

THE ROLE OF KAYOLE CATHOLIC PARISH IN  
CARING FOR RWANDESE REFUGEES IN NAIROBI

BY

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SAHY APREKHA COLLECTION

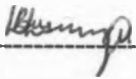
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# DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for the award of a degree in any other university.

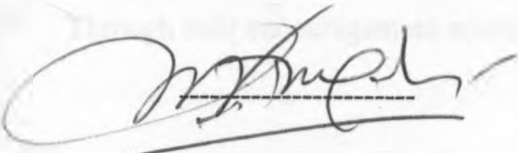
  
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## DEDICATION

Dedicated to My beloved Parents Ben Busungu and Stella Busungu.  
Through their encouragement and love for education, they inspired me to work hard.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis would not have been what it is now without the help from several individuals. First and foremost, I am greatly indebted to my supervisors, Prof. J. N. K. Mugambi and Dr. C. M. Mwikamba for the patience and keenness with which they read and discussed the drafts of this thesis and for their valuable comments on the drafts. Their encouragement and constructive criticisms are highly appreciated.

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## ABSTRACT

Large-scale movements of refugees have become a defining characteristic of the contemporary world. At few times in recent history have such large numbers of peoples in so many parts of the globe been obliged to leave their own countries to seek safety elsewhere. The refugee problem is reaching critical proportions in almost all parts of the world, placing the structures and institutions of international protection under stress. Humanitarian organizations are struggling to cope with the mounting demands made upon them. Governments in every continent are expressing alarm about the growing scale of the refugee problem, and are increasingly reluctant to bear the costs which they feel it imposes on them. The needs of refugees are too often seen as being at odds both with interests of states and with political pragmatism.

Humanitarian organizations have responded to the plight of refugees by providing them with immediate needs: food, housing, water, sanitation and clothing. This study set out to investigate the holistic approach adopted by Kayole Catholic Parish in caring for Rwandese refugees in Nairobi. The holistic approach aims at making Rwandese refugees to be restored to spiritual wholeness and at the same time overcome material poverty. This study has three objectives: (a) to investigate flight dynamics and obstacles that Rwandese refugees encountered, (b) to study the dimensions of integration undergone by the refugees at Kayole Christian

Community Centre (KCCC), and (c) to find out the holistic care given to Rwandese refugees.

The study is based on Howard Clinebell's theory of The Church as the Centre of Promoting Wholeness. This theory explains the holistic approach that a church can adopt while caring for the poor and oppressed. He argues that traditionally, the church's task has been divided into four functions - Kerygma (proclaiming the good news of God's love), didache (teaching), Koinonia (the establishing of a caring community, and diakonia (the expression of the good news in loving service).

This study is based on both library and field research. The field research yielded the primary data of the study. To acquire information for the study, four research methods were used: questionnaire-interview, informal interviews, participant observation and non-participant observation. Data got from the field, mainly from Rwandese refugees and those who care for them has been used to test the following hypotheses of the study: (a) that the length of stay in a host country has little relationship to material improvement of Rwandese refugee households, (b) that a holistic assistance to refugees leads to their healthy human development and integration into the host community.

The study observed that Kayole Catholic Parish was initially pre-occupied with Kerygma (proclaiming the good news of God's love) and didache (teaching). The study revealed that Kayole Catholic Parish adopted the holistic approach when

caring for refugees after the influx of Rwandese refugees at the parish following the crisis in Rwanda in 1994.

The study revealed that Kayole Catholic Parish aims at expressing the good news in loving service (diakonia). It shows that the diakonal work entails both the physical and spiritual dimensions of life.

The study showed that spiritual wholeness is the core of all human wholeness. It revealed that human crises have a spiritual dimension and that they cannot be fully overcome until the spiritual yearnings of the human beings have been met. The study showed that pastoral care is a valuable instrument for fostering spiritual wholeness.

In the parish the encounter of newcomers and established members offers the opportunity to live the new commandment of the Lord to love one another (see Jn. 13:34). If aware and sensitive to the presence of refugees, pastors and parish teams can lead the whole community to welcome them, for there are no aliens in the Body of Christ.

Together, then, as we grow strong in the familiarity of God's love, we build a more perfect and more inclusive community.



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## **ACRONYMS**

<b>AACC</b>	All African Conference of Churches
<b>AMECEA</b>	Association of Member Episcopal Conference of Eastern Africa.
<b>CCC</b>	Christian Community Centre
<b>DWM</b>	Divine Word Missionaries
<b>IDPS</b>	Internally Displaced Persons
<b>ICMC</b>	International Catholic Migration Committee
<b>IECCR</b>	International Ecumenical Consultative Committee on Refugees
<b>KCCC</b>	Kayole Christian Community Centre
<b>NRA</b>	National Resistance Army
<b>NT</b>	New Testament
<b>OAU</b>	Organization of African Unity
<b>OT</b>	Old Testament
<b>RPF</b>	Rwandese Patriotic Front
<b>RRWA</b>	Rwandese Refugee Welfare Association
<b>SCC</b>	Small Christian Community
<b>SDA</b>	Seventh Day Adventists
<b>UNO</b>	United Nations Organization
<b>UNHCR</b>	United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees
<b>WCC</b>	World Council of Churches







# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background to the Problem

A refugee is any person who, owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear or for reasons other than personal convenience, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country, or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable, or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.<sup>1</sup>

The scale and complexity of today's humanitarian crises are a reflection of the instability of the period in which we live. The collapse of the traditional order has given rise to a more volatile world in which new refugee movements are likely to continue to occur. The total number of refugees continues relentlessly, to grow.<sup>2</sup>

Table I: Global Refugee Population, 1975-1997

Millions	Millions	Millions	Millions	Millions
1975 2.4	1980 5.7	1985 10.5	1990 14.9	1995 14.4
1976 *	1981 8.2	1986 11.6	1991 17.2	1997 13.2
1977 2.8	1982 9.8	1987 12.4	1992 17.0	1999 10.9
1978 3.3	1983 10.4	1988 13.3	1993 18.2	
1979 4.6	1984 10.9	1989 14.8	1994 16.4	
Notes: Statistics dated 1 January of each year				
*No figure available				

The interplay of internal and external forces and a combination of socio-political, economic, racial, ethnic and religious factors are responsible for this mass displacement of people.<sup>3</sup>

In the Bible, the Israelites who were oppressed in Egypt under Pharaoh Seti I have been regarded as refugees. However, according to this author, the israelites were migrants in search for food in Egypt.<sup>4</sup>

Involuntary population movements have accounted for more than half of all international migrations since the early decades of this century and constitute an increasing share of current flows.<sup>5</sup> Ironically the main explanatory factor for this trend is the increase in the number of independent

states. In Africa, three distinct periods of involuntary migratory movements can be identified: pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial.<sup>6</sup>

**Table II: African refugee population<sup>7</sup>**

<b>YEAR</b>	<b>REFUGEE POPULATION</b>
1960s	100,000
1984	5 million
1990	6 million
1997	4.4 million
1999	3.4 million

Kenya is a host country to 183,169 refugees. The Catholic Church decided to offer humanitarian assistance to refugees from the Great Lakes Region since other humanitarian agencies were only assisting refugees from other parts of Africa.

Despite the scale and awfulness of those forced mass migrations, there has been little systematic study on African refugees and African refugee relief work.<sup>8</sup>

To become a refugee is to become stateless. A refugee does not possess a passport and hence he is unable to work, vote, leave or enter a state. When a people are forced into exile, they are separated from a familiar environment and cut off from friends, family and established social networks.<sup>9</sup>

To become a refugee is to experience desocialization and

dematuration.<sup>10</sup> The term desocialization may cover a variety of phenomena, ranging from the loss of social status and resources through role dispossession and disruption of social relationships. "Desocialization" is augmented by problems of communication as a refugee finds himself or herself in a foreign country, usually without knowledge of local language.<sup>11</sup> "Dematuration" begins with the transference of the decision-making from the refugee to officials and with the assuming by the latter of the right to intrude into the private world of the former.<sup>12</sup> The refugee is reduced to the role of a "child" incapable of managing his or her own affairs, who can be controlled, patronized and even scolded.<sup>13</sup>

At the same time, rank and status are lost. The standard policy of the refugees' administrators is to treat all refugees alike, or to assign them to categories regardless of their previous rank and status. In extreme cases, food is unpalatable, quarters are messy and noisy, showers unclean and toilets dirty.<sup>14</sup> Refugees also experience degradation from the division of refugees into categories, with needs, rights and duties assigned to each category according to an established set of criteria.<sup>15</sup> Refugees undergo this psychological disorder which consists of two phases, aggression and apathy. The first phase is dominated by restlessness, maladaptive behaviour and substance abuse. The second is a set of "situational withdrawal" which may lead to a complete mental breakdown.<sup>16</sup>

Also true is that most African host countries are confronted with unparalleled economic crises on the domestic front and can ill afford the luxury of hospitality. They complain that although Africa hosts half of the world's refugees, the allocation of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees' budget has never reflected this reality.<sup>17</sup>

Refugees speak and show the vivid awfulness of their experience, the brutality, terror, and desolation.<sup>18</sup> The role of Kayole Catholic Parish in addressing the problems of refugees was determined after a study was carried out.

## 1.2 Statement of the Problem

Given the nature of problems facing Rwandese refugees as stated in the background information, this study finds that these refugees require spiritual assistance besides material assistance. The study addresses refugee life from time of flight upto when they are integrated into the host community.

The study focuses on the holistic approach that Kayole Catholic Parish has adopted in addressing the problems of Rwandese refugees. Whereas Agencies have responded to the plight of refugees, they have only responded to their immediate needs: food, shelter, clothing, health care and education in order for the refugees to overcome material poverty. They are not involved in mission work – they do not share their faith with refugees.

Agencies have therefore funded the material dimension of a holistic task while they have neglected the spiritual dimension. They have divorced mission work from material assistance.

This study addresses a holistic approach which targets both the material and spiritual needs of refugees. Refugees are people struggling in despair and alienation. They have a spiritual yearning within themselves because they feel hopeless and imagine that God has forsaken them. Unless this spiritual dimension is fully met, refugees cannot be restored to human wholeness. Human crises have a spiritual dimension and they cannot be fully overcome until the spiritual yearnings of the human beings have been met.<sup>19</sup>

On the positive side, able efforts have been made to consolidate and communicate professional knowledge, for example in the journal disasters and in the excellent United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) handbook for emergencies. But the fact remains that at a time when great numbers of refugees are migrating and struggling to survive, the world seems to be negligently ignorant of what is really going on.

The study wants to investigate why Kayole Catholic Parish is never contented at satisfying physical and mental disposition of Rwandese refugees until they are restored to spiritual wholeness.

### 1.3 Objectives of the Study

The aim of this study is to investigate the following:

- (a) Flight dynamics and intervening obstacles among Rwandese refugees. This includes:
  - i) The decision to flee
  - ii) Intervening problems and hardships
- b) The various dimensions of integration among Rwandese refugees at the Kayole Christian Community Centre. (KCCC).
- c) The physicals, emotional, spiritual and pastoral care given to Rwandese refugees by Kayole Catholic Parish.

### 1.4 Rationale for the Study

Until recently, African refugees have rarely been the starting point or central concern of research. They have usually been noticed and mentioned only in passing and not as the primary focus.<sup>20</sup>

The studies so far done have only addressed the material assistance which I find inadequate. Proper assistance must be holistic and therefore the purpose of this work is to study a holistic approach and show its wholeness as a form of assistance to refugees. I find this study important, as it will show the



importance of merging mission work and material assistance while caring for refugees.

The condition of being a refugee implies a special vulnerability, since refugees are by definition persons in flight from the threat of serious human rights abuse.<sup>21</sup>

The overriding focus should be to assist refugees to become self-supporting under altered social and economic conditions.

Most refugees have an immediate need for material assistance including health care, shelter, food, clothing and education.

Many refugees will require professional assistance to overcome the emotional disequilibrium that is inherent in fearing for one's life and personal security, fleeing and contemplating a life in refuge.<sup>22</sup>

Analysis of art work by children experiencing memories of fleeing their home confirms that the experience of flight severely affects their mental health. These violent experiences disrupt maturation and the constitution of personality. Hence children require special attention especially orphans and those who personally experienced acts of violence.

Women refugees must also be the focus of specific concern. Their vulnerability is evident from the moment of flight. They can be subject to sexual harassment and coercion, especially those travelling alone or accompanied only by children. The demands of taking care of children and other cores, and the effect of cultural constraints, may prevent women from

interacting with other refugees, or the local community, thereby calling measures to offset isolation.

Refugees are people who have lost hope in life as they feel that God has forsaken them. They therefore have a spiritual yearning within themselves which should be met in order for them to fully overcome the human crises facing them.

A human being consists of three components namely soul, spirit, and body [cf. Gen. 2:7]. St. Paul likens the body to a tent which houses the soul and spirit [cf. II Cor. 5:1]. In order for these parts to work harmonously they must be nourished.

The holocaust in Rwanda was the worst recorded tragedy in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. It led to the generation of Rwandese refugees. On one hand, UNHCR has branded many Rwandese refugees as genocidal terrorists hence excluding them in the definition of a refugee. On the other hand, the Church following Christ's message of love and forgiveness has confronted such a sensitive and difficult case while helping refugees to be restored to wholeness. This study is towards understanding and solving the above mentioned problems and is a step towards the right direction.

No systematic study has been done on a holistic approach while addressing the problems of the refugees. It is a first attempt at exploring a holistic approach which could lead to the wholeness of refugees. This study will contribute in unvailing the strategies for better treatment and integration

of refugees into a host community. The writer finds this study timely and immediately relevant.

### 1.5 Scope and Limitations

There are sixty five catholic parishes in the diocese of Nairobi. Nonetheless, because it is not possible to carry out research in all these parishes at the same time, I chose Kayole Catholic Parish as my case study. This is because it cares for the largest number of Rwandese refugees in the Diocese of Nairobi. It is also important to note that among the sixty-five parishes, only Kayole, Riruta and Kangemi parishes offer care to refugees. The number of Rwandese refugees at Riruta and Kangemi parishes is small.

The crisis in Rwanda was one of the worst recorded tragedies in Africa. It led to the influx of Rwandese refugees in Kenya. The Rwandese case is quite complex since many refugees have been excluded in the definition of a refugee because of being implicated in war crimes and crimes against humanity.

Kayole Catholic Parish was chosen because it has adopted a holistic approach while caring for refugees. It caters for both the material and spiritual needs of refugees. Kayole Catholic Parish is located in Nairobi District, Nairobi Province in Kenya.

Kayole Catholic Parish is sponsored by Divine Word Missionaries (DWM). DWM was established in 1986. At this time Kayole estate was not

existing. DWM had six sub-parishes namely: Njiru, Mihango, Kasarani, Ruai, Kamulu and Soweto. Mass was conducted in the open air because there were no structures. The mass was attended by less than fifteen people. The parish priest and other missionaries used to stay at Jericho Parish. Population at Kayole grew to about 300 people. Due to the increase in population, construction work began.

Kayole Catholic Parish was sub-divided in 1986-87. Ruai changed from a sub-parish to a parish. Kayole Catholic Parish has remained with Soweto as the only sub-parish. The other sub-parishes are now under Ruai Parish.<sup>23</sup>

Kayole Catholic Parish has integrated over 700 refugees from the Great Lakes Region.<sup>24</sup> The above total includes 196 Rwandese households, 36 households from DRC and 8 households from Burundi. The number of refugees at Kayole Catholic Parish is: Rwanda (560) Burundi (30) DRC (210). The Majority of the refugees reside in Soweto estate. Other refugees reside in Kayole and Mihango estates.<sup>25</sup> This study focuses on Rwandese refugee households only. I contacted fifty key Rwandese refugee households during the study.

Rwandese refugees speak Kinyarwanda as their national language. Majority of them are able to speak Kiswahili because Kiswahili has bantu vocabularies. Some have done their best to learn English.<sup>26</sup> The Rwandese

refugee population at Kayole Catholic Parish continues to grow due to the ongoing ethnic war in that country.

## 1.6 Definition of Terms

- (i) **Asylum:** This is a term used to refer to a shelter for the unfortunate or afflicted. A political asylum is a state that accepts citizens of another state to shelter them from prosecution by that other state.<sup>27</sup> Asylum also means a place of refuge. Asylum then involves an informal undertaking by the state to offer protection to the refugee.<sup>28</sup>
- (ii) **Holistic Approach:** This is an approach that targets both the material and spiritual needs. As used in the study, it aims at making Rwandese refugees to be restored to spiritual wholeness and also overcome material poverty. According to this approach, mission work and material assistance cannot be divorced.
- (iii) **Voluntary repatriation:** This term refers to facilitating the return of refugees to their country of origin. However many refugees return to situations of devastation and uncertainty – or even outrightly insecurity. In order for repatriation to be a truly durable solution, UNHCR and other relief agencies should extend assistance to refugees who have returned to their own country and also monitor their welfare.

- (iv) **Third country:** This is a country in which refugees who can neither return to their country of origin nor safely remain in the country of refuge are resettled.
- (v) **Integration:** This term as used in the study refers to the process by which Rwandese refugees have occupied space in the host country for purposes of adjustment. The study does not use integration as in the official policy because the refugees have not been granted citizenship.
- (vi) **Refugee Household:** This term refers to the number of Rwandese refugees living under one roof. It is a sociological term, as it does not show the physical setting. The number may range from one to ten members. Averagely a household consists of three refugees.
- (vi) **Monsignor:** The term refers to respect given to high clerical rank equivalent to Bishop, but one may be a priest.

## 1.7 Literature Review

The United Nations (UN) in its 1967 Protocol agreed on the following definition of a refugee:

any person who, owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country

of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear or for reasons other than personal convenience, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.<sup>29</sup>

To determine whether that fear is well-founded, many factors are taken into account. These are: personal and family background; race; religion; nationality; social and political grouping; personal convictions and interpretations of the person in question. The commission of a crime is not mentioned in the definition of a refugee. It would therefore not qualify anyone as a refugee in the sense determined by the United Nations.<sup>30</sup>

Note that the 1967 Protocol affirmed the 1951 Geneva Convention of the definition of a refugee. This definition was specific to both first world war and second world war. It catered for individual displacement but not mass displacement.

Half of the World's refugees are in Africa. In many cases, those who call themselves refugees fall under none of the above descriptions. They are

neither persecuted nor looking for a better or different economic climate. Due to the wars that have torn many African countries apart, the result has been mass displacement. According to the Public Information Officer, UNHCR, the fear of being persecuted is not well-founded. In order to handle refugee problems in Africa, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) extended the definition of a refugee for Africa. The extension was made in a declaration called "The OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa", adopted in 1969 in Addis Ababa. To the UN definition the OAU Convention adds:

The term "refugee" shall also apply to every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign dominion or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality.<sup>31</sup>

According to this Convention, the country of asylum shall determine one's refugee status. The document goes on to say that giving asylum to a refugee is a peaceful and humanitarian act and that it should not be regarded as



an unfriendly act by any of the member states, not even by the refugees' country of origin. It states that no one should be rejected at the frontier, expelled or returned to his country of origin unwillingly. The African states, it adds, should help each other in the spirit of African solidarity. It even foresees that the refugees in a host country should be settled at a reasonable distance from the frontier of their country of origin. The Convention also stipulated that no refugee should be allowed to plot subversive activities against his or her mother country. By 1984, 27 out of the 51 OAU member states had ratified the Convention.<sup>32</sup>

J.G. Donders and S. Smith in the book entitled Refugees are People, noted that the church, being the "people of God", the one universal community, the community of humankind, "without boundaries", should put itself at the service of the human family, and has a duty to devote particular pastoral care to the refugee, "the person without boundaries". They further argue that refugees are blood of our blood and flesh of our flesh. We belong together in this world. Such was the heart of the message of Jesus when he reminded us all to pray "Our Father, who art in Heaven". Hence we have the same origin; we share the same destiny.<sup>33</sup>

The church has further broadened the definition of a refugee to include those who are forced to leave their home country because of systematic economic deprivation. According to the church, people who have been

excluded in the 1967 UN Protocol or the OAU Convention and yet they have been forced to sever links with their home country need pastoral care.

According to the working definition produced by the World Council of Churches (WCC) consultation on refugee resettlement in Stony Point, USA, in 1981:

Refugees are those who are forced to leave their homes and who are unable or unwilling to return because of persecution or well-founded fear of persecution, for reasons of race, religion, ethnicity, nationality, membership of a particular group, political opinion, systematic economic deprivation, or because of war-related circumstances.<sup>34</sup>

The UN defines internally displaced persons (IDPS) as those who have been displaced within their own country. According to one UN source, the total now runs as high as 30 million. Of this total, 16 million are estimated to be in Africa.<sup>35</sup> However, this study focuses only on refugees – those who have crossed an international border. This study will therefore not include IDPS.

M. Bulcha in his book entitled Flight and Integration: Causes of Mass Exodus from Ethiopia and Problems of Integration in the Sudan, argues that anticipated danger posed by human agents is the main reason behind flight.

He notes that flight is caused by changes in the socio-political environment which are felt to be detrimental to individuals or group security. He argues that such factors are frequently persecution on ideological and racial grounds and armed conflict. Nevertheless, it is also a well known fact that political and religious persecution, war and the denial of basic rights do not always result in refugee exoduses. And even when social conflicts and political and religious oppression do generate exiles, not everyone chooses to leave.<sup>36</sup> The question then is: why do some people flee while others who are in similar situations choose to stay? Are there other factors behind threat to physical security which determine the movement of refugees? The process of decision making, the time taken and the factors taken into account vary within refugee movements.

Kunz in his book entitled The Refugee in Flight: Kinetic Models and Forces of Displacement, argued that the absence of positive motivation to settle elsewhere and the reluctance to uproot is the underlying characteristic of the refugee decision making process.<sup>37</sup>

Prins suggests that the decision to flee is the function of “inner causes”. Those who flee are driven by an “unconscious desire” or “ego strength” whereas those who stay behind apparently lack the personality traits needed to undergo the severe emotional trauma which flight from one’s own country involves.<sup>38</sup>

The personality approach assumes that the individual is the decision-making unit. However, in most flight situations, particularly in rural Africa, it is the group which makes the decision to move or stay when faced with outer threat.

Kibreab maintains that “the propensity of people to respond to a situation which they perceive to be dangerous by resorting to flight is higher among pastoral communities than among communities with a long history of being sedentary”.<sup>39</sup> Pastoralists and agro-pastoralists have always borne a large share of the consequences of conflict in the Great Lakes region.

Distance from the border areas also determine the rate of refugee flow from a given area. Reventein [cited in Lee] has proposed that the volume of migration is inversely proportional to the distance between the points of origin and destination. Lee proposes that as distance of migration increases the migrants become an increasingly superior group.<sup>40</sup> By this Lee meant that distance and the intervening obstacles tend to weed out the weak and the incapable. In Africa, mass exoduses mostly take place near the border areas.

Gould proposes that ethnic and kinship ties are the main explanatory variables for the concentration of African refugees in the border areas.<sup>41</sup> However ethnic and linguistic regions do not always straddle international boundaries and every refugee group which stays in the border areas do not settle among its kins or is welcomed, fed and cared for as part of the traditional hospitality.

Bulcha analytically recognizes five categories of refugees.<sup>42</sup>

**Table III: Refugees Categories: A Conceptual Model**

Category	Cause of displacement	Form of displacement	Position in the social structure of community of origin
1. Revolutionary Activists	Preparation for revolution	Individuals, small groups	Middle class (intellectual)
2. Contenders for Power (power elites)	Successive/abortive coup	Small groups	Middle class, upper Class, bureaucrats, politicians, military officers
3. Opponents of Change	Inability to cope with or unwilling to accept social change. Conservative social ideology	Small groups	Mainly upper and middle classes. But also members of lower classes
4. Persecuted Minorities	Racial/religious persecution by majority	Large groups, whole populations	All social classes
5. Displaced Masses	Ravages of war, insecurity	Mass	Mainly peasants but may include workers

The Rwandese refugees who seek asylum in Kenya fall under the following categories: The Tutsi refugees are persecuted minorities. They were persecuted by Hutu majority for ethnic reasons. From 1959, the mass killings of Tutsi minorities by Hutu majority saw migration of large groups of Tutsis to neighbouring countries. The Hutu refugees are the opponents of change. After Rwanda attained independence in 1962, independent governments committed to Hutu supremacy followed this. Kenya saw an influx of Hutu refugees in 1994. This was after the death of the Hutu president, Habyarimana following a plane crash. The Tutsis thereafter rose to power. The Hutus were unable to cope with or unwilling to accept that change. This was followed by the genocide in Rwanda in 1994. It is from this period that majority of those evicted from Rwanda are Hutus, although some Tutsis are still migrating from Rwanda.

Bulcha argues that most refugees do not leave their home with a national passport in hand. Nor do they have pre-paid tickets for their transport since they do not take the national airlines or railway when they leave their countries. They leave in acute situations and for many of them their journey is hampered by acute problems. He further records that refugees flee in disguise, avoid the main roads, and are ignorant of what lies ahead since they travel through unknown territory often without guide. He observes that refugees do

not solve their problems by the simple act of crossing an international border. Detention and expulsion are common experiences of asylum seekers all over the world. Expulsion, although on the increase is not very common in Africa.<sup>43</sup>

Bulcha further notes that the problems which refugees in Africa face on their arrival in the country of asylum.<sup>44</sup> In his work Not Angels but Agencies, M. Taylor records that from the start, refugees have been at the center of the ecumenical agenda in the field of aid; indeed, they were one of the main reasons for beginning this involvement. Over the years the number of refugees has grown rather than diminished. He notes that even before the World Council of Churches (WCC) Refugee service was founded in 1944, ecumenical help had been given to Christians fleeing from Nazi Germany. The WCC was one of the first international organizations to work closely with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) when that office replaced the International Refugee Organization (IRO) in 1951. He argues that in 1986 it helped to set up the International Ecumenical Consultative Committee on Refugees (IECCR) to improve co-operation between the WCC and its related agencies and their Roman Catholic counterparts such as Caritas International and International Catholic Migration Committee (ICMC). He further records that a Global Ecumenical Network, drawing together the many and varied ministries of refugees of the WCC member churches was formed in 1992. In 1995 the central committee adopted

a major new policy statement entitled “A Moment to Choose: Risking to be With Uprooted People”.<sup>45</sup>

In his article entitled “A Theological Reflection on the Ministry of Churches to Refugees in Africa”, Ankrah argues that since the beginning of the Christian church, helping people in distress has become more complex to the extent that charity as originally envisaged has now began to take on the aura of professionalism. He maintains that theology has been part and parcel of the responsibility and task of the church from the apostolic period. He further records that it has been an earnest effort of christian thinkers and those concerned about the role of the church in the world, in every society, to defend the faith of the church against internal differences and external distortion.<sup>46</sup>

Ankrah further notes that in the 1950s and 1960s, the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC) sought to design a programme that would respond to the needs of the refugees and to encourage what was then considered ‘trickle down’ development through projects. He emphasizes that this programme, assisted by the ecumenical body, WCC, became known as the Ecumenical Programme for Emergency Action in Africa, and around the world to help in the service to the refugees in Africa, then totalling about 750,000, and to participate in the projects for building up the life of the new nations in Africa.

