Jehovah's Witnesses During and After the Genocide Against the Tutsi in Rwanda

Psychosocial Factors Related to Faith, Forgiveness, and Family

Prepared by

Organisation Religieuse des Témoins de Jéhovah

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Study Title: Jehovah's Witnesses During and After the Genocide Against the Tutsi in Rwanda: Psychosocial Factors Related to Faith, Forgiveness, and Family

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The religious community of Jehovah's Witnesses issues this project report with the objective of contributing to the understanding of the past and current impact of the Genocide on ordinary Rwandans across generations. The study *Jehovah's Witnesses During and After the Genocide Against the Tutsi in Rwanda: Psychosocial Factors Related to Faith, Forgiveness, and Family* (JW-RWA) is the first nationwide, post-genocide survey study of a single religious group. Jehovah's Witnesses are a population of interest to researchers for its distinctive religious beliefs and practices of nonviolence and neutrality. The research findings are relevant to multiple disciplines, including sociology, psychology, political science, genocide, religion, and family studies. It offers insights to all who share the goals of forgiveness, reconciliation, and genocide prevention.

The Ministry of National Unity and Civic Engagement (MINUBUMWE) gave support to the study proposal, which is in line with the Ministry's mission of promoting unity and preserving the memory of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi in general. The study was conducted within the Rwandan community of Jehovah's Witnesses in particular. The Rwanda National Ethics

Committee (RNEC) reviewed and approved the study design in accord with ethical and scientific standards.

The Kigali-based Organisation Religieuse des Témoins de Jéhovah sponsored the JW-RWA study with support from the World Headquarters of Jehovah's Witnesses in Warwick, New York, U.S.A. An international academic advisory committee of scholars reviewed the survey instrument, data findings, and preliminary reports.

Need for the Study

The JW-RWA study aligns with the 2015 National Dialogue Council's aim to promote research about the history of religious organizations during and after the Genocide.[1] It documents in a scientific investigation the historical experiences and contemporary characteristics of Jehovah's Witnesses during the Genocide against the Tutsi. As a contribution to scholarship, it fills a gap in academic literature about the faith community of Jehovah's Witnesses during and after the Genocide against the Tutsi.

Objectives

The four main research objectives were the following:

1. Identify **demographic and religious characteristics** of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda: growth of Jehovah's Witnesses before and after the Genocide against the Tutsi; their religious beliefs, motivations, orientation, and identity; and experiences during the government ban on the religion prior to the Genocide.
2. Examine **forgiveness and prosocial characteristics** of the faith community: three types of forgiveness (of others, of self, and by God), other prosocial attributes (compassionate

[1] For simplicity and variety in text, the term "Genocide" refers specifically to the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi; "genocide" (not capitalized) is applied generally.

love, community support, and helping behaviors), and perceived changes in social relationships.

3. Investigate gender, generational, and other group differences in **Genocide situations and trauma events** experienced by those who were Jehovah's Witnesses at the time of the Genocide and those who adopted the faith after the Genocide with respect to the following: duration of danger during the Genocide, changes in household composition before and after the Genocide, Genocide role-situations, trauma events, and helping behaviors during the Genocide against the Tutsi.
4. Investigate factors related to the **subjective social and psychological wellbeing** of those in the faith community, including family satisfaction, attitudes and intergenerational communication about genocide and traumatic events, posttraumatic stress symptoms, posttraumatic growth, centrality of Genocide, and temporal orientation, hope, and scriptures to cope.

The four objectives and multiple psychosocial variables are connected with the ecological systems model of interactive influences of microsystems (e.g., family and religious groups) and macrosystems (e.g., time, history, and culture) on individual development and behavior. The investigation of interrelated systems draws attention to the broad topics of faith, forgiveness, and family, and their respective roles in the building, maintenance, and repair of social bonds.

Methodology

A nationwide survey was conducted in the spring of 2023 among adults who were baptized Jehovah's Witnesses associated with congregations in Rwanda. The survey design for the quantitative, cross-sectional study included questions that allowed yes-no, multiple choice, and Likert-scaled responses. The anonymous survey encouraged open and honest responses. The

survey instrument was organized into five topical areas: (a) Religious Beliefs, (b) General Attitudes, (c) Situations During the 1994 Genocide Against the Tutsi, (d) Dealing With Traumatic Events, and (e) Intergenerational Communication. Fourteen question sets were taken from empirically tested measures developed by other researchers and related to such psychometric constructs as forgiveness, social identity, posttraumatic growth, and family satisfaction. The survey instrument was translated from English to Kinyarwanda using a back-translation protocol.

To minimize survey bias and accommodate those with limited literacy and access to Internet or electronic devices and in hard-to-reach areas (e.g., remote regions and correctional facilities), provisions were made to increase participation in the study while maintaining the scientific integrity of the study. To minimize the effects of socially desirable responses (SDR), a measure was used to identify those who gave only favorable responses, which resulted in 281 survey submissions being removed from the sample. (The methodology is discussed in Section 2 of this report.)

Sample. After data cleaning, the total sample size was 13,590, which represented 51% of baptized adult Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda aged 18 and over. The sample came from all 30 districts in the five provinces: Kigali (19.4%), Southern Province (15.7%), Western Province (22.7%), Northern Province (15.0%), and Eastern Province (27.2%). The sample was demographically similar to the general population: 56% female (52% of the general population); 71% from rural areas (compared with 72% for the general population); 6% with no formal education and 26% who completed secondary school (compared with 17% and 21% for the general population, respectively). The total sample was composed of 63% who were in Rwanda at the time of the Genocide (Genocide Generation), 8% who lived outside Rwanda in 1994 (Returnees), 24% who were born after 1994 (Post-Genocide Generation), and 5% who could not be classified. The

sample included those who were baptized Jehovah's Witnesses during the Genocide against the Tutsi and those who became Witnesses after 1994, which was the majority of the sample. From the anonymized data set, analysis focused on descriptive statistics and group comparisons (e.g., gender, age group, generation, Genocide role-situation).

Research regarding the Genocide against the Tutsi necessarily includes questions about the situation and outcomes of respondents who were targeted for killing because of their Tutsi ethnicity. The original intent of the JW-RWA survey was to allow respondents to self-identify as Hutu, Tutsi, or Twa. However, the Rwanda National Ethics Committee stipulated that the survey instrument should not inquire explicitly about the ethnicity of the respondents. Nevertheless, respondents could report whether, during the Genocide against the Tutsi, they had been targeted to be killed—a classification that clearly applies to Tutsi. It is possible that some respondents who were not ethnically Tutsi may have self-identified as having been targeted (e.g., those mistakenly identified by the Interahamwe militia as being Tutsi; those with Tutsi spouses or relatives; or perhaps certain Hutu who were targeted, not for genocide but because the Interahamwe viewed them as politically moderate or resistant to the Genocide). For statistical analysis, the category *targeted to be killed* allowed for inferential group comparisons of those targeted (Tutsi) and not targeted (not Tutsi) on selected variables (e.g., posttraumatic stress symptoms, change in household composition, and help received by those targeted during the Genocide).

Key Findings

Sections in this report correspond to the research objectives. The following are the main research results.

1. Demographic and religious characteristics of Jehovah's Witnesses. (Findings are discussed in Section 3 of this report.) From the total sample of 13,590, 87% were born into families

who were not then Jehovah's Witnesses, and 13% were second-generation Jehovah's Witnesses with at least one Jehovah's Witness (JW) parent. Before making the decision to become baptized, individuals studied the Bible and the beliefs and practices of the faith community, with slightly over 40% studying for 2 or more years before their baptism. Just under one tenth of the sample stopped and later resumed their religious association, two thirds of whom resumed their affiliation within 2 years or less. Contrary to trends worldwide of younger age cohorts abandoning organized religion, the average age at baptism of the Rwandan JW respondents is 26 years.

