confirmed that every parish has established Peace and Justice Commission to assess the real issues that surround togetherness after the atrocities of 1994 genocide against the Tutsi.

Besides, it was too revealed that church members take time to listen people's real issues across all categories of people i.e. Genocide survivors, convicts, local government officials and

common citizens by assessing the real causes that exist (ed) among Rwandans during 1994 genocide against Tutsis thereby proposing alternatives that promote coexistence and social cohesion among Rwandans.

Furthermore, this milestone is as a result of the existence of prevailing initiatives undertaken by some priests towards healing broken hearts of Rwandans especially genocide survivors as well as genocide perpetrators given to what they did during 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. The Case worth noting is of Father Ubald RUGIRANGOGA, a widely known father for his role in healing Rwandan Families and organizing massive crusades after the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi.

His teachings and massive crusades have contributed enormously towards healing, uniting and reconciling Rwandans. It was revealed that such initiatives should be supported by the whole church and other religious denominations since the effects of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi are everywhere in the country.

It was however, revealed with emphasis that, the Catholic Church should add more efforts in promoting such related initiatives that heal our society so as to bring back its trust to the population and probably that is why 16% of respondents revealed the lesser involvement of the church in promoting unity and social cohesion but it is evident that the catholic church is doing a lot to bring back its reputation in society by even spreading evangelism that heals people's hearts.

It was also revealed that apart from establishing peace and justice commissions, the church has too conducted surveys and studies to inform them on the impacts of their programs countrywide. Another informative perspective in that line is that, the church established unity and reconciliation clubs at every parish that are meant to inculcate peace and reconciliation.

#### **4.3 Disrespect of biblical scripture of “loving of your neighbour as you love yourself”**

It was revealed that, sinning is structural and personal in nature; some priests were influenced by the system available at the moment because some of them were politically involved in the running of political affairs in the country thus forgetting biblical teachings.

Actually, even on 10/04/1994, Pope John Paul II sent a message to Rwandan church leaders to dissociate themselves from the killings that were going on but due to the fact that some of them were deeply involved in the state affairs, they became overpowered. In simple terms, the system at the moment overpowered the directives of the Pope. Thus, that is how the likes of Athanase SEROMBA was greatly involved in aiding and abetting genocide and other crimes against humanity committed during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi in Nyange in Ngororero District. Also, Father Wenceslas MUNYESHYAKA is another figure that was cited due to his role and working with then system. He is regarded as the master minder of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi at Saint Famille in Kigali.

It was also revealed that the Nuns like Maria Kizito MUKABUTERA and Gertrude MUKANGANGO were active role in the killing of innocent souls that had sought protection

from their area of operation in South Province during the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. With such examples therefore, it is very evident how some of the church priests participated in the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi which is why after the atrocities, some of church clergies and Pope Francis have apologized for what happened in reference to their church's stance in the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. This therefore summarizes why respondents 90% of respondents revealed that church priests were actively working with the killing regime.

#### **4.4 Contribution of Father Ubald RUGIRANGOGA**

It was revealed that actually Father Ubald is a genocide survivor who tried to forgive those that who killed his family. His initiative is overwhelmingly impacting Rwandan society by all categories of people (Genocide survivors, convicts and the common citizens at large). It is an initiative that was started by the father himself given what happened to him.

Despite the fact that, the initiative is impacting the society positively, it is not shared by the Catholic Church. In fact, he only teaches healing and reconciliation in parishes accepted by its leaders. It was revealed that this initiative is reconciling and healing broken hearts hence the need to be supported to cover the all parishes and the country at large. 82% of the respondents interviewed underlined the need to support Father Ubald's initiative to cover the whole country whereas 18% have not yet noticed it.

On the general perception of the how churches' can win back the people's trust , respondents revealed that churches in post genocide Rwanda are actively involved in uniting Rwandans. They are very much involved in supporting genocide survivors in different spheres of their lives by giving them food, shelter and encouraging them to forgive perpetrators since many of them have been convicted by courts and sought forgiveness to the families of genocide survivors. All categories of people have embraced church services where they repent and seek forgiveness from God however the Catholic Church should strive much to inculcate that spirit in people and walking the talk so that what happened should never happen again. More to that given the role of some of its priests in 1994 genocide shocked its Christians which why it must put much emphasis on unity and reconciliation as well as spreading the word of God.

#### **4.5 Rebuilding the trust among Rwandans**

it is imperative to note that faith based organisations in Rwanda are largely contributing to national healing and reconciliation of Rwandans and therefore should keep up the good work by continuously preaching the word of God and love to their entire population of Rwanda so as to embrace the Never again in Rwanda. Respondents revealed that their contribution to unity and reconciliation is derived from government commitment to uniting Rwandans through its different programs like NDI UMUNYARWANDA and forgiving those who killed their relatives and live together. Various faith based organizations organize annual prayer breakfast to pray for the nation's achievement and bless our leaders for the upcoming years. Also they organize national conferences all over the country to pray for Rwandans and sometimes fundraise resources to support genocide survivors.

