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5 | ***“By the Rivers of Babylon, There We Sat and We cried When We Remembered Zion” (Psa 137)***

Post-Genocide Rwandese Women’s
Healing Theology

Hope Karangwa Munezero & Françoise Niyonsaba

Introduction

In 1994, Rwanda experienced a genocide in which approximately 1,000,000 lives were lost. In a period of 100 days, no life was left untouched (Banyanga, 2017:2). As Banyanga highlighted, it was a result of a long history of dominance by the minority Tutsis (about 14% of the population) over the majority Hutus (about 85%), greatly intensified under the colonial rule of the Belgians from which it gained independence in 1962. The country experienced a Hutu revolt in 1959 and a civil war in 1990, all which led to loss of thousands of lives and migrations. Among those greatly affected by genocide, women were the most vulnerable. They suffered rape, they were widowed, witnessed murder of their own children, or even forced to kill them (Banyanga, 2008:1).

This paper seeks describes the effects the 1994 genocide against Tutsi had on women but also how Rwandese women stood through. Methodologically, the paper gives insight on the 1994 genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda, the effect of the genocide on women, healing and reconciliation in the aftermath, the role of the church during and after genocide. It assesses Rwandese women’s healing theology in Post-genocide Rwanda, using stories of women who were particularly connected with the church. In other words, this paper uses a desk review approach to describe the situation and stories of Rwandese women interviewed in order to understand the views and perceptions on women’s theology of healing in Rwanda.

The 1994 Genocide against Tutsi: Effects on Women

Genocide is the deliberate and systematic destruction of a group of people because of their ethnicity, nationality, religion, or race. The term was derived from the Greek “*genos*” meaning ‘race, tribe, or nation’ and the Latin “*cide*” meaning ‘killing’ (Andreopoulos, 2022). Although the term itself is of recent origin, genocide has been practiced throughout history. According to Thucydides¹, the people of Mole were slaughtered after refusing to surrender to the Athenians during the Peloponnesian² war. Also, in ancient times, it was common for victors in war to massacre all the men of a conquered population. Twentieth-century events often cited as genocide include the 1915 Armenian massacre by the Turkish-led Ottoman Empire, the nearly complete execution of European Jews and Roma (Gypsies) by Nazi-Germany during World War II, and the killing of Tutsis by Hutus in Rwanda in 1994 (Ibid).

Rwanda had been a German colony since 1895 to 1916 and a Belgian colony from 1916 until it received independence in 1962. The Rwandan community, prior to the coming of colonizers and white missionaries, had three social categories namely Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa. These categories had absolutely no ethnic implication until the Belgians policy of divide and rule. Their ideology sought to categorize the three groups as ethnically and racially distinct, despite the fact that they all share one ethnicity, one language and a common heritage as *Banyarwanda* (Muke, 2016:1).

The system elevated Tutsis over other groups in many ways including education and leadership which led to the Hutu revolt in 1959 in which many Tutsi people were killed and many others fled to seek refuge in neighboring countries. In 1990, a group that called itself the Rwandese Patriotic Army (RPA) entered the country from Uganda, signaling the beginning of a civil war. This was a group that is composed of mainly children of Tutsi refugees from earlier violence, who came by force into Rwanda at least in part because the government had not allowed Tutsi refugees to return. Among the Hutus, an ideology of “Hutu power”

¹ Thucydides is a great ancient Greek historian and author of the history of Peloponnesian war, which recounts the 5th century B.C.E. war between Sparta and Athens to the year 411 B.C.E.

² Peloponnesians are people from southern Peninsula of Greece.

developed and was propagated by elements of the government and media, intensifying fear and devaluation of Tutsis.

The genocide was planned, prepared, and then executed in 1994 from 7 April after the plane crash in which president Habyarimana Juvenal died, until 15 July, making it around 100 days in which members of the Tutsi minority ethnic group, as well as moderate Hutu and Twa, who opposed to the massacre were killed by armed Hutu militias. Approximately one million lives were lost, others widowed and orphaned. The cruelty of the genocide against Tutsi was shown in that people killed their friends, their family members, their classmate, and their church members. It was then stopped by the Rwanda Patriotic Army (RPA), defeating the government army (Prunier, 1995). Subsequently, the new government has been promoting unity and reconciliation among Rwandese.