This two-fold approach to provide assistance to refugees has been influenced by the western theology which was motivated by the principle of



charity and love, and not justice. He notes that the western theological position was based on the theory that human suffering must be relieved regardless of the root causes resulting in that suffering, and that the political views of the refugees are irrelevant to their present predicament as refugees; the best one can do is simply to concern oneself to alleviating that immediate suffering.. He maintains that the old theology which encouraged the churches in Africa to disregard the causes of refugees, initially, and therefore prevent them from 'confronting' African governments made it possible for the governments to behave with a lack of the justice.<sup>47</sup>

The interaction between religious and political loyalties, with its resulting conflicts, is a main theme in the political ethics of Alan Geyer. He argues that Mark 12:17 is calling the churches to remain the source of loyalty to God, while professing a sanction for political loyalty when the government is treating its people with care, justice and love. He further records that the church is called to be the sanction for political conflict when it encourages people to fight an oppressive system and when it stands by the poor and the marginalized. He argues that Jesus, in Mark, calls the church to be the source of political conflict when it discovers that the "good news" of the state is conflicting with the good news of Jesus Christ. He maintains that the church has the responsibility to motivate the people to oppose such a government and the church must also provide a sanctuary from conflict. By this he means that the church must be able to pull people out of conflict and provide shelter for

its victims. Therefore the church must be able to mediate in a conflict situation and also provide safety to those who are persecuted.<sup>48</sup>

In his work, The Reconstruction of Africa, Mulunda-Nyanga argues that the African churches are called on to make a faithful choice to create conflict that confronts evil as an act of faith and belief in Jesus. He notes that if Christians do not engage in conflict, vulnerable people will be victimized by others. Such conflicts are needed for the Kingdom of God to come.<sup>49</sup>

S. Wheeler notes that the church's proclamation is political at its very core. He argues that the church is to declare the will of God for equity and for dignity for the poor, and for compassion and help which is without the bitterness of our absurd condescension toward the mistreated and the excluded<sup>50</sup>

In his work, God's Spirit Transforming a World in Crisis, Muller brings to light theological ideas which have not so far been in the forefront of ecumenical theology and ethics: the doctrines of sin, forgiveness, reconciliation and consolation. He interprets these both personally and politically, helping to bridge the age-old gulf between "ecumenical" and "evangelical". He shows how the biblical idea of "consolation" must be freed from the connotations which it has acquired of piously "cheering people up" or "calming them down".<sup>51</sup>

The writer's argument is that justice and peace are two inseparable entities. In fact the writer sides with Desmond Tutu's view that if there is to

be reconciliation, we who are the ambassadors of Christ, we to whom the gospel of reconciliation has been entrusted, must be Christ's instruments of peace. We must ourselves be reconciled. The victims of injustice and oppression must be ever ready to forgive. Tutu further argues that but those who have wronged must be ready to say, "we have hurt you by this injustice, by uprooting you from your homes, by dumping you in poverty stricken homeland resettlement camps".<sup>52</sup>

In his work, A Continent in Crisis, Schultheis argues that the refugee crisis itself calls the church to tap all its resources and spiritual strength to support new forms of ministry, particularly in the areas of collaborating with other groups and agencies in helping people in need and in addressing the causes of the present crisis. He further records that where the church is not present in areas of greater stress, fidelity to the Gospel requires that it seek to become so. This means that being present in refugee camps and food distribution centers, wherever that is possible. He notes that the voices of the refugees continue to raise that challenge. In the immediacy of flight, they ask for food, shelter and sanctuary, but they ask for more than this. They wish to build their lives a new either by returning to their home communities or by forming new ones. In the end, however, they plead for the church to work with them to transform those situations which force them to leave their homes. They ask us to join them in the search for a "community without borders".<sup>53</sup>

J.G. Donders argues that the church, being the “people of God”, the one universal community, the community of humankind, “without boundaries”, ... has a duty to devote particular pastoral care to the refugee, “the person without boundaries”. He notes that the refugees are blood of our blood and flesh of our flesh. We have the same origin; we share the same destiny. The church therefore has the responsibility to offer hospitality, solidarity and assistance to refugees.<sup>54</sup>

According to the Pontifical Council for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People, volunteers who work among refugees also need specific pastoral care. They live in conditions, which weigh heavily on them. They are almost always far from their own linguistic and cultural context and are faced with human problems with which they are not always trained to cope. Hence they need encouragement and support, even financially.<sup>55</sup> The refugees themselves are called to join with volunteers, thus enabling themselves to be heard by directly participating in the discernment and expression of their needs and aspirations.

Refugees are fellow human beings who need our assistance and love. Those who volunteer to assist refugees will automatically encounter challenges. However, we should do our best to make refugees feel accepted and loved.

Kayole Catholic Parish cares for refugees from the Great Lakes Region – Rwanda, Burundi and DRC. This study focuses specifically on the care that

Kayole Catholic Parish offers to Rwandese refugees. When refugees from Rwanda arrive at Kayole Catholic Parish, they are welcomed and integrated into the Christian community. Kayole Catholic Parish does not reject any refugee, as it is guided by ethics based on the love of Jesus Christ.

According to Father Rodrigues Augustine of Kayole Catholic Parish, the Christian Community Centre (CCC) at Kayole is a social unit for both refugees and the local population. The members of this community share a sense of belonging together, a sense of group solidarity, an awareness of dependency and identification that leads the individual to claim identity through it. The integration of Rwandese refugees into the Christian community entails the process of refugee adjustment into the new environment and the relations that obtain between refugees and the local population at the various levels of social organization.<sup>56</sup>

In his work, entitled 'indices of integration in the American Community', Benard argues that the parties involved must recognise and accommodate differences in culture, beliefs and so on for integration to function. The emphasis is on participation in the host society.<sup>57</sup>

In his book entitled Imposing Aid: Emergency Assistance to Refugees, Harrell-Bond maintains that in the African situation it is more proper to speak of the integration of refugees than their assimilation into the host society for several reasons. He argues that refugees more often believe that their exile will be of a short duration. Being eager to repatriate when and if conditions

change in their country of origin, they are keen to preserve their identity and hence resistant to assimilation into the host society. Complete absorption into the host society to the point of invisibility undoubtedly takes generations.<sup>58</sup>

In tracing the various phases of the integration process of Rwandese refugees who are the subjects of this study, one may follow temporal sequence since changes that are made first are in practical areas of immediate necessity in terms of the means of survival: food, shelter and clothing. According to Baraka, when Rwandese refugees arrive at Kayole Catholic Parish, they are provided with food and shelter. The initial food supply is provided by the Association of Member Episcopal Conference of Eastern Africa (AMECEA).

New arrivals are normally accommodated by fellow refugees in their residential areas until they are able to afford rent. Kayole Catholic Parish offers medical services to refugees. Once the refugee is supplied with these immediate needs, he is able to integrate faster into the Christian community<sup>59</sup>

In his book entitled Flight and Integration: Causes of Mass Exodus from Ethiopia and Problems of Integration in the Sudan, Bulcha notes that economic integration is a vital phase in the lives of refugees. He maintains that education is one of the most important variables influencing economic integration<sup>60</sup> According to Father Rodrigues Augustine, Rwandese refugees have been enrolled at Kayole Catholic school, Mihango school and city council schools in Kayole. AMECEA is responsible for payment of fees. These refugees are taught the same subjects as the local population. It is

important to note that whereas the process of securing a job is important in the economic integration of refugees, majority of Rwandese refugees are handicapped in many ways on the labour market.<sup>61</sup> On the positive side, Kayole Catholic Parish has helped many refugees to earn a living through acquisition of skills like tailoring and carpentry. For instance, the Women Dressmaking Project has helped the refugee women to earn an income.

According to M.A. Castillo and J.C. Hathaway in their work entitled 'Temporary Protection', losing the support of family is particularly disruptive of a refugee's sense of self. They further maintain that the separation of families, especially where some members remain at risk in the country of origin, can exacerbate the psychological stress already encountered by most refugees.<sup>62</sup> For most of the Rwandese refugees at Kayole Catholic Parish, their family members remain at risk in Rwanda or as refugees in neighbouring countries like Tanzania, DRC or Uganda. Note that Rwandese refugees have been integrated into the Kayole Christian Community. Both refugees and the local population share a sense of belonging together, a sense of a group solidarity, an awareness of dependency and identification that leads the individual to claim the community as his own and to find his identity through it. These relations are indicators of social acceptance of refugees into the new community.

According to Bulcha, uprooting is widely recognized as a phenomenon that entails psychological problems. It is more than the physical absence from

home.<sup>63</sup> M.A. Castillo and J.C. Hathaway maintains that refugee children may experience particular anxieties resulting from experiences during flight and the difficulty of adjusting to their new surroundings. Analysis of art by children experiencing memories of fleeing their home confirms that the experience of flight severely affects their mental health.<sup>64</sup> According to Father Rodrigues Augustine, Kayole Catholic Parish organises seminars where refugees are counselled. Refugees are allowed to talk about their experiences after which advice is given to them by the counsellors.

Kayole Catholic Parish offers pastoral care to the Rwandese refugees. According to Father Rodrigues Augustine, mass is held at the parish every evening and on Sundays. Refugees and the local population are reminded of God's saving power through Jesus Christ.<sup>65</sup> Refugees have a strong faith in God. They normally testify of how God saved them from the state of devastation in Rwanda and brought them safely in Kenya. They view God to be loving, caring and full of compassion.

G. Cheli records that pastoral dimension is the primary and indispensable component of a holistic approach to the challenge that the forcibly uprooted present to the church. He argues that there should be experienced pastoral agents who can do advanced studies and become experts in the field of forced human mobility as we have experts in fields like dogma, the church and culture, and catholic social ethics.<sup>66</sup>



In conclusion, Kayole Catholic Parish has been a witness to the saving power of God by responding to the needs of refugees. Kayole Catholic Parish has met the basic needs of refugees like food, shelter and medical services.

Kayole Catholic Parish has also assisted Rwandese refugees to integrate into the Christian community and hence making them to share a sense of solidarity and belonging to the community. Kayole Catholic Parish helps Rwandese refugees to earn a living through acquisition of skills like tailoring and carpentry. Kayole Catholic Parish has also responded to the spiritual needs of Rwandese refugees by offering pastoral care to them. It is important to note that although the process of integration may take long, refugees feel loved and accepted by the Christian community. The writer advocates for forgiveness and reconciliation between the offender and the offended. The writer strongly sides with the path taken by Desmond Tutu in solving the problem of apartheid in South Africa. Desmond Tutu argues that if there is to be reconciliation, we who are the ambassadors of Christ, we to whom the gospel of reconciliation has been entrusted, must be Christ's instruments of peace. The victims of injustice and oppression must be ever ready to forgive. But those who have wronged must be ready to say, 'we have hurt you by this injustice, by uprooting you from your homes, by dumping you in poverty stricken ... camps'.<sup>67</sup> The writer maintains that it is only by going back to the root causes that produce refugees that we will be able to completely solve the refugee problem.

W.B. Niwagila notes that the function of justice is to heal the wounds caused by hatred and bring harmony, peace and tranquility among individuals, families and nations. He maintains that justice amends the broken relationships. He notes that according to Christian ethics justice and love go together. Therefore justice as comprehended in the crucified and risen Christ indicates that justice implies mercy and philanthropy, forgiveness and suffering. This justice challenges our humanity to work for justice in all spheres of life.<sup>68</sup>

Another important point to mention is that the Great Lakes Region is a poor funding region. The crisis in Rwanda has lasted for forty years. You cannot keep donors interested for funding programmes for such a long time. According to the United Nations, the war in Rwanda has been resolved. In Kenya, there are refugee populations for whom we cannot see solutions. There exists now what is known as 'donor fatigue' and 'asylum country fatigue'. Donors want to fund short-term issues like the Kosovo one. Kenya is now blaming refugees for security-related problems in the country. The writer strongly argues that UNHCR must continue to persuade donors to fund refugee programmes. Countries should take care of refugees because they are fellow human beings who need love and compassion.

## 1.8 Theoretical Framework

Howard Clinebell's theory of The Church as the Centre of Promoting Wholeness has greatly influenced churches in adopting a holistic approach while caring for the poor and oppressed. He argues that traditionally, the church's task has been divided into four functions – Kerygma (proclaiming the good news of God's love), didache (teaching), Koinonia (the establishing of a caring community), and diakonia (the expression of the good news in loving service). He records that although pastoral care and counselling are primarily an expression of diakonia, the ministry of service, they are also means of communicating the gospel, teaching life-enabling truth, the establishing of Koinonia.

As far as God being a real source of meaning and wholeness, many people consider that God is dead. They are unable to hear the good news. Caring and counselling can be ways of communicating good news.<sup>69</sup> For the purposes of this study, Clinebell's theory is used. First, the study shows that when Kayole Catholic Parish was established in 1986, it was mainly concerned with Kerygma – proclaiming the good news of God's love, with didache – teaching. With the influx of Rwandese refugees at the parish in 1994, there was a need to establish a caring community, (Koinonia). Kayole Christian Community (KCC) was established as a caring community for both Rwandese refugees and the local population. The members have a sense of belonging together, a sense of solidarity and an awareness of dependency.

They are united by a common spiritual purpose. Rwandese refugees have been integrated into the Christian community at Kayole. They are part and parcel of the Christian Community. They also attend church services together with the local population.

Secondly, Kayole Catholic Parish aims at expressing the good news of God in loving service. This is diakonia. Kayole Catholic Parish became more concerned with the real love of Rwandese refugees who are the recipients than with the discharge of it's own conscience. Kayole Catholic Parish realised that unless diakonia is related to Koinonia it can become an impersonal charity, a humanitarian service without anything distinctively Christian about it.

It was realised that diakonia is holistic and that witness and service cannot be divorced. Any separation between witness and service leads to alienation and brokenness. The diakonal work therefore entails both the spiritual and physical dimensions of life. It caters for the body, soul and mind. Kayole Catholic Parish cares for Rwandese refugees by providing them with food, shelter, medical care, education and at the same time caring for their spiritual lives. Kayole Catholic Parish therefore focuses on holding together the physical and the spiritual.

Kayole Catholic Parish affirms that diakonia must be based on good intention. Basing on Luke 21:1-4, Kayole Catholic Parish helps Rwandese refugees out of the little that it has but not out of abundance. This is a sign of love to the refugees.

Pastoral counselling views the human condition from a spiritual perspective – that human crises have a spiritual dimension and that they cannot be fully overcome until the spiritual yearnings of the human beings have been met. While not ignoring the physical and intellectual dimensions of the human condition pastoral counselling seeks to highlight the spiritual dimension.<sup>70</sup> Besides providing material needs to Rwandese refugees, Kayole Catholic Parish does not ignore the task of proclaiming the gospel and touching and turning the inner life of the refugees to Christ. It views the development of the inner person as a prerequisite for healthy and lasting human development. The study shows that Rwandese refugees have a strong faith in God whom they consider to be their deliverer.

M. Taylor is more focused at what differentiates Agencies from missionary societies. In his work entitled Not Angels but Agencies, he argues that Agencies are created precisely to meet immediate human needs and to help poor communities overcome material poverty, but they are not involved in evangelism or Christian education. They are not expected to ... share the Christian faith or else they would lose their donors if they did. He argues that when Agencies fund one part of an holistic task and not another, their task is a kind of preparation for mission and development, making it possible for those to whom those tasks properly belong to carry out on their own terms.<sup>71</sup>

The divorce between mission and development by Agencies has therefore necessitated the establishment of holistic organisations that address

both the material and spiritual needs of people. Kayole Catholic Parish upholds just such an ideal by providing food, shelter, medical care and education to refugees. Kayole Catholic Parish has set up a dispensary, a school, and is working on sustainable projects as well as doing the work of evangelism. Kayole Catholic Parish holds that the offer of food, health care, shelter and education and the offer of good news of salvation are equally offers of love, reflecting the genuine concern of God for the poor. Indeed one without the other would be a totally inadequate reflection of God's love and concern for the poor.

This study is important as it shows the holistic approach used by Kayole Catholic Parish when caring for Rwandese refugees. It shows the relationship between Kerygma, didache, diakonia and Koinonia. It also shows that for a church to be the center of promoting wholeness, it must merge the material and the spiritual.

### 1.9 Hypotheses

The following two hypotheses are tested during the study:

- (a) that the length of stay in a host country has little relationship to material improvement of Rwandese refugee households, and
- (b) that a holistic assistance to refugees leads to their healthy human development and integration into the host community.

### 1.10 Research Methodology

To gather information for this study both library and field researches were conducted. The material gathered from library research constituted secondary data for the study. The writer made use of Jomo Kenya Memorial Library, All Africa Conference of Churches library, and libraries of the Catholic University of Eastern Africa, Hekima College, United Nations and Central Bureau of Statistics. The field research yielded the primary data of the study. Fifty key informants were conducted.

#### **Study Sample and Techniques**

The sample of the study was drawn from Kayole Catholic Parish and consists of Rwandese refugees and those who care for them. The researcher used sampling method. The researcher contacted eighty refugees out of the total 560 refugees. Under Snoble sampling, the researcher identified some refugees who took her to other refugees (in Kayole and Soweto estates) whom they knew to give her information. The researcher therefore went out in a deliberate way to meet refugees she was told about.

The researcher also employed snoble sampling procedure when she did not have prior knowledge about refugees. Whenever refugees turned up in large numbers at Kayole Catholic Parish, the researcher used lottery method because it was not possible to contact all of them. Using this method, the researcher wrote numbers on pieces of paper and distributed to refugees. The

researcher chose certain numbers to be lucky numbers. I therefore interviewed those who chose the lucky numbers.

Finally, the researcher contacted all the ten church personnel that were available.

### **Data Collection Techniques**

To acquire information for the study, four research methods were used. The first method was questionnaire – interview. The writer anticipated that respondents would feel freer to express themselves through the questionnaires because they were unanimous. Two types of questionnaires were used, one for Rwandese refugee households and the other for the church personnel at Kayole Catholic Church. A total number of sixty five questionnaires were administered. The questionnaires were personally administered

The second method was informal interviews. The writer interviewed ten informants through this method. During the interviews there was neither a prepared questionnaire nor taking down of notes. Those interviewed were not made aware that they were being interviewed. The writer jotted down important points after the interviews. Since no notes were taken down during the discussion, the writer anticipated that some points would be forgotten. The handicap of forgetting was overcome by repeating the interviews.

The third method was participant observation. Using this method, the writer tried to gain first-hand knowledge at very close quarters through



experience. In this, the writer became part of the congregation, not an outsider, hence being immersed into the research. For instance the researcher joined refugees when attending mass in the church. The researcher sang, danced, worshipped and prayed together with refugees. The researcher accompanied refugees to their residential areas. The researcher shared the same meals with refugees. The researcher visited sick refugees in hospitals and dispensaries. Using this method, the researcher made a close participatory observation of the conditions and daily life of refugees. The researcher administered unstructured questions to refugees. The information that was obtained through participant observation was very useful in supplementing the data obtained from the interviews and other sources.

The fourth method was non-participant observation. By using this method, the writer was not directly involved in the matter being observed. The writer was therefore outside looking at the behaviour of refugees. The writer anticipated that this method would offer information when other methods were not effective especially when dealing with sensitive issues. In the event of refugees deliberately becoming unwilling to express themselves verbally, non-participant observation made it possible to validate and compare verbal reports with observed actual behaviour. The four methods complemented each other. Where one method left gaps, the gaps were filled through the information got through the other methods. The questionnaires were prepared and classified into two categories: one for Rwandese refugee

households and the other one for Kayole Catholic Parish staff. The researcher administered sixty five questionnaires.

The researcher gave gifts to refugees in terms of money, clothing and food. These acted as incentives to refugees who then were willing to give more information to the researcher. Besides this, they also served as a sign of love to the refugees.

### **Data Analysis and Presentation**

To analyse this data, the researcher mainly used descriptive statistics such as frequencies, which largely provided the number of observations and their respective percentages. The data has majorly been presented by use of tables. These helps to provide a good visual impression of the output and for easy comparison and interpretation.

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## CHAPTER TWO

### THE BACKGROUND OF RWANDA AND FLIGHT DYNAMICS

#### INTRODUCTION

Most historians agree that the first inhabitants of Rwanda were hunters-gatherers, whose modern-day descendants are the Twa, the smallest ethnic community in Rwanda. Later, cultivators ("Hutu") and cattle-herders ("Tutsi") arrived, and Rwanda consisted of small chiefdoms and principalities, with the groups living side by side. Although Rwanda was definitely not a land of peace and harmony before the arrival of the Europeans, there is no trace in its pre-colonial history of systematic violence between Tutsi and Hutu as such. The wars that existed in pre-colonial Rwanda were never on the scale we have witnessed since the coming of the colonialists, then through independence, and which eventually culminated with the 1994 horror.<sup>1</sup>

The majority of refugees had left Rwanda during the early 1960s. In 1994, the crisis in Rwanda led to an influx of Rwandese refugees in Kenya. Rwanda is one of the countries with the highest number of refugees in the world. In 1990, it was estimated that about 2.2 million Rwandese lived outside the borders of Rwanda, mainly as refugees.<sup>2</sup>

There has been a historical debate among scholars as to the origins of conflicts in Rwanda. Principally there are three views that have been

advanced to explain the conflicts: Ethnicity is viewed as a factor leading to conflicts in Rwanda. This view stresses ethnicity as the central problem in the conflicts in Rwanda. This view maintains that in pre-colonial times, the Tutsi played the role of the lords over the Hutu and Twa as their serfs. These pre-colonial inequalities were carried on into the colonial period, which compounded them, and today, the conflict is an attempt to redress (or resist) the imbalance created by this past.

Another school of thought is one that denies any pre-colonial inequalities, and instead blames the colonial regime (especially the Belgians) for having been the architects of a scheme that “disrupted” the supposedly peaceful existence of the three sub-groups in Rwanda. The view further emphasizes that the colonialists came with the divisive system of “Divide and Rule” which interfered with a process of co-existence in pre-colonial Rwanda. Basing on this view, it is this colonial legacy of divide and rule that Rwanda owed the sharp divisions along ethnic lines.

The last of the views blames the post-colonial leadership in Rwanda for having failed to address the relevant developmental issues and instead repulsing into the sectarian politics of the colonial era. This view puts the biggest blame for the current conflict on the regime in Rwanda. This regime perpetuated pass identity cards which indicated whether one is Tutsi, Hutu or Twa. This regime is also blamed for ignoring numerous appeals and barring Rwandese in exile from returning home by saying that Rwanda is too small.

Habyarimana has been blamed for fanning ethnicity rather than trying to correct the distortions of the colonial era.<sup>3</sup>

The war in Rwanda has often been presented as a “tribal conflict”. This is highly misleading. Hutus and Tutsis existed a century ago, but the two categories were defined in very different terms in those days. They were less hostile. Colonial rule and its attendant racial ideology, followed by independent governments committed to Hutu Supremacy and intermittent inter-communal violence, have dramatically altered the nature of the Hutu-Tutsi problem, and made the divide between the two far sharper and more violent. In short, political manipulation of ethnicity is the main culprit for today’s ethnic problem in Rwanda.<sup>4</sup>

The simmering conflict between the rival political groups in Rwanda was ignited on November 1<sup>st</sup> 1959 when a Hutu sub-chief was attacked. In retaliation the Hutu attacked a notable Tutsi chief. The attack set in motion ethnic violence that degenerated into a bloody civil war.<sup>5</sup>

The social memory and recollection of dehumanizing violence in Rwanda is reinforced by the events in Burundi that hurt Hutu pride and incite feelings of outrage and revenge. The Hutu revolution of 1959 in Rwanda caused many Tutsi to distrust Hutu elements in Burundi.<sup>6</sup> The killing of President Ndadaye of Burundi and Habyarimana of Rwanda sparked off the genocide in Rwanda in 1994. Tutsis were blamed for killing President Habyarimana. There were massive killings in Rwanda during the genocide in

1994. During this period, there was an influx of Rwandese refugees in Kenya. Kenya is still receiving refugees from Rwanda due to the ongoing war in that country. It is important to note that the war in Rwanda has lasted for forty years, yet according to the United Nations, this war has been resolved.

## 2.1 The Pre-Colonial Setting

Virginia Bond in her work entitled Identity Crisis, notes that Rwanda was first inhabited by the Batwa, a pygmy group, who lived as hunter-gatherers in the forests and who today constitute 1% of the population in Rwanda. She observes that during the early centuries, the Hutu arrived and started to cultivate the land. Finally in the 13th century, the pastoral Batutsi came to this area from the North (possible from Ankole), and gradually began to dominate the other ethnic communities by controlling the use and distribution of cattle, forcing the Hutu cultivators to exchange agricultural products in return for the use of their cattle and protection against raids.<sup>7</sup>

In his book entitled Rwanda Conflict: Its Roots and Regional Implications, D. Kamukama cites the historical origins of the sub-groups in Rwanda. He discusses two theories that have been advanced to explain the evolution of Rwanda into statehood. One attributes this evolution to migration. This theory argues that Rwanda as we know today was created through fighting and raiding; there were small groups of Bantu people who from time to time invaded one another, and among these the fittest survived while the weak were

beaten and incorporated into the new state of the conquerors. The second theory considers Rwanda as a country that was inhabited by the same group of people, but who were later differentiated due to the mode of economic activity.<sup>8</sup>

The two views are in a way not contradictory, but complementary. The first theory that stresses migration is backed by the history of Bantu-speaking peoples. Their economic activity having led to their differentiation helps to explain the differences of a people that speak the same language, have almost a similar culture, but with some marked physical differences.

D. Kamukama further records that the Nyiginya Kingdom excelled in cattle rustling and had to expand its catchment in order to obtain more cattle and pasture. Its leaders therefore, embarked on a conquest spree.<sup>9</sup>

From the foregoing, it is clear that the present day Rwanda started as a conglomeration of petty kingdoms. Through successive conquests, the Nyiginya clan built a kingdom that eventually succeeded in dominating others and extending their influence over the whole territory now called Rwanda.

On the other hand, B. A. Ogot maintains that the "migration/conquest hypothesis" is more in the nature of a bad habit left over from the now-discredited racial theories of ethnicity in Africa, than a fact established by vigorous inquiry<sup>10</sup>

Cattle-herders, soldiers and administrators were mostly Tutsi; farmers were Hutu and the Twa were hunter-gatherers. The dominance of cattle as a form of disposable wealth meant that cattle chiefs - all of them by definition

Tutsi - were able to dominate most of Rwanda. To mobilize an army required capital which came only in the form of livestock, and the Tutsi controlled the cattle.

What appears to have happened is that, one Tutsi clan, the Nyiginya, achieved political dominance in central Rwanda. Over several centuries, the Nyiginya formed the core of a state that expanded to cover most of the modern-day territory. But the political institutions that followed were in fact a fusion of Tutsi and Hutu. Many Hutu chiefs were certainly assimilated into the ruling class - and were thereby given the status of Tutsi. The Hutu and Tutsi were less sharply distinct. Individuals could move between the categories of Hutu and Tutsi as their fortunes rose and fell, and intermarriage was common. Until the middle of the 19th century, it could be argued that these clan identities were in fact more primordial than the Twa-Hutu-Tutsi categorization.

In the late 19th century, the Rwandese state became more centralised and authoritarian, especially under King Rwabugiri. The king preferred to rely solely on the Tutsi, helping to cement their dominance, and thereby making the Hutu-Tutsi ethnic boundary more rigid.<sup>11</sup> The Nyiginya aristocracy constituted a class that thrived on the surplus produced by their subjects. This exploitation was across the board, in that, the pastoralists who were not of the ruling clan, the agricultural Bahutu and Batwa, were all subjected to exploitation by the Nyiginya aristocracy and their functionaries. The Nyiginya found it inevitable to entrust administration with fellow pastoralists (Tutsi), save in a few cases. This

differentiated society between ruling pastoralists and the ruled agriculturists.

Appropriation of both labour and produce led to antagonism and widened the material bases of the two groups. The head of land always had to send a number of workers (Hutu and Tutsi outside the ruling class) to the district residence of the king. One third of a man's work was to produce a surplus to maintain the beneficiaries of the system, mainly the king, his wife, his favourites and administrative officers. The officers belonged almost exclusively to the Tutsi ethnic group.