The leading original attractions to JWs were the desire to *learn more about the Bible* and the *logic of their main teachings*. A desire to *be closer to God* and *hope for the future* were the main motivations to remain in the religion. Although coming from diverse religious backgrounds, JWs almost unanimously agree on main doctrinal teachings, namely about creation, holy spirit in the writing of the Bible, prophecy about the "last days," condition of and hope for the dead, God's Kingdom government to end problems on earth, Jesus' teaching of political neutrality, and the nonexistence of hellfire.

Over 95% of the sample population identify with and feel committed to their faith. Religion is an integral part of their lives; and while they indicated having received personal and social benefits from their faith, their religious orientation is more intrinsic than extrinsic.

2. Forgiveness and prosocial behavior. (Findings are discussed in Section 4 of this report.) Religious tenets of forgiveness and compassionate love for humanity—values extolled almost universally—are reinforced by the JW faith community. Three aspects of forgiveness (of others, of self, and by God) were investigated. Compared with results from a measure used widely by other researchers, the mean scores on trait forgiveness were relatively high and with relatively low variance. The study showed that JWs recognize the role of remorse and taking responsibility

in divine and self-forgiveness. Despite believing that God forgives, some indicated that they struggled with accepting that God forgave them for past "sins," that their sins were "too serious."

Although changing religions might cause tension with family and friends, especially in the beginning, over 80% of respondents indicated that their social relationships had improved since they became Jehovah's Witnesses. This included improved relationships with those previously in conflict—that is, with persons who had hurt them or whom they had hurt.

3. Genocide situations and trauma events. (Findings are discussed in Section 5 of this report.) According to records of the religious organization, Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda numbered approximately 2,500 by 1994. Of that number, an estimated 400 Witnesses and those associated with them (i.e., family and Bible students) died during the Genocide. (The precise figures and the proportions of Tutsi and non-Tutsi deaths among Witnesses are not known.) In the JW-RWA sample population, a total of 552 were Jehovah's Witnesses baptized in or before 1994—an estimated 20% to 25% of those who were Jehovah's Witnesses at the time of the Genocide.

The scope of the study necessarily set temporal, spatial, and population boundaries, with Genocide-related survey questions applied specifically to the Genocide against the Tutsi that occurred between April 6 and July 19, 1994, as recalled by the study population who became Jehovah's Witnesses either before or after the Genocide.

The survey results quantify experiences of the Genocide Generation with a composite profile of the study population who were in Rwanda during the Genocide. For example, out of 8,309 adults and minors who reported traumatic events they experienced in Rwanda during the Genocide, 34% reported that they had a close family member murdered or die unexpectedly—higher among females (38%) than males (30%). Contrary to the single categorization of victim, perpetrator, rescuer, and bystander, respondents self-identified as having multiple role-situations

during the Genocide (i.e., faced harm, refused to harm those targeted, helped others, fled for safety). From the perspective of those who were children and those who were parents of children during the Genocide, the data show that children provided both instrumental support (e.g., fetched water, food, or supplies) and emotional support (e.g., motivated parents not to give up) during the Genocide. Eight respondents who were baptized Witnesses in 1994 indicated that they were later imprisoned for participating in the Genocide; 146 respondents who became Jehovah's Witnesses after 1994 reported that they had been imprisoned for participating in the Genocide. To encourage candor from respondents, details were not requested about their imprisonment.

Subgroup analysis included comparisons between Jehovah's Witnesses in 1994 and non-JWs in 1994, and between those targeted and not targeted during the Genocide. The *targeted* category was based on data from a question set listing various situations during the Genocide, including the option *targeted to be killed*, which Rwandans generally understand to apply to Tutsi. Of the total of 3,620 Genocide Generation Adults who gave responses, 14% selected *targeted to be killed*. The percentage of those targeted (Tutsi) was higher for the subgroup of those who were Jehovah's Witnesses in 1994 (23%) than those who were not Witnesses at the time of the Genocide (13%).

The study investigated the extent and nature of help those who were targeted received. For example, 60% reported that they received help from up to 10 people. Most often they were hidden on others' property and given food, clothing, and supplies. Proximity was a factor in helping, with a higher percentage of help coming from neighbors than from extended family. Among targeted Jehovah's Witnesses, 80% received help from fellow believers and those associated with the religion (e.g., family or Bible students) and 35% indicated that those who helped them could have been killed for helping.

As evidence that Jehovah's Witnesses in general acted according to their position of nonviolence during the Genocide, 776 respondents in Rwanda during the Genocide—not baptized JWs at the time of the Genocide and from various religious backgrounds—indicated that they learned about the nonviolent teachings of the religious group when *they saw Jehovah's Witnesses refuse to participate in the Genocide*. Observing firsthand the nonviolent behavior of individual JWs during the Genocide could partially explain why one third of this group reported that they were attracted to the faith community because of their nonviolent position.

Unlike those in the total Genocide Generation, early adopters of the religion faced two critical historical periods for the minority group: the government ban on the religion from 1982 to 1992 and the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. The findings show the circumstances of 981 Jehovah's Witnesses and their close associates who lived during both the decade-long period of government ban between 1982 and 1992 and then the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. They reported the harassment, persecution, and for some, imprisonment during the ban that was followed 2 years later by Genocide trauma. The research findings show that in those early years, these new converts—who had the option to discontinue or conceal their association with the stigmatized group—identified themselves as Jehovah's Witnesses despite potential ostracism and personal harm. Facing political persecution, the Witnesses individually and collectively determined how they would adhere to the principles of nonviolence, political neutrality, and impartiality—positions that would be put to extreme test during the Genocide.

As with previous studies of the religious community during the Holocaust, this study documented that Jehovah's Witnesses, individually and collectively, maintained a consistent pattern of nonviolence and political neutrality. Although the circumstances during the Holocaust under Nazism and the Genocide against the Tutsi differed, both posed similar moral challenges.

Beliefs and prosocial behaviors learned prior to the Genocide laid the basis for individuals' conscientious responses to coercion and violence, resulting in persecution and even death for some, not because of their ethnicity or political position, but strictly for adhering to the principles of their faith.

4. Subjective social and psychological wellbeing. (Findings are discussed in Section 6 of this report.) The study examined the openness to dialogue about trauma, family satisfaction, and perceived wellbeing. The vast majority (92%) believe that it is important for young people to learn about the history of the Genocide against the Tutsi. About difficult or traumatic events, respondents indicated they are comfortable talking with those of similar ages to theirs (87%), with immediate family (86%), and with those in their congregation (83%). Although the majority indicated an openness to intergenerational sharing of traumatic events, 32% thought that talking about past traumas did more harm than good; 38% thought children should not be burdened by others' traumas; and 55% reported it was painful to hear about their family's Genocide experiences. Half of respondents reported that their family had talked about moral lessons learned from the Genocide.

The effects of the Genocide on individuals vary widely. Overall, the centrality of the Genocide on their worldview, their family's story, and sense of self was greater for those who were adults during the Genocide than for other generation groups. Thinking about the Genocide is more frequent and posttraumatic stress symptoms are statistically higher for Genocide Generation Adults than Genocide Generation Minors or the Post-Genocide Generation.

Despite the gap in Genocide experiences and their ongoing effects, Jehovah's Witnesses showed similarity on other subjective wellbeing measures. They report consistently high scores on measures of hope and posttraumatic growth. The data show that Jehovah's Witnesses believe and

personalize the religion's optimistic view of the future. Regardless of gender, age, or Genocide experience and despite negative feelings about their childhood or past, they were positive about the present, near future, and distant future. Satisfaction with the degree of cohesion and communication in the family is consistently high across all demographic groups. Over 90% believe that their self-worth, opinion of self, hope for the future, emotional and mental wellbeing, and life in general are better compared with the time before they were Jehovah's Witnesses.