Catherine Newbury and Hannah Baldwin in their paper entitled 'Aftermath: women in Post genocide Rwanda', they discuss the impacts of the 1994 genocide against Tutsi on women. There was 'destruction of trust' as family and friends fled and neighbors became enemies leaving fear and insecurities in environments where women found "solace and support" (Newbury & Baldwin, 2000:3). Sexual violence was probably the most intense in what women suffered. Some were raped, turned into sex slaves, impregnated by the perpetrators. As if this was not enough, these women suffered social stigma to a large extent. Bearing a child of a genocide perpetrator was something the society could hardly tolerate leave alone the child growing up to ask about his father. (Ibid., 4).

The authors also mentioned "expanded family responsibilities" as a result of genocide. Families fostered orphans from relatives, neighbors and friends adding to the pressure that women in childbearing age would need to produce children to replace those who had died. More to this, 1996 demographic survey showed that approximately 54% of the population was women and 34% of the households were women-headed in comparison to 25% shown in 1994 (Ibid., 6). It goes without saying that 34% is just the number of those who were courageous to display their status and also 1996 means that the number lacks the refugees who returned to the country in the following years. Briefly put, the effects of

genocide on women left a big mark that they had to suffer deeply even afterwards as they reestablished their lives and those of their families.

Healing

Healing can be defined as restoring to health and causing an undesirable condition to be overcome. In addition, healing refers to restoration of a person who has been ill in body or mind or both to full health. Healing in African indigenous cultures is a corporate matter involving the totality of the person, family, and community (Olademo, 2012:53). Healing also refers to any kind of supernatural healing of the body from any kind of sickness or disease (Raichur, n.d.: Para 4). It is reviewed as any strategy, process or activity that improves the psychological health of individuals, following extensive violent conflict. However, healing is not only about assisting individual to address their psychological health needs in an isolated way, rather, it depends upon and linked to repairing and rebuilding communities and the social context. This implies restoring a normalized everyday life that can recreate and confirm people's sense of being and belonging (Muke, 2021:461).

More to the above, Schreiter argued that healing is a process which takes more than a generation to accomplish. Therefore, he suggested three stages through which the process often moves. First, acknowledging the loss, second making the connections, and the third taking new action. He also explains that acknowledging loss does not mean to abandon the past; rather, to create a new relationship to it (Schreiter, 2008:461-462). Thus, Staub added that healing strengthens the self, moderates the perception of the world as dangerous, and makes it more likely that positive changes in the other group are perceived (Staub, 2006). Consequently, healing in the context of post-1994 genocide in Rwanda, sought to address the wounds of the individuals as well as the community as a whole. This is a process through counselling of several kind provided by the government and many Non-Profit Organizations that created support groups. The church participated by teaching steps to meet, tell the truth, and confess the wrong done. This helped to heal wounds and trauma related to the guilty and restoring broken relationships between the perpetrators and survivors.

Reconciliation

Reconciliation is the act of causing two people or groups to become friendly again after conflicts, an argument or disagreement (Britannica, 2022). Reconciliation is often restricted to interpersonal relationships and becomes defined in terms of bringing together former adversaries on the basis of a minimum mutual acceptance. This implies the restoration or transformation of the minimal acceptable relationships between former adversaries, which builds on a minimum of mutual acceptance, in a viable and cooperative manner (Lederach, 1997:24). In this regard, a minimum acceptable relationship between former adversaries' is defined in terms of the existence of mutual trust, positive attitudes and behaviors, and the consideration of the parties' needs and interests.

This understanding is restricted to the process involving the transformation or change at the relationship level after a violent conflict has caused a rupture in people's relationships (Sentama, 2014). According to Fernando Enns, the process of reconciliation may include "different elements such as the confession of guilt, atonement, asking and granting of forgiveness up to a newly ordered relationship" (Schliesser, 2018:7).

The reconciliation process in Rwanda focuses on reconstructing the Rwandan identity, as well as balancing justice, truth, peace, and security in the country. Different measures have been taken by the Rwandan government towards achieving the goal of perpetrators and victims living side by side in peace. For example, the Constitution now states that all Rwandans share equal rights. In addition, laws have been passed to fight discrimination and divisive genocide ideology (NURC, 2012).

The church is very involved and committed to the reconciliation work that includes the teaching of the Bible (Bataringaya, 2016:97). In this process of unity and reconciliation, churches in Rwanda collaborated with the government in the national process of reconciliation, supplementing the government's top-down strategy with bottom-up approaches (Schliesser, 2018:7). Rebuild social relationships, helping both victims and perpetrators to live together peacefully without hatred, fear, or bitterness (Muke, 2021:464).