Another form of exploitation that engendered differentiation was clientship. An individual Hutu or Tutsi offered his services to an elite or member of the ruling class. In reciprocation, he would get protection from adverse exploitation and oppression meted out by other notables and state functionaries.

The ruling class also possessed all the land whose overall owner was the king and who would use it as he wished. Later on, an identifiable set of values among the ruling Nyiginya also emerged stressing among other things the importance of physical stature. Hence in central Rwanda, this crystallization of the Hutu-Tutsi opposition occurred before the colonialists arrived. By the time of the arrival of the first Europeans, Tutsi dominance and Nyiginya rule was a reality for most of central and southern Rwanda.<sup>12</sup> But this should not be equated with unmitigated Tutsi supremacy. It is essential to note that power was concentrated in the hands of a few noble lineages. Moreover, there were independent Hutu principalities in the north. It will be clear from the above that



"Hutu" and "Tutsi" identities were defined partly by politics, partly by occupational status, and partly by ancestry. They were not "pure" ethnic or racial-types.<sup>13</sup>

## 2.2 Rwanda under Colonial Rule

Rwanda was colonized by the Germans. After the World War I it was passed over to Belgians. Germany was defeated in World War I. The impact of World War I was felt most severely in the territories under German rule. The Germans were deprived of most of their African possessions. During the 1920's the profound changes wrought by World War I in many European attitudes clearly began to affect European relations with Africa. The aggressive self-confidence of pre-war days had been severely shaken by the horrifying experiences of war. There was a widespread feeling that the colonial policies of the European powers needed to be informed by a deeper sense of moral purpose.

This new mode found its most practical expression in the transformation of the former German colonists into mandates under the supervision of the newly created League of Nations. The various powers which had been granted mandates - France in Cameroon and Togo, Belgium in Rwanda-Burundi, Britain in Tanganyika and parts of the Cameron's and Togoland, South Africa in South West Africa - solemnly bound themselves to observe "a sacred trust of civilization" in governing the mandated territories until they were able to "stand on their own feet."<sup>14</sup>

In many territories in Africa, European colonizers sought to use existing chiefs as agents of their rule. This system, known as "indirect rule" or "native administration" was considered by the colonialists as a means of preserving existing structures; in reality however it was often imposed or strengthened hierarchies that had little traditional legitimacy. This was particularly the case in Rwanda. The Germans, and then more systematically the Belgians, sought to impose a system of exclusive rule through the Tutsi. Traditional structures such as the Hutu land chiefs were abolished in the 1920s. This was termed as "administrative reform." In this view, the Belgians re-asserted the redestination of the pastoralists (Tutsi) to rule over the agriculturists (Hutu). This saved Belgians the cost of dismantling the system and engaging expensive personnel from home. To justify their promotion of Tutsi domination, Belgians advanced an ideology that stressed their unique qualities to rule.

Indirect rule and "divide and rule" strategies were common in colonized Africa. What was unusual in Rwanda and Burundi was the way in which the Hutu-Tutsi difference was given an ethnic justification. The physical differences between Hutu and Tutsi were greatly exaggerated by European colonialists and missionaries, and later by some Rwandese politicians. Again there was a self-interested ideology in the 19th century where Tutsis were eager to emphasize their tallness, while European colonizers were keen to exaggerate likeness to themselves to justify their decision to rule through the Tutsi. In reality, there are people who fit their stereotypical "Hutu" and "Tutsi" physical types. But for

many Rwandese, it is not possible to determine ethnicity on the basis of physical appearance alone. Rwandese tell an individual's group by his or her lineage, not by his height or straightness of nose.<sup>15</sup>

The explorer - missionary John Haning Speke travelled in Central Africa in the late 19th century, and developed the "Hamitic hypothesis", which held that all forms of civilization in "Negroid" Africa were brought there by the "Hamitic" race<sup>16</sup> In Rwanda, the Tutsi were immediately designated as the Hamitic race, and the Hutu the Negroid or Bantu race. The Twa were relegated to the status of pigmies - an offensive categorization that has reverberated up to this day. Europeans then looked for a history to support this conjecture, and surmised that the Tutsi had migrated from Ethiopia. They were termed as the "pastoral Europeans".<sup>17</sup> The Hamites were viewed as intelligent and good leaders and hence they had to receive better treatment. The Tutsi had access to education, civil service and high posts in the colonial administration.

The catholic church controlled almost all educational facilities in colonial Rwanda. Only Tutsi were given sufficient education to become administrators. The Roman Catholic Church never managed to rise above the ethnic issue - being alternately identified as a "Tutsi" and "Hutu" church. The catholic church continued to evangelize the Hutu people, while preparing them for a lesser station in life. The legacy of this identification lives on and has contributed enormously to the deep politicization of the church.<sup>18</sup>

Accordingly, the Belgians successfully pursued the policy to divide and

rule. The Tutsi became collaborators in the colonial civil service and got high posts in the colonial administration. The services demanded by the colonial masters for their metropolitan economies were exploitive and oppressive. Two major methods were used: Duress through beating (kiboko) and taxation. Since these methods were implemented by functionaries (Batutsi), the whole exercise accentuated class consciousness and widened the ethnic rift. Chiefs demanded over and above what the state required of them in order to realise a surplus for themselves. The high demands made the people suffer greatly from the exploitation, and thus hated these chiefs.<sup>19</sup> Another factor that rose out of the colonial exploitation and oppression was ruthless repression of any resistance.

Waston rightly points out that Belgians deepened ethnic divisions that produced much of the bitterness by advancing the Tutsi at the expense of the Hutu for forty years. She further notes, however, that at the eve of independence, the Belgians switched support to the Hutu. This was done intentionally so that Tutsis could be seen as the sole enemy by the Hutus.

After the second world war, the Hamitic theory became a threat to Tutsi dominance - it was rightly recognized as the basis for Hutu leaders to reject the Tutsis as (foreign invaders). The emerging Hutu leaders were few in number, and all mission - educated. They were members of a universal church that preached human equality. From the start, this forced them into ethnic politics. The 1959 PARMEHUTU (Party for the Emancipation of the Hutu people) advocated for social justice, the extension of economic privileges, and anti-communism. The

Belgians began cultivating Parmehutu. To forestall any possible calamity and exonerate themselves, the Belgians tactfully shifted support to an overwhelming force in the equation. Colonialism had ushered in a structural change. The few Bahutu who joined formal education found it an avenue for enlightenment and advancement. Education gave rise to an elite middle class among the oppressed - Hutu.<sup>20</sup>

D. Kamukama observes that monetarization of the economy and social relations propelled money over cattle as a yardstick for social advancement. This led to the degeneration of the cattle myth. The few Bahutus who joined education and got employment could easily advance through good salaries. It was again this money class that questioned the injustices and exploitation of the monarchy - the comprador chiefs. Moreover these people had the ability to mobilise the masses. Also if an oppressive king became unbearable, he could also be done away with. All these policies gradually proved unbearable to Tutsi notables and as a result started resenting the colonial system because it was undermining their authority. The misidentification of the enemy as solely the monarchy and not colonialism was a good cover for the colonialists to win over the disgruntled led masses.<sup>21</sup>

Colonialism worked as a catalyst in heightening the differences between the groups in Rwanda. Virginia Bond clearly observes this negative role played by the colonial regime in Rwanda:

With the coming of the colonialists who identified themselves

with the Tutsi, thus causing the social, political and economic position of the Hutu to be accentuated and undermined, eventually led to the development of a gap of mistrust between the Hutu and Tutsi.<sup>22</sup>

She continues to observe that this gap widened and that it was exacerbated by the rise of African nationalism. So even as the Hutu prepared to "deal with the enemy" which they had identified as the monarchy, the differences between them and the Tutsi had sharply widened that they eventually culminated into the riots of 1959 and 1960.<sup>23</sup> With the rise of African nationalism, African nationalists addressed issues like domination, oppression and racial discrimination against the Africans by Europeans. Africans began to reject, condemn, criticize and despise western values and standards which had been imposed upon them. There was a marked desire, on the part of the Africans, to identify with and adore everything African. Nationalism became increasingly interested in the African past. The nationalists sought to merge together the old and the new Africa. At this stage in the nationalist struggle, one major assumption was that Africa had its own way of life, its own values, its own civilization, and therefore its own unique problems to which it must find its own unique solutions.

But before any of these objectives could be realized, the nationalists resolved that political independence for Africa must be achieved first and

immediately, leading to coinage of expressions such as "uhuru sasa" a Kiswahili phrase meaning "independence now". The nationalists acknowledged the fact that within the territories<sup>24</sup> lived diverse ethnic groups and that greater efforts would be needed to forge one united nation.

Nationalism was closely linked with Pan-Africanism, whose major components ideas were: Africa as the homeland of Africans and persons of African origin, solidarity among men of African descent, belief in a distinct African culture, Africa for Africans in church and state and the hope for a united and glorious future in Africa.

Pan Africanism is a political and cultural phenomenon which regards Africans and African descendants abroad as a unit. It seeks to regenerate and unify Africa and promote a feeling of oneness among the people of the African world. It glorifies the African past and inculcates pride in African values. In Africa itself the seeds of Pan-Africanism were implanted the moment the first alien coloniser set foot on her soil. African warrior Nationalists planted the seeds of African independence. Their Pan-Africanism was more military than intellectual.<sup>25</sup>

With the rise of African nationalism, there emerged a strong middle class within the subjects of the monarchy in Rwanda which questioned the superiority of the monarchy. In March 1957, Gregoire Kayibanda created the Hutu Social Movement. The movement demanded the abolition of class privileges, access to

all jobs, schooling for all classes and freedom of expression. In November 1957, Joseph Gatera Habyarimana founded the Association for the Social Promotion of the Masses. In October 1959, Party for the Emancipation of the Hutu People (PARMEHUTU) was formed. This party tended to appeal to the Bahutu as a disadvantaged class.

D. Kamukama argues that the simmering conflict between the rival political groups - Hutu and Tutsi, was ignited on November 1st 1959 when Tutsi activists attacked a Hutu sub-chief, a key figure in PARMEHUTU called Mbonyumutwa Dominique. In retaliation, the Hutu attacked a notable Tutsi chief. The attack set in motion ethnic violence that degenerated into a bloody civil war. All Tutsi were mistakenly banded together as a privileged group to be fought by the oppressed Bahutu. Belgians made it a "caste" conflict to play a role of arbitrators. They would stay with the caste that ensured the perpetuation of their interests, that is, the eminent victors.

In November 1959, a PARMEHUTU-led revolt led to bloody ethnic clashes. This ethnic violence made many Tutsi to flee Rwanda and hence became refugees in neighbouring countries like Uganda, Burundi, Tanganyika, Kenya and DRC.

In 1959, an interim government was formed in Rwanda after controversial elections in which PARMEHUTU won under the leadership of Dominique Mbonyumutwa. The United Nations (UN), however, refused to recognise the elections; fresh ones were held under the UN auspices in



September 1961. Rwanda became independent on July 1st 1962 with Gregoire Kayibanda as the first president.<sup>26</sup> Colonial rule and its attendant racial ideology, was followed by independent governments committed to Hutu supremacy and intermittent inter-communal violence, that have dramatically altered the nature of the Hutu-Tutsi problem, and made the divide between the two far sharper and more violent.<sup>27</sup>

### 2.3 The Post-Colonial Era

President Gregoire Kayibanda faced both internal and external opposition. The guerrilla organization of Tutsi known as Inyenzi (cockroaches - because they attacked at night) from neighbouring Uganda, Burundi, Tanganyika, and DRC, targeted Hutu officials. The most daring one was the "Bugesera invasion" from Burundi on December 21st, 1963. This attack provoked the most widespread massacres in which up to 10,000 Tutsis were killed by Hutu gangs, forcing many of them to flee the country. By 1964, UNHCR estimated that about 150,000 Banyarwanda mostly Tutsi had fled to the neighbouring countries. Note that the number of refugees could however have been twice this number because many of them were not registered with UNHCR. The majority of the refugees had left Rwanda during the early 1960s without knowing they would remain in exile for many years. Despite their extreme geographical dispersion and their increasing social differentiation, the exiled Tutsi remained in touch with each other. In a way, exile even brought them closer by removing the social

barriers, which had existed in Rwanda before 1959. Between 1959 and 1964, almost half of Rwandese refugees came to Uganda.<sup>28</sup>

The Rwandese refugees in Uganda had created the Rwandese Refugee Welfare Foundation (RRWF) in June 1979 to help the victims of political repression after the fall of Idi Amini. In 1980 the RRWF changed its name to Rwandese Alliance for National Unity (RANU). RANU saw itself as more politically militant than the RRWF and openly discussed the question of an eventual return of the exiles to Rwanda. When the National Resistance Army (NRA) took Kampala under Museveni on 26th January, 1986, about 3,000 of its 14,000 fighters were Banyarwanda.<sup>29</sup> It is useful to keep this figure in mind in order to see in perspective the Rwandese government's propaganda which later claimed that the 'Tutsi had put Museveni in power so that he could later help them invade Rwanda'. Among the Rwandese refugees who were later to play an important role in the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) movement were Fred Rwigyema and Paul Kagame.

Meanwhile President Juvenal Habyarimana took power through a coup d'etat in July 1973. The army and parliament were dominated by Hutus. Members of the army were prohibited by regulations from marrying Tutsi women. Meanwhile, excluded from advancement in the civil service and army, many Tutsi opted for the church. Violence broke in 1973. In Gikongoro, the killing of Tutsis was indiscriminate. The government disclaimed responsibility, but its hand was clearly to be seen behind the violence<sup>30</sup> All in all, life was difficult for

the Tutsi who were victims of institutional discrimination. Habyarimana's regime has been blamed for most of the current conflicts in Rwanda. This regime perpetuated pass identity cards, which indicated whether one is Tutsi, Hutu or Twa. His government also refused to accept Rwandese refugees as citizens of Rwanda. Habyarimana's justification was that Rwanda was already "overpopulated" and could not absorb any more people. While president Kayibanda played various groups off against each other, president Habyarimana fanned ethnicity rather than trying to correct the distortions of the colonial era.

It is important to emphasize the case of the refugees in Uganda is vital to this study. Many of them became highly integrated into Ugandan society, achieving university education and senior posts in the administration. These Rwandese refugees formed the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) with the help of Museveni. Fred Rwigyema who was an assistant minister of defence in Uganda during Museveni's regime became the first RPF military commander. He was killed on the second day of the invasion into Rwanda. Paul Kagame who became the RPF military commander after Rwigyema's death was head of NRA military intelligence. The experience of the NRA was the one that has had a lasting influence on the RPF, and is evident in terms of its political and military strategy. The original founders of RPF were joined by some Hutu politicians who had disagreements with president Habyarimana and sought to mobilize opposition abroad. The RPF commanders had long experience of both guerrilla warfare and counter-insurgency, and had a well-trained, well-armed force. They

expected to deal crushing blows to the Rwandese Armed Forces (FAR). However, RPF lost several of its senior commanders in combat.

On 21st September 1992 a commission composed of senior military officers in Rwanda issued a report "Definition and identification of the enemy." They defined the "enemy" as "Tutsi inside or outside the country" - who had never recognized the realities of the Social Revolution of 1959 and who wanted to take power in Rwanda by force. Other "enemies" included Hutu dissatisfied with the current government, the unemployed, foreigners married to Tutsi wives, and therefore reflecting the racial theories. A constant theme of extremist agitation was that the 1959 "social Revolution" was left unfinished - that is, the Tutsi were allowed to escape abroad, and their children are now returning. As the militias were sent to kill, they were exhorted to kill the young children too - on the grounds that today's RPF fighters are yesterday's refugee children. Hutu extremists argued that they had been victims of historical injustice. They were determined not to let the Hutu population ever forget that Hutus had suffered.<sup>31</sup>

It is usual to find extremists on the fringes of society, trying to spread their ideologies to pressure governments to adopt their measures. In Rwanda, the extremist ideology developed right at the heart of the government. The seeds of Hutu extremism had been present from before the foundation of the republic. When the political crisis exploded in 1990, the extremist ideology became both a means and an end to retain power by mobilizing much of the Hutu populace and suppressing their opposition, and an end in itself - achieving the "final solution"

of a pure Hutu republic.

There were a series of attacks against Tutsi communities in the Northwest of Rwanda in December 1992 and January 1993. On 8th February 1993, the RPF launched an attack towards Kigali. The assault was halted only with the support of French troops. The Hutu-led government therefore felt that the RPF was a threat to it.

There is overwhelming evidence that the extermination of the Tutsi and opposition Hutu was planned well in advance of 6th April, 1994. From shortly after the RPF invasion in October 1990, there were frequent reports that "machetes were being sharpened in preparation for D-Day". A group of extremists at the heart of the government, all of them members of the president's own entourage, and many of them related to the president, planned the murder of political opponents and the genocide of the Tutsi. The resources of the state were directed to this end.<sup>32</sup>

Organized by Hutu extremists inside the government and allied militias, the genocide erupted after a jet carrying president Juvenal Habyarimana - a Hutu seeking peace with Tutsi rebels - was shot down as it approached Kigali on April 6th, 1994. Within hours of president Habyarimana's assassination, apparently carried out by members of his own armed forces, Hutu militias set up roadblocks in Kigali and begun rounding up their enemies.<sup>33</sup>

Note that the interim government immediately blamed the shooting of the aircraft on the RPF. Tutsis were accused of planning to exterminate the Hutus so

that no Hutu would be left. Across the political spectrum, well-informed Rwandese politicians and civil servants attribute the assassination to extremists in the president's entourage. The men quoted below who see the hand of the extremists in the death of Habyarimana are all Hutu. Ambassador Bonaventure Ubalijoro is one:<sup>34</sup>

I believe that the president's plane was brought down by his own entourage. They did not want to see the Arusha Accords become a living reality.

Marc Rugenera, who was the minister for finance had a similar view:<sup>35</sup>

The group who were most vociferous against the Arusha Accords are responsible for Habyarimana's assassination. In my view, they are behind the president's death. The Presidential Guard, ninety per cent of whom are from Habyarimana's area, are also implicated.

Jean Nepomucene Nayinzira, who was the president of the Christian Democratic party, observed the following:<sup>36</sup>

A group of extremist army officers and politicians killed president Habyarimana. Habyarimana had signed the Arusha Accords under pressure. They could not forgive him for that. They accused him of complicity with the RPF in signing the

agreement. More importantly, they were determined to prevent its implementation.

From the foregoing, we can note that president Habyarimana's assassination was planned by men and women from his own region. There is no evidence to associate the Tutsi with the assassination.

The slaughter began in earnest on April 7 and over the next three months, Tutsis and moderate Hutus were systematically hunted down across the central African country (Rwanda) and massacred with machetes, nail-studded clubs and other weapons. Many were butchered inside churches where they had sought shelter. All people from the Tutsi ethnic group were targeted because they were generally identified with the opposition and particularly with the RPF, an armed movement comprising almost entirely of Tutsi refugees who had taken part in an armed attack on Rwanda from Uganda in October 1990.<sup>37</sup>

The killers included the professional interahamwe, soldiers, Presidential Guardsmen and local government officials and armed villagers who actually supervised and carried out the killings. And above them, there were the architects of genocide - the men and few women who held the highest office in the land, who controlled the government and radio stations, and who planned and implemented the killings. It is worth to emphasize the institutional church, was conspicuous by its failure to take a firm or timely stand against the mass killing in Rwanda. This must be seen in the context of a long history of political

compromise. The Roman Catholic and Anglican hierarchies in particular were very close to the Habyarimana government. The Roman Catholic Archbishop (Vincent Nsengiyumva) served on the central committee of the National Revolutionary Movement for Development (MRND) for fourteen years. While some other churchmen strove for a dialogue between the government and opposition, the Catholic and Anglican Archbishops stuck firmly to a pro-government line.

This line continued essentially unchanged after 6 April. Rwandese church leaders were very reluctant to condemn the genocide. Meanwhile, a large number of priests, pastors and some nuns assisted the killers. They betrayed the hideout of Tutsi colleagues and refugees to the killers. They refused to provide a sanctuary to the hunted. They spent time in "meetings" with the principal killers of their religion. For some churchmen, participation was brutally direct.<sup>38</sup> This points to the contradictions in the position of the churches, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, in Rwanda. While many priests have stood firm to their faith and done their utmost to protect their people from the murderers, the moral authority of the christian religion has been systematically undermined by the readiness of its leaders - bishops and archbishops. They gave spiritual support to the extremists before and after they launched their apocalypse.<sup>39</sup>

The silence of church leaders and the complicity of some priests, pastors and nuns, presents the churches with a huge challenge. If the churches are to retain credibility in Rwanda, it is essential that this complicity be dealt with



frankly.<sup>40</sup>

With more than sixty per cent of its population adhering to the catholic faith, Rwanda is the most catholic country in Africa. But the catholic church in Rwanda has never been united. Throughout history, it has been perceived alternately as a mainly Hutu and a mainly Tutsi church. In the earliest days, the European (church) leadership supported what it was as the Tutsi aristocracy, while the missions evangelized the Hutu. The first Monsignor Leon Classe, was the ideological architect of colonial rule.

From 1930 to the end of the 1940s, it was a Tutsi state church, running its seminaries for the benefit of the privileged minority, and teaching that salvation descended through the hierarchical social order. Classe's successor, Monsignor Perraudin was instrumental in bringing Paramehutu to power in the late 1950s - his former secretary and editor of the established catholic journal Kinyamateka, Gregoire Kayibanda, became president.

Shortly after the 1973 coup, Monsignor Perraudin was replaced by the first Rwandese Archbishop, Monsignor Vincent Nsengiyumva. On the formation of the MRND [National Revolutionary Movement for Development] in 1975, the Archbishop became a member of the central committee, and chairman of the committee of social affairs. He was also personal confessor to Madame Agathe Habyarimana. During his incumbency, Monsignor Nsengiyumva was able to promote many like-thinking clergymen to senior positions, including posts as bishops, in the church. Tutsi and Hutu who were more critical of the

government tended to remain in the lower echelons of the church hierarchy. As the domestic pressure for human rights and democratization was beginning to gather momentum, the Archbishop failed to challenge any of the injustices by the Rwandese government.

The church was silent to the abuses of the government. The Protestant churches' record was also somewhat mixed. The Anglican church has a similar record to the Roman Catholics; its bishops were sympathetic to the regime in Rwanda. The Baptists, strongest in the south of the country also strongly endorsed Habyarimana.

During the genocide in 1994, more Rwandese died in churches and parishes than anywhere else. Words cannot do justice to the sight and smell of Rwanda's churches during the genocide, or in the aftermath of the genocide. Throughout the country, churches and seminaries stand witness to the sweeping inhumanity of the killers in Rwanda.<sup>41</sup>

Blooded, desecrated and comprehensively looted, it is the churches and parishes of Rwanda that speak most eloquently of the horrors that have ravaged Rwanda. Mass graves, rotting corpses, latrines with dead bodies, blood-stained altars, bullet-ridden doors and shattered windows bore testimony to the killers' determination to "kill" the belief of the Rwandese people that the church can protect the innocent.<sup>42</sup> This violence claimed about 800,000 lives. Thousands of decapitated bodies were thrown into river Kagera that flowed into lake Victoria.

The goal of the killers was to exterminate the minority Tutsi population

and any Hutus opposed to the slaughter, but it ended when the Tutsi-led RPF rebel army seized power in July 1994 forcing the genocide's architects into exile.<sup>43</sup>

H. McCullum observes that genocide is the most notorious crime against humanity recognized by international law. It is deliberate murder born of the myth that one ethnic group or creed is superior to another and that it is thus legitimate to eliminate that "other" to gain power.<sup>44</sup> The Hutu extremists wanted everyone to be tainted with the blood of those who had died. By this means, the extremists wanted to carry out their genocidal project, overcome the deep regional and political divisions within the Hutu, and to cement their control over a people who, in an important way, were "new". The mass killings of the Tutsi can therefore be seen as a mass initiation into a proposed new Rwandese citizenship.

K. Kumar notes that since 1959, successive purges of political and ethnic rival have resulted in periodic mass displacements and forced exile. As a result, by August 1994, there were largely two categories of displaced Rwandese people: old caseload refugees, primarily Tutsi who had left Rwanda beginning in 1959 and began return in large numbers in July 1994, and new caseload refugees, primarily Hutu who fled during the crisis of 1994. Beginning in 1959, and periodically throughout the next thirty years, hundreds of thousands of Tutsi Rwandese fled the country, escaping ethnic and political violence. By 1993, there were an estimated 600,000 refugees living mainly in Tanzania, Zaire,

Burundi and Uganda.<sup>45</sup> During the crisis of 1994, an estimated two million Rwandese refugees were said to be living outside the borders of Rwanda.

The government in Kigali, dominated by Kagame and his English-speaking RPF colleagues, is unelected. H. McCullum records that this government seems to have lost the capacity for good public relations, which are displayed during the war. Rumours persist that Hutus in the government are often not aware of policy decisions and directives until after they are implemented and that the less democratic elements of the government, the military, have shown little enthusiasm about human rights and the rule of law. One of the most contentious issues which the RPF-dominated government has refused to deal with is what the army has done to Hutus who have returned, especially the seizing of property and homes, and the exercise of "summary justice".<sup>46</sup>

The RPF government of Rwanda has refused to include people it regards as genocidal killers. It also insists that there can be no reconciliation and rehabilitation without bringing the most serious killers to trial, conviction and sentencing. The government has also devoted much of its energy to combating Hutu rebels by deploying troops inside the Democratic Republic of Congo, where the rebel groups have their bases.<sup>47</sup>

Most of the power in Rwanda rests with vice-president Paul Kagame, a Tutsi who is also chairman of the RPF. Pasteur Bizimungu a deputy leader has been Rwanda's president since the end of the country's 1994 genocide, until 23rd

March 2000 when he resigned after falling out with leading members of his Tutsi-dominated ruling party. The RPF formed a government of "national reconciliation" which sought to embrace both ethnic groups (Tutsi and Hutu) after the genocide of hundreds of thousands of minority Tutsi by Hutu extremists. But several Hutus have since quit the government. Pierre Celestin Rwigema, another Hutu, resigned as Prime Minister in February 2000, after parliament accused him of corruption.<sup>48</sup>

Paul Kagame was elected as president of Rwanda on 17<sup>th</sup> April 2000. He is the first president of Rwanda from the Tutsi minority group after a series of Hutu presidents since the country got independence in 1962.

The refusal to share power is one of the quasi-permanent features of Rwandan history that has led to the death and exile of many Rwandese. The most immediate and severe need is to help Rwandese cope with the psychological and spiritual results of the bloodshed. The problem did not happen overnight and hence it will not be resolved overnight. From a reconciliation perspective, there are realities, which must be dealt with justly. It cannot be an easy reconciliation, given the depths of hatred and anger observed among highly politicized refugees and the equal insistence inside the country (Rwanda) that those responsible for the genocide be brought to justice quickly before frustration leads to a wider outbreak of revenge-killings. However, the RPF-led government should reconcile with Hutus before the Hutus organize themselves to seize power in Rwanda, leading to more massacres and exile.

The historical background of Rwanda will help us to understand the next sub-section under Flight Dynamics and Obstacles in Transit. In this study, I put the problem of uprooting in a historical perspective and attempted to show the connection between the past and present events that lead to conflicts and flight from Rwanda. This is because the conflicts that produce refugees are closely linked with the historical development of a country.

#### 2.4 Flight Dynamics and Obstacles in Transit

Rwandese refugees had to flee their country due to various reasons. They underwent problems during flight and after arriving in Kenya. The table below summarizes the reasons for flight and the corresponding percentages (%).