#### **4.6 Resettlement of genocide convicts in society**

It was revealed that at first, things were not easy as they felt a shame to the society however; they were sensitized while in jail to be good citizens. They were approached by different people

including local government authorities, genocide survivors and churches to forget what happened and live together with other Rwandans in the society. Therefore, at first things were not easy for them because they felt ashamed of what they did during the genocide especially to the genocide survivors. It was revealed that, due to such initiatives, now genocide convicts live together with survivors, they share food on both sides, water in case of scarcity and ideas at the same time. Things are working due to the enablers put in place by the church and other players in unity and reconciliation.

The contribution of churches is very enormous towards enabling genocide convicts in the society; several churches have been organizing crusades in prisons to sensitize inmates on the need to repent all what they did during 1994 genocide against Tutsi and ask forgiveness from survivors of the genocide whose relatives were killed by them. This kind of initiative helps all the affected groups (Genocide survivors and perpetrators) to live together with other without hatred and pin-pointing against each other thus promoting unity and social cohesion among Rwandans. This is the right path to reconciliation and social cohesion among Rwandans.

on local government take to the contribution of faith based organization to promoting unity and reconciliation among Rwandans, it was revealed that these churches are overwhelmingly contributing a lot to unity of Rwandans through different programs of prayers and conferences aimed at encouraging Rwandans to live together, forgiveness and working together as Rwandans, avoiding divisionism etc.. It was revealed that local government entities consider these organisations are there core stakeholders in development for example the catholic church is on record of having established schools, health centres, hotels and other income generating projects that in turn employ so many Rwandans hence fighting unemployment problem in the country.

#### **4.7 Hypothesis Testing:**

Christensen (1991:390) asserts that hypothesis testing is a stage in research process whereby after data collection and analysis, a researcher obtains the answers to the research questions and determines whether the stated hypothesis has been supported. He further states that the most appropriate procedure of testing hypothesis is to analyse the data and draw relationship between the answers from different respondents and the formulated hypothesis.

Thus, basing from the above author, much as some the Catholic Church leaders in Rwanda were at the fore front of masterminding the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, it is also eminent that the same church in a post genocide Rwanda is enormously involved in uniting and reconciling the Rwandan society in its different programs like Justice and peace that is established at every parish to analyse and give solutions to the problems existing among Rwandans. Not only the Catholic Church but even all of faith based organisations are largely implicated into actions of unity and social cohesion of Rwandans since many of born again churches organize crusades to fundraise support for genocide survivors, healing and forgiveness. This therefore implies to the researcher that the hypothesis was positively tested.

#### **4.8 Summary of the Findings:**

- **The Contribution of Catholic Church in fostering unity and social cohesion in a post genocide Rwanda**

The 80% of respondents of the study confirmed that the Catholic Church is greatly involved in fostering unity and social cohesion among Rwandan communities. This is largely attributed to the church's programs and mechanisms in place specifically spearheaded by the church's Peace and Justice Commission that is mandated to assess the real issues affecting Rwandans after the atrocities of 1994 genocide against the Tutsi and suggest possible solutions towards healing Rwandan broken hearts.

- **Enablers to get to the unity and social cohesion in a post genocide Rwanda.**

- Motivating the genocide survivors and convicts to live together
- Initiatives of some priests in healing and massive crusades
- Resettling genocide convicts in the society

## **5.0 General Conclusion**

The fact that some the catholic priests participated in 1994 genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda, basing on the findings of the study as well as the interviews held with church leaders, genocide survivors, local leaders and genocide convicts, it is evident that the future of Rwandans is good because it seemed like the catholic church in post genocide Rwanda is more focused on activities that promote unity and social cohesion among Rwandans. The church has put in place enablers to that effect including but not limited to peace and justice commission that is established and working at all parishes in the country.

The impacts of 1994 genocide to Rwandan population are very bad and should not be repeated and that is why the government of Rwanda established institutions to counter such ideologies that might come up to divide Rwandans.

Initiatives like that of Father Ubald, RUGIRANGOGA should be supported by the church to cover the whole parishes unlike it is done presently because for him to carry out his teachings, he has to carry out permission from the parish. The fact that genocide against the Tutsi happened in the whole country, this blessed man of God should be left to teach everywhere in the country without permission from authorities because his teachings are full of love, forgiveness and healing the broken hearts.