Post-Genocide Theology

After genocide, Christian churches were faced with a crisis of trust. Due to the perceived complicity of the churches, many Rwandese turned away, if not from Christianity itself, but from the established churches. This resulted in significant changes in Rwanda's religion-scape. Since the genocide, the Catholic Church has lost about one third of its members. In contrast, the Protestant denominations have had a steady increase in membership. From 19% in 1990, they have doubled to 38% in 2015 (NISR, 2015). Churches failed to provide a refuge for the victims but instead became "chambers of death" (Newbury & Baldwin, 2000:3). As a result, credibility was lost and there was a need to repent before God and Rwandan society. Different approaches were taken by church leaders to apologize for this great failure.

There is the Detmold confession where Christians of different Churches, from Rwanda and elsewhere, gathered at Detmold-Germany from 7th-12th December 1996 at the invitation of Dr. Fulgence Rubayiza, in collaboration with the ecumenical community of Hiddesen, to pray and reflect on their common commitment to build a Rwanda where people can in harmony. After discussions, there was confession of each party and forgiveness granted as well as agreement to work together (Ntezimana, 2002). Also, Presbyterian Church in Rwanda's (EPR) synod council that gathered from 10 to 15 December 1996 composed a message of confession and repentance to all Rwandans which was formulated as follows:

Dear Rwandans and Christians, the time has come to proceed with self-criticism because the Church of God is ashamed of having been incapable of opposing or denouncing the planning and execution of the genocide. As God servant Nehemiah did (Neh. 1:5-11), so, we the Synod, in the name of the members of the Presbyterian Church of Rwanda, repent and ask forgiveness before God and the nation for our weakness and lack of courage when these were needed. The Synod asks the people of Rwanda and the world-wide Christian family to oppose every rejection of God's will for his creatures, to denounce and strongly resist ethnicity, regionalism, and religious divisions. For God, there is no Jew, Greek, Hutu, Tutsi nor Twa. We are all one in Christ (Nsengimana, 2015).

Despite this, religion has been and continues to be part of Rwanda's system and churches assume a crucial role in all processes affecting Rwandan society. After the 1994 genocide against Tutsi there was a need for the theology of healing, reconciliation, and resilience; churches cooperated with the government to unite Rwandans and reintegrate the communities. This meant using the Bible to relate with the post genocide context, draw out parts of scriptures that relate especially in the annual commemoration period, take the first step as faith leaders to embrace changes and accompany others on the same journey.

Women's Theology

Since the first century, women have been active in the theology and mission of the Church. Luke-Acts reveals how Jesus and the apostles cared for women and enlisted them in kingdom service, and John contains the astonishing tale of how Jesus carried on a full theological conversation with a scandalous Samaritan woman which would have been unthinkable at the time for two reasons: because she was a woman and a Samaritan (Grisham, 2021). As the Church grew throughout the world, women flocked to Christianity because of the ways it gave them more dignity than the male-centric Greco-Roman and Jewish cultures. In fact, the office of deacon (Acts 6:1-7) was established to provide care for the large number of Christian widows, which led to more conversions (Grisham, 2021).

Unfortunately, many women consider theology to be a man's world (Brand, 2021). They are shy and do not regard this field as their own which in many ways is a result of the construction of our society. Thus, African women's theology committed to the emancipation of women covering the several themes such as ecclesiology, hospitality, community, spirituality, sacrifice, ecology and missiology. It examines African culture and demonstrates an understanding of women as a distinct group with inherent varieties within this category. Furthermore, African women's theology incorporates experiences of African women in their perspectives while analyzing women's subordination (Phiri, 2004).

The sociocultural context in Rwanda before 1994 included polygamy leaving the majority of women housewives with no say on the household

decisions. A woman was looked upon to carry out the family responsibilities (PROFAM, 2015). After the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, many families were headed by single parents; the number of orphans and groups headed by a minor increased. The government of Rwanda established the national policy for family promotion to empower women to increase the wellbeing of the Rwandan family (PROFAM, 2015). Consequently, the way of thinking of women after the 1994 genocide improved; there was a major shift in gender roles, women heading families, taking up roles of judges in Gacaca courts (NURC, 2005).

The efforts of the government in empowering women were reflected in all sectors of the government. Churches also shown such change. We cannot ignore the fact that to some, it is still history and sometimes considered a taboo; but currently the number of female pastors increase and in theological institutions there are young girls and mothers year after year who join to be part of the ministry. They are supported by their churches, lecturers, and stories of those who have been there before the genocide.