**Table IV: Reasons for Flight by Sample Site %**

Reasons for Flight	%
1. Fear of anticipated danger	20
2. Persecution	15
3. Living Conflict Zones	25
4. Opposition to regime	4
5. Government policies	6
6. Mass flight psychosis	30
Total	100.0
N	50

Fear of anticipated danger is a major factor that caused Rwandese refugees to flee Rwanda. The refugees fled Rwanda due to fear of political persecution, and fear of war. Hence it can be noted that fear of anticipated danger and persecution are interrelated. From 1959 upto early 1994, Tutsi minority were persecuted by Hutu majority hence being forcefully evicted from Rwanda. When the Tutsi-led RPF rebel army seized power in July 1994, it forced the genocide's architects into exile. During this time, both the killers and those who were innocent were told by RPF army to leave Rwanda or else to be swept away. Many Hutus fled for fear of being killed by RPF army. One respondent noted that soldiers were shooting into the air, making people stampede at an even greater rate towards the border. The result was massive exodus.<sup>49</sup>

Conflict between the armed opposition and the government forces in Rwanda are the main sources of violence and affect a large percentage of the population. One respondent noted that war in Rwanda has destroyed the existing relations and patterns, property, and the possibility of economic and social survival. War also leads to destruction of human life.<sup>50</sup> The above factors therefore made many Rwandese to resolve into flight.

Opposition to the regime in Rwanda is yet a factor leading to flight. This category of refugees comprised mostly the elite groups who formed the intellectual cream of society. Although the majority of them fled in reaction to a threat to their lives, they saw a purpose in their exile and anticipated a victorious

return to their country of origin. One of the respondents argued that Hutu rebels have greatly resisted the RPF-led government in Rwanda. According to these rebels, the Hutus should rule Rwanda because they are the majority. He noted that moderate Tutsis who are opposed to the RPF-led government have been forcefully evicted from Rwanda.<sup>51</sup> It should be noted that military regime has at times deliberately repressed civilians in order to destroy opposition support in the countryside, thereby spreading panic and causing mass displacement.

Moreover, policies by Rwanda government are a major cause of flight. Imprisonment was cited as a most dreaded encounter. Summary execution without trial and torture to acquire information about the opposition were reported to be quite frequent. One respondent cited indefinite detention without charge as a common practise of the Tutsi-led government in Rwanda. The government does not provide food in most of the prisons and the general conditions are poor.<sup>52</sup> Note that the Tutsi-led government insists that those responsible for the genocide be brought to justice quickly before frustration leads to a wider outbreak of revenge-killings. Such conditions made many Hutus to panic and leave Rwanda even if this meant indefinite return<sup>53</sup>. Such refugees were therefore uprooted from Rwanda as a result of a deliberate policy by the Government

A large group of respondents said that they fled Rwanda not because of a threat to their physical security or as a protest against injustice, but in response to



mass flight psychosis. Some left Rwanda because their peers or member of their reference groups had done so. Some fled Rwanda because they wanted to follow their relatives. The numerous reasons cited above made some individuals to take to flight even when they were not threatened or opposed to the government of Rwanda. One respondent said that when they heard about rumours of an invading army, they simply took to their heels and fled Rwanda. Others fled Rwanda because they saw many people fleeing the country.<sup>54</sup> This category of refugees would not therefore give reasons for flight. They simply responded to mass flight psychosis.

According to Bulcha's views, there is a sub-group within the above category of refugees who take advantage of the situation created by the mass movement to fulfil frustrated aspiration for further education and economic betterment. These are not refugees but voluntary migrants. In exile the conditions of these voluntary migrants cannot be better than the others with different reasons for flight. They actually face the same survival problems and their future is equally uncertain.

From my findings, Rwandese refugees who migrated to Kenya did not have the chance to assess the cost of flight. Only a small group [18%] made preparations for their flight or deliberately chose their destination.

Preparations made before flight included selling property, studying the flight route beforehand and contacting guides. This group consisted mainly of

those who were able to anticipate danger. The results from the table above show that a very small percentage of refugees anticipated danger and hence planned their flight. Refugees in this category encountered minor problems during flight.

However, a large percentage of the respondents were in acute danger, and hence they were not able to make any preparations since they left Rwanda in a panicky manner, pressed by acute threats to themselves or their families. This affirms Bulcha's argument that most refugees leave their country in acute situations and for many of them their journey is hampered by acute problems.<sup>55</sup> For these refugees the push force was overwhelming and the kinetic factor as used by Kunz dominated their movements.<sup>56</sup>

Kibreab's argument that the propensity of people to respond to a situation which they perceive to be dangerous by resorting to flight is higher among pastoral communities than among communities with a long history of being sedentary<sup>52</sup> has been partially disapproved. Although Kibreab's ideas may be true of some refugees, the writer finds it wrong to generalize this as a fact of population displacement. The study found out that Tutsi (pastoralists) did not just choose to resort to flight by virtue of them living a nomadic life. The threat to life was an overriding factor in their displacement. It would also be overstatement to argue that Hutus (Agriculturalists) will choose not to uproot even when faced with a threat to life just because they are attached to their pieces of land. The reasons for flight have already been noted above.

The major problems encountered by Rwandese refugees during flight

have been summarized in the table below:

**Table V: Problems encountered during flight**

Type of Problem	Per cent
1. Armed robbery especially at national borders	28
2. Ill-health	21
3. Lack of food and water	45
4. Rape	6
Total	100.0%
N	50

Armed attacks were carried out by border guards, the police, the local militia or regular army units. Sometimes refugees employed smugglers as guides and hence came under the fire of the police.

Armed robbery of refugees was committed along some of the routes used by the respondents during flight. The refugees were robbed of their money, clothes and other property.<sup>57</sup>

Many respondents encountered hardships caused by lack of food and water. Many of them suffered from diseases like malaria, typhoid, cholera and diarrhoea. There was no case of childbirth recorded during flight.

Rape cases were also reported among some girls and women. One respondent noted that the girls and women were told to give in or be killed<sup>58</sup> These victims of rape have been stigmatized and often ostracised. Their sense of

shame combined with burdens of grief and suffering have driven some women and girls beyond despair.

**Table VI: Duration of flight by sample site (%)**

Flight days	%
1. 1-9	18
2. 10-14	67
3. 15+	15
Total	100.0
N	50

Most Rwandese refugees walked on foot because they did not have money to pay in case they opted to use a vehicle. However, few refugees who had money were able to board into vehicles for most of the journey.

**Table VII: Means of Transport [%]**

1. Foot	87
2. Vehicle	13
3. Animal	-
4. Aeroplane	-
Total	100.0
N	50

Expulsion, although on the increase is not common in Africa. According to Father Rodrigues Augustine none of the Rwandese refugees who came to Kayole Catholic Parish was told to go back to Rwanda. Therefore the problems which the Rwandese refugees face on their arrival in Kenya concern more the general problems of transition than immediate threats to their physical safety. The problems are of social cultural and psychological nature, due partly to the strangeness of the language and culture. It involves also the problems of mere survival. The refugees have lost their property and therefore find it difficult to begin life once afresh. The above argument has been emphasized by Bulcha who maintains that the problems which refugees in Africa face on their arrival in the country of asylum concern more the general problems of transition and survival. The types of problems encountered by Rwandese refugees on arrival in the host country (Kenya) are summarized in the table below:

Table VIII: Problems encountered in host country [%]

Legal Status	7
Health	19
Subsistence	31
Culture-shock	12
Shelter	14
Loneliness	17
Total	100.0
N	50

Majority of Rwandese refugees derived some subsistence from the pieces of land which they owned in Rwanda. In the new environment, they have no land to derive subsistence. Most of them live in a state of poverty. They are not able to get enough food to eat. Most of them suffer from malnutrition.

Cultural and social problems are inevitable accompaniments of displacement. The new arrivals in an alien social and cultural environment often suffer from 'culture-shock'.

Another consequence of long flight journeys among Rwandese refugees is ill health on or after arrival in the host country. Physical exhaustion and lack of nourishment increases the refugees' vulnerability to infectious diseases. One respondent cited that health problems due to fatigue and change of environment, malnutrition, and diseases have heightened the economic and socio-

psychological problems which refugees encounter when they arrive in Kenya.<sup>60</sup>

Loneliness was cited by some respondents as a sociological problem. Refugees in this category said that they had lost all or most of their relatives. Another respondent noted that loneliness among refugees is largely caused by disruption of social ties that resulted from flight.<sup>61</sup>

Most Rwandese refugees are not able to find shelter after their arrival in Kenya because they lack money to pay rent.

Some Rwandese refugees who reported at UNHCR offices in Nairobi were denied the legal status of a refugee.<sup>62</sup> According to UNHCR, the fear of being persecuted was not well-founded among the refugees. However, it should be noted that most refugees in Africa flee their countries of origin due to mass flight psychosis, external aggression, occupation, or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of their country. These are refugees who have been included in the OAU convention adopted in 1969 in Addis Ababa.

The problem in Rwanda can be solved if there is reconciliation between the two opposing groups - the RPF-led government and the majority Hutus. Muller-Fahrenheit argued that the notion of reconciliation suggests processes of healing and restoration. The concept is applied not only to individuals, couples and families but also to social and ethnic groups and to entire nations. He further observes that politicians have become fond of appealing for reconciliation, without of course indicating exactly how to bring it about. The Latin root "conciliom" suggests a deliberate process in which the conflicting partners meet

each other - to work out their differing views and to arrive at some common agreement. He cites that example of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission established by the transitional government of South Africa in 1995 to deal with some of the major human rights violations during the apartheid regime.

President Mandela's government considered it essential for the harmonious construction of a new and united South Africa explicitly to face the crimes and sufferings of the apartheid era.<sup>63</sup>

Those who have been offended should be ready to forgive. On the other hand, the offenders must say that they are sorry for what they have done. Muller-Fahrenheit noted that when the term "forgiveness" is used these days, it generally seems to refer to a specific act of pardoning. Someone repents, someone forgives. He further maintained that the technique of expecting automatic pardon helps to justify our assumption that rude and offensive acts are normal. The heart of the matter is that the element of guilt has almost completely vanished from this kind of "forgiveness". The fixation on the actor's side leads us to overlook the impact of our actions on those who have to suffer them. True forgiveness occurs when the perpetrator asks for it and the victim grants it; both sides should be changed by this encounter. A healing takes place, which paves the way for a better co-operation between the formerly conflicting partners. Forgiveness is a genuine process of encounter, of healing, of the releasing of new options for the future.

A guilty and painful past is redeemed in order to establish reliable



foundations for renewed fellowship in dignity and trust. Forgiveness frees the future from the haunting legacies of the past.<sup>64</sup>

Of course there has to be hope or our God-given humanity would not survive. In Rwanda the hope lies in the courage of that small bond of people who understood their Christianity in non-ethnic terms, who walked justly and mercifully and courageously and paid a shocking price in physical and material terms for their faithfulness. This is the church, which Jesse Mugambi says cannot die - the surviving church. There is hope, and there are clear signs that out of their sacrifice will rise again an institution tempered by its ordeal, committed to the gospel of justice, peace and reconciliation and ready to work for the Kingdom.<sup>65</sup>

From the foregoing, it is evident that there existed war between the Hutu and Tutsi to a small scale in pre-colonial period. This was mainly caused by their preoccupation – the Hutus were cultivators of land while the Tutsis were pastoralists.

The Tutsis controlled the use and distribution of cattle, forcing the Hutu cultivators to exchange agricultural products in return for their use of cattle and protection against raids. Cattle herders, soldiers and administrators were mainly Tutsis while farmers were Hutu. Since the Tutsi owned cattle, this was a sign of wealth that made them cattle chiefs who dominated most of Rwanda.

Under the colonial rule, Tutsi were designated as the 'Hamitic race' and the Hutu the negroid or Bantu race. The colonialists, especially the Belgians

adopted the policy of divide and rule. Basing on the physical structure, the Tutsi who were tall with a straight nose were seen to be naturally born leaders. The Tutsis became collaborators in the colonial civil service and got high posts in the colonial administration. This brought about class-consciousness and widened the rift between the Hutu and Tutsi. Colonialism worked as a catalyst widening the differences between the Hutu and Tutsi.

Monetarization of the economy and social relations led to the degeneration of the cattle myth. This meant that Hutus who acquired education and got employment could easily advance through good salaries. They also questioned the colonial exploitation and oppression. With the rise of African nationalism, there emerged a strong middle class within the subjects of the monarchy in Rwanda which questioned the superiority of the monarchy.

Beginning in 1959, and periodically throughout the next thirty years, hundreds of thousands of Tutsi Rwandese fled the country, escaping ethnic and political violence. Note that colonial rule and its attendant racial ideology, was followed by independent governments committed to Hutu supremacy and intermittent inter-communal violence, that dramatically altered the nature of the Hutu-Tutsi problem, making the divide between the two far sharper and more violent.

The genocide in 1994 was organized by Hutu extremists inside the government of Rwanda and allied militias. Tutsis and moderate Hutus were massacred with machetes, nail-studded clubs and other weapons. The aim of the

Hutu extremists was creating a nation of people complicit in the genocidal killing. By these means, the extremists wanted to carry out their genocidal project, overcome the deep regional and political divisions within the Hutu, and to cement their control over a people who, in an important way, were “new”.

The RPF rebel army seized power in July 1994, forcing the genocides’ architects into exile. The RPF-led government still leads a fragile, ethnically mixed transitional government and is trying to rebuild the country but the scars of genocide will remain for a long time. The genocide and continued civil war have devastated Rwanda, overwhelmed its justice system and left a country filled with mass graves, orphans, widows, and tens of thousands of traumatised survivors.

The crisis in 1994 has led to an influx of Rwandese refugees in neighbouring countries – Democratic Republic of Congo, Tanzania, Uganda and even Kenya.

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45. K. Kumar, The International Response of Conflict and Genocide: Lessons from the Rwanda Experience, Joint Evaluation of Emergency Assistance to Rwanda, p. 87.
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48. East African Standard, Friday 24, 2000. p. 18. Also see Daily Nation, Friday 24, 2000, p. 11.
49. Camilli Kabarega, interviewed on 16/11/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish in Nairobi.
50. Emmanuel Burasanzwe, interviewed on 11/11/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish in Nairobi.
51. Innocent Nkwaya, interviewed on 23/11/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish in Nairobi .

52. Jean Bosco Nungu Arakarama, interviewed on 19/11/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish in Nairobi.
53. Daniel Uwimana, interviewed on 26/11/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish in Nairobi.
54. Marceline Niyonsaba, interviewed on 21/11/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish in Nairobi.
55. M. Bulcha, op. cit., pp. 138 - 140.
56. E. F. Kunz, op. cit.
57. G. Kibreab, 'A study of organized settlement for Eritrean Refugees in Eastern Sudan 1967 - 1983; Uppsala University, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, 1985, p. 93.
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59. Sarai Francoise Nyirabaziyunga, personal interview, on 13/11/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish.
60. Jean de Dieu Niyitanga, personal interview, on 17/11/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish.
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## CHAPTER THREE

### THE DIMENSIONS OF INTEGRATION OF RWANDESE REFUGEES

#### INTRODUCTION

The concept of integration is widely used to denote the process of immigrant adjustment in a new environment and the relations that obtain between immigrant and non-migrant groups at the levels of social organization. Benard conceptualized this process as follows:<sup>1</sup>

Integration is achieved when migrants become a working part of their adopted society, take on many of its attitudes and behaviour patterns and participate freely in its activities, but at the same time retain a measure of their original cultural identity and ethnicity.

Implicit in Benard's descriptive definition is that the parties involved must recognise and accommodate differences in culture, beliefs, and so on for integration to function. The emphasis is on participation in the host society.

When referring to refugee relationships with and experiences in their host environments, integration denotes more or less the same process as defined by Benard. B. Harrell-Bond observed that integration denotes a situation in which host and refugee communities are able to co-exist, sharing the same resources both economic and social - with no greater mutual conflict than that which exists within the host community.<sup>2</sup>

According to UNHCR, in cases where voluntary repatriation is unlikely to take place in the foreseeable future, the best solution is often to settle refugees in their host country. This can only be done, however, with the agreement of the Government of the asylum country concerned; as refugee numbers have escalated, local settlement opportunities have tended to become increasingly restricted in many parts of the world. Millicent Mutuli observed that when using the term local integration, this implies that refugees have been granted the citizenship of the country of asylum. She further maintained that although Rwandese refugees have been integrated into KCCC according to Kayole Catholic Parish, they (refugees) have not been integrated as an official policy. Kenya has treated refugees as temporary even when they have been here for decades.

Rwandese refugees are therefore viewed by UNHCR as illegal occupants who need official documents to go to the camp. The Rwandese case is a very difficult one. Many Rwandese refugees have been excluded in the UN definition of a refugee because they were involved in the genocide in Rwanda in 1994. This convention does not include those who have committed crimes against humanity. Under the international law, Rwandese case is sensitive.<sup>3</sup>

Therefore the way I am using the term integration in this study is not as the official policy as used by UNHCR or by the government of Kenya. Rwandese refugees have not been granted citizenship in Kenya. In the strict sense, they have found space in the host community.

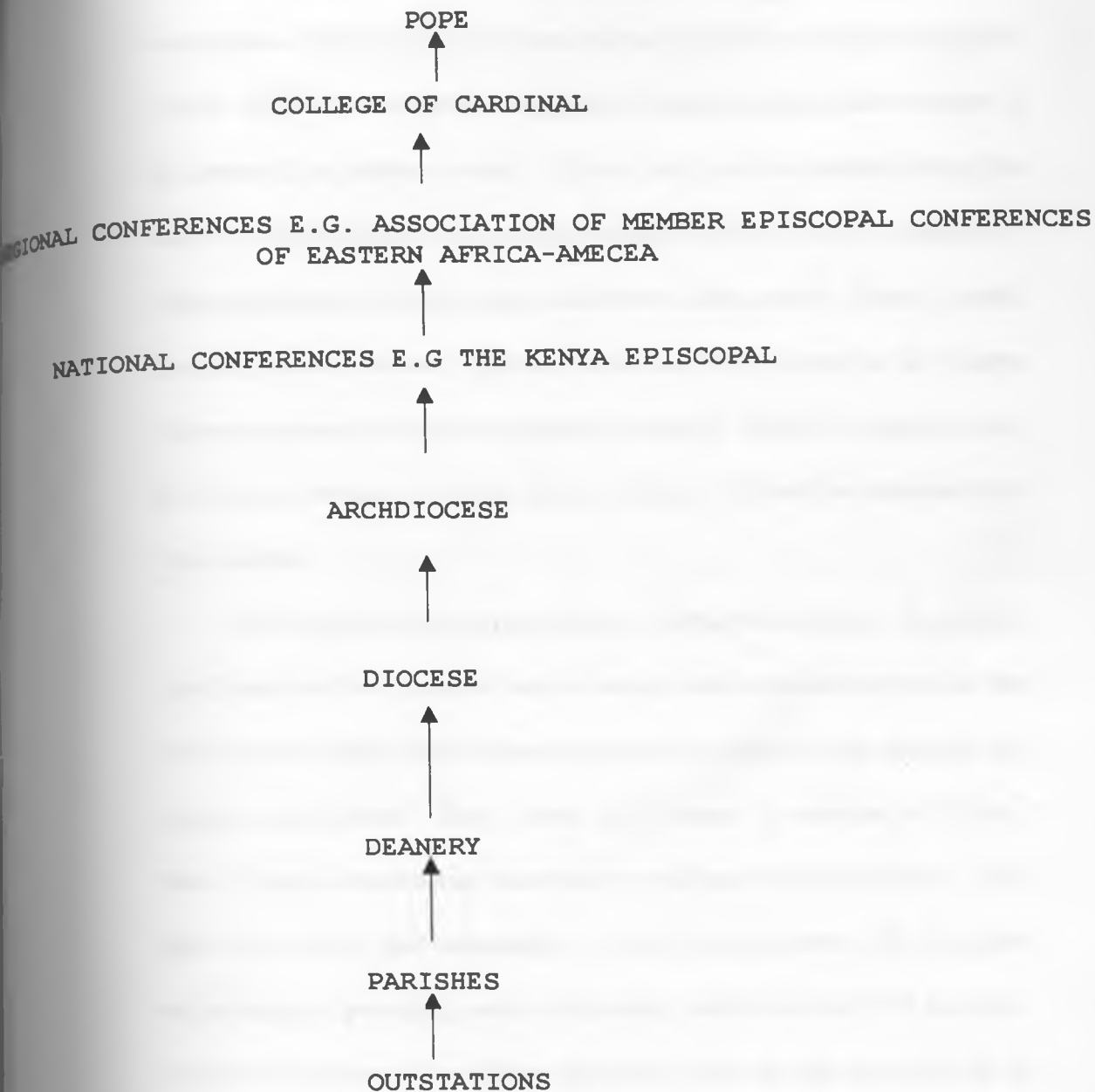
According to Kayole Catholic Parish, the goal and end of integration is to ensure that both refugees and the local population share a sense of belonging together, a sense of solidarity and an awareness of dependency.

Benard's definition applies to Rwandese refugees who have been absorbed into the labour market and those who have adopted many traits in the host society (Kenya) although maintaining their cultural identity and ethnicity.

The definition given by Harrel-Bond applies to this study since both Rwandese refugees and the host population co-exist, sharing the same resources.

This section shall focus on how Kayole Catholic Parish has helped Rwandese refugees to integrate into the host community. Therefore before embarking on the various dimensions of integration among Rwandese refugees, the writer finds it necessary to show the structure of the catholic church, This will help us to know why Kayole Catholic Parish has been effective in rendering services to refugees.

# HIERARCHY IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH



Father Augustine noted that the above hierarchy leads to proper co-ordination within the Catholic Church. He also noted that this has promoted

solidarity among the members. Christian doctrine within the Catholic Church is uniform. Authority is from the pope to Bishops to parish priests and to the congregation. This has led to unity and mutual co-operation within the Catholic Church. Kayole Catholic Parish is guided by these principles. Each member is the keeper of his brother or sister.<sup>4</sup> There is unity and co-operation among the members. Father Edward Murphy observed that AMECEA which is made up of Episcopal conferences from countries in Eastern Africa namely: Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Zambia, Malawi, Ethiopia, Sudan and Eritrea caters for all refugees who seeks asylum in the above mentioned countries.<sup>5</sup> AMECEA therefore caters for Rwandese refugees at Kayole Catholic Parish. This will be elaborated later in this chapter.

Note that there exist several orders in the Catholic Church. In the early church there had been groups of men or women who joined together so that they could live the Gospel and its values in a more intense way: these were the first religious communities. They vowed not to marry in imitation of Christ.... Some... lived in monasteries where they prayed and worked together. Later, others went outside their monasteries ... to be in closer contact with the people and to engage in preaching, works of education, health care and other activities. In the vow of poverty the religious promises in faith to rely upon God for all material needs, to live simply, to share all his goods with those in the community, and to live closely with God's people.<sup>6</sup> Such are the principles that guide the members of KCCC. KCCC is a community whose members share a

sense of solidarity. KCCC is a caring community for Rwandese refugees.

The following are examples of orders in the catholic church and their main occupation: Divine Word Missionaries (DWM) - fulfilling the command of the Lord to proclaim the Gospel, so that all people may walk in the way of salvation. Missionary work is the end and aim of the congregation. They are involved in evangelical poverty. All priests at Kayole Catholic Parish belong to DWM; Marianists - teaching in secondary schools and universities, working with youth and among the poor, teaching in catechetical and religious education programmes, promoting Small Christian Communities (SCCs); Conventual Franciscan Friars - found in missions, pastoral work and in various institutions of higher learning; salesians of Don Bosco - serve youth, helping them to grow as useful citizens and men of God; Patrician Brothers - extending the kingdom of God by counteracting whatever makes our world less human; Brothers of St. Charles Lwanga - involved in Agricultural activities as well as general parish pastoral work; homes for street children; Franciscan Friars Minor - they break their hearts with the neglected ones and the outcasts of our times<sup>7</sup>

What is unique among these orders is that the members come together in order to mobilize resources for accomplishing this work. Father Rodrigues Augustine maintained that funds used are mainly derived from the catholic body. Hence Kayole Catholic Parish is focussed to its initial goals while rendering services to the needy.<sup>8</sup> Kayole Catholic Parish does not get its mandate from governments or donors. This has made Kayole Catholic Parish effective while

caring for Rwandese refugees.

The above religious orders were often founded by a person who recognized a direct need which was not being fulfilled, and the new community tried them to meet that need.

This study will focus on the work carried out by Divine Word Missionaries (DWM). In response to the call of the Holy Spirit and the needs of peoples, Blessed Arnold Janssen founded a missionary congregation, the Divine Word Missionaries. Guided by the Holy Spirit and following the Divine Word, the ultimate aim of the congregation is to glorify the Father [God] and bring the fullness of life to God's people. As an apostolic and fraternal community, the members place themselves at the disposal of the church in order to fulfil the command of the Lord to proclaim the Gospel, so that all people may walk in the way of salvation. Missionary work is the end and aim of the congregation.<sup>9</sup> The members cater for the material and spiritual needs of refugees by mobilizing the community to respond according to their ability.

Last but not least, while rendering services to Rwandese refugees, Kayole Catholic Parish has adopted a holistic approach where the spiritual and the physical are not alienated. Spiritual wholeness is viewed as the core of all human wholeness. By basing on Christ's holistic ministry which involved proclaiming the good news, healing the sick, accompanying the lonely, bringing liberty to the captives and feeding the hungry, those who render services to refugees at Kayole Catholic Parish care for the soul, body and mind. The details

will be discussed during the study.

### 3.1 The Economic Dimension of Integration.

Shannon has defined economic integration as the process of securing work and becoming a part of the regularly employed labour force in a given society.<sup>10</sup> For refugees to be considered economically integrated in their country of asylum, they must have reached a level of material self-sufficiency.

Harrell-Bond argues that humanitarian organizations consider refugees as self-sufficient when they reach a state which permits the withdrawal of aid.<sup>11</sup> This implies that self-sufficiency concerns the ability to produce and satisfy one's own basic needs. Economic integration therefore implies a certain degree of success as productive members of that society and an attainment of a reasonable standard of living commensurate with that of the majority of the indigenous population.

Bulcha observes that for refugees, economic integration into their host societies begins with the process of securing a job. This means that employment is the first step towards economic integration. However, this occurs only after long delays for many refugees, and may not take place at all in some cases. Bulcha maintains that refugees are handicapped in many ways in the labour market in their countries of asylum. The inability to speak the local language, the mismatch between the refugees' occupational backgrounds and experiences with those required and the unavailability of job-training services are some of the



obvious obstacles to early entry into the labour market of the host country.<sup>12</sup>

According to Father Rodrigues Augustine, the occupational backgrounds and experiences of most Rwandese refugees do not match with that required in the labour market in Kenya. It is for this reason that majority of Rwandese refugees are handicapped in the labour market. Father Rodrigues Augustine observes that those refugees who are absorbed in the labour market usually undertake the worst paid and inferior jobs.<sup>13</sup> This view affirms Bulcha's argument already discussed above.

**Table IX: Occupational status of Rwandese refugees before and after flight**

Occupation	Original %	Current %
Tailoring	15	30
Student	33	50
Subsistence farming	20	-
Construction work, carpentry	9	10
Health worker	6	-
Clerical jobs	12	-
Farm labourer	2	-
Petty trades	3	10
Total	100.0	100.0
N	50	50

For a few Rwandese refugees, their present jobs match their previous occupational backgrounds. However, a large percentage of them have been forced by circumstances to engage in jobs that do not match with their previous experiences in Rwanda.

Most Rwandese refugees have shifted from formal occupation to casual wage employment hence shifting from relative material well being to poverty. However note that the various activities which some refugees create in the informal sector provides an income to sustain life. For most of them, income got is spent on rent and food. However, the food is usually not palatable. Majority of the refugees suffer from malnutrition. One respondent noted that food taken by refugees include green vegetables and cereals. The refugees usually take one or two meals per day, which they also consider to be a luxury.<sup>14</sup>

Most refugees have moved from socially prestigious and satisfying occupations to non-prestigious ones.