Given that the sample population are known to advocate reliance on the Bible as a guide—as is the case for many religious Rwandans—the survey asked what scriptural thoughts helped them cope when thinking about the Genocide against the Tutsi. From a list of familiar scriptures related to prayer, love, forgiveness, endurance, and meek inhabiting the earth, the top three scriptures were: *Return evil to no one. Vengeance belongs to God* (54%); *Death, pain, and sorrow will be no more* (50%); and *The wicked will be no more* (43%). The most frequently chosen scripture has two distinct but related concepts: behavioral and emotional self-constraint (*Return evil to no one*) and a cognitive rationale related to divine justice (*Vengeance belongs to God*).

Conclusions and Recommendations

The study has limitations common to survey research. The cross-sectional design of this study cannot establish causal links. All self-reported data are susceptible to social desirability bias. Quantitative survey research based on individual self-reports cannot capture the complex and dynamic functioning of congregations and families. The findings can only be applied to the sample population of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda and cannot be generalized to the larger population. Although the survey questionnaire could not directly inquire about ethnicity, respondents could self-identify as being *targeted to be killed* during the Genocide against the Tutsi.

The study fills a void in the empirical literature, providing insights about individual and collective aspects of the community of Jehovah's Witnesses before, during, and after the 1994 Genocide: their faith (motivations, beliefs, and practices); family (functioning, satisfaction, and relationship changes); and forgiveness (prosocial attitudes, social support, and subjective wellbeing). The large data set allowed for statistical comparisons of gender, age, generational difference, and role-situations during the Genocide. The JW-RWA study identified a consistent pattern of nonviolence, impartiality, and political neutrality before, during, and after the Genocide against the Tutsi among a subgroup of the study population.

This study of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda demonstrates research possibilities for online survey research in post-conflict societies and reinforces the need for further quantitative and qualitative research in the study of genocide and religion.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY **i**

TABLE OF CONTENTS **xiii**

LIST OF TABLES **xix**

LIST OF FIGURES **xxi**

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS **xxv**

1. INTRODUCTION **1**

Need for the Study **1**

Research Aim and Objectives **1**

Theoretical Framework and Key Themes **3**

Religions in Rwanda in the Context of the Genocide **5**
Historical Overview 6
Individual Acts of Rescue During the Genocide 10
Religious Organizations in Post-Genocide Rwanda 11

Jehovah's Witnesses **12**
Jehovah's Witnesses' Resistance During the Holocaust 12
Organizational Background of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda 15
Jehovah's Witnesses' Organization and Activity in Contemporary Rwanda 17

Inception of a Nationwide Quantitative Study **20**

Conclusion **22**

References **23**

2. METHODOLOGY **37**

Research Objectives **37**

Survey Design **38**

Data Collection **41**
Eligibility Criteria 41
Survey Provisions 42
Recruitment 44
Survey Period 44
Submissions 44
Response Rate 44
Completion Time 45

Data Cleaning **45**

Sample **46**

Data Analysis **47**

Ethics and Bias Mitigation **49**

Conclusion **51**

References **52**

3. FAITH **55**

Literature Review **55**
Conversion—Becoming Jehovah's Witnesses 56
Dimensions of Religion 58
Believing—A Cognitive Appeal to Logic 58
Bonding—Close Relationship or Religious Ritual 59
Behaving—Adhering to Principles During Persecution 61
Belonging—Commitment and Identity 62
Intrinsic and Extrinsic Religiosity 65

Results **66**
Conversion—Becoming Jehovah's Witnesses 66
Religious Upbringing—Parents' Religion 66
Growth Over Time—Generations of Jehovah's Witnesses 68
Preparatory Study and Age at Baptism 72
Dimensions of Religion: Being Jehovah's Witnesses 74
Attraction to Jehovah's Witnesses: Original and Current 74
Believing: Doctrinal Teachings 82
Behaving: Persecution During Government Ban 84
Religious Identity and Commitment 88
Religious Orientation: Intrinsic and Extrinsic Religiosity 91

Conclusion **93**

References **96**

4. FORGIVENESS AND PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOR **105**

Literature Review **105**
Interpersonal, Divine, and Self-Forgiveness 105
Forgiveness and Religion 106
Interpersonal Forgiveness 107
Divine Forgiveness 109
Self-Forgiveness 110
Correlations Between Types of Forgiveness 112
Prosocial Behaviors 112
Compassionate Love 113
Changes in Interpersonal and Conflict Relationships 113
Community Resilience/Support and Helping Behavior 114

Results **115**

Forgiveness 116
Trait Forgiveness 116
Divine Forgiveness 119
Self-Forgiveness 122
Prosocial Behaviors 127
Compassionate Love for Humanity 127
Community Resilience and Support 131
Helping Behaviors—Giving and Receiving 134
Changes in Interpersonal and Conflict Relationships 135
Relationship of Forgiveness and Prosocial Variables 138

Conclusion 138

References 142

5. GENOCIDE AND TRAUMA 153

Literature Review 154
Genocide and Religion 156
Geography, Duration of Genocide, and Impact on Household Composition 157
Ambiguities of Genocide Role-Situations 158
Helpers and Rescuers During Genocide 159
Roots of Helping and Prosocial Behavior 161
Gender, Children, and Helping 164
Helping During the Genocide Against the Tutsi 165
Jehovah's Witnesses' Historical Pattern of Nonviolence and Social Cohesion 169

Results 173
Demographic Overview 176
Location of Genocide Generation During the Genocide 177
Duration of Danger 180
Duration of Danger by Gender 181
Duration of Danger by Province 182
Those Who Lived Outside Rwanda for a Time 183
Effect of Genocide on Household Composition 184
Household Size Before and After the Genocide Against the Tutsi 185
Household Size One Month Before and After the Genocide for Those Targeted and Not Targeted 186
Types of Households, One Month Before and After the Genocide Against the Tutsi 187
Gender Differences in Household Types, One Month Before and After the Genocide Against the Tutsi 189
Household Types, One Month Before and After the Genocide Against the Tutsi for Those Targeted and Not Targeted 191
Traumatic Events During the Period of the Genocide Against the Tutsi 192
Traumatic Events Experienced by the Genocide Generation 192
Traumatic Events During the Genocide Against the Tutsi by Gender 194
Traumatic Events of Those In and Outside Rwanda 195

Traumatic Events Reported by Those in Rwanda About Personal Experiences and Those Born After 1994 About Family's Experiences 196
Role-Situations During the Genocide Against the Tutsi 198
Role-Situations of Adults in the Genocide Generation 200
Role-Situations as Identified by Adults and by Minors About Family Members During the Genocide 202
Multiple Role-Situations During the Genocide Against the Tutsi 204
Children's Roles During the Genocide Against the Tutsi 205
Help Received by Those Targeted—Jehovah's Witnesses and Non-JWs 207
Types of Help Those Targeted Received 208
Effect of Danger on Types of Help Targeted Received 210
Number of Helpers for Those Targeted 212
Relationship of Targeted to Their Helpers 213
Religion of Those Who Helped the Targeted 215
Communication Between Those Targeted and Their Helpers 217
Jehovah's Witnesses—Nonviolence and Political Neutrality During the Ban and Genocide 218
Jehovah's Witnesses Under Ban 220
Jehovah's Witnesses During the Genocide Against the Tutsi 227
Observers of Jehovah's Witnesses' Nonviolent Position 227
Reactions to Jehovah's Witnesses' Prosocial and Nonviolent Position 229

Conclusion 230

References 232

6. SUBJECTIVE SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WELLBEING 255

Literature Review 255
Chronosystem, Influence of Time, and the Future Self 258
Macrosystem, Cultural-Historical Events, and the Past Self 261
Exosystem, Community Programs, and the Narrative Identity 263
Mesosystem, Religion, and the Collective Self 268
Microsystem and Family Identity 271