Post-Genocide Rwandese Women Journeys

As stated earlier, after the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, many women were left responsible for families. After the death of their partners, many of the women raised their children and other orphans from extended families. Below are short stories of women, represented by abbreviations, who were widowed by genocide. Their families were, and still are, part of the Presbyterian Church in Rwanda (EPR) as one of the denominations that had been working in Rwanda for many years before genocide. The stories display a combination of efforts that made it possible for these women to stand after the tragedy.

Before genocide, MBGN was a schoolteacher married to a pastor in EPR with whom they had five children. The husband was killed in 1994 genocide. "After 1994 genocide I was in darkness, I did not see the light of hope." Said MBGN. Being left with the children to raise alone, her fear was that the children will become street kids as it was hard to support the family. She is very grateful because now her children have completed

university studies and are employed. She also added, “We have seen also the hand of God through the church.” As a spouse of the late pastor, the church gave her family a house to live in and helped her to rejoin work as a schoolteacher and accompanied her in trauma healing process.

Another great story of resilience is of NYRHM. She is a Christian member of EPR and a widow from the 1994 genocide. She had five children with her husband who was a church elder and a schoolteacher before 1994 genocide. In her words, NYRHM stated that “During genocide we were scattered, everyone escaped alone. After genocide, I thought I was alone and fortunately met my five children but the father was dead. We were in deep sorrow and fear of life and it was very hard to live next to the family that killed my husband. I fought really hard to forgive.” Before genocide, they were farmers which she continued for survivor after. She also got support from the church, neighbors, and the government to pay school fees for the children. “I do different activities in church because I feel that it is one way to praise God for leading us through this whole journey from 1994 up to now. I am courageous to do so until I die” said NYRHM.

NYRHM is also one of the women who fought for justice after genocide. She was a judge in Gacaca courts that sought the justice for genocide survivors and victims. She said that “joining Gacaca courts as a judge gave the way to forgive and teach others to confess and to forgive. I thank God for accompanying us in the hard journey we were able to go through.”

MKBE was a pastor in EPR. Her husband was a teacher and they had four children. The husband was killed during genocide. In her words, she said, “I fled with nothing, I did not know where my kids and husband were. But later we met while still fleeing. My husband was killed in my sight.” She continued; “After genocide, we tried to go back home but we find no house. We lived in the refugee camp, living a very bad life with fear and tears. It is hard to describe the situation” The family of MKBE got a house from the church and she continued the pastoral ministry. With tears, she said these words:

It was very hard to help other genocide survivors in the process of healing and reconciliation while my heart was still bleeding. I tried to heal myself first in order to help others. I told my heart 'You can do that; you are able to help others.' I then tried to help others as church minister. I had doubly hard; taking care of my family and the congregation with many traumatized people. I thank God who helped me to overcome everything. All my children studied well and now have their happy families. I deeply thank God for this (MKBE).

Post-Genocide Rwandese Women Healing Theology

In this part, we can look back on where we started. Questions like where the church was, thoughts about God amidst such a horrible experience, how Rwandese women survived such traumatizing events and rebuild families and churches. There is no denying that the experience was terrible beyond words. Women suffered all Newbury and Baldwin discussed and more.

They encountered loss of loved ones, fear and tears. The church was guilty not only of not offering refuge but of being accomplices in the act.

Despite this horrible encounter Rwandese women kept working. They realized the task is big and had to find ways to provide for families they were left with. They stayed in churches that many others were deserting and decided to be part of the rebuilding. Those in ministry had to go the extra mile to heal their wounds and be able to accompany others. Part of the journey was grieving, learning to forgive, raising children of their late spouses of from rape, leaning to live in communities with perpetrators and receiving them in their homes of congregations. Among the things and people that are told to have been great source of help in the process there is family, friends, neighbors, the government, the church, and most importantly God. It is common for human beings to blame God for bad things and in return abandon faith. Rwandese women instead attribute the gift of life after genocide to God, and prayer, Bible study, to have been strong tools throughout.

CONCLUSION

1994 genocide against Tutsi, left many wounds, orphans and widows. The process of healing, unity and reconciliation was and is still hard on all sides; be it on the side of churches in Rwanda, the government, and the community in general. Women, being the most vulnerable, suffered a great deal. But we see more than this; they did not give up. Not on their families, not on the church, not on the community and not on God. They worked hard to support themselves and heal their wounds as well as the Rwandan community. This spirit becomes a steppingstone for other women walking the road and younger generations to confidently rise.

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