Another respondent said that although they have job-training and experience from their home country, they are not able to compete with the citizens of Kenya who are easily absorbed in the labour market.<sup>15</sup> It is not possible for an ex-student who has become a petty trader or for a caterer who has become a house wife to even regain their self-esteem and the respect of others, despite being forced by circumstances to act the way they have.

The findings show an increase in the number of students from 25% to

30%. This is because school fees is paid by AMECEA. Therefore those who were unable to pay fees in their mother country go to school.

Although employment is the first step towards economic integration, there were common reported cases of unemployment and underemployment. The writer observed that Rwandese refugees with formal qualifications and skills have greater opportunities to earn their subsistence than those without qualifications. Nonetheless, this does not mean that they are engaged in tasks commensurate with their training the skills. It is important to note that acquisition of a job does not mean that Rwandese refugees are economically self-sufficient. Most of them are unable to fully meet their basic needs.

Employment by itself is not sufficient to determine economic self-sufficiency. The rate of employment does not necessarily tell us whether a household or an individual has earned sufficiency to meet basic needs. Although most Rwandese refugees are engaged full-time all the year round either working on their own allotments or for others, this does not guarantee sufficient returns to meet their survival needs. I therefore found it necessary to make an assessment of household income to determine the economic self-sufficiency of the respondents.

**Table X: Length of residence by annual income**

Household Estimated Income	0 - 1 Year	3 Years	5 + Years
	Ksh.3,900	Ksh.4,100	Ksh.4,400

The findings of this study showed that the length of residence seems to have little relationship to improvement in the material standard of refugee households. The incident of material poverty was as frequent among newcomers and those who had been in Kenya for over five years. Since most refugees viewed their stay in Kenya to be a temporary one and were eager to repatriate to Rwanda, they were not prepared to establish themselves economically.<sup>16</sup>

The writer found it difficult to get the exact income of respondents as most of them were tailors, handicraftsmen and petty-traders whose income varied from time to time. In order to overcome this problem, I asked respondents to recall how much they earned per annum from the various activities in which they were engaged.

**Table XI: Estimated Income Levels for Existence per annum**

Basic needs	Estimated income to meet basic needs per household
Food	Ksh 29,600
Clothing	Ksh 5,600
Shelter	Ksh 15,600
Miscellaneous	Ksh 4,300
Total	Ksh 55,200

The findings of the study showed that although most refugees could earn an income to meet basic needs, the income did not offer them self-sufficiency. In order to measure self-sufficiency, the writer found out the basic economic

needs of a refugee household and the minimum income required by a refugee household to meet basic needs. This is the income that is close to margins of survival. Self-sufficiency level is that level at which basic needs are satisfied and a living standard at some desirable level beyond marginal survival is maintained. This may include expenditure on watching movies, travelling, weddings and other celebrations. I was concerned with income that meets the basic economic needs of Rwandese refugee households.

**Table XII: Distribution of heads of refugee household by sex (%).**

Sex	%
Male	35
Female	65
Total	100.0
N	50

A woman-headed household is a common feature among Rwandese refugees. Flight usually leads to family disintegration hence giving rise to households consisting of a single parent. The single parent is often a mother who was widowed, divorced or abandoned by her husband. Having attained refugee status, women are often overburdened by domestic responsibilities. One respondent maintained that the demands of caring for children, other chores, and the effect of cultural constraints, prevent many refugee women from seeking

employment, and hence they are not able to provide for their households.<sup>17</sup> It is also common knowledge that women are more vulnerable than men to the difficulties created by conditions of exile. This may force such women to engage in socially despised jobs like prostitution. They risk contracting sexually transmitted diseases (STD), including the killer disease, AIDS. Therefore the flight of women refugees, especially when they happen to be single or widowed heads of households is such that they need more attention.

**Table XIII: Educational backgrounds of Rwandese refugees**

Education	Previous %	Current %
Elementary	27	40
Secondary	15	20
College/university	45	18
No schooling	13	22
Total	100.0	100.0
N	25	25

The number of respondents in table above is 25 because I was interested in respondents who were either schooling or who were not able to continue with education due to various reasons.

From the table above, it can be deduced that most respondents had attained education in their home country to college or university level. While in the host country, most respondents in the above category have been unable to

afford fees since AMECEA mainly caters for the payment of fees at elementary and secondary levels. This explains the drastic fall in the number of students in colleges or universities in the host country and subsequently the increase in number of students at elementary and secondary level. Some respondents were not able to continue with education due to disruption that resulted from flight. One respondent reported that some refugees who had attained education up to college or university level have been recruited as assistants of the Rwandese Refugee Welfare Association (RRWA) at Kayole Catholic Parish.<sup>18</sup> It is therefore right to note that Rwandese refugees with formal qualifications and skills have greater opportunities to earn their subsistence than those without qualifications.

Although many Rwandese refugees have been handicapped in the labour market in Kenya, Kayole Catholic Parish has assisted many of them to engage in income-generating activities in order to earn a living. Another respondent noted that these activities include carpentry, construction work and tailoring. Carpentry and construction work is performed by male refugees. This work entails making or repairing wooden objects and structures.<sup>19</sup> However most respondents complained that they receive very low wages which make them unable to foot the high rents demanded by house owners in the shanty estates.

Kayole Women-Dress Making Project has proved to be the most successful project at Kayole Catholic Parish. The members are entirely women refugees. Kayole Women-Dress Making Project was started in 1995 with an aim

of helping women refugees to earn a living. The members got sponsorship from the Catholic Parish to buy sewing machines and other items. Some members had obtained skills in tailoring while in Rwanda. Those without skills are usually taught by fellow refugees. Entry into the project is free. Members are required to pay a fee of Ksh20 per month. The project consists of about forty members. However, some members had earlier on left the project claiming that they did not have enough time to engage in activities in the project. The members have been given a free building by Kayole Catholic Parish for performing the work. The members said that they feel welcomed into Kenya.

One respondent reported that the items produced include table clothes, school uniforms and embroidery work. Those products are thereafter sold. Money got is shared among the members.<sup>20</sup> Hence these women refugees have been able to earn a living. However, not that this does not mean that they have become self-reliant. They still need help from Kayole Catholic Parish and other humanitarian bodies. The members of Kayole Women-Dress Making Project complain that they lack money to purchase material for their work. Another respondent noted that they are at times handicapped while seeking market for their products. The members also lack machines for embroidery work. However, they prefer embroidery work that is done manually because such products are more marketable than those produced by machines.<sup>21</sup> Members of Kayole Women-Dress Making Project also complained that they usually get a sponsor after a very long period (two years).



It is important to note that although being faced with some problems, members of Kayole Women-Dress Making Project have benefited a lot from the returns received from the project. Those without know-how have been able to receive skills in tailoring. Money got from sales is distributed among the members as income. The members have a sense of belonging together and hence assist one another. The members are occupied with the activities already mentioned above and hence they do not feel bored or lonely. Income received by the members is used to pay rent, buy food and clothing.

Although many Rwandese refugees have been assisted by Kayole Catholic Parish to be involved in income-generating activities, they are faced with difficult situations while trying to undergo the process of economic integration.

**Table XIV: Survival Strategies by Rwandese refugees**

Survival Strategies	%
Humanitarian assistance	65
Remittance and assistance from fellow refugees and well wishers	15
Rwandese Refugee welfare Association (RRWA)	20
Total	100.0
N	50

Humanitarian assistance in the form of money, food and clothing is mostly given to new arrivals. This assistance is provided by AMECEA through

Kayole Catholic Parish to Rwandese refugees. Humanitarian assistance is also given to old refugees. Payment of rent is partly done by AMECEA. Refugees are provided with food in form of cereals, cooking fat, salt and sugar. However, this food is usually insufficient. Needy cases of sick refugees are usually given medical vouchers which they use to get treatment from the prescribed hospitals. Note that refugees who seek medical attention at Kayole Catholic Dispensary usually pay some fee towards the treatment given. Donations from AMECEA have subsidised fee charged on refugees.

Fees for needy students is provided by AMECEA. These students have been enrolled in primary and secondary schools - Kayole catholic school, Mihango school and City council schools in Kayole. One respondent cited that some refugees have joined colleges and hence they are acquiring skills and knowledge, which may be beneficial to them in the labour market in the host country or in their mother country upon repatriation.<sup>22</sup>

Other means of survival include assistance mainly in the form of money sent from refugees themselves and wellwishers.

Another respondent reported that refugee-based associations are not wide spread and hence provide very limited assistance. Funds are given to needy cases from the Rwandese Refugee Welfare Association (RRWA).<sup>23</sup>

Kayole Catholic Parish has played a big role in helping Rwandese refugees to undergo the process of economic integration. Note that most Rwandese refugees view their stay in Kenya to be short lived. This is positive thinking because when conditions in Rwanda become better, it will be easier for them to repatriate. On the other had, such thinking has been the biggest obstacle hindering the process of economic integration among Rwandese refugees. Rwandese refugees should therefore be willing to make an effort to improve their conditions in the host country.

### 3.2 The Social Dimension of Integration

Homan has defined social integration as the way in which the refugee relates to the social environment in the country of asylum. Homan further proposes that the more frequently persons interact with one another, the stronger their sentiments of friendship for one another are likely to be.<sup>24</sup> Thus, social integration starts with the establishment of contacts between refugees and their hosts. It is through social interaction that barriers are removed, attitudes change and differences are ironed out. Common interests are recognized and accommodations made only if interaction takes place. Here accommodation refers to the mutual adjustment of groups that retain their own identity and

interest.

The loss experienced by a refugee has important social dimensions. When a people are forced into exile, they are separated from a familiar environment and cut off from friends, family and established social networks. Not knowing when they will be able to return to their homes, or what they will find when they get there, many refugees live in a perpetual state of uncertainty.<sup>25</sup> Refugees undergo deculturation and desocialization which may affect the capability of some of them to manage life even when repatriated to their original countries. Refugees undergo the loss of social status and resources through role dispossession and disruption of social relationships. The relative security or prosperity he or she enjoyed before flight is lost along with, to a great extent, the means to achieve them: access to resources, political affiliations and social relationships.<sup>26</sup> The refugee undergoes problems of communication due to lack of knowledge of the local language. Refugees undergo dematuration as they are reduced to the role of a child who cannot make independent decisions. This loss is restored when personal relations are re-established in the host country.

Stone emphasizes that the development of non-development of friendship with the members of the host society is a crucial element in the immigrants' social integration. He further notes that interpersonal relationships and primary group relations are the basis for the development of common values and the recognition and pursuit of common interests.<sup>27</sup> The refugee can learn about his new community more closely only by entering into such relationships with

members of the host society. These relations are also indicators of social acceptance in the new community.

Homan's views apply to this study. As Rwandese refugees interact with the local population, differences are removed and common interests are shared. This enables the refugees to establish relations with the host country. Finally the refugee is able to learn about his or her new environment more closely. This affirms Stone's views that the refugee can learn about his new community by entering into interpersonal relationships within the host country.

Bretons's views also apply to this study. Breton pointed to the importance of social associations in strengthening the social link between refugees and the host society. According to Breton, both refugees and the local population belong to the same social associations so that they may strengthen their identity and meet their needs adequately.

Breton observed that apart from primary group interaction, the secondary group serves as an important factor in strengthening the ties between immigrants and the host society. He further argues that membership in social associations and clubs in which both immigrants and non-migrants are members constitutes an important social link between them<sup>28</sup>

Elsie observed that it is not unusual that Rwandese refugees and indigenous groups belong to different social associations, because it is often difficult, if not impossible, for newcomers of different ethnic, linguistic and cultural backgrounds to join the social organisations of their hosts. Refugees

may also find such organisations unsuitable for meeting their needs or even threatening to their identity, which they aspire to preserve. The goal of these organisations will vary depending on the needs of refugees. Elsie recorded that at least every Rwandese refugee belongs to a social organisation.<sup>29</sup> These social organisations serve as a substitute for the families, and kinship groups broken as a result of uprooting. Social organisations among Rwandese refugees also serve the following functions: psychological fulfilment, education, welfare, and maintenance of national and cultural identity and solidarity.

However, it is important to note that refugees have a sense of identity attached to social organisations and hence they also act as a drawback to the process of social integration. Refugees actually alienate themselves from the local population.

Although Rwandese refugees prefer belonging to their own social organisations, this does not mean that they do not belong to social organisations to which indigenous groups belong. Elsie reported that refugees are able to share their problems and needs to members belonging to indigenous groups who in turn assist the refugees in terms of money, food and clothing.<sup>30</sup> It is only by interacting with members of indigenous groups that the refugees will become part and parcel of the host society.

Little maintains that immigrant-based social associations play important integrative roles. He notes that they function as substitutes for the traditional social structures such as the family and kinship groups. They cushion separation

from the family and community by providing a basis for mutual support and acceptance among members.<sup>31</sup> Thus the refugee who belongs to a social association avoids loneliness which otherwise could lead him or her to anomie. As Durkheim argues, social isolation and the subsequent lack of social control are conditions that favour anomic behaviour.<sup>32</sup>

The social integration of refugees is not only determined by host society factor, but also by the social and cultural backgrounds of the refugees. Note that the homogeneous population of Rwandese refugees at Kayole Catholic Parish has made the refugees less open for interaction and accommodation. The Rwandese refugees share the same national language - Kinyarwanda; over 95% share a catholic religious background; and they are mainly Hutus. It is important to note that heterogeneous societies are more accommodative of differences. There exist very strong bonds between Rwandese refugees, a factor that has made them to be less open for interaction and accommodation. Most Rwandese refugees have not been able to establish friendship among the local population in Kenya. Some young boys have managed to establish relations with members of their peer groups. Most refugees interact among themselves. Some complained of loneliness and stress.

The table below shows the factors influencing social integration of Rwandese refugees:

**Table XV: Some Linguistic factors influencing social integration**

Knowledge of languages in Host country	
(a) Kiswahili	70
(b) English	30
Total	100.0
N	50

Rwandese refugees who have knowledge of Kiswahili, and English easily interact and establish relations with the local population, simply because Kiswahili and English are the common used languages in Kenya.

According to Baraka, Rwandese refugees are Africans coming from the Great Lakes Regions and hence they speak Bantu languages. He argued that Kiswahili has Bantu vocabularies and hence majority of these refugees are able to express themselves in Kiswahili. He maintained that majority have done their best to learn English. Refugees who speak English and Kiswahili feel better because they can express themselves without a problem. They are viewed by other refugees to be in a better position to interact with the local population. The local population views such refugees as belonging to the host society because they are able to communicate easily. Baraka reported that daily Mass at Kayole Catholic Church is usually conducted in Kiswahili because refugees understand this language very well.



Baraka who is the language teacher at Kayole Catholic Parish reported that English classes for Rwandese refugees were started in 1997. He said that since most Rwandese refugees come to Kayole Catholic Parish when they already have good knowledge of Kiswahili, there is no need for Kiswahili classes to be conducted. Baraka recorded that refugees who are enrolled for the English studies do not pay any fee. All the expenses involved are catered for by Kayole Catholic Church. Refugees are taught English so that they may be able to express themselves without a problem.<sup>33</sup> Also true is that having knowledge of English, refugees find it easier to integrate into the local population. Note that to become a refugee is to undergo desocialization due to problems of communication as a refugee finds himself or herself in a foreign country, usually without knowledge of local languages, hence by acquiring the knowledge of local languages, refugees are able to integrate into the host society faster.

Baraka noted that English training takes six months and is divided into three levels: elementary, intermediate and advanced levels. Each level takes a duration of two months.

The first level is the elementary level. The expectations of one who finishes the elementary level include the following: one should be able to respond adequately to English commands and questions; one should be able to converse freely in English; and finally one should read fluently English passages. Topics taught under this level include: names of places, food, clothing, objects in a classroom, parts of the body, verbs, tenses, the calendar, time, earth and sky.

The expectations of the intermediate (second) level include the following: one should be able to express himself or herself in English; one should initiate dialogue; one should be able to write a friendly letter; one should read and understand easily simple text; one should listen to a piece of speech and understand it; one should ask and answer questions appropriately; one should write a composition and summarize it; and one should report back what he has read or heard. Topics taught under this level include: parts of speech, adverbs, common nouns, comparison of adjectives, auxiliary verbs, prepositions, tenses, reported speech, composition and letter writing.

The final stage is the Advanced level. At this level, the student should be able to: express himself or herself freely and fluently in English language, read and understand any English text, write properly business letters and application letters, write a paper on a relevant topic of his or her interest, listen to a piece of news and to be able to translate it to comprehensive language, and learn any subject presented in English. Topics taught under this level include: tenses, conditional sentences, reported speech, active and passive voices, phrasal verbs, prepositions, receiving and answering calls, reflective and emphatic pronouns, adverbs, clauses, some idioms, proverbs, riddles, and interjections, synonyms and antonyms, composition writing, phonetics and text analysis.

After each level, students are tested through examination. Those who fail the exams are discontinued. They are not given a second chance to repeat. Emphasis is on discipline and hard work.

With the knowledge of English and Kiswahili, refugees are able to communicate with the local population. Through communication, they share ideas, and feelings, hence establishing good relationship. Good communication is important in any relationship. Through communication, refugees are ready and willing to talk and give information about their experiences. In turn refugees are able to receive advice and counsel from members of the host society. It is only after listening to the experiences of refugees, that a "good Samaritan" assists them by giving them money, food and clothing. Communication also helps the refugee to establish constructive relationships and engage in activities with the local population.<sup>34</sup> Through communication, the refugee learns to adopt himself to necessary regulations, participate in group activities and feel comfortable in the presence of other people.<sup>35</sup> It is important to note that Kayole Catholic Parish has played a big role in enhancing the social integration of Rwandese refugees through introduction of English studies hence breaking communication barriers.

The study also found out that more males have established social contacts with the local population. Most males are willing to interact with the host society. Note that most males have good knowledge of Kiswahili, and English and hence are able to communicate with the host society without any difficulty. Few female refugees are able to speak and express themselves in English. It is a pity to mention that some do not have knowledge of Kiswahili. Hence at least there exists communication barrier between refugees and the host society. The writer had a difficult time when interviewing some female refugees who neither

understood English nor Kiswahili. In fact in such cases, the writer normally used an interpreter who was usually a male refugee.

One respondent reported that most female refugees are burdened with the task of taking care of their children and hence they have little time to attend English classes or even to interact with the local population.<sup>36</sup> Inner tensions and conflicts have made some refugees to interact less with the local population. This includes the fear of discrimination and mistaken identity. One respondent was quick to point out that refugees live as second-hand citizens, a factor that makes them feel inferior and therefore unwilling to interact freely with the host society.<sup>37</sup>

Kayole Catholic Parish has played a big role in helping Rwandese refugees to undergo the process of social integration. KCCC is a caring community for both Rwandese refugees and the local population. KCCC is a social unit whose members are bound together by the common possession of significant values and by forms of love and responsibility. KCCC is a social system whose members depend upon each other to satisfy daily survival needs. KCCC is therefore Koinonia - a caring community. Members of the local population at KCCC have been "the neighbour" to Rwandese refugees. They have acted as the good Samaritan by having compassion on the refugees and welcoming them as their fellow brothers and sisters. When Jesus told this parable of the good Samaritan, he did not ask who passively is the neighbour, but who actively proved himself a neighbour (Lk.10:25 - 37). The host members of

KCCC have actively proved themselves to the neighbour to Rwandese refugees.

### 3.3 Cultural Aspects of Adjustment and Integration

Pfister-Ammende observed that uprooting is widely recognised as a phenomenon that entails problems of adjustment. It is more than the physical absence from home. It may involve disturbances in the inner balance with displaced persons, and is hence a function of the inability to change ways of living and outlooks, as well as the inability to "transplant" and develop an inner relationship with a new environment. He noted that many migrants abandon the better material standards that they acquire in the host countries and repatriate as a consequence of the failure to establish satisfactory affective links with the new environment.<sup>38</sup>

Refugees may achieve a reasonable degree of Socio-Economic integration in the host society, but may find it difficult to adjust culturally to the new environment.<sup>39</sup> One of the main factors which contribute to this situation is the failure of refugees to acknowledge for years that their exile may be long or even permanent. They instead fervently believe that their exile is temporary and that all of a sudden a radical change will upset the status quo and enable them to return home.<sup>40</sup>

For the purposes of this study, Pfister-Ammende's views are used. The problem of uprooting of Rwandese refugees is more than their physical absence from home. The problem of uprooting involves disturbances in their inner

balance. This is characterized by fear of insecurity, guilt, anxiety, suspicion and uncertainty about the future. Since Rwandese refugees view their stay in Kenya to be short lived, they wish to repatriate immediately. This is the biggest obstacle hindering the cultural integration of Rwaandese refugees.

While adjustment to the social environment of the host society is an important element in the overall integration process, it is also necessary that the migrants overcome the "crisis of discontinuity and deprivation" and reach a "reconciliation with the realities of the new environment".<sup>41</sup> This latter part seems to be the most difficult aspect of cultural adjustment for Rwandese refugees to achieve.

**Table XVI: Indicators of cultural aspects of adjustment and integration**

Indicators	Per cent
1. Acculturation	68
2. Delayed grief reactions	12
3. Legal insecurity	20
Total	100.0
N	50

Acculturation is the process that involves the borrowing or acquisition of cultural traits of one society by people from another. Rwandese refugees have borrowed many cultural traits from Kenya. This can be seen in mode of

dressing, food habits, use of Kiswahili and English languages during communication, religion and the adoption of the educational policy in Kenya by Rwandese refugees. In the case of Rwandese refugees, acculturation can be seen as a positive orientation towards the new community and the loosening of bonds with the community of origin. However, acculturation is not always an indicator of change of values. It could also be an external change as a survival strategy. Kunz referred to this survival strategy as "passing". He argues that passing occurs wherever the host society is homogeneous and exerts the price of assimilation in exchange for the privilege of admitting the refugee or when an individual or a minority group considers it wise to operate according to norms that are upheld by the powerful majority without necessarily accepting and internalizing them.<sup>42</sup>

The writer observes that Kenya is a heterogeneous nation. This means that Kenya consists of people having different values, opinions and backgrounds. Kenya is therefore not uniform in structure or composition. It will therefore be wrong to argue that Kenya as a host country to Rwandese refugees is exerting the price of assimilation in exchange for the privilege of admitting the refugees. Also note that Rwandese refugees are undergoing the process of acculturation but not assimilation. Whereas acculturation refers to the process of intercultural borrowing marked by the continuous transmission of traits and elements between diverse people and resulting in new and blended patterns, assimilation means conversion, or incorporation, or transformation or absorption into the cultural

tradition of a population or community, so that in the end the two groups become exactly similar.

In the African situation it is more proper to speak of the integration of refugees than their assimilation into the host society for several reasons. Benard maintains that refugees more often believe that their exile will be of a short duration. Being eager to repatriate when and if conditions change in their country of origin, refugees are keen to preserve their identity and are resistant to assimilation into the host society. Complete absorption into the host society to the point of invisibility undoubtedly takes generations.<sup>43</sup>

Immigrants almost everywhere retain the food habits of their countries of origin. However, the need for adjustment has enforced changes in food habits among Rwandese refugees. One respondent reported that refugees who formerly lived in the provinces of Gisenyi and Luhengeli in Rwanda mainly ate the following foods: a mixture of ivigori (maize), ivishimbo (beans) and imyumbati (cassava) or ivitochi (bananas). Refugees who formerly lived in the provinces of Butare, Gitarama, Kibungo and Kigali mainly ate a mixture of ivitochi (bananas), amashu (cabbage) and ubunyabwa (groundnuts). This was usually taken together with urwangwa (beer brewed from a mixture of bananas, maize and millet). He further maintained that the catholic church in Rwanda allowed taking of this beer; while in the host country, most refugees take porridge for breakfast and one other meal for the day which may include green vegetables and ugali, rice and potatoes or potatoes, green vegetables and beans.<sup>44</sup> The above results



reveal that Rwandese refugees have been forced by circumstances to change their food habits in order to adjust in the host country.

Young refugees who have been enrolled in primary and secondary schools at Kayole, Mihango and city council schools are taught the same subjects as Kenyan students. They sit for the same national examination thereby adopting the education system in Kenya.

However, some refugees reported that they could not easily adjust to the new environment by virtue of them being refugees. One respondent argued that a citizen of Kenya who is very poor can easily turn to friends and relatives for help because of established social relations among them.<sup>45</sup> Some refugees reported that they have been turned away on several occasions while seeking help from the local population. These are factors leading to refugee maladjustment in the host society.

The vulnerability of female refugees was evident from the moment of flight. Some of them had been subjected to sexual harassment by soldiers. Others were tortured during flight. Such refugees expressed feelings of guilt and shame due to the physical assault they underwent. Some female refugees travelled alone or only accompanied by children. They were widowed through the death of their husbands or by being abandoned during war in Rwanda. One of the respondents said that being raped or tortured after the death of one's husband is adding pain to injury.<sup>46</sup> Such refugees need special counselling in order to overcome the trauma that resulted from flight.

When refugees resort to flight, they find themselves in different conditions. The conditions in which the refugee find himself tends to exacerbate the hardships that the refugee undergoes, which makes it a more psychological experience. Rwandese refugees who chose to flee leaving friends and relatives behind in acute danger reported that they felt guilty because they imagine that they would have saved their lives.

Social research has revealed that refugees and victims of major disasters in general harbour severe feelings of guilt.<sup>47</sup> Guilt is felt because of what the disaster victims failed to do or because their lives have been saved at the cost of others'.<sup>48</sup> Kemper observed that guilt is a negative self-evaluation of a special type which occurs when an individual admits that his or her behaviour is at variance with a given moral value to which he or she feels obliged to conform.<sup>49</sup> One respondent said that guilt was felt mainly as a result of failure to meet obligations to which he was bound by filial duties<sup>50</sup>. Other refugees were imprisoned and tortured during flight. Refugees in this category may easily panic when they see a policeman or objects associated with the previous environment like guns and whips. Refugees who chose to flee after hearing gun shots and after being attacked by the militia will easily panic whenever they hear a gun shot or see a soldier.

When refugees cannot adjust to their new environment and are unable or unwilling to return to the old one, they are uprooted and marginalized. Refugees feel that they are exposed to danger because of the circumstances in which they

find themselves as refugees. Respondents expressed fear of discrimination, imprisonment, exploitation and domination by the host society. Some refugees reported that since they had been denied legal status of a refugee at UNHCR, they felt insecure in the host country. One respondent said that they are uncertain of their future. Refugees fear being forced to repatriate to conditions of devastation in Rwanda or even outright insecurity.<sup>51</sup>

Some refugees reported that they were depressed due to loss of relatives and friends, property, education, and jobs. The elite reported that they had lost their status quo.

The writer observed that some of the depressive reactions among Rwandese refugees could be considered as delayed grief reactions, precipitated by feelings of guilt. However, in others the reactive elements to the present situation were to do with the dynamics of frustration and hostility.

Some respondents reported that they had taken long to adjust to the new environment as they suffered from vector-borne diseases like malaria. Some refugees suffered from heart related diseases like high blood pressure. Zwingmann proposed that health can be considered as a function of the adaptive demands which the environment places upon the individual.<sup>52</sup> Therefore, changes like partial and social separation are important environment variables that may have an impact on the state of health.

The above results show a high level of adjustment. Some of the reasons cited for fear and anxiety were present in the host environment while some were

recollected from past experiences and some were apparently imaged.