## **5.1 Recommendations:**

Like it was done by all other religious denominations in Rwanda as well as international community for having failed to help Rwandans during 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, it is imperative for the Catholic Church to come out clear and asks for forgiveness as some of its priests are on record of having masterminded and participated in the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi.

To fellow academic researchers, there is a need to carry further studies as to why some members of the Catholic Church are resistant to promoting unity and reconciliation among despite the established enablers in place;

There is a need to assess the life of genocide convicts after they are released, the extent of their compliance with community setup and challenges.

The 2015 Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer published by NURC states that 25.8% of its respondents confirmed persistence of genocide ideology in the country thus there is a need to investigate the reasons behind such ideologies and come up with recommendations that can help institutions to strategize for the future generations.

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## Annex: Questionnaires

THIS QUESTIONNAIRE IS PREPARED TO HELP THE STUDENT/RESEARCHER GATHER INFORMATION RELATED TO HIS RESEARCH THESIS FOR THE AWARD OF MASTER'S DEGREE IN GENOCIDE STUDIES AND PREVENTION

### (a) QUESTIONNAIRES TO CATHOLIC PRIESTS/IBIBAZO BIGENEWE ABIHAYE IMANA:

Names .....

Amazina

Sex.....

Igitsina

Sector and District.....

Aho utuye

Age.....

Imyaka

1. Do you think the Catholic Church is doing something towards promoting unity and social cohesion among Rwandans despite its role in the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi? mutekereza ko kiriziya gatorika hari icyo irimo gukora kugira ngo iteze imbere ubumwe n'imibanire y'abanyarwanda nyuma ya jenocide yakorewe abatutsi?

- Greatly involved /irabikora cyane
- Averagely involved/irabikora bigereranije
- Less Involved /Irabikora gake
- Not at all/Ntabyo ikora

Please justify your responses under here /Sobanura impamvu hano hasi.....

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2. What kinds of programs are being implemented by your church to bring social cohesion and unity among Rwandans? Nizihe gahunda kiriziya gatorika irimo gukora

ziteza imbere ubumwe n'imibanire y'abanyarwanda nyuma ya jenocide yakorewe abatutsi?

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3. The bible says, love your neighbour as you love yourselves, why do think some catholic priests participated in the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi and forgot this biblical scripture? Bibiliya ivuga ko umuntu akwiye gukunda mugenze we nkuko yikunda, nikubera iki abihayimana banyuranije n'icyanditswe bagafasha abicanyi muri jenocide yakorewe abatutsi?

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4. Pope John Paul II sent the message to Catholic Church on 10/04/1994 to disassociate your selves from the killings that were taking place during the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, why did it happen? Papa Yohani Paul II yandikiye kiriziya gatorika mu Rwanda tariki 10/4/1994 asaba abayobozi ba kiriziya kwitandukanya n'ubwicanyi bwakorerwaga abanyarwanda. Kubera iki bitubahirijwe?

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5. Father Ubald RUGIRANGOGA launched an initiative aiming at healing Rwandan hearts and forgiveness. To what extent is it realizing its objectives? Padiri Ubald RUGIRANGOGA yatangije gahunda igamije gusengera abanyarwanda, kubunga no kubabarirana, ese mutekereza ko iyi gahunda izagera ku ntego zayo?

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6. Do you believe churches in general can bring back its trust to Christians given its role in 1994 genocide against the Tutsi? Ese mutekereza ko kiriziya gatorika ishobora kongera kwigarurira imitima y'abakristu nyuma y'uruhare yagize muri jenocide?
- A. Yes/yego
  - B. NO/ oya

Thank you  
Murakoze

(B) QUESTIONNAIRES TO GENOCIDE SURVIVORS AND COMMON CITIZENS: IBIBAZO BIGENEWE ABACITSE KWICUMU RYA JENOSIDE YAKOREWE ABATUTSI HAMWE N'ABATURAGE MURI RUSANGE

Names of the respondent.....

Izina

Sex.....

Igitsina

Sector and District.....

Aho utuye

Age.....

Imyaka

1. How do you rate the contribution of Catholic Church in promotion of unity and social cohesion among Rwandans after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi? Ubona uruhare rwa kiriziya gatorika muguteza imbere ubumwe n'imibanire y'abanyarwanda nyuma ya jenoside yakorewe abatutsi rugeze kuruhe rugero?

Very High/Hejuru cyane    High/Hejuru    Low/Gakeya    Very Low/Gake cyane

Justify your response /Sobanura

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2. While you assess the work done by churches in Rwanda after the genocide, what do you think needs to be done to instil sustainable unity and social cohesion among Rwandans? Iyo ubona ibikorwa bya kiriziya gatorika mu Rwanda ubona arihe hashyirwa imbaraga muguteza imbere ubumwe n'imibanire y'abanyarwanda?