Results 274
Overview of Analysis and Subgroups 274
Generation Groups Related to Genocide 274
Genocide Role-Situations 276
Communication About Genocide Across Generations 277
View of Young People Learning About the History of the Genocide 278
Comfortable Talking to Others About Traumatic Events 280
Talking About Personal or Family Genocide Experiences 284
View of Conversations About Past Traumas and Genocide Experiences 291
Conversations About Genocide and Trauma—Perspective by Generation and Genocide Role-Situations 299
Family Life 304
Household Composition 305
Family Satisfaction 308

Centrality of Genocide 318
Centrality of Genocide—Frequency Thinking About the Genocide 318
Centrality of Genocide—Effect on Worldview, Self, and Family 321
Temporality and Hope 326
Temporality—Thinking 326
Temporality—Feeling 329
Hope 334
Posttraumatic Stress Symptoms 336
Posttraumatic Growth 342
Subjective Wellbeing Since Becoming Jehovah's Witnesses 345
Scriptures to Cope With Thoughts of Genocide 347

Conclusion **354**
Past Self 354
Centrality of Genocide 354
PTSS 355
Importance of Education About the Genocide 355
Future Self 356
Narrative Identity 357
Family Identity 358
Collective Identity 359

References **360**

7. CONCLUSION **381**
Before, During, and After the Genocide Against the Tutsi 382
Faith—Motivations and Beliefs 386
Forgiveness, Prosocial Behavior, and Social Support 389
Family Life 393
Limitations and Recommendations 396

References **398**

APPENDIX A. Survey Instrument in English **399**

APPENDIX B. Survey Instrument in Kinyarwanda **427**

APPENDIX C. Informed Consent **457**

APPENDIX D. Survey Procedures for Those in Correctional Facilities **459**

APPENDIX E. Provision for Technical Support **467**

APPENDIX F. Congregation Announcements to Recruit Survey Participants **473**

APPENDIX G. Sample Population and 2022 Census Comparison **479**

ABOUT THE ACADEMIC ADVISORY COMMITTEE **481**

ABOUT THE PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATORS **483**

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1 *Main Variables by Theme and Research Objective* 40
Table 2.2 *Demographic Variables for Group Comparisons* 49
Table 3.1 *Religion of Father and Mother at Time of Respondent's Birth* 67
Table 3.2 *Jehovah's Witnesses With JW Family Members* 71
Table 3.3 *Age at Baptism* 73
Table 3.4 *Age at Baptism for Those With JW and Non-JW Parents at Birth* 74
Table 3.5 *Politically Neutral Acts of Jehovah's Witnesses by Gender, 1982–1992* 86
Table 3.6 *Politically Neutral Acts of JW Adults and Minors, 1982–1992* 87
Table 4.1 *Trait Forgivingness Scale by Demographic Groups* 119
Table 4.2 *Divine Forgiveness Scale by Demographic Groups* 122
Table 4.3 *Self-Forgiveness Dual-Process Scale, Factor Analysis* 124
Table 4.4 *Self-Forgiveness Dual-Process Scale by Demographic Groups* 126
Table 4.5 *Compassionate Love for Humanity by Demographic Groups* 129
Table 4.6 *Community Resilience and Support Scale, Factor Analysis* 132
Table 4.7 *Community Resilience and Support by Demographic Groups* 134
Table 4.8 *Relationship Changes, Interpersonal and Conflict Changes by Demographic Groups* 137
Table 4.9 *Correlation Matrix of Forgiveness and Prosocial Variables* 138
Table 5.1 *Generational Breakdown by Gender and Age* 177
Table 5.2 *Residence of Genocide Generation by District at Time of the 1994 Genocide Against the Tutsi and Any Change at the Time of the 2023 Survey* 179
Table 5.3 *Matrix of Multiple Role-Situations During the Genocide Against the Tutsi* 205
Table 5.4 *Targeted and Not Targeted During the Genocide Against the Tutsi, Jehovah's Witnesses and Non-JWs* 207
Table 5.5 *Types of Help Received During the Genocide – Targeted Jehovah's Witnesses and Non-JWs* 208
Table 5.6 *Number of Helpers Reported by Targeted Jehovah's Witnesses and Non-JWs* 213
Table 5.7 *Relationship of Targeted Jehovah's Witnesses and Non-JWs to Helpers During the 1994 Genocide* 215
Table 5.8 *Religion of Helpers for Targeted Jehovah's Witnesses and Non-JWs* 216
Table 6.1 *Generation Groups Based on Genocide Experience* 275
Table 6.2 *Distinct Subgroups of Self or Family Genocide Role-Situations as Identified by Genocide Generation Adults, Genocide Generation Minors, and Post-Genocide Generation* 277
Table 6.3 *Attitude About Young People Learning About the History of the Genocide Against the Tutsi by Gender, Generation, and Genocide Role-Situation* 280
Table 6.4 *Comfortable Talking About Traumatic Events by Gender, Generation, and Role-Situation* 283
Table 6.5 *Dialogue About Personal or Family Genocide Experiences by Generational Genocide Role-Situations* 288
Table 6.6 *Cognitive and Emotional Associations With Conversations About Trauma and Genocide by Gender and Generation* 296
Table 6.7 *Cognitive and Emotional Associations With Trauma or Genocide Conversations by Years as Baptized Jehovah's Witnesses* 298
Table 6.8 *Cognitive and Emotional Associations With Trauma or Genocide Conversations by Genocide Role-Situations and Generation* 300

Table 6.9 *"Painful to Hear About Family Genocide Experiences" Mean Scores by Distinct Role-Situation and Generation* 304
Table 6.10 *Family Satisfaction and Demographic Factors* 311
Table 6.11 *Family Satisfaction by Household Characteristics* 313
Table 6.12 *Family Satisfaction and Religious Factors* 315
Table 6.13 *Family Satisfaction by Generation and Distinct Role-Situations* 317
Table 6.14 *Frequency Thinking About the Genocide by Subgroups* 320
Table 6.15 *Centrality of Genocide by Gender* 323
Table 6.16 *Temporality, Frequency Thinking About Different Periods of Life by Subgroups* 327
Table 6.17 *Temporality, Feelings About Different Periods of Life by Subgroups* 331
Table 6.18 *Hope by Group Comparisons* 335
Table 6.19 *Posttraumatic Stress Symptoms, Group Comparisons* 338
Table 6.20 *Posttraumatic Growth, Group Comparisons* 344
Table 6.21 *Change in Subjective Wellbeing, Group Comparisons* 347