### 3.4 The Religious Dimension of Integration

Religious integration refers to the way in which the refugee relates to the system of faith and worship in the country of asylum. Religious differences do not usually lead to open and direct conflicts between refugees and their hosts. Despite the fast growing rate of religious denominations in Kenya, most Rwandese refugees are tolerant to the religious beliefs and practices of the local people. It is important to note that although 95% of Rwandese refugees are catholics, there exists other religious sects like protestants - mainly pentecostals and Seventh Day Adventists (SDA). On the positive side, church personnel at Kayole Catholic Parish have granted refugees the freedom of religious expression. While refugees who are catholics join fellow catholics during mass, protestants join those with whom they share the same religious beliefs and practices.<sup>53</sup>

In order to enhance religious integration of Rwandese refugees, the priests at the catholic church introduced small christian communities (SCCs), also referred to as Basic Christian Communities (BCCs). Basically the SCCs are small although memberships is not fixed. According to Father Rodrigues Augustine the SCCs consists of refugees and the local population. Note that majority of the members belong to the local population. Father Augustine further observed that there are a total number of seventeen SCCs at Kayole

Catholic Parish. The average membership is between twenty to thirty people. Majority of the members are adults, while the rest are youths. Children do not belong to the SCCs due to problems of accommodation. This is because members normally meet in their various homes which are small. Whenever the number of people belonging to a particular group grows, the group is usually divided as the members cannot fit in the small homes during meetings. Father Augustine noted that each SCC participates in parish administration through its elected representatives on the Parish council. Each SCC has elected officials like father in charge (the first chairperson), the second chairperson, secretary and treasurer. These representatives normally inform the group of what is happening in the parish. Special training is being provided to SCC leaders through attending of seminars.

Members belonging to SCCs meet weekly. Note that each SCC has its own time schedule. Majority of the groups normally meets on Sunday after the usual Sunday service. Therefore each SCC meets weekly outside the Sunday service without a priest. The SCC is the felt need of its members on the local level without depending on the priest. The SCC has some kind of Bible reading and reflection on a regular basis. Members try to integrate faith and life and everyday experience.<sup>54</sup> The SCCs participate in liturgy as a community celebration of life. The SCCs are an inculturation model of the church that tries to form and evolve from the grassroots up out of the daily life and experience of the people themselves.

Healey proposed that the SCC has some kind of planned practical action, mutual aid and social outreach. This outreach responds to local challenges and problems such as sick people, poor and hungry people, and concerns about ecology and the environment.

Father Rodrigues Augustine maintained that the main purpose of formation of SCCs is Bible reading, reflection and prayer. Therefore these SCCs mainly cater for the spiritual aspect of refugees and the local population. However, the members belonging to SCCs normally contribute money to help the poor and sick people. Father Augustine noted that the finance community, usually gives a certain amount of money to each 'jumuiya' (community), depending on needs and funds available.

Some SCCs have introduced marriage encounter, where couples meet sharing their experiences and encouraging one another. They therefore promote a deeper prayer life and great blessings on families.<sup>55</sup>

One group normally comes to clean the church and put it in order. It is usually the same group, which is normally in charge of liturgy in the church on Sunday. Those who read the Bible are normally trained through seminars.

Mutiso-Mbinda observed that one of the tasks of the church is to bring about harmony among all people in the world. Such a task can be effected at the concrete level through SCCs. At this level, one sees clearly that society is fragmented on the one hand by divisions among Christians and on the other hand by human divisions along the lines of race, ethnicity, culture, economic status,

gender, political persuasion and age. He further records that all SCCs therefore find themselves challenged to help their members to live beyond the limitations of these divisions.<sup>56</sup> To the extent that Christians are invited at any level, to that extent can they work more effectively toward peace, unity and reconciliation in the world.

Mutiso-Mbinda further notes that there are many opportunities for common witness in SCCs. However, each SCC needs to be given basic ecumenical formation in order to help the members to see the relationship between joint action and the search for Christian unity. The response to the ecumenical challenge in SCCs has to be made in prayer, witness and service to the needy.<sup>57</sup> These three aspects are only means to the goal of Christian unity rather than ends in themselves.

Since the parish priest at Kayole Catholic Parish is not able to listen to all parishioners and thereafter empathetically reflect on their feelings, the formation of SCCs has made it possible for the needs of members belonging to the SCCs to be met in a more satisfying manner. Since both refugees and the local population belong to these SCCs, this has enhanced unity between the two groups. Refugees have felt a sense of belonging to KCCC. By being imbued with Christ's love, SCCs at KCCC show how divisions, tribalism and racism can be overcome. They are an effective way of developing the mission dimension of the church at the most local level, and of making people feel that they are really part of the church's evangelizing work.

In all their activities, church personnel at Kayole Catholic Parish set themselves the tasks of promoting participative structures which give the people a voice in their own human and evangelical development by setting up and encouraging Basic Christian communities and parish councils.

Father Augustine recorded that in planning and operating programs and projects, they work with and through committees thus ensuring that they are moving at the pace of and in response to the needs of the people whom they serve. Their work is conducted together with the laity and other religious and missionary congregations, in the spirit of collaboration and participation.<sup>58</sup>

There are many other kinds of active pastoral involvement of the laity: religious education teachers or leaders, youth ministers, marriage counsellors, choir directors, animator-co-ordinators, and leaders of SCCs. Other pastoral ministries include: healers (laying on of hands), leaders of funeral services "accompaniers" of adult catechumens, justice and peace co-ordinators, pastoral workers involved in Aids outreach, pastoral workers involved in ecology and the care of the environment. Most of these are lay ministries.<sup>59</sup> They are a new way of being a church at the grassroots level. These ministries are animated with a missionary spirit.

The Eucharist is the heart of the communication of life at Kayole Catholic Parish. It deepens the peoples' living communion with the Lord and is a source of strength for their apostolic service. They therefore participate in it daily. One respondent reported that through participation in the Eucharist, they



feel their strength renewed, their sins forgiven and hence they have intimacy with God.<sup>60</sup>

Father Augustine maintained that in their society they build an apostolic community, that is, a community that does not close them in themselves and separate them from the people of God, since they are at the service of the local church. By listening to the word of God and living it, they become co-workers of the Divine Word. It is essential to foster groups sharing using the sacred scriptures. They are careful not to appear as an oasis of well-being in the midst of a desert of misery.<sup>61</sup> Their religious life cannot have any meaning if it does not take into consideration this fundamental element of poverty and stewardship. The use of money, the life-style of religious connected with the poor and marginalized, are all basic factors in their being religious and missionaries.

God gave us many gifts and talents and possessions to enable us to spread God's kingdom, to love and serve God and our neighbours. These gifts have to be used according to God's will.

Another important aspect of religious integration is dealing with past guilt. Guilt leads to condemnation and hence it may easily make refugees to be unwilling to interact with the religious. Teachings on forgiveness, peace and reconciliation have helped refugees to forgive themselves and their offenders. Refugees have also asked God to forgive them of their past wrongs. One respondent noted that although the past has bitter memories, they press towards a better future - a future full of peace, hope and restoration. Through repentance

and forgiveness, refugees are freed from haunting past experiences. They are also freed from guilt and bitter experiences against their offenders. They are therefore able to mend their relationship with God, because they know that their sins are forgiven.<sup>62</sup> God reminds us in his word that "Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered, blessed is the man to whom the Lord imputes not iniquity ..." (Ps. 32:1-2). Eventually, refugees are able to relate well with the religious at Kayole Catholic Parish. I strongly maintain that once we mend our relationship with God, we are able to also relate well with our "brothers and sisters."

### 3.5 Promoting and Safeguarding the Rights of Refugees

So far this chapter has shown the dimension of integration of Rwandese refugees. Members of Kayole Catholic Parish have made this process of integration possible. Millicent Mutuli recorded that Kayole Catholic Parish only offers material and spiritual assistance to Rwandese refugees. However, international protection is granted to the refugees by UNHCR. She further maintained that only UNHCR can write a document to guarantee the movement of a refugee. UNHCR gives protection that the government could have given. Refugees are granted the rights of refugees by UNHCR. UNHCR can stand up for the refugee.<sup>63</sup>

What differentiates refugees from other people in need of humanitarian

aid is their need for international protection. Most people can look to their own governments and state institutions to protect their rights and physical security - refugees cannot. In many instances, refugees are fleeing in terror from abuses perpetrated by the state. In other cases, they are escaping from oppression that the state is powerless to prevent because it has lost control of territory or otherwise ceased to function in an effective way. The international community provides a temporary substitute for the normal safeguards until the refugee can gain benefit from national protection - either by returning voluntarily to his or her original country of nationality, or by assuming a new nationality. Until a solution of this sort is found, international protection also means that countries of asylum will not discriminate against refugees, allowing them at least the same civil and economic rights that are enjoyed by other legal immigrants.

The core of international protection is the principle that refugees should not be forced to return against their will to a country in which their lives or freedom would be endangered because of "race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion". The legal term for this guarantee is non-refoulement. It can only be implemented through co-operation with governments at the political level, although extending protection according to the terms of international agreements remains a non-political, humanitarian act.<sup>64</sup>

The issue of Rwandese refugees is a very difficult one. Many of them have been excluded. The provisions of the OAU convention does not apply to

any person with respect to whom the country of asylum has serious reasons for considering that:

he has committed a crime against peace, a war crime, or a crime against humanity, as defined in the international instruments drawn up to make provision in respect of such crimes.<sup>65</sup>

The crisis in Rwanda was one of the most notorious crimes against peace and against humanity recognized by international law. It was a war crime. Many Rwandese have been excluded by UNHCR because they have been dismissed as genocidal terrorists.

Refugees have undergone the process of economic integration by becoming a part of the regularly employed labour force and by engaging in income-generating activities like carpentry, construction, tailoring, drama and dances. However, many refugees have been handicapped in many ways on the labour market. The occupational background and experiences of most Rwandese refugees do not match with that required in the labour market in Kenya.

The social integration of Rwandese refugees refers to the way in which the refugees relate to the social environment in the host country (Kenya). It is through social interaction that barriers are removed, attitudes change and differences are ironed out. Common interests are recognized and accommodations made only if interaction takes place.

Majority of Rwandese refugees have enrolled for English classes. Those who have good knowledge of English and Kiswahili are able to express themselves. Through communication, refugees are also willing to talk and give information about their experiences. In return, they receive advice and counsel from members of the host society. However, there exists communication barriers between some female refugees (who lack knowledge of English and Kiswahili) and the host society.

On the positive side, most Rwandese refugees have borrowed many cultural traits from Kenya. This can be seen in mode of dressing, foot habits, use of English and Kiswahili languages during communication, religion, and adoption of the Kenya education policy by the refugees. Delayed grief reactions and legal insecurity are obstacles experienced by refugees during the process of cultural integration. The religious integration of refugees has been enhanced through the formation of SCCs. SCCs help refugees and the local population to live beyond the limitations of human divisions along the lives of race, ethnicity, culture, economic status, gender, and age. SCCs give refugees and the local population a voice in their own human and evangelical development by making them feel they are really part of the church's evangelizing work.

International protection of refugees is provided by UNHCR, so that countries of asylum will not discriminate against refugees allowing them at least the same civil and economic rights that are enjoyed by other legal immigrants.

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## CHAPTER FOUR

### PASTORAL CARE GIVEN TO RWANDESE REFUGEES

#### INTRODUCTION

As long as the church remains in the world, mission will be its core function, for the church has its origins in God's mission in Christ. When it came into being the Christian church owed something to the concern of the Jews to bring within the walls of Judaism those non-Jews who were attracted to it. Therefore the church owes its life to what is understood as the command of Jesus Christ to go into the whole world and preach the gospel to every creature so that he who believes will be saved but he who does not believe will be condemned. He gave them authority over the power of Satan (see Mark 16:15). Today the mission field remains as wide as ever. The missionary task is to bring the good news to God's people.

#### 4.1 Pastoral care as the core of all human wholeness.

Clinebell observed that pastoral care is a valuable instrument by which the church stays relevant to human need. It is a way of translating the Good News into a language that allows the minister to communicate a healing message to people struggling in alienation and despair. It is an essential means by which

the church can save those areas of our lives that are shipwrecked in the storms of our daily living, broken on the hidden reefs of anxiety, guilt, and lack of integrity.<sup>1</sup>

In the book entitled Pastoral Care in African Christianity, pastoral care is defined as a specialized approach indicated by the term 'pastoral' which means the art of feeding and looking after the well being of others, especially those who need help most. The introduction affirms that pastoral care as an approach is religiously oriented. The approach presupposes a theistic belief about the universe - that the universe is not an accident but a purposeful product of a conscious, wilful and personal creator who created it and also continues to sustain and guide it to a definite destiny. Thus the universe with all its imperfections and sufferings, is continually being perfected and will ultimately be brought to its final destiny as intended by its creator. Pastoral care also affirms that human life is sacred and must be preserved, defended, and supported as matter of priority to everything else. The sanctity of human life is based on the doctrine of Imago Dei - that human beings are created in God's image and that whenever human life is undermined or destroyed, God seeks ways of restoring it. Therefore, those who engage in the task of restoring the wholeness of human life are co-workers with God in the primary task of perfecting divine creation.<sup>2</sup>

According to Father Jerome Cayetono, missionaries at Kayole Catholic Parish are willing and prepared to confront human suffering, by proclaiming

Good News to the poor and needy so that they may find liberation in Christ Jesus. The emphasis here is that the first of the two creation stories in Genesis asserts that we are made in the image of God (Gen. 1:27). The reason why Jesus came was that human beings may have life in all its fullness. Therefore developing one's unique possibilities is the means by which the image of God flowers and the abundant life is actualized.<sup>3</sup> The parable of the talents is an illustration of the importance of developing one's God-given resources wisely and fully (Matt. 25:14 ff.). In Paul's second letter to Timothy, Paul reminds Timothy to rekindle the gift of God that is within him (2Tim. 1:6). Through alienation and brokenness, human beings are not able to experience life in all its fullness. The life of Jesus shows us the possibilities of human wholeness. Pastoral care is therefore given to Rwandese refugees with a view that they may develop their God-given resources and thereby attain human wholeness.

Paul Tillich affirms that the biblical wisdom is as aware of the profound alienation and brokenness of human beings as it is of our potential for increasing wholeness.<sup>4</sup> The story of the "fall" from the garden of Eden (Gen. 3) is a way of communicating the fact that we are alienated from the image of God, from our potential wholeness. The New Testament (NT) image of resurrection is a joyful affirmation of the power and possibility of a new human experience.

It is the responsibility of church personnel to be available when God's people are suffering and to help them towards the restoration of their wholeness. This responsibility is the essence of pastoral care.<sup>5</sup> C. M. Mwikamba observed

that christian religious leaders are referred to as: priests, pastors and clerics (clergy). Often no clear cut distinction is made between the three terms. He further notes that a priest is an ordained minister who has authority to administer sacraments, pronounce absolution, and officiate the Eucharist. A pastor is a minister in charge of a given congregation, a person who exercises spiritual guidance in a given community. The term 'clergy' is a representative one meaning the body of persons ordained for religious duties. He argues that in christianity, the term 'priest' and 'pastor' are rooted in the Old Testament (OT) (Gen. 12:7, 13:8). Historically, the professional class of ritual leaders called the Levites and Zadokites were the personification of the 'perfect priests'.<sup>6</sup>

Father Rodrigues Augustine noted that church personnel at Kayole Catholic Parish are those who are involved in the process of helping and caring for the needy. They also share the divine Word with refugees and the local population. They are involved in pastoral care as they give advice and help to the poor and needy. Basically, there are four priests at Kayole Catholic Parish namely: Father Jerome Cayetono (Parish Priest), Father Stanislau Roz (Assistant Parish Priest), Father Rodrigues Augustine (Priest in Charge of Soweto Sub-Parish) and Brother Karl (visiting student from Germany).

The four priests mentioned above belong to the order of Divine Word Missionaries (DWM). Guided by the Holy Spirit and following the Divine Word, their ultimate aim is to glorify God the Father and to bring the fullness of life to God's people. They have placed themselves at the disposal of the church

in order to fulfil the command of the Lord to proclaim the Gospel, so that all people may walk in the way of salvation. Missionary work is the end and aim of the church personnel. They follow the Lord on the path of the evangelical counsels and bind themselves to the person and service of the divine Word by the vows of consecrated chastity, evangelical poverty and apostolic obedience. Grounded in authentic community living, they are involved in the task of founding and forming christian communities so that Kayole Catholic Parish may be to the world a sign of union with God and the unity of people. As a community of church personnel from different cultures, nations and languages (Father Jerome - Philipines; Father Stanislau - Poland; Father Augustine - India; Brother Karl - Germany), they strive to become a living symbol of the unity and diversity of the church. They work side by side in a spirit of dialogue.<sup>7</sup>

Besides the above mentioned priests, other church personnel include sister Monique from Germany, and sister Elsie from Belgium. They are mainly engaged in visiting refugees at the parish and at their homes. They listen to refugees' problems and then respond to their feelings. This helps to check the accuracy of their perceptions so that refugees may know that the minister is trying to understand their inner world of meanings and feelings. They usually share God's word with refugees. They also pray for refugees. Basing on the Epistle of James, (James 2:14 - 17), they normally accompany their faith with works by giving money, food and clothing to refugees. They believe that faith alone cannot save you for if a person is without clothes and in lack of daily food



and you say to him or her, go in peace without giving him or her the things needed for the body, this does not profit.<sup>8</sup>

Other church personnel include those men and women who have been trained and equipped for the task of pastoral care. Since those who offer pastoral care to refugees at Kayole Catholic Parish are called by titles like priest, pastor, or clergy, the term church minister shall be used for the purposes of this study to refer to those who proclaim Good News to, help and care for, the poor and needy.

It is worth to mention that pastoral care also views the human condition from a spiritual perspective - that human crises have a spiritual dimension and that they cannot be fully overcome until the spiritual yearnings of the human being have been met. While not ignoring the physical conditions, pastoral care seeks to highlight the spiritual dimension, particularly the possibility and effect of broken relationship between a person and his or her spiritual roots ..... Pastoral care is never content at satisfying the physical and mental disposition of individuals until one is restored to spiritual health. Pastoral care concentrated on directing persons to a new and healthy relationship and faith in God as a basic source of victory and fulfilled life. Pastoral care focuses on facilitating spiritual healing as an essential part of wholesome existence.<sup>9</sup> This view affirms Clinebell's argument that a minister's area of expertise is in fostering spiritual wholeness as the core of whole-person growth.<sup>10</sup> Clinebell further notes that the overarching goal of all pastoral care is to liberate, empower and nurture

wholeness centred in spirit. Pastoral care must be holistic, seeking to enable healing and growth in all dimensions of human wholeness. Spiritual and ethical wholeness is the heart of all human wholeness; spiritual formation and ethical guidance are core concerns in all pastoral care rooted in the Judeo-Christian heritage.<sup>11</sup>

Father Rodrigues Augustine affirmed the above views by arguing that spiritual growth is an essential objective in all caring. He noted that a growing relationship with God is an indispensable aspect of total wholeness. Therefore enhancing spiritual wholeness should be an explicit goal in the minister's mind. He further recorded that Jesus Christ died and resurrected in order to restore the broken relationship between man and God. Father Augustine argues that the key function of SCCs at Kayole Catholic Parish is to share God's word and to pray. For when the hearts of men have been turned to God, this will in turn bring wholeness in other dimensions of their lives.<sup>12</sup>

When a paralytic man was brought to Jesus, Jesus said unto the paralytic man, "..... my son, your sins are forgiven" (Mark 2:5). When some scribes questioned this saying that it was blasphemy, Jesus said unto them:

But that you may know that the son of man has authority on earth to forgive sins - he said to the paralytic - I say to you, rise, take up your pallet and go home.<sup>13</sup>

The above quotation shows that spiritual wholeness is the core of all

human wholeness. When Jesus sent out the twelve disciples, the first commandment he gave them was to preach the gospel to the people (Mark 3:13 - 14). In the parable of the lost sheep, Jesus said that the man who had a hundred sheep and lost one of them, left the ninety-nine and went to look for the one which was lost (Luke 15:3 - 7). Likewise, the woman who had ten silver coins and lost one coin, searched diligently until she found it. (Luke 15:8 - 10). The above parables show that there is joy when one sinner repents. In the parable of the prodigal son, the father forgave the son and made merry (Luke 15:11ff.). This parable shows the importance of a new and healthy relationship and faith in God as a basic source of victory and fulfilled life.

Father Augustine noted that church personnel at Kayole Catholic Parish are guided by the commandment of Jesus to his disciples to go into the whole world and preach the gospel to the whole creation (Mark 16:15). They believe that individuals are saved into the caring community - Koinonia. When Jesus preached the gospel of God, he said "the time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand, repent, and believe in the gospel". The church personnel believe that being restored to the flock, to the family, the individual with whom God is concerned and who has lost his individuality, that is, his selfhood, is drawn back into the orbit of God's way of working together with other men and women in the world. It is for this reason that they preach the Good News to the poor and needy.<sup>14</sup>

The principles of Christian ethics at Kayole Catholic Parish is derived

from the nature of the church as the body of Christ. The church which is the body of Christ, the Koinonia, is seen as the fellowship-creating reality of Christ's presence in the world. The church which is the body of Christ is viewed as a fellowship of diverse gifts. There is no uniformity in the Koinonia. It is for this reason that these diversities of gifts are manifested in different church personnel as part of the creator's purpose according to which Christ functions in the world. These gifts are focused and grounded upon the unity of the head, who is Christ, the centre of the Koinonia. Maturity is the goal of life in the Koinonia. The confidence of the Christian is that this is what God is working at in the world and that sooner or later, the promise and the prospect of maturity will be consummated. The individual who is forgiven his or her sins is restored into God's family - the Koinonia.

It was found earlier in this study that Kayole Catholic Parish aims at expressing the good news of God in loving service - diakonia. It was realised that diakonia is holistic and that witness and service cannot be divorced. The diakonal work therefore entails both the spiritual and physical dimensions of life. It caters for the body, soul, and mind. Pastor Simon Ntahobali observed that when Jesus Christ preached the good news to the poor, he also catered for their physical needs. He further gave illustrations where Jesus fed four thousand people who had been hungry for three days (Mark 8:11ff.; Matt. 15:32ff.).<sup>15</sup> In many instances Jesus also healed the sick (see Mark 5:25 - 34; Matt. 8:28ff). In chapter three of this study, it was observed that Kayole Catholic Parish has

helped Rwandese refugees to be integrated into KCCC. Through economic integration, refugees have been able to earn an income through income-generating projects. Some refugees have been absorbed into the labour market and hence they are able to earn a living. Social integration has helped to facilitate the restoration of broken relationships. Through religious integration, refugees have remained part of the family of God.

Pastoral care should be holistic, seeking to enable healing in all dimensions of human wholeness. It is for this reason that church personnel at Kayole Catholic Parish are concerned with Kerygma - proclaiming the good news of God's love: didache - teaching; establishing of a caring community - Koinonia: and expressing the good news of God in loving service - diakonia. The church should be a life centre, a place for promoting wholeness, nurturing, and empowering life in all its fullness, in individuals, in intimate relationships, and in society and its institutions. By helping refugees to achieve liberation from their prisons of un-lived lives, unused assets, and wasted strengths, church personnel at Kayole Catholic Parish help refugees free themselves to live life more fully and significantly. The holistic approach to pastoral care sees human beings as possessing a wealth of undiscovered and undeveloped strengths, assets and resources.<sup>16</sup> It is important to note that the wholeness, which Kayole Catholic Parish has a mission to promote and empower, has spiritual wholeness at its centre.

Clinebell observed that counselling is an important aspect of pastoral care

in which both minister and trained lay persons serve as enablers of healing and growth. He further maintained that to facilitate spirit-centred wholeness required the continuing integration of resources from the psycho-social sciences and psychotherapy, on the one hand, and from the resources of our theological heritage, on the other. Pastoral counsellors are essentially theologically oriented and informed counsellors. They are aware, from the wisdom of their theological tradition, of both the amazing resources and the powerful resistances (sin) in human beings. In counselling, the biblical truths are illuminated by being applied and tested in the arena of human struggles and growth. Ministers need to understand their uniqueness as counsellors, vis-a-vis other professionals who do counselling and therapy, so that they can maximize their special contributions to helping the troubled. A minister's area of expertise is in fostering spiritual wholeness as the core of whole-person growth.<sup>17</sup>

Pastors are unique among counsellors in their social and symbolic role. They are "representative christian persons" - representatives of the beliefs, values, and life of a congregation - who "bring christian meanings to bear on human problems".<sup>18</sup>

Counsellors at Kayole Catholic Parish are enablers of spiritual wholeness. Their theological education helps equip them with resources and skills to use as teachers, guides and coaches of the spiritual life in all aspects of their ministry. Enabling spiritual healing and growth is the core task in their pastoral care.<sup>19</sup>

Church personnel at Kayole Catholic Parish have played a major role in counselling Rwandese refugees. Many refugees require professional assistance to overcome the emotional disequilibrium that is inherent in fearing for one's life and personal security, fleeing and contemplating a life in refuge. While immediate efforts to engender independence are valuable, it is necessary first to attend to the traumatization that often results from flight to safety.<sup>20</sup>

During a counselling session, the minister creates an environment that makes the counselee (refugee) free to express his or her feelings. Counsellors have been trained to have patience. By listening to the counselee, the minister is able to know the hidden and inner feelings of the counselee. The diagnostic impression includes some understanding of how the refugee defines the problem, the ways where his or her relationships are failing to meet basic needs, and the refugee resources and limitations in handling the situations. After this diagnosis, the minister is able to give advice to the refugee basing on the word of God, hence illuminating biblical truths in the arena of human struggles. The counsellor usually bears the burden of the counselee, by listening and responding with caring empathy.<sup>21</sup> The art of reflective empathic listening is essential in all caring. It lets counselees know that the minister is trying to understand their inner world of meanings and feelings. Note that depending on the diagnosis made, the counsellor may also recommend continued pastoral care or refer the counselee to some specialized help. According to Father Augustine, refugees who need such special care are referred to specialized institutions such as Amani

Many Rwandese refugees who seek pastoral care with personal problems are unaware of the ethical roots of their pain. As Don Browning makes clear, the church is called to be a community of moral inquiry, guidance, and formation. The minister's role is to facilitate this process in the congregation and to help create and revise the normative value symbols of society.<sup>23</sup>

Father Augustine argued that forgiveness, reconciliation and peace are paramount in pastoral care. Through forgiveness, refugees are encouraged to stop harbouring bitterness against their offenders. They are taught to avoid seeking revenge because only God is the avenger. They are taught to forgive their offenders and forget for this is the commandment of God unto His people. They are also taught to be willing to forgive, so that their heavenly Father may also forgive them(see Matt. 6:14).<sup>24</sup> They are also reminded not to resist evil. "But if any one strikes you on the right cheek, turn to him the other also; and if any one would sue you and take your coat, let him have your cloak as well"(Matt. 5:39 - 40).

Through reconciliation, refugees are encouraged to agree with their offenders when actually they seem to be in opposition. They are taught to become friends with their offenders. They have also been taught to accept their unpleasant situation until that time when things will become better.<sup>25</sup> Refugees are also taught to be peacemakers by not involving in war or violence. They are also taught to exercise peaceful co-existence with the host society. They are



taught to live peaceably with one's neighbours. Note that according to the OAU convention, no refugee should be allowed to plot subversive activities against his or her mother country.<sup>26</sup>

Couple counselling and marriage enrichment are important aspects of pastoral care. Marriage is not a dying institution but a changing one. Today more people marry at some time in their lives than ever before. Today more divorce than ever before, too, not just because divorce is easier now but because they expect much more of a marriage. Marriage ministers at Kayole Catholic Parish encourage couples to reread and reflect their wedding vows in terms of their current relationship. They are taught that forgiveness is the clue that binds a broken relationship. According to Pastor Simon Ntahobali, wives are taught to be subject to their husbands, as is fitting in the Lord. Husbands are reminded to love their wives, and not to be harsh to them. Children are taught to obey their parents in everything. Fathers are taught not to provoke their children to anger so that they may not be discouraged (see Col. 3:18 - 21).<sup>27</sup>

In the course of carrying out this research many couples said that the current problems they are undergoing is because they expected a lot out of their marriages. They said that when they had misunderstandings, each spouse blamed his or her partner. This attitude was cited to be the major cause of bitterness and unforgiveness between couples. However, many couples commended church personnel at Kayole Catholic Parish for enhancing marriage enrichment. One respondent said that because I have learnt to forgive may

husband, our marriage has been restored.<sup>28</sup> Some couples said that the biggest problem they were facing in marriage was financial crisis. Since they are burdened with economic hardships, many couples said that this was also a source of misery in their marriages. Many respondents argued that their children are not unruly. The biggest problem their children experienced in exile was how to adapt to the new environment. Another respondent said that the violent experiences children underwent before and during flight have disrupted their maturation. He further argued that the vulnerability of children is evident and hence they require special attention.<sup>29</sup> Church personnel at Kayole Catholic Parish have concentrated most of their time in offering counselling to adult refugees and children.