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3. Have you heard about Father Ubald RUGIRANGOGA? If yes, how do you rate his teachings aimed at building a peaceful society composed of genocide survivors and convicts after the genocide against the Tutsi? Niba uzi Padiri Ubald, ese ubona gute gahunda yatangiye zo kubanisha abanyarwanda no kubabarirana nyuma ya jenocide yakorewe abatutsi?

A: Very promising/biratanga ikizere cyane    B: Promising/biratanga ikizere    C: Needs support from other priests/akeneye inkunga y'abandi bihaye imana    D: Low/gato cyane

4. Do you see Father Ubald initiative of uniting and healing Rwandans especially genocide survivors and perpetrators realistic? Ese iyi gahunda yatangijwe na Padiri Ubald yo kubanisha abanyarwanda ifite umusaruro?

A= His teachings are very useful towards building a peaceful society/Inyigisho ze zifite akamaro cyane mukubanisha banyarwanda no kubaka amahoro.

B= His teachings are good but needs to be supported by several priests to reach a big population/Inyigisho ze ni nziza ariko akeneye guterwa inkunga n'abandi bihaye imana kugira ngo bigere kubanyarwanda benshi

C= I just hear about that man of God/Ndamwumva

D= I have never heard about him/Sindamumva na gake

5. A part from the Catholic Church, how do you rate related services of other religious organisations towards uniting Rwandans given the government stake of promoting unity and reconciliation and NDI UMUNYARWANDA programs? Ese ubona gute gahunda za leta ziteza ubumwe n'ubwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda?

A= the future is good given the services offered that are related to national unity and social cohesion/Imbere ni heza kuko gahunda ziteza ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda

B= There is a need to support these organisations that put forward teachings related to oneness and social cohesion among Rwandans/Hakenewe ko hongerwamo imbaraga mu guteza imbere imiryango iteza imbere ubumwe n'ubwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda

□ C= Some Christians are still captives of the past with genocide ideology, so there is a need to continue sensitizing them about the effects of living together as Rwandans/ Bamwe mu bakristo baracyari imbohe z'amateka bityo hakaba hakenewe ubukangurambaga bugamije kubanisha abanyarwanda amahoro abanyarwanda

□ D= The Government is paramount in all this/Leta ibyitayeho cyane kandi bizagerwaho

4. What areas do you think the Catholic Church and other churches should emphasize on so much to bring back its reputation to Christians? Nibihe bice ubona kiriziya gatorika n'ayandi madini yashyiramo imbaraga mukongera kubanisha neza abanyarwanda muri rusange

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Thank you.

QUESTIONNAIRES TO LOCAL GOVERNMENT LEADERS/IBIBAZO BIGENEWE ABAYOBOZI

Names of the respondent.....

Amazina

Sex.....

Igitsina

Sector and District.....

Aho utuye

Age.....

Imyaka

1. How can you rate the contribution of Catholic Church towards promoting unity and social cohesion among Rwandans after 1994 genocide against the Tutsi/ Ese ubona gute uruhare rwa kiriziya gatorika muguteza imbere ubumwe n'imibanire y'abanyarwanda nyuma ya jenocide yakorewe abatutsi?

Very High /Ruragaragara cyane     High/Ruragaragara     Low/gake     Very low/gake cyane

Justify/sonabura

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2. Are there any initiatives implemented by the Catholic Church in your areas of governance that largely promote unity and social cohesion among Rwandans? Ese hari gahundi ya kiriziya gatorika iteze imbere ubumwe n'mibanire y'abanyarwanda mu gake muyobora?

A= Yes

B=NO

Explain/sobanura

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3. What is your assessment of faith based organisations contribution towards uniting Rwandans in your areas of administration? Ubona gute ibikorwa by'imiryango ishingiyeye ku myemerere bigamije guteza imbere imibanire n'ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda

- Very High/hejuru cyane     High/hejuru     Low/Gake     Very low/Gake cyane

Justify/Sobanura.....

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4. Do you think churches in general can bring back its trust to Christians given its role in 1994 genocide against the Tutsi? Ese mubona amatorero muri rusange azongera kugirirwa ikizere n'abayoboke nyuma y'uruhare yagize muri jenocide yakorewe abatutsi muri jenocide

A=Yes/yego

B=NO/oya

Thank you.



4. What mechanisms do you think the government and churches should put in much emphasis to foster unity and social cohesion among Rwandans? Nizihe ngamba ubona leta n'amadini yakoresha muguteza imbere ubumwe n'imibanire mu banyarwanda?

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5. Did you kill anybody from any church, if yes how did the killers collaborate with church leaders in the killing of innocent Christians that sought protection from those churches? Ese hari umuntu waba wariciye mu kiriziya? mwakoranaga gute n'abayobozi ba kiriziya?

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Thank you/Murakoze