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 3.1 *Parents' Religious Affiliation at Time of Respondents' Birth* 68
Figure 3.2 *Number of Baptisms per Year, With JW and Non-JW Parents at Time of Respondents' Birth* 70
Figure 3.3 *Length of Time Studying With Jehovah's Witnesses Before Baptism* 72
Figure 3.4 *Original and Current Attractions to Jehovah's Witnesses* 76
Figure 3.5 *Current Attraction to Jehovah's Witnesses by Age Group* 77
Figure 3.6 *Family as Main Attraction to Jehovah's Witnesses by Age Group* 78
Figure 3.7 *Original and Current Attraction to Position of Nonviolence by Age Group* 79
Figure 3.8 *Original and Current Attractions to Jehovah's Witnesses for Early Young Adults* 81
Figure 3.9 *Original and Current Attractions to Jehovah's Witnesses by Gender* 82
Figure 3.10 *Extent of Agreement With Jehovah's Witnesses' Doctrinal Teachings* 84
Figure 3.11 *Religious Persecution Jehovah's Witnesses Experienced During Legal Ban, 1982–1992* 88
Figure 3.12 *Self-Identification With Jehovah's Witnesses* 89
Figure 3.13 *Length of Interrupted Association* 90
Figure 3.14 *Religious Orientation: Intrinsic, Extrinsic-Personal, and Extrinsic-Social* 92
Figure 4.1 *Trait Forgivingness Scale, Percentages of Responses by Item* 117
Figure 4.2 *Divine Forgiveness Scale, Percentages of Responses by Item* 121
Figure 4.3 *Self-Forgiveness Dual-Process Scale, Percentages of Responses by Item* 125
Figure 4.4 *Compassionate Love Scale for Humanity, Percentages of Responses by Item* 128
Figure 4.5 *Compassionate Love for Humanity, Age Group Differences in the Mean of Total Score* 130
Figure 4.6 *Compassionate Love for Humanity by Genocide-Related Groups* 131
Figure 4.7 *Community Resilience and Support Scale, Percentages of Responses by Item* 133
Figure 4.8 *Giving and Receiving Help Among Jehovah's Witnesses* 135
Figure 4.9 *Perceived Change in Relationships Since Becoming Jehovah's Witnesses* 136
Figure 5.1 *Sample Population by Main Demographic Groups* 176
Figure 5.2 *Residence by Province During the Genocide Against the Tutsi* 178
Figure 5.3 *Duration of Danger, Breakdown by Time Intervals, Genocide Generation Adults* 181
Figure 5.4 *Duration of Danger by Gender, Genocide Generation Adults* 182
Figure 5.5 *Duration of Danger by Province, Genocide Generation Adults* 183
Figure 5.6 *Those Who Lived Outside Rwanda for a Time, Years Left and Returned* 184
Figure 5.7 *Number in Genocide Generation Households One Month Before and After the 1994 Genocide* 186
Figure 5.8 *Change in Household Size Between One Month Before and After the Genocide for Those Targeted and Not Targeted* 187
Figure 5.9 *Household Types, One Month Before and After the Genocide – Genocide Generation Adults* 189
Figure 5.10 *Household Types, One Month Before and After the Genocide – Males* 190
Figure 5.11 *Household Types, One Month Before and After the Genocide – Females* 191
Figure 5.12 *Change in Household Types, One Month Before and After the Genocide for Those Targeted and Not Targeted* 192
Figure 5.13 *Traumatic Events the Genocide Generation Experienced During the Genocide Against the Tutsi* 193
Figure 5.14 *Traumatic Events During the Genocide Against the Tutsi—Gender Differences* 195
Figure 5.15 *Traumatic Events During the Genocide Reported by Those In and Outside Rwanda* 196

Figure 5.16 *Traumatic Events During the Period of the Genocide Reported by Those in Rwanda During the Genocide About Personal Experiences and Those Born After 1994 About Family's Experiences* 198
Figure 5.17 *Role-Situations of Adults in Genocide Generation, Total and by Gender* 202
Figure 5.18 *Role-Situations During the Genocide as Reported by Adults and by Minors About Family Members* 204
Figure 5.19 *Children's Role During the Genocide as Recalled by Parents and Children* 206
Figure 5.20 *Types of Help Received During the Genocide – Targeted Jehovah's Witnesses and Non-JWs* 210
Figure 5.21 *Change in Helping Those Targeted in Danger One Month or More* 212
Figure 5.22 *1987 Letter From Burgomaster of Cyabingo Commune About Jehovah's Witnesses* 221
Figure 5.23 *1989 Communication From Ruhashya Commune Development Council About Jehovah's Witnesses* 223
Figure 5.24 *1989 Letter From Burgomaster of Ngoma Urban Commune About Jehovah's Witnesses* 224
Figure 6.1 *Theoretical and Thematic Framework* 256
Figure 6.2 *Attitude About Young People Learning About the History of the Genocide Against the Tutsi* 278
Figure 6.3 *Comfortable Talking to Others About Traumatic Events* 281
Figure 6.4 *Dialogue About Genocide, Total Sample and by Gender* 285
Figure 6.5 *Dialogue About Personal or Family Genocide Experiences by Generation Cohort* 287
Figure 6.6 *Dialogue With No One About Personal or Family Genocide Experiences by Generation* 290
Figure 6.7 *Dialogue With No One About Personal or Family Genocide Experiences by Genocide Role-Situations and Generation* 291
Figure 6.8 *View of Intergenerational Conversations About Past Traumas and Genocide* 294
Figure 6.9 *Cognitive and Emotional Associations With Conversations About Past Traumas and Genocide by Age Group* 297
Figure 6.10 *"Painful to Hear About Family Genocide Experiences" by Distinct Role-Situations Across Generations* 302
Figure 6.11 *Household Type for the Total Sample and by Gender* 306
Figure 6.12 *Household Type by Generation* 307
Figure 6.13 *Household Size by Generation* 308
Figure 6.14 *Frequency Thinking About the Genocide, Total Sample* 319
Figure 6.15 *Frequency Thinking About the Genocide by Role-Situation for Genocide Generation Adults* 321
Figure 6.16 *Centrality of Genocide, Percentages for Total Sample* 322
Figure 6.17 *Centrality of Genocide by Generations* 325
Figure 6.18 *Temporality, Frequency Thinking About Different Periods of Life, Total Sample* 327
Figure 6.19 *Thinking About Different Periods of Life by Gender and Age Group* 329
Figure 6.20 *Temporality, Feeling About Different Periods of Life, Total Sample* 330
Figure 6.21 *Temporality, Feelings About Different Time Periods, Total Sample and Genocide Generation Adults, Role-Situations* 333
Figure 6.22 *Posttraumatic Stress Symptoms by Gender, Age Group, and Genocide Generation Targeted and Not Targeted* 340
Figure 6.23 *Posttraumatic Stress Symptoms by Distinct Role-Situation* 341
Figure 6.24 *Posttraumatic Growth Subscale Mean Scores* 343
Figure 6.25 *Perceived Change in Subjective Wellbeing Since Becoming One of Jehovah's Witnesses* 346
Figure 6.26 *Scriptures to Cope With Thoughts of Genocide* 349

Figure 6.27 *Scripture to Cope With Thoughts of Genocide, Return No Evil; Vengeance Belongs to God* 350
Figure 6.28 *Scripture to Cope With Thoughts of Genocide, Death and Pain No More* 352
Figure 6.29 *Scripture to Cope With Thoughts of Genocide, Wicked Will Be No More* 353

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANOVA	Analysis of Variance
CLS-H	Compassionate Love Scale for Humanity
CRSS	Community Resilience and Support Scale
DFS	Divine Forgiveness Scale
DSM-IV	Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fourth Edition
DSM-V	Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fifth Edition
DNK	Do not know
EST	Ecological Systems Theory
FISI	Four-Item Social Identification
HHI	Herth Hope Index
ICD-11	International Classification of Diseases, Eleventh Revision
JW	Jehovah's Witness
JWs	Jehovah's Witnesses
JW-RWA	*Jehovah's Witnesses During and After the Genocide Against the Tutsi in Rwanda: Psychosocial Factors Related to Faith, Forgiveness, and Family*
KMO	Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin
M	Mean
MINUBUMWE	Ministry of National Unity and Civic Engagement
MRND	Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
NOA	None of the above

ns	Not (statistically) significant
PNA	Prefer not to answer
PTG	Posttraumatic growth
PTSD	Posttraumatic stress disorder
PTSS	Posttraumatic stress symptoms
RCS	Rwanda Correctional Service
RNEC	Rwanda National Ethics Committee
RTLM	Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines
SCID-I	Structured Clinical Interview for DSM-IV Axis I Disorders
SD	Standard deviation
SDR	Socially Desirable Responses
SFDPS	Self-Forgiveness Dual-Process Scale
T-CRS	Transcultural Community Resilience Scale

1. INTRODUCTION

This report presents findings from the quantitative study *Jehovah's Witnesses During and After the Genocide Against the Tutsi in Rwanda: Psychosocial Factors Related to Faith, Forgiveness, and Family* (JW-RWA). The cross-sectional study is based on data collected in the spring of 2023 from a nationwide online survey, with a sample of 13,590 Jehovah's Witnesses across all 30 districts in Rwanda.