In his book entitled, Growth Counselling for Marriage Enrichment, Pre-marriage and the Early Years, Clinebell observed that characteristics of a liberated marriage include:

responsiveness to meeting each other's needs, open and caring communication and respect for individual privacy needs, resolving differences by negotiating (rather than deadlocking and distancing), deepening sexual pleasure integrated with love, and strengthening of the marriage identity (the two becoming one).<sup>30</sup>

The overall goal of marriage crisis counselling and marriage enrichment

is to help couples learn how to make their relationship more mutually need-satisfying and therefore more growth-nurturing.<sup>31</sup> The writer maintains that a healthy family will lead to a healthy church, hence bringing harmonious relationships between the body of Christ which is the family of God.

To become effective in enhancing wholeness, pastoral care should understand wholeness for both men and women in ways that encourage growth far beyond traditional sex role stereotypes. The profound changes occurring in the identity of women opens exciting new possibilities for the liberation of both women and men to their full God-given potentialities. Pastoral care should welcome and integrate the insights and special experiences of women. Understanding wholeness for both women and men is one of the most important contributions of feminists to holistic health and healing. This will lead to a balanced development of the 'feminine' side and the 'masculine' side. Growth counselling encourages people to nurture and integrate both sides, recognizing that they are complementary and equally valuable aspects of our full humanity as women and men.<sup>32</sup>

Father Rodrigues Augustine affirmed that more women are actively involved in pastoral care than men. However, he noted that women are not ordained as priests. He further argued that although women are usually involved in Eucharistic ministry in the Catholic church, currently there are no women involved in this ministry at Kayole Catholic Parish. SCCs (Jumuiyas) at Kayole Catholic Parish consist of 85% women and 15% men. However, when leaders

are elected by the members, the majority[women] prefer to elect a man to be a leader. Women have played an important role in counselling.<sup>33</sup>

Most respondents argued that both men and women are made in the image of God. One respondent argued that God chooses whomsoever he wills to serve his people and therefore other members should be ready to accept God's directing hand regardless of the instruments he may choose to use.<sup>34</sup>

In a brilliant historical analysis, William Clebsch and Charles Jaekle point to four functions of pastoral care in the christian tradition. They argue that pastoral care is understood historically to embrace the helping acts performed by representative christians as they facilitate the healing, sustaining, guiding, and reconciling troubled individuals. They further maintain that healing is the pastoral function that aims to overcome some impairments by restoring a person to wholeness and by leading him to advance beyond his previous condition. Historically, the function of healing has been carried out through such acts as anointing, exorcism, prayers to the saints, pilgrimages to shrines, charismatic healing ... and magic medicine.<sup>35</sup>

Father Rodrigues Augustine recorded that anointing using oil is performed by church personnel at Kayole Catholic Parish as a sacrament. He, however, argued that they do not believe that they can heal anyone. God, whom they believe in the course of praying, is the one who heals. He further maintained that the charismatic group at Kayole Catholic Parish believe in driving out evil spirits by prayer - (exorcism). However, this group is not strong.

Church personnel at Kayole Catholic Parish do not preach on the streets. They respect saints because of their example and role. They honour Mary because they believe that she is the mother of God. He noted that members belonging to the Legion of Mary come together and pray the rosary. Pilgrimages are made to shrines like the Resurrection Garden in Karen and Subukia - where they can have a prayerful atmosphere. They do not believe in magic medicine.<sup>36</sup>

Sustaining is the function that helps individuals to endure and rise above situations in which a restoration of their previous condition is unlikely. Church history records preserverence, consolation, and visitation of the sick as ways in which this function has been exercised.<sup>37</sup> Church personnel at Kayole Catholic Parish have reminded refugees to count it all joy, when they meet trials and temptations knowing that the testing of their faith will produce perseverance. They are told to endure trials so that they may receive the crown of life which does not fade away. (see James 1:1 - 12) Pastor Simon Ntahobali noted that they encourage refugees to be contented in their situation so that they may not covet, when they see others flourishing. Refugees are also reminded that although they have lost their nationality, they belong to the kingdom of God which does not have an end. Refugees are also reminded that because the Lord is their shepherd, they shall not want, (see Psalms 23:1). Refugees are also reminded of God's deliverance unto the children of Israel - that the same God will deliver them.

Refugees are also taught to be patient. For instance, when refugees need aid they are told to wait for some time, they are encouraged to wait patiently and

not to think that they should get aid by using forceful means. Refugees are reminded that because they have chosen to be members of the body of Christ, then there should be a difference between them and the non-believers. Refugees are reminded that when they submit to God, that is the beginning of God's blessings in their lives.<sup>38</sup> By so doing, refugees will also be a testimony to the world of God's saving power upon those who are oppressed and needy.

During the study, majority of refugees said that they had learnt to persevere in their situation. They said that they are waiting for that time when God will deliver them from their oppression. They said that the same God who delivered the children of Israel from bondage will also deliver them. In the course of carrying out this research, the writer expressed feelings of pity and sorrow for the refugees. This means that the writer sympathised with the refugees. One respondent was quick to point out that when Jesus was on his way to the cross, some women bewailed and lamented him (see Luke 23:26 - 27). But Jesus turning to them said, "Daughters of Jerusalem, do not weep for me, but weep for yourselves and for your children". (Luke 23:28). The same respondent told me to weep for myself, but not for them. He further noted that refugees have experienced real joy and victory through Jesus Christ. He said that they are happy because God saved them from Rwanda, while other people died. He further stated that they are hoping against hope.<sup>39</sup>

The writer observed that most refugees have found comfort from the

word of God. They profess that God is loving, caring and full of compassion. They have a strong faith in God. However, refugees are at times discouraged due to the hardships they undergo. Elsie and Monique noted that they visit the sick, praying for them. They said that God has called them to accompany refugees so that they may feel loved and appreciated.<sup>40</sup>

Clebsch and Jaekle argued that the guiding function of pastoral care consists of assisting perplexed persons to make confident choices, because such choices affect the present and future state of the soul. Two basic forms of guidance have been used in pastoral care. Inductive guidance leads people cared for to adopt a priori set of values as the basis for making decisions. Educative guidance elicits from people's own lives and values the criterial or decision making.<sup>41</sup> According to Elsie, pastoral care given to refugees has been primarily through inductive guidance. This is where by the counsellor listens to the feelings of the counselee and then gives advice and spiritual guidance. This involves sharing the word of God and praying.<sup>42</sup>

The fourth function, reconciling, seeks to re-establish broken relationships between people and between individuals and God. Historically, the function of reconciliation has involved such activities as forgiveness, discipline, penance, confession and absolution.

According to Father Jerome Cayetono, his work as a parish priest entails performing religious duties and ceremonies such as granting absolution and officiating the Eucharist. Refugees and the local population usually confess their

sins to the priest as a ritual act to gain forgiveness. The priest in turn makes a formal declaration that a person's sins have been forgiven. The Eucharist is a holy communion during which refugees and the local population eat bread and drink wine in memory of the death of Christ. Those who partake of the Eucharist believe that through the cross and resurrection of Jesus they have been set free. They also believe that Jesus is the saviour of the world.<sup>43</sup> The catholic church teaches that during the consecration of the Eucharist, the elements of the holy communion (bread and wine) are transformed into the real body and blood of Jesus Christ respectively.

Most respondents said that when they confess their sins to the priest and are granted absolution, they actually feel their sins forgiven and their burdens rolled away. One respondent reported that by partaking of the Eucharist, they believe that when Jesus died, he destroyed their death and by rising, he restored their life.<sup>44</sup> This gives them hope of a better life with Christ. They are also not discouraged because of their present condition because they know that God has a good plan for them.

As mentioned above, the fourth function seeks to re-establish broken relationships between people and between individuals and God. Earlier in this chapter, pastoral care focused on fostering spiritual wholeness as the core of all human wholeness. The writer observes that when relationship between man and God is restored, this will affect the other dimensions of life. The writer further argues that when men and women love God whom they cannot see, they will



eventually love their neighbours whom they see.

The society has been divided by religious differences, ethnicity, race and geographical divisions. Father Augustine observed that individuals are able to overcome these differences through the formation of SCCs. Christians belonging to different classes are united together through SCCs. They are able to witness together in SCCs hence fostering unity, peace and reconciliation. Members are taught the importance of solidarity with humanity, especially the poor and oppressed. The prayer of Jesus in John 17 is explicit - that we may be one. The church is therefore called upon to foster unity but not divisions. Church personnel at Kayole Catholic Parish promote harmony among the different people. It is also through SCCs that the laity offer pastoral care to members of the community.<sup>45</sup> Pastoral care therefore empowers the laity to strengthen the caring done by church personnel. Pastoral care is therefore a function of the community seeking to bridge the gap between people and individuals with God. The church therefore becomes the body of Christ and invites others into it by promoting the establishment of a caring community - Koinonia.

#### 4.2 Obstacles to Effective Pastoral Care

Church personnel at Kayole Catholic Parish have been ordained for religious duties. They are basically religious leaders. In his article entitled "challenges and problems of the clergy," C. M. Mwikamba observed that

religious leaders are to be found in all societies that have an organized form of religion. He further noted that religious leaders are persons who are trained and 'set apart' to perform spiritual rites and ceremonies, offer sacrifices as mediums for humans for obtaining divine graces, favours and spiritual harmony. They are personal representatives, mouthpieces of the divine will, teachers and interpreters of the sacred mysteries and spiritual counsellors in their communities.<sup>46</sup>

In the book entitled Pastoral Care in Context, the introduction emphasizes that pastoral care today is being offered competently and creatively by "all sorts and conditions" of God's people, and the dynamic for that care is found not only in professional responsibility of individual clergy persons but also in small communities of persons committed to the work of caring for others as they care, spiritually for themselves.<sup>47</sup> As had been noted earlier, pastoral care empowers the laity to strengthen the caring done by a congregation.

Laurenti Magesa observed that the controlling component in the relationship between the contemporary leader and the rest of the believers has been paternalistic. In other words, the relationship has been one of giving by the leaders and receiving by the non-leaders rather than one of mutual sharing and learning from one another.<sup>48</sup> In Eastern Africa, the image of the church, primarily through its leaders revolves around the approach of privilege and rank.<sup>49</sup> One of the consequences is the existence of an understanding of the church which is in more or less triumphatic terms, that is, a perfect organisation. There has been an inadequate view that being in possession of the truth does not

need anyone else. However, the true church must be seen in terms of community, the people of God, and the body of Christ. These definitions are fundamentally scriptural where they refer to the humble witness of service - diakonia. (see 1 Pet. 2:9 - 10).<sup>50</sup>

Father Jerome Cayetono affirmed that church personnel at Kayole Catholic Parish have been called to a humble witness of service (diakonia) by Jesus Christ. He further noted that there is mutual sharing at KCCC where the laity are involved in pastoral care.<sup>51</sup>

In this section, I will explore the obstacles that make it difficult for church personnel at Kayole Catholic Parish to effectively serve in the role of the good shepherd. These are obstacles that influence their lives and interfere with their consecration in helping the needy. It is important to note that the church personnel are not extraordinary people, but very ordinary people living in the common rhythms of everyday life.

**Table XVII: Obstacles to effective pastoral care**

1. Communication barrier
2. Overwork
3. Over-expectancy from refugees
4. Inadequate skills
5. Lack of enough funds
6. Lack of enough personnel
7. Feeling among refugees that church personnel are more superior

Baraka maintained that Rwandese refugees are Bantus and hence they have good knowledge of Kiswahili vocabularies. He further noted that refugees have enrolled for English classes at Kayole Catholic Parish. Most refugees have done their best to learn English so that they are able to communicate freely with those offering them pastoral care. He however noted that there exists a problem of communication barrier between church personnel and new arrivals among refugees. Also true is that some female refugees have not made a point of enrolling for the English classes and hence they are not able to express themselves.<sup>52</sup> It means that where communication barrier exists, church personnel are not able to know the problems and feelings of refugees. Refugees in this category may stay with problems until that time when they are able to express themselves.

Father Rodrigues Augustine observed that church personnel at Kayole Catholic Parish are overburdened. He argued that in rendering pastoral care to refugees church personnel have to lay down their lives for them. He however noted that in order to avoid the problem of overwork, a method has been devised of sharing responsibility by different committees: Finance committee deals with financial issues; Catechists committee is concerned with teaching (mafundisho); Eucharist ministers assist the priest in officiating the Eucharist; and SCCs (jumiuya) are concerned with the day to day activities which include sharing the good news, praying, visiting the sick and helping the needy.<sup>53</sup> This means that in

the absence of a priest, church activities will not come to a stand still.

A major obstacle to pastoral care stems from the idea that refugees expect too much from those who render services to them. They expect that these ministers should always be there for them. When church personnel are busy to see refugees, they get discouraged and imagine that the ministers do not care for them. Church personnel have to do work depending on their strength. They cannot satisfy everybody. Even funds given are to be used for what was intended.<sup>54</sup> Refugees who come with numerous needs may not be helped fully.

Priests at Kayole Catholic Parish have undergone a long process of training which took between ten to twenty years; this includes three years of training in philosophy and four years of training in theology, among other issues. They also spend one or two years gaining experience for their work. This is not an easy process. Even after training, they may find themselves handicapped when difficult issues arise that need a specialist. Such areas include cases of traumatized refugees who may need to consult a professional counsellor.

Moreover, note that the work of rendering services to refugees may exhaust funds that had been set aside for that work. This has often caused discontentment among refugees. However, Kayole Catholic Parish has done its best to draw resources from the people, and hence making the task of rendering service easier.<sup>55</sup>

Another obstacle to pastoral care stems from the feeling among refugees that those who render services to them are more superior. Most refugees

maintained that since majority of the senior church leaders at Kayole Catholic Parish are not Africans, God hears their prayers more than those offered by refugees themselves. They associate the light skin with closeness to God. One of the respondent said that they feel their problems are solved when these church leaders pray for them.<sup>56</sup> The writer observed that this is a stereotyped way of thinking among refugees who are Africans. Such thinking may hinder refugees from praying to God who is the source of our livelihood. It is therefore an obstacle to pastoral care.

The writer maintains that those who render pastoral care to refugees should remember that they have been called by God to serve whether in easy or in difficult conditions. Even Jesus himself experienced numerous obstacles during his life and ministry. He however chose not to give up because he considered God who had send him as faithful in accomplishing the mission.

#### 4.3 Durable Solutions to Refugee Problems

So far this study has described the material and spiritual assistance given to Rwandese refugees at Kayole Catholic Parish. It is worth to note that these are however not durable solutions to Refugee problems. Millicent Mutuli pointed out that the Kenya government in conjunction with UNHCR prefer that refugees stay in camps. She further noted that the camp situation is not always the best because it limits refugees' rights of movement. Refugees also undergo dematuration as they are reduced to the role of a child who cannot make

independent decisions. This is not a durable solution.<sup>57</sup>

The writer argues that Kayole Catholic Parish has been a witness to the world by responding to the needs of refugees. This reveals to us a God who chooses to favour a people so weak and insignificant in worldly terms.

The study promotes the following three major durable solutions to Refugee problems: Voluntary Repatriation, Local Settlement and Third Country resettlement.

In the recent years, the international community has placed emphasis on voluntary repatriation as the strong preferred solution. Nonetheless, unless it is convinced that refugees can return in reasonable safety, the international community does not actively promote return. Where voluntary repatriation is organized or facilitated by UNHCR, the office attempts, wherever possible, to ensure that a legal framework is set up to protect the returnees' rights and interests. However, many refugees have returned to situations of devastation and uncertainty - or even outright insecurity.<sup>58</sup> The Rwandese case is difficult. Since many Rwandese have been denied the status of a refugee by UNHCR due to their involvement in crimes against humanity, it may not be easy for UNHCR to organize or facilitate their voluntary repatriation. In cases where refugees have returned to Rwanda, they have returned to situations of devastation and outright insecurity. One of the most contentious issues which the RPF-led government has refused to deal with is what the army has done to Hutus who have returned especially the seizing of property and home, and the exercise of "summary

justice".

While voluntary repatriation is the strongly preferred durable solution to contemporary problems of forced displacement, it is not always a feasible or desirable solution. Some refugee-producing situations may be of a long-term nature, requiring other solutions at least for some of those involved. Moreover, the security of individuals and indeed of societies and regions may, on occasion be better served by other solutions. In cases where voluntary repatriation is unlikely to take place in the foreseeable future, the best solution is often to settle refugees in their host country. This means that refugees are granted citizenship of the country of asylum. This can only be done, however, with the agreement of the Government of the asylum country concerned.<sup>59</sup>

As noted earlier in the study, the term integration as used in this study should not be confused with local settlement. Whereas Rwandese refugees have been given space to occupy in the host community, they have not become citizens of Kenya.

For refugees who can neither return to their country of origin nor remain safely in their country of refuge, the only solution is to resettle in a third country. A number of countries offer asylum to refugees on a temporary basis only on condition that they are subsequently resettled. Even in countries that do not impose this condition, economic, political or security factors may sometimes make it necessary to move the refugee elsewhere. The decision to resettle a refugee is normally taken only when there is no alternative way to guarantee the



legal or physical security of the person concerned.<sup>60</sup>

Pastoral care has been viewed as a means of translating the good news into healing message to Rwandese refugees who are struggling in alienation and despair. Through pastoral care, church personnel at Kayole Catholic Parish have fostered spiritual wholeness as the core of all human wholeness.

So far in this chapter, pastoral care given to Rwandese refugees is holistic, seeking to enable healing in all dimensions of their human wholeness. Therefore church personnel at Kayole Catholic parish are concerned with Kerygma - proclaiming the good news of God's love; didache – teaching; establishing of a caring community – Koinonia; and expressing the good news of God in loving service - diakonia.

Pastoral care given to refugees entails the following: counselling, marriage encounter, healing mission, involvement of the laity in pastoral work through formation of SCCs, utilization of God-given capabilities among both women and men hence overcoming traditional sex stereotypes, forgiveness, peace and reconciliation.

Obstacles to effective pastoral care include: communication barrier, overwork, over-expectancy from refugees, inadequate skills, lack of enough funds, lack of enough personnel and the feeling among refugees that church personnel are more superior.

It is important for those who offer pastoral care to understand that God who has given them his gifts to begin this mission will work through fierce trails

and temptations throughout his mission work. Christ did not give up because he considered him (God) faithful who had called him unto this service.

So far, this work has explored the holistic approach that Kayole Catholic Parish has adopted while caring for Rwandese refugees. The work is an eye-opener to other researchers and/or scholars involved in refugee work.

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# CHAPTER FIVE

## THEOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

### 5.1 The church as a caring community - Koinonia

The theological reflection on the mystery of the early church, as a caring community marks an important discovery to a new Christian age. Lehman observed that the church that is the body of Christ, the Koinonia (caring community), is the fellowship-creating reality of Christ's presence in the world. He further noted that the body of Christ is a fellowship of diverse gifts. There is no monotony in the Koinonia. These diversities of gifts are themselves part of the creator's purpose according to which Christ functions in the world. They are focused and grounded upon the unity of the Head, who is Christ. Where Christ is, there is the Koinonia.<sup>1</sup> As shown in the study, Catholic orders are for realizing service with these gifts.

The word Koinonia is best summed up in the Pauline concern for being the church. The word has a wide range of meanings in Greek - from partnership to sharing, to being in communion. Paul Sampley summarizes this theology in commenting on the meaning of Koinonia in the letter to the Philippians:

The Philippians recognized their new situation in Christ and found themselves brought into a new association on a new basis. Koinonia rang in their ears, not just of a fellowship of the faithful but as a partnership of the faith... They joined with Paul as equal



partners in living and preaching the gospel.<sup>2</sup>

Paul's emphasis on "being of the same mind complements and explains Koinonia. Because of their relationship with one another in Christ, Christians have a communality of attitude and mission that prompts them to be of service and share the work of pastoral care. On this understanding, community and pastoral care are not two separate entities of Christian living but rather two aspects of the same reality. According to Saint Paul, Christian partnership is found in a discipleship group who, live the gospel together, enable each other to minister, and to shape a credible community.<sup>3</sup>

This study found out that members of Kayole Catholic Parish belong to KCCC which is a caring community - Koinonia. The members are partners in mission work. Both refugees and the local population have a sense of belonging together. They are united by the love of Christ. They share the word of God; they pray for one another; and they give their possessions to the needy. Such was the spirit that dwelt among Christians in the early church - "they devoted themselves to the apostles' teachings and fellowship, to the breaking of bread and prayers .... And all who believed were together and had all things in common; and they sold their possessions and goods and distributed them to all, as any had need" (see Acts 2:42 - 45). Although the study has revealed that refugees are still in want, they have been lifted from a state of helplessness.

## 5.2 The Church as a serving community

It is within the Koinonia that the good news of God are expressed in a loving service. This is known as diakonia. Diakonia must be related to Koinonia, lest it becomes a humanitarian service without anything distinctively christian about it. Diakonia is holistic as service cannot be separated from witness. The diakonal work of the church should encompass the total ministry and life of the church. It should therefore cater for the spiritual and life of the church. It should therefore cater for the spiritual and physical needs of human beings. The ministry of Jesus is an explicit illustration. Jesus cared for both the spiritual and material needs of the people. He did not only prepare souls for heaven. He realised that as long as human beings live on earth, they also require material support. Jesus preached good news to the poor, proclaimed release to the captives, proclaimed recovery of sight to the blind and set at liberty those who were oppressed. (see Luke 4:1 ff.).

Jesus told people to repent because the Kingdom of God is at hand. He healed the sick (see Matt. 8:1 - 3; Mark 2:1 ff); fed the hungry (Mark 6:35 ff, 8:1 ff); cast out demons (Mark 5:1 ff); ate with sinners (Mark 2:15); and visited the sick. The ministry of Jesus was holistic. It did not alienate the spiritual from the physical.

This study has found that church personnel at Kayole Catholic Parish are not only preparing refugees for heaven. They also care for their physical well

being. However spiritual wholeness is viewed as the core of all human wholeness. The care of souls is seen as the fulfilment of the mandate that Christ left to his disciples when he returned to the Father (Matt. 28:18 - 20). Christ told his disciples to make disciples of all nations baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit; teaching them to observe all that he had commanded them. Christ himself is the chief shepherd who leads his flock. He is the way, the truth and the life (John 14:6). When this truth is taught to men and women, it becomes light in their hearts (John 8:32). The truth saves them from their sins. The truth bridges the broken relationship between human beings and God.

Jesus has also sent those whom he has empowered to preach and teach in his name. The mission that Jesus gave to his apostles continues within the church today through their successors. Jesus himself chooses those who care for his flock. The hireling is not a shepherd and does not care for the flock. (John 10:12-14; Eph. 1:32; Col. 1:18).

### 5.3 The church as a proclaiming community

Michael Pfliegler maintains that the mission of proclaiming the good news is a heavenly responsibility, which goes beyond our natural strength. Christ told his apostles to be of good courage when they encounter hardships (Jn. 16:33). The apostle of Christ should follow the footsteps of his victorious master. Knowing that Christ is always nearby, the apostle should carry out and

complete the mission entrusted to him.<sup>4</sup>

This study pointed out obstacles to pastoral care. Those rendering services to refugees at Kayole Catholic Parish should realise that they are human beings who are usually faced by various problems; although they are troubled, they are not destroyed (see 2 Cor. 4:7-10). They should therefore ever depend on God. It is also important to realize that Christ who is the pioneer and perfecter of our faith will complete this mission through his servants (see Heb. 12:1-2).

The writer had pointed earlier that diakonal work is holistic. It does not alienate the spiritual from the material. This study has shown the importance of caring for the physical dimension in life. Refugees are provided with food, shelter, clothing and medical services. As long as we are still living on earth, we require these material needs.

#### 5.4 The Church as a Healing Community

The mission to heal has been presented well by Saint Luke who was a doctor. Luke presents the evocative scene of Jesus sending the twelve disciples out on mission (Lk. 9:2 ff).<sup>5</sup> Healing in the christian sense would have little meaning without the context of the news of God's reign. The two tasks are complementary and faithfully reflect what Jesus himself did. But the new rite emphasizes the communal responsibility of the church. All christians should share in the care and love of Christ and the church for the sick and should show their concern for them, as much as each is able, by visiting them and comforting

them in the Lord, offering them fraternal help in their need. This ecclesial dimension has been given a practical pastoral form - the communal anointing of the sick.<sup>6</sup>

The mission of healing has been exercised by church personnel at Kayole Catholic Parish. They care for the sick by visiting them and praying for them. They also anoint the sick with oil. Eucharistic ministers assist the priest by taking the elements of the holy communion to those who are bedridden so that they may experience the presence and healing of Christ.

Large segments of a parish may remain unaware of the extent and variety of sickness in their midst. The communal anointing of the sick sensitizes Christians to the needs of others, calls in question their sense of service, and invites them to pray for others. In celebrating with the sick the proclamation of the gospel is heard and seen in new ways.<sup>7</sup> Jesus spent his three years of ministry helping the sick. His chief miracles were worked in them.

There is a desperate need for therapy in our world because of the amount of anxiety, meaninglessness and loneliness.<sup>8</sup> Therapy and pastoral care are complementary entities. Many refugees require professional assistance to overcome traumatization that often results from flight. Rwandese refugees who have undergone emotional disequilibrium, are normally referred to Amani counselling centre and Tumaini centre for professional assistance.

## 5.5 Training of Church Personnel

Training of church personnel at Kayole Catholic Parish has equipped those who render services to refugees with skills and knowledge. The study found out that priests undergo a long process in training. They take three years to study philosophy, four years to study theology and one year to gain experience. This training continues even after one gains experience. Other ministers acquire training through seminars and conferences.

In the 18th century, F. S. Rantenstranch, a Benedictine, proposed that pastoral theology be a required course in German universities. He saw in the professional preparation demanded by the law and medicine faculties of the universities a model for both the theoretical and practical education of priests.<sup>9</sup> Johann M. Sailer was another influential 18th century thinker on the question of pastoral care in Germany. "Pastoral wisdom" was the catch phrase that summarized his pastoral concerns. Sailer felt that the ideal pastor would combine a practical experience and a theoretical capacity so as to be able to critically analyze pastoral praxis.<sup>10</sup>

In its decree on priestly formation, Vatican II forcefully insisted on the "pastoral concern, which thoroughly penetrates the entire training of seminarians. The council then went out on to spell out the aim of such pastoral concern, namely to lead people "to a christian life which is fully conscious and apostolic". Seminaries will show that they have learned "this act of exercising the apostolate

not only in theory but also in practice" by their ability to dialogue, to listen, and to respond.<sup>11</sup> These pastoral aims are applicable to both ordained and non ordained ministers of pastoral care.

## 5.6 Importance of SCC

This brings us to the importance of SCCs while rendering services to the needy. SCCs are greatly involved in service and mutual support. Outreach to the needy is one of the main goals. The study showed that church life at Kayole Catholic Parish is based on SCCs in which everyday life and work take place. These SCCs are basic and manageable social groups whose members (refugees and the local population) experience real inter-personal relationship and feel a sense of solidarity. The members are committed to sharing the word of God and applying it in day-to-day life. Note that the needs of members at local level are easily seen and fulfilled without the presence of a priest. This means that the ability of the laity is fully utilized in SCCs. Members of SCCs pray for one another. They usually meet in the homes of the members.

As pointed out earlier in the study, there had been groups of men or women in the early church who joined together so that they could live the Gospel and its values in a more intense way: these were the first religious communities. In the vow of poverty the religious promises in faith to rely upon God for all material needs, to live simply, to share all his goods with those in the community, and to live closely with God's people.<sup>12</sup>

In the New Testament (NT), Saint Paul refers to those who meet in the home of Prisca and Aquila (1 Cor. 16:19; Rom. 16:1 ff), or of the household of Stephanas, as people who both pray and minister together. This ideal of core SCCs from which the many dimensions of pastoral care emanated was never completely lost in the Christian tradition. Religious communities such as the earlier monastic mirrored this ideal. Even among diocesan priests this communal context of pastoral care can be seen.<sup>13</sup>

### 5.7 The Role of Women

The role of women in mission work and service to the needy is very important. Sister Elsie and Sister Monique are exemplary. The study found out that they visit the sick, sharing God's word to them and praying for them. They also give money, food and other material items to refugees. Other women have also been involved in mission work and service to the needy through SCCs. It was pointed earlier that membership in SCCs is 85% women and 15% men.

Paul had a number of women colleagues in his ministry. There is Prisca with her husband Aquila, whom he greets (Rom. 16:3) as synergous, fellow-worker, the very same word he uses to describe Timothy (Rom. 16:21) and Apollos (1 Cor. 3:9) as well as Epaphroditus (Phil. 2:25) and Clement (Phil. 4:3). There is Phoebe, whom he commends as "a diakonos of the church at cenchrae" (Rom. 16:1). Diakonos is an ambiguous word in the NT, sometimes meaning an officially designated minister and sometimes meaning anyone who



performs a service. But in the case of Phoebe, the unexpected use of the male form diakonos rather than the female form is persuasive evidence that she is a designated minister. Finally there is Junia, whom Paul commends with Andronicus as "outstanding among the apostles" (Rom. 16:7).<sup>14</sup>

Women must be brought to realize that they have apostolic duties in the community at large as well as in the home, and special women's groups of the lay apostolate should be formed. Women catechists are very valuable; they are often more religious than men. There is today a wide realization that the raising of the status of women in Africa is an urgent task, and that to have a women catechist in the village is help towards its fulfilment.<sup>15</sup>

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## CHAPTER SIX

### CONCLUSION

The study found out that the problem of uprooting has a historical perspective. This implies that there is a connection between the past and present events that led to conflict and flight. In Africa, colonialism and the struggle against it has generated refugees. Even after achieving independence, most of refugee flows in Africa have their roots in the colonial history of the continent.

This study found out that the current conflicts in Rwanda and refugee flow have their roots in the historical processes that created the country (Rwanda). Although Rwanda was definitely not a land of peace and harmony before the arrival of the Europeans, there is no trace in its pre-colonial history of systematic violence between Tutsi and Hutu as such. The Germans and then systematically the Belgians, sought to impose a system of exclusive rule through the Tutsi. In what they termed as "administration reform" they abolished traditional structures such as the Hutu chiefs. To justify their promotion of Tutsi domination, Belgians advanced an ideology that stressed their (Tutsi) unique qualities to rule. The Belgians adopted the system of indirect rule and divide and rule policy. Colonialism worked as a catalyst widening the differences between the Hutu and Tutsi.

During the 1959 crisis, thousands of Tutsi Rwandese fled the country, escaping ethnic and political violence. At the eve of independence, Belgians switched support from the Tutsi to the Hutu. The Tutsi were identified to be the

common enemy. The system of divide and rule widened the ethnic rift between the Tutsi and Hutu.

After independence in 1962, the government in Rwanda was committed to Hutu supremacy. The goal of the crisis in 1994 was to exterminate the minority Tutsi population and any Hutu opposed to the slaughter, but it ended when the RPF rebel army seized power in July 1994, forcing the perpetrators into exile.

The study further found that the causes of uprooting in Rwanda varied considerably. The study revealed that many refugees fled Rwanda because of fear of political persecution and fear of war. The study found out that few refugees fled due to opposition to regime, and government policies. The study found out that majority of refugees fled Rwanda not because of a threat to their physical security or a protest against injustice, but in response to mass flight psychosis.

The study found out that hardships do not decrease immediately after arrival in the host country. Refugees encountered problems of health, legal status, subsistence, cultural shock, shelter and loneliness. The incident of material poverty was as frequent among newcomers and those who had been in Kenya for over five years. This has supported the first hypothesis. The findings of the study found out that the length of residence seems to have little relationship to improvement in the material standard of refugee households.

The study explored the holistic approach adopted by church personnel at

Kayole Catholic Parish while caring for Rwandese refugees. The study found out that Kayole Catholic Parish is a centre for promoting wholeness for the refugees. The study focused on the four-fold ministry of Kayole Catholic Parish as a church. These ministries are didache (teaching), kerygma (proclaiming the good news of God's love), Koinonia (establishing of a caring community), and diakonia (the expression of the good news in loving service).

The study showed that KCCC is a social unit for both refugees and the local population. Economic, social, religious interdependence and emotional ties characterize the members. The members also depend upon each other to satisfy daily survival needs. Employment and income were used as the main indices of economic integration in the host society. The study observed that most refugees engage in jobs that do not match with their previous experiences and occupations in Rwanda. The study observed that most refugees were tailors, petty-traders and handicraftsmen whose income was characterized by irregularity and seasonality. This income was only sufficient to meet their basic needs.

The study found out that Rwandese refugees are far from economic integration. An individual refugee earns averagely Kshs 1,533 per month. Rwandese refugees are therefore not fairly well integrated economically.

The sex of the head of household showed considerable association with the levels of social and economic integration in the host society. It is common knowledge that female refugees are often overburdened by domestic responsibilities and accorded minimal participation in decision making process.

The results of the study show that 65% of the households covered had female heads while men headed only 35%.

The study found out that the process of social integration is generally high. About 90% of the Kenyan locals speak Kiswahili. If 70% of the refugees speak Kiswahili, they are well integrated in terms of language as compared to the local population.

The study observed that the need for cultural adjustment has enforced borrowing of traits by refugees from the host society. The study found out that 68% of Rwandese refugees have borrowed many cultural traits from the host society. Rwandese refugees are therefore well integrated culturally. This study showed that religious integration of refugees has been enhanced through the formation of SCCs. The study observed that the SCC is the felt need of its members on the local level without depending on the priest. The SCCs are an inculturation model of the church that tries to form and evolve from the grassroots up out of the daily life and experience of the people themselves. The study found out that religious integration of Rwandese refugees is generally high.

The study found out that some refugees harboured feelings of guilt, anxiety, suspicion and fear of legal security. The study observed that some of the reasons cited for the above problems were present in the host community while some were recollected from past experiences and some were apparently imagined.

The study found out that spiritual wholeness is the core of all human

wholeness. The study found out that human suffering has a spiritual yearning that is fulfilled through the restoration of the relationship between man and God. The study highlighted spiritual development as the core of all human wholeness.

Pastoral care was found to be a valuable instrument of enhancing spiritual wholeness. The study revealed that pastoral care is a way of communicating the good news that becomes a healing message to people struggling in despair and alienation. The study found out that pastoral care is holistic as it targets both spiritual and material assistance. Hence a holistic approach leads to spiritual development of refugees and at the same time helps them to overcome material poverty. The study therefore found out that Mission work and material assistance cannot be divorced. The study has supported the second hypothesis that a holistic assistance to refugees leads to their healthy human development and integration into the host community.

The study further found out pastoral care can be performed by an ordained minister and the laity. This revealed the importance of SCCs as basic communities in which the needs of refugees are easily felt and assistance given even in the absence of an ordained minister.

The study also found out the possibilities for the liberation of both men and women to their full God-given potentialities. It therefore encouraged growth that goes far beyond traditional sex role stereotypes.

The ministry to the poor caters for the physical and spiritual welfare of the poor. This ministry provides for the material and spiritual needs of the poor

by mobilizing the community so that each person responds according to his or her capability. Above all, the members of the ministry aim at enabling the poor to support themselves by getting employment for those in the family and are able to work or by organizing the payment of school fees for the children so that they could later support their families.<sup>1</sup> According to Reverend Lesso this ministry is very much aware of the philosophy of: "Give a poor person fish and he or she will have food for a day but teach a poor person how to fish and he or she will have food every day".<sup>2</sup>

The poor occupy a privileged place in the life and teaching of Jesus Christ. He proclaimed as blessed the poor, the lonely, those hungry and thirsty for justice. Jesus so completely identified himself with the poor and oppressed that he said "For I was hungry and you gave me food, I was naked and you clothed me, I was sick and you visited me". When we help the poor and oppressed, we participate in the salvation which Jesus announced.

The mission of the church as the trusted and familiar home for refugees, is a ministry of evangelization and service. The task of welcoming refugees into full participation in the church and society with equal rights and duties continues the biblical understanding of the justice of God reaching out to all people and rectifying the situation of the poor, the orphans, the widows and the alien. It reflects the biblical vision of universality expressed in the words of the Lord through Isaiah: "For I know their works and their thoughts, and I am coming to gather all nations and tongues, and they shall come and see my glory.... And they



shall bring all your brethren from all the nations as an offering to the Lord..."

(Isa. 66:18-20).

In the community of faith, an attitude of welcome is a prerequisite for any possibility of journeying together to build up the Body of Christ. (see Eph. 4:11-12). In the parish, first of all, the encounter of newcomers and established members offers the opportunity to live the new commandment of the Lord: "..... that you love one another even as I have loved you ...." (Jn. 13:34). Pastors and parish teams can play a key role. If aware and sensitive to the presence of refugees, they can lead the whole community to welcome them - there are no aliens in the Body of Christ. In fact pastoral awareness is the practical recognition of the material and spiritual needs of refugees. In order to know what these needs are and to respond accordingly, it is first necessary to meet the refugee with openness. The biblical injunction to extend hospitality to the stranger overcomes the tendency to see refugees as a threat to our comfort, institutions, culture and lifestyles.<sup>3</sup>

The proclamation of the good news, needs to take into account this diversity. Christ's message must be embedded not only in the hearts of people, but in social systems and cultures as well. For many refugees, however, there are no sufficient clergy with cross-cultural training to provide pastoral care. In the absence of ordinary pastoral ministry, the refugees are at risk of developing an attitude of passivity which leads to cultural and social alienation, religious indifference, and the search for the warmth of friendship and belonging in other

religious movements and groups. Many priests, sisters, deacons and church workers can learn to speak new languages and immerse themselves in new cultures for the sake of the gospel. In several seminaries, the requirements of a second language is mandatory and courses on the culture and pastoral care of immigrants are offered. All these initiatives point out a real partnership in faith and the material concern of the church that responds to uprooted and needy people, with special attention in order to help them overcome the isolation of cultural and language barriers and rebuild a normal existence.

On the part of refugees, faith requires commitment to active membership in the life of their parishes and worship communities. It asks them to appreciate their new country and its people, traditions and culture. It invites them to contribute their intelligence and skills for the common good. Together, then, as we grow strong in the familiarity of God's love, we build a more perfect and more inclusive community. Equality before God is the model of equality which requires that all persons have access to the resources and services of the local church so that all may experience and celebrate true community.<sup>4</sup>

The response of the Catholic Church to refugee situations has been manifold, generous and often at the cost of great sacrifice, even of life itself. Besides the indispensable task of providing aid and shelter carried out by church-related organizations, pastoral activities have also continued. These include the actions and programs that touch and bind up the deepest wounds of forcibly displaced people, that break down the walls of hatred and distrust, that make

sense out of otherwise absurd situations, and that give courage to move forward in hope and love. Without the pastoral aspect, humanitarian efforts will not, in the long term, strengthen the church - as a family. Pastoral care can include a wide range of activities and programs from the familiar celebration of mass to more specialized ministries, like the ministry of listening to victims, communal reflection on the Word of God, dealing with trauma, organizing education, reaffirming the worth of refugees and defending their dignity and forming new all-embracing community out of the sorrows of the past. The ability of local churches in Africa to come to offer emergency pastoral assistance through sharing of expertise and personnel, still needs much more development.

Systematic pastoral attention to forced human mobility does not of course resolve all the problems of forced human mobility. Nevertheless, it draws attention of the world and calls for the political will to make decisions and policies needed to prevent such crises and to manage them. The church with its social teaching and the extensive experiences of her pastoral agents among the forcibly displaced has an important role in giving shape to those actions and programs.<sup>5</sup>

Those who care for refugees should think of themselves as working with uprooted people and not just for them. One of the greatest injustices that has been done to uprooted people is that they have been treated as objects and often subjected to violence. It is of key importance for the uprooted individual that he or she be permitted to once again become a subject who is able to determine his

or her own destiny. Pastoral care of uprooted people should take care not to treat uprooted people as mere objects - even of our charity. Rather, pastoral care should be motivated by belief that each individual is created in the image of God and capable of helping themselves. The work with refugees should be characterized by helping them to help themselves, and indeed contribute to the community that receives them.

Teams of religious and lay-people should be trained at parish and diocesan levels to offer help and welcome to refugees. This will offer necessary information for this difficult and sometimes thankless work. It must be understood that uprooted people have gone through such painful experiences that working with them may pose some particular challenges.

Networking should not be limited to communications within the catholic fold. Organic pastoral solidarity should not be thought of as applying only to fellow catholics. The catholic church should work together with a large number of other christian, faith-based and like-minded organizations working with uprooted people in different ways. The value of co-operating with such churches, religious bodies and agencies is important. The catholic church will be of greater service to the uprooted, and more effective with the resources at its disposal, if she joins with other churches, faith-bases organizations and like-minded agencies.<sup>6</sup> Also the phenomenon of refugees should be understood by the church as a limb of the body that is wounded. The resources of the body should naturally turn to heal this wound.

In the study of sacraments the theme of reconciliation is central. This can be explained by reference to the many broken relationships in Africa that lead to the uprooting of people. Stress can be placed on the Eucharist as reconciling and unifying, and on the sacrament of penance as having social ramifications. Similarly, in courses in Christian Anthropology stress can be placed on the social dimensions of sin and grace. Likewise, redemption can be explained as occurring as a force in history and not just as an invitation to individual conversion.

In Eschatology, the function that apocalyptic literature played in the OT and NT is vital. Rather than encouraging any "wishing away" of this world and passive waiting for the next, we should motivate continued loyalty to God in an age where the triumph of sinful behaviour seems absolute. We too must be realistic and acknowledge that the conflicts that so beset our continent may not end soon. Confidence in the final victory of Christ can offer us a deep and joyful hope in struggling against these conflicts and their results. An appreciation of eschatological truth can help us work for justice and solidarity when few results of our labours are evident.<sup>7</sup>

The proclamation of justice and peace is an integral part of the task of evangelization. To denounce and fight against all that degrades and destroys the human person, to denounce evils and injustice, is part of the ministry of evangelization and the prophetic role of the church. The church as the Family of God in Africa must bear witness to Christ by promoting justice and peace on the

continent and through the world. The promotion of justice and peace should be part of the pastoral programme for each christian community.

It is essential to enhance manageable social neighbourhood among refugees by grouping them into SCCs. Refugees need to talk and tell their story and be listened to. It is remarkable to listen to the stories of so many refugees deprived in so many ways and who have survived torture, imprisonment, robbery, rape, and all kinds of dehumanising treatment. It is only in such SCCs that refugees can begin a healing process for their hurt feelings and lives. It is important to recognize that when anger, rage, hatred and bereavement is frozen it can swell up to destroy the refugees themselves through depression and express itself in exacting vengeance on the perpetrators of these hurts. The ministry of healing and forgiveness is greatly enabled when such communities are set up where refugees can share their lives and stories with other people while breaking open the Word of God.<sup>8</sup>

The crisis involving uprooted people in Africa continues to increase in number and at the level of injustices they suffer. The church in many cases, has been the one reliable institution present in these situations. Regarding its specific contribution to an overall solution, its prophetic voice has not been lacking either.<sup>9</sup>

Today the millions of refugees in Africa are a shameful wound in the side of humanity. Prompted by the message of the love of Christ, the church together with other people of good will has become a companion on the road of refugees,

a voice to break their silence, an advocate for their rights. The church's presence often could be much more effective and visible in the moment of crisis and flight. By listening to the voice of refugees, we come to recognize the immensity of the phenomenon of suffering people forced to abandon their homes, their families, their farms, their livelihood and their churches.<sup>10</sup>

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All Scripture quotations are taken from the Revised Standard Version.



## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX 1

#### LIST OF INFORMANTS

Ahokwizera Amieri Safari, 32 years, Refugee, interviewed on 15/11/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Amazimbi Misiko, knows about Rwandese refugees, Lecturer, University of Nairobi, Interviewed on 3/10/99 in Nairobi.

Fr. Augustine Rodrigues, Parish priest Soweto sub-parish, interviewed on 18/11/99. at Kayole Catholic Parish ,Nairobi.

Bahati Joseph, 40 years, Refugee, interviewed on 11/11/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish ,Nairobi.

Bamurange Christine, Refugee, interviewed on 8/10/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish ,Nairobi .

Baraka, language teacher at Kayole catholic Church, interviewed on 4/10/99 in Nairobi.

Biliho Laurent, Refugee, interviewed on 3/11/99.at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Burasanzwe Emmanuel, Refugee, interviewed on 7/10/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish ,Nairobi.

Busungu Ben, 61 years, teacher, knows about Rwandese refugees, interviewed on 21/12/99 in Vihiga District

Busungu Victor, 28 years, teacher, knows about Rwandese refugees,

interviewed on 23/12/99 in Vihiga District.

Fr. Cayetono Jerome, Parish priest Kayole Catholic Parish, interviewed on 18/11/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Charles, Refugee, interviewed on 25/10/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Damascene Jean, Refugee, interviewed on 22/11/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Dukuzwe Eliane, 14 years, Refugee, interviewed on 4/10/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Dusabimana Emmanuelli, 26years, Refugee, interviewed on 9/9/99 at Kayole Catholic Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Sister Elsie, Social worker AMECEA, interviewed on 23/9/99 at St. Paul's chapel office Nairobi.

Husabyimana Joseph, Refugee, interviewed on 2/9/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Iyamuremye Syliver, Refugee, interviewed on 16/9/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Irudukunda Barnabe', Refugee, interviewed on 20/9/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Kabarega Camilli, 34 years, Refugee, interviewed on 7/10/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Kabibi Immaculata, Refugee, interviewed on 24/11/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Kabibi Rose, Refugee, interviewed on 6/12/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Kamayirese Vestine, Refugee, interviewed on 13/9/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Kampela Donatila, 39 years, Refugee, interviewed on 2/12/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Karamuka John Damascene, 38 years, Refugee, interviewed on 4/10/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Karangwa Jean Bosco, 45 years, Refugee, interviewed on 6/9/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Karanja, knows about Rwandese refugees, Lecturer, University of Nairobi, Department of History, interviewed on 25/11/99 at Nairobi University.

Karekezi Etienne, 30 years, Refugee, interviewed at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Mukabahizi Marie, Refugee, interviewed on 11/10/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Mukagahilima Emmanuela, Refugee, interviewed on 24/11/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Mukahaguma Cendrine, Refugee, interviewed on 23/9/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Muhindi Degonde, Refugee, interviewed on 26/11/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Munyakyanza Faustine, Refugee, interviewed on 27/9/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Mukalukundo Generose, 14 years, Refugee, interviewed on 23/10/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Mukamusoni Mary, Refugee, interviewed on 29/11/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Mukantwali Alphonsine, 9 years, interviewed on 5/11/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Sister Monique, Social worker at AMECEA, interviewed at AMECEA regional office in Nairobi.

Munyesholi John Bosco, 19 years, Refugee, interviewed on 28/10/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Muragijimana Daniel, 31 years, Refugee, interviewed on 6/9/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Fr. Murphy Edward, knows about the Catholic church, Librarian, Hekima College, interviewed on 23/9/99 in Nairobi.

Mutuli Millicent Atieno, Public Information Officer UNHCR, interviewed on 4/8/99 at UNHCR office Westlands Nairobi.

Mwai Joselyne, Refugee, interviewed on 4/11/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Mwashuruti Mwinyi, knows about Rwandese refugees, Master of Arts student, University of Nairobi, interviewed on 18/11/99 in Nairobi.

Ndole Benisoit, Refugee interviewed on 25/10/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Ndukumana David, 38 years, Refugee, interviewed on 4/10/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Niyitanga Jean de Dien, 18 years, Refugee, interviewed on 1/11/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Niyitanga John, Refugee, interviewed on 23/9/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Niyonsaba Marceline, 29 years, Refugee, interviewed on 18/10/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Nizeyimana Paul, Refugee, interviewed on 18/11/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Ngirumwami Philippe, 14 years, Refugee, interviewed on 10/11/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Nkanka, Refugee, interviewed on 2/12/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Nkwaya Innocent, 30 years, Refugee, interviewed at Kayole Catholic Parish Nairobi on 6/9/99.

Nyahela Caxton, knows about Rwandese refugees, Lecturer, University of Nairobi, interviewed on 4/10/99 at Nairobi University.

Nyirabaziyunga Sarai Francoise, 22 years, Refugee, interviewed on 17/10/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Nyirabuvunani Maria, 10 years, Refugee, interviewed on 24/11/99 at Kayole

Catholic Parish Nairobi.

Nyirahabimana Rosa, 34 years, Refugee, interviewed on 16/12/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Nyirahabineza Jacqueline, 12 years, Refugee, interviewed on 25/10/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Nyirangamije Bosite, Refugee, interviewed on 22/11/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Nyirangare Josepha, 6 years, Refugee, interviewed on 20/9/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Nyiranyizwenimana, Refugee, interviewed on 15/11/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Nyuguarakarama Jean Bosco, 25 years, Refugee, interviewed on 27/9/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Nsengiyuma Francis, Refugee, interviewed on 21/10/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Nsengiyuma Vincent, 30 years, Refugee, interviewed on 3/11/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Ntahobali Simon, Refugee, Pastor of Brother Assembly Community Church, interviewed on 15/11/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Ruhengeri Nyamutera, Refugee, interviewed on 14/10/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish, Nairobi.

Rusangiza Fulgence, Refugee, interviewed on 25/10/99 at Kayole Catholic

Parish, Nairobi.

Sendegeya Jean Bosco, 22 years, Refugee, interviewed on 4/11/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish , Nairobi.

Sibomana Joseph, refugee, interviewed on 25/11/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish , Nairobi.

Unamaiya Beatrice, Refugee, interviewed on 21/10/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish , Nairobi.

Uwomana Daniel, 40 years, Refugee, interviewed on 30/9/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish , Nairobi.

Vumilia Peace, Refugee, interviewed on 11/10/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish , Nairobi.

Yakubu Said, 32 years, Refugee, interviewed on 29/11/99 at Kayole Catholic Parish , Nairobi.

The questionnaire

(a) QUESTIONNAIRE FOR KAYOLE CATHOLIC PARISH STAFF

PERSONAL INFORMATION

NAME ----- AGE ----- YRS.

NATIONALITY ----- SEX -----

MARITAL STATUS -----

POSITION AT Kayole Catholic Parish -----

EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS -----

DATE AND PLACE OF INTERVIEW -----

1. When did you become an employee of Kayole Catholic?

Parish? -----

2. State briefly the history of Kayole Catholic

Parish -----

3. What are the goals of Kayole Catholic Parish? --

-----

-----

4 (a) Briefly explain the process of integration of Rwandese refugees into Kayole

Christian Community Centre, (KCCC)

-----

b) Hence state the various dimensions of integration that Rwandese



Refugees have undergone at KCCC. -----

-----

-----

-----

5. State the problems that Rwandese refugees face during the integration process.

(i)

(ii)

(iii)

(iv)

6. State the material items and services provided to Rwandese refugees at Kayole Catholic Parish.

(i)

(ii)

(iii)

(iv)

(v)

7. What problems do you encounter when assisting refugees?

(i)

(ii)

(iii)

(iv)

(v)

8. Briefly state the pastoral care given to Rwandese refugees by Kayole Catholic Parish. -----

-----  
-----

9. Do volunteers who work among refugees need specific pastoral care? If yes, explain. -----

-----  
-----

10. What are your future aspirations? -----

-----  
-----

11. Who funds Kayole Catholic Parish? -----

-----

12. What are your future aspirations? -----

-----

---

**(b) QUESTIONNAIRE FOR RWANDESE REFUGEE HOUSEHOLDS.**

**PERSONAL INFORMATION**

NAME ----- AGE ----- YRS

NATIONALITY ----- PROVINCE -----

DISTRICT ----- TOWN -----

VILLAGE -----

MARITAL STATUS -----

EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS -----

DATE AND PLACE OF INTERVIEW -----

1. When did you come to Kenya? -----

2. What reasons made you flee from Rwanda?

(i)

(ii)

(iii)

(iv)

(v)

3. How many languages do you speak? -----

-----

4. What was your occupation in Rwanda? -----

-----

5. Where are your relatives? -----

-----

6. How many people normally live in this household? -----

-----

7. Where do you reside? -----

8. (a) State the material items and services provided to you by Kayole Catholic Parish.

(i)

(ii)

(iii)

(iv)

(v)

(b) Which of your needs are not adequately met? Explain. -----

-----

-----

State your faith in God. -----

-----

-----

10. What problems do you experience here in Kenya?

(i)

(ii)

(iii)

(iv)

(v)

(vi)

11. State your future aspirations? \_\_\_\_\_

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**PHOTOGRAPHS**



**A The writer and Rwandese refugees at Kayole Catholic Parish.**



**B The writer donating clothes to Rwandese refugees.**



**C The writer and Rwandese refugees journeying through Kayole and Soweto estates**



**D The writer and Rwandese refugees at Soweto estate**

**EAST AFRICANA COLLECTION**



**E** Rwandese refugees share their experience of life of refuge at Emmanueli Dusabimana's residence



**F** The writer interviewing Baraka - the language teacher at Kayole Catholic Parish





**G The writer consoling a young refugee girl who underwent trauma resulting from flight. The writer had donated clothes to her.**

**RAF AFRICANA COLLECTION**

important to note that whereas the process of securing a job is important in the economic integration of refugees, majority of Rwandese refugees are handicapped in many ways on the labour market.<sup>61</sup> On the positive side, Kayole Catholic Parish has helped many refugees to earn a living through acquisition of skills like tailoring and carpentry. For instance, the Women Dressmaking Project has helped the refugee women to earn an income.

According to M.A. Castillo and J.C. Hathaway in their work entitled 'Temporary Protection', losing the support of family is particularly disruptive of a refugee's sense of self. They further maintain that the separation of families, especially where some members remain at risk in the country of origin, can exacerbate the psychological stress already encountered by most refugees.<sup>62</sup> For most of the Rwandese refugees at Kayole Catholic Parish, their family members remain at risk in Rwanda or as refugees in neighbouring countries like Tanzania, DRC or Uganda. Note that Rwandese refugees have been integrated into the Kayole Christian Community. Both refugees and the local population share a sense of belonging together, a sense of a group solidarity, an awareness of dependency and identification that leads the individual to claim the community as his own and to find his identity through it. These relations are indicators of social acceptance of refugees into the new community.

According to Bulcha, uprooting is widely recognized as a phenomenon that entails psychological problems. It is more than the physical absence from

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