Need for the Study

The JW-RWA study was needed in order to

- conduct research in line with the official call to religious communities in Rwanda to document their Genocide-era histories (National Dialogue Council, 2015),
- document in a scientific study the historical experience and contemporary characteristics of the Jehovah's Witness community, and
- fill a gap in academic literature about Jehovah's Witnesses and contribute to scholarship about post-conflict societies.

Research Aim and Objectives

The aim of this quantitative, cross-sectional study was to examine aspects of the religious community of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda. With the historical context of the Genocide against the Tutsi, the nationwide online survey, administered in the spring of 2023, investigated variables related to demographic, religious, psychosocial, and experiential characteristics of Jehovah's Witnesses across generations. The large data set allowed statistical comparisons of independent

variables such as gender, age, generational cohort, and Genocide situations.[1] Religious, prosocial, Genocide-related, and psychosocial factors are incorporated in the following four main research objectives:

Objective 1. Identify demographic and religious characteristics of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda: growth of Jehovah's Witnesses before and after the Genocide against the Tutsi; their religious beliefs, motivations, orientation, and identity; and experiences during the government ban on the religion prior to the Genocide.

Objective 2. Examine forgiveness and prosocial characteristics of the faith community: three types of forgiveness (of others, of self, and by God), other prosocial attributes (compassionate love, community support, and helping behaviors), and perceived changes in social relationships.

Objective 3. Investigate gender, generational, and other group differences in Genocide situations and trauma events experienced by those who were Jehovah's Witnesses at the time of the Genocide and those who adopted the faith after the Genocide with respect to the following: duration of danger during the Genocide, changes in household composition before and after the Genocide, Genocide role-situations, trauma events, and helping behaviors during the Genocide against the Tutsi.

Objective 4. Investigate factors related to subjective social and psychological wellbeing of those in the faith community, including family satisfaction, attitudes and intergenerational communication about Genocide and traumatic events, posttraumatic stress symptoms, posttraumatic growth, centrality of Genocide, and temporal orientation, hope, and scriptures to cope.

[1] This study uses the full name "Genocide against the Tutsi," but for brevity and variation, it will sometimes refer to "the 1994 Genocide." At times, "Genocide" (with a capital "G") is used to refer to the Genocide against the Tutsi, as compared with the general term "genocide" (with a lowercase "g").

Following the Introduction and Methodology in Sections 1 and 2, the research results for the four main objectives are reported in separate sections: Section 3, Faith; Section 4, Forgiveness and Prosocial Behavior; Section 5, Genocide and Trauma; and Section 6, Subjective Social and Psychological Wellbeing. Each section includes a review of relevant empirical and theoretical literature, a description of variables and measures under investigation, and the key findings.

Theoretical Framework and Key Themes

The research builds on the ecological systems model of the interactive influences of microsystems (e.g., family and religious groups) with macrosystems (e.g., time, history, and culture) on individual development and behavior (Bronfenbrenner, 2005; Cairns & Cairns, 1995; Walsh, 2016). This theoretical framework provides the rationale that connects the four main research objectives. The investigation of interrelated systems draws attention to the broad topics of faith, forgiveness, and family, and their respective roles in the building, maintenance, and repair of social bonds. Faith reflects the common religious affiliation of the study participants, but also its role in the development of personal and group identity and the lens through which individuals' experiences have been lived, perceived, and processed (Greenfield & Marks, 2007). Forgiveness has deep connections to religious values but is also seen as integral to the advancement of healing and reconciliation (Pargament & Rye, 1998). Family, as a primary site of social connection, plays a crucial role in the transmission of Genocide narratives and memories to future generations (Bonumwezi et al., 2024).

Faith, as used in this study, is a shared, communal pattern of religious beliefs about meaning, purpose, character, virtue, and morality that affects identity, behavior, and relationships (VanderWeele, 2017). It is a collective experience within communities of faith through which social and emotional support is given to fellow congregants (Krause & Hayward, 2013). Thus,

throughout the study, but particularly in Section 3, the attitudes, beliefs, and practices in the context of faith and the faith community are described. Such background is crucial to understanding the findings in Sections 3 and 5 related to the religiously based position of nonviolence and political neutrality of Jehovah's Witnesses before and during the Genocide against the Tutsi.

Forgiveness is featured in this study because (a) it is essential to individual and collective healing in post-genocide societies (Staub et al., 2005) and (b) it is a prosocial motivational phenomenon (McCullough et al., 1997) that promotes other prosocial cognitions, feelings, and behaviors (Karremans et al., 2005), such as love, compassion, and empathy (Worthington & Wade, 1999). Section 4 of this report examines three types of forgiveness: dispositional (trait) forgiveness—the tendency to forgive transgressions that is stable "over time and across situations" (Berry et al., 2005, p. 183); self-forgiveness—"a moral repair strategy" that involves a "reorientation toward positive values" and "restoration of personal esteem" (Griffin et al., 2018, p. 716); and divine forgiveness—the "perceived absolution for a transgression or sin from a Supreme Being" (Fincham, 2022, p. 455). In the post-Genocide context, these types of forgiveness and their related prosocial factors are important to understanding individual and collective recovery.

Family is an integral part of human development, faith communities, and post-Genocide national recovery. The study of families requires both objective and subjective definitions (Amato, 2014). Objective definitions focus on family structure, often operationalized in demographic terms of configurations of household units composed of persons who are often, but not always, related by birth, marriage, or adoption (National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda, 2023; Sharma, 2013). The terms "household" and "family" are sometimes used interchangeably; however, unlike

"household," what constitutes a "family" involves emotional and functional characteristics that are individually and culturally defined (Noone, 2015; Olson et al., 1983). Family research on dyadic relationships (e.g., husband-wife, mother-child) can be clearly defined; however, when "family" as a composite is the unit of analysis, researchers must allow for fragmented and overlapping networks (e.g., stepfamilies, blended families, kinship families, foster families, multigenerational families, extended families, informal and formal families), which are individually conceived (Amato, 2014). As in the case of this study, survey research cannot explore the intricacies of family dynamics, but it can contribute to the academic literature by including measures of both objectively defined "household" and subjectively defined "family." Section 5 examines household types and sizes 1 month before and 1 month after the Genocide, along with the role of children during the Genocide, as recalled by children and by parents. Section 6 examines intergenerational communication and family satisfaction based on demographic, religious, and Genocide-related factors.

Religions in Rwanda in the Context of the Genocide

Genocide represents a rupture of the most fundamental ties of family, religion, community, and moral responsibility. The consequences of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi thus affect individuals and their families in Rwanda, whether because of personal experiences or the experiences of loved ones. In the aftermath of genocide, faith communities can contribute to the process of national recovery by providing a belief system and social network that encourage forgiveness and related prosocial attitudes and promote emotional and relational healing. Such foundational principles also promote respect and communication within families, which serve as stabilizing influences for both older and younger generations that carry the deep scars of mass violence. Analyzing how and the extent to which Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda have processed

their personal and family Genocide experiences individually and in discourse within familial and religious circles provides insight into prospects for healing wounds, cultivating forgiveness, strengthening resilience, and promoting lasting reconciliation.

Historical Overview

A brief overview of the general religious landscape helps to contextualize the historical development and organization of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda. Prominent across Rwanda's landscape are its large cathedrals and church compounds that attest to the description of Rwanda as "the most Christianized country in Africa" (Katongole & Wilson-Hartgrove, 2009, p. 19). At the start of 1994, the religious composition of Rwanda was approximately 90% Christian, with 62% Catholic, 18% Protestant, 8% Seventh-day Adventist, and 1% Muslim (Bazuin, 2013; Haworth, 2018).

In this religious environment, Rwandans of all faiths have long been familiar with Jesus' teachings to "love your neighbor as yourself" and "do unto others as you would have them do unto you." However, religious affiliation did not in itself prevent widespread participation in mass murder. Reportedly, more Genocide victims were murdered on church grounds, normally places of sanctuary, than any other location (African Rights, 1995; Longman, 2010). As Benda (2012) expressed it, Rwandan churchgoers faced a choice between retaining their religious "allegiance and identity" or surrendering it "to an authority other than God" (pp. 159–160). Put another way, whether religion makes the world more peaceful and loving depends much "on what Churches actually teach and on what Christians really do" (Roth, 2004, p. 210).

From the standpoint of scholarly research, 'what Churches taught' and 'what Christians did' has yet to be thoroughly explored. Despite the long history of the involvement of major religions in nation-state struggles, social scientists generally focus on political, geographic, ethnic,

and economic factors more than scrutinizing the role of religion in wars and genocides (Appleby, 2000; Longman, 2010; Simonsson, 2019). As political scientist Jonathan Fox (2018) explained, academic discourse about religious interpretations is generally left for theologians to debate; however, an important question is "whether these interpretations are used in the political arena and are successful at influencing political behavior" (p. 61). Aside from matters of religious interpretation, sociologists and psychologists inquire "under what specific circumstances are people likely to engage in various forms of violence, and how might religion contribute to those circumstances" (Powers, 2021, p. 4), a highly relevant question in the Rwandan context (Karegeye, 2015; Simonsson, 2019).

With the human potential for both extreme evil and altruistic goodness, researchers seek to understand what moves people to align with prosocial values or to take a socially destructive path (cf. Bangwanubusa, 2009; Staub, 2003, 2015; Waller, 2007). Historically, ideologues of mass violence have often co-opted or manipulated religious symbols and language as a means to marshal popular support for political and social causes (Juergensmeyer, 2017; Simonsson, 2019, 2021). Appleby (2000) noted that "the ambivalence of the sacred," such as ambiguity about the express will of God, has enabled the use of religious concepts to legitimize or sanction violence (cf. Girard, 1972/1977; Juergensmeyer, 2017; Karegeye, 2015; Simonsson, 2019, 2021).

The role of church leadership in fostering ethnic division and tension in Rwanda has been the subject of scholarly study and reflection, both during the colonial and postcolonial periods (e.g., African Rights, 1995; Burnet, 2015; Carney, 2013; Court, 2016, 2019; Denis, 2022; Des Forges, 1999; Doughty & Ntambara, 2005; Gatwa, 2005; Karegeye, 2011, 2015; Katongole & Wilson-Hartgrove, 2009; Longman, 2010; Rittner et al., 2004). The churches' symbiotic relationship with State was visible, for instance, in the power structures of the Mouvement Révolutionnaire National

pour le Développement (MRND), the sole political party under President Juvénal Habyarimana. Roman Catholic Bishop Vincent Nsengiyumva sat on the MRND's Central Committee, and Michel Twagirayesu, who would later preside over the Presbyterian Church of Rwanda, served on the Kibuye Prefecture party committee (Gatwa, 2005).

Religious symbolism infused State-sponsored propaganda, an integral part of a "long-term strategy of dehumanization of the Tutsi population" (Moore, 2020, p. 4). Studies have noted the use of religious language in the increasingly virulent rhetoric in speeches and radio broadcasts, as themes of repression and expulsion escalated to the ultimate goal of extermination (Simonsson, 2019; Temoney, 2016). In 1994, broadcasts on Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM) summoned killers and informed them where to perform their "work." The radio station was especially popular with the Interahamwe, civilian militias that perpetrated mass murder together with the army (Li, 2004).

Because of the institutional churches' intimate relationship with State power, the instrumentalization of religion in political speech brought no rebukes or protests from religious authorities. While Carney (2014) cautions against placing wholesale blame on the Catholic Church for the 1994 Genocide, he acknowledges "the general failure of church leaders to maintain distance from state leaders" (Carney 2014, p. 203). Theologian Christine Schliesser (2018) isolated several factors that influenced the positions various religious communities took toward the 1994 Genocide, including their view of ethnic policies, their relationship with the State, and their relative emphasis on obedience to civil authority versus religiously derived prosocial teachings. Mamdani (2001) goes further, asserting that there would have been no genocide without "the two prime movers,"—army and Church. Thus, he concludes that "the church was a direct participant in the genocide" (pp. 223, 226).

Notions of morally inferior "alien" races—especially if framed in religious language—have been potent tools in rationalizing slavery, colonization, and genocide (cf. Eltringham, 2006; Gatwa, 2005; Karegeye, 2011; Mamdani, 2001; Simonsson, 2019). One example in Rwanda is the promotion of the pseudo-scientific Hamitic hypothesis, which civil and religious authorities cooperated in drawing on in codifying ethnic discrimination in official practice (de Lespinay, 2001; Eltringham, 2006; Gatwa, 2005; Jessee, 2017; Mamdani, 2001; Taylor, 2001).[2] Regarding obedience to civil authority in Rwanda, the close collaboration of mainstream churches and government officials continued into the postcolonial era. Before the Genocide, wrote Anglican priest Roger Bowen (2004), churches in Rwanda encouraged unquestioning submission to State authorities—they "failed to teach Christians that situations can be so dire that 'we must obey God rather than man' (Acts 5:29)" (p. 44; cf. African Rights, 1995; Denis, 2022; Des Forges, 1999; Longman, 2001; Simonsson, 2021; Taylor, 2001).

Beyond religious institutions, exploring religious responses to the Genocide also involves the religious motivations of individual adherents. Sociologists categorize religious orientations as "intrinsic" and/or "extrinsic." Intrinsic religious orientation tends to view faith as a core value and motivator to make life decisions in accord with one's belief system. By contrast, an extrinsic religious orientation tends toward the view that religion is mainly a means to gain personal, social, or economic benefits (cf. Bazuin, 2013; Gorsuch, 1994). During the Genocide, decisions and actions departed drastically from prosocial religious values, as Ndahiro (2004) noted: "It is an unfortunate fact that most of those involved in organising the whole process leading to the genocide were people who were baptised Christians" (p. 229). As for participation among the general population, Locke (2004) further comments: "If one asks . . . what might the Churches

[2] In 1977, Jehovah's Witnesses published an article on the fallacy of the Hamitic hypothesis in their periodical *Awake!* (1977).

have done in Rwanda to stem the slaughter, the question requires a recognition that Christianity, at best, appears to have been a thin veneer of religiosity over basic and deep-seated cultural, economic, and political realities" (p. 262).

To better understand the influence of religious beliefs during the Genocide, journalists and scholars have given attention to the position of Muslims as a minority non-Christian group (e.g., Benda, 2012). Noting that no mosques were used as killing sites, some journalists have suggested this as a factor in a possible post-Genocide influx of Rwandans converting to Islam as an alternative to Christian churches (e.g., Lacey, 2004). However, based on census and poll data, researchers found only a small percentage of two-way religious switching between Muslims and Christians with no net gain (Bazuin, 2013; Longman, 2018; Pew Research Center, 2010).

Selfless acts of individual Muslims have been well documented, as well as collaboration within Muslim settlements to protect those targeted (e.g., Burnet, 2023; Doughty & Ntatambara, 2005). Extant research indicates no group consensus within the religious community before or during the Genocide. While some Muslims actively encouraged others not to be involved in political ideologies that contradicted the Qur'an, others spread extremist propaganda and organized genocide in support of the ruling party (Africa Rights, 1995; Bazuin, 2013; Burnet, 2023; Doughty & Ntatambara, 2005; Longman, 2010, 2018). Evidence of a community-wide stand by the religious group against the Genocide is so far lacking.

Individual Acts of Rescue During the Genocide

As an indicator of the diversity of situations and complexity of roles during the Genocide, a growing number of qualitative studies and oral histories report numerous cases of individuals from different religions who courageously defied orders from government-backed *génocidaires*, risking their own lives to help those targeted to be killed (e.g., Benda, 2012; Burnet, 2012; Conway,

2011; Court, 2019; Denis, 2022; Fox et al., 2021; Nyseth Brehm et al., 2021). Accounts of altruistic behaviors often describe individuals who are motivated by empathy and moral principles, but not typically in the context of being part of a collective group who share beliefs that move them to act in a similar principled manner. Just as the wrongdoings of a few cannot be blamed on religious organizations as a whole, neither can religious organizations take credit for individual members who were the exception in taking a moral stand. Nevertheless, empirical research optimistically and convincingly shows that religious identity can embrace a moral identity with the compassion, motivation, and clarity to practice impartial, nonviolent, altruistic behaviors (Oliner & Oliner, 1988; Staub, 2003).

Religious Organizations in Post-Genocide Rwanda

Understandably, following the Genocide, some Rwandans withdrew from former church affiliations in favor of institutions without colonial or genocidal histories (Bazuin, 2013; Kubai, 2007; Longman, 2018). The early years after the Genocide saw an "explosion" of newly established churches (e.g., Evangelicals and Pentecostals) that were not present in Rwanda prior to the Genocide, having been introduced by returnees from neighboring countries (Kubai, 2007; van 't Spijker, 2006). The changing religious landscape was evident by the percentages of those who reportedly switched religions from the faith of their parents. By around 2010, the percent of Catholics declined 12% (the difference between 54% current Catholics and 66% raised Catholic), while the percent of Protestants increased 12% (the difference between 38% current Protestants and 26% raised Protestant) (Bazuin, 2013; Pew Research Center, 2010). The 2022 census revealed a similar shift in religious affiliation post-Genocide, notably a decrease in Catholics and an increase in Pentecostals: 39.9% Catholic, 21.3% Pentecostal, 14.6% Protestant, 12.2% Seventh-day Adventist, 2.0% Muslim (National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda, 2023).

Religious organizations in Rwanda have found it necessary to rebuild social ties since the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi (Banyanga & Björkqvist, 2017; Miller et al., 2020). In the aftermath of the Genocide when religious institutions faced condemnation, majority Christian churches sought to regain status as moral agents by sponsoring programs with New Testament themes such as confession, forgiveness, and reconciliation (Kubai, 2016; Schliesser, 2018), thus diverting attention away from claims of complicity in the Genocide (Court, 2019).

Jehovah's Witnesses

One Christian religion in Rwanda—Jehovah's Witnesses—is largely missing in the academic literature on the position of religions during the Genocide against the Tutsi (Chu, 2015; cf. Stark & Iannaccone, 1997).[3] Except for survivor testimony and anecdotal observations within the Witness community (e.g., Seminega, 2019), scholarly documentation of their situation before, during, and after the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi is almost nonexistent (Chu, 2019; Chu & Seminega, 2022).

Jehovah's Witnesses' Resistance During the Holocaust

Jehovah's Witnesses' ethic of nonviolence and position of political neutrality are based on their beliefs, such as the sanctity of life, the impartiality of God toward racial and ethnic groups, and their obligation to obey the law unless it requires disobedience to God. Their beliefs were severely tested during the 12 years of Nazi rule, during which racial politics began with discrimination and culminated in genocide.

[3] For a general overview of the beliefs and practices of Jehovah's Witnesses, see Chu & Peltonen (2024). Researchers often do not identify Jehovah's Witnesses in their samples for practical reasons: (1) Jehovah's Witnesses are a relatively small Christian group (i.e., less than 1% of the Rwandan population). (2) Their distinct beliefs cannot be categorized as either Catholic or Protestant, so they are often added to the "other" category.

Examination of the conduct of Jehovah's Witnesses during the Genocide against the Tutsi, as supported by the present study, warrants a comparison with the Witnesses' behavior during the genocidal Nazi regime. The history of Jehovah's Witnesses' nonviolent resistance to the Nazi regime is a topic for in-depth studies (e.g., Garbe, 1993/2008; Hesse, 2001; King, 1982), though several decades elapsed after World War II before scholars delved into their experience. In part, the eventual increase in academic attention to the Jehovah's Witnesses during the Nazi period was prompted and supported by efforts of Witnesses to "document their own history" (Berenbaum, 2001, p. 11).

In Holocaust-era accounts, Jehovah's Witnesses are "usually singled out for special mention in the categories of non-Jewish or 'other' victims" (Roth, 2001, p. 235) for their politically neutral and nonviolent stance, which resulted in persecution, imprisonment, and death. In his study of the Holocaust, philosophy professor John Roth (2001) wrote:

> The reason why the moral example set by the Jehovah's Witnesses ought to be highlighted is not merely because it is worthy of celebration but also because it presents a crucial challenge. Although that challenge may make us uncomfortable, it can be encouraging in vital ways. To be specific, as a Holocaust scholar who is not a Jehovah's Witness, I have come to understand that the moral example of the Jehovah's Witnesses contains elements that are essential to check the arrogance that led to the Holocaust. Consider the following proposition: If more people practiced versions of what the Jehovah's Witnesses preach and practice, the Holocaust could have been prevented and genocide would scourge the world no more. (p. 236)

Some 60 years before the Genocide against the Tutsi, in 1933, Jehovah's Witnesses in Nazi Germany refused to participate in political or military acts even at the risk of incarceration and death. One religious scientist identified the beliefs that motivated the small religious group:

> Because Jehovah's Witnesses advocate only one government, that of God's Kingdom, some have viewed them as subversive. But nothing could be further from the truth. In imitation of Jesus' apostles, "they are no part of the world" (John 17:16). They are politically neutral. Because of their loyalty to God, they obey the laws of their respective human governments. Indeed, they are exemplary in their "subjection to the superior authorities" (Romans 13:1). . . . There is, however, a line that cannot be crossed under any circumstances. It is the line between the duty of Jehovah's Witnesses to man and their duty to God. They seek to render to Caesar what belongs to Caesar but to God what belongs to God (Matthew 22:21). (Yonan, 1999, p. 319)

Although the political and social contexts of genocide in Rwanda and Nazi-occupied Europe were vastly different, the use of religion to justify genocide was similar (Bergen, 1996; Ericksen & Heschel, 1999; Simonsson, 2019). As the current study confirms, Jehovah's Witnesses in both cases espoused the same nonviolent ethic, which involved extreme risks to their freedom and their lives. (See Section 3 for findings on the core beliefs and degree of agreement of Jehovah's Witnesses. Sections 3 and 5 report on the position of those in the Witness community during the period of government ban.) The historical record and research-based evidence confirm that Witnesses collectively and individually, with rare exception, maintained teachings and practices of nonviolence, political neutrality, and racial and ethnic equality even during pressure of mass violence.

Two reputable sources give indications of the Witnesses' position during the 1994 Genocide. The head of the independent Ethnic Conflict Research Project, Christian Scherrer (2002), suggested that the Witnesses were unique among religious groups: "All the churches active in Rwanda, with the exception of the Jehovah's Witnesses (of whom only a few survived), were involved at least 'passively' in the genocide" (p. 113).

Similarly, the human rights organization, African Rights, documented in exhaustive detail the collusion, cooperation, and capitulation of religious groups in 1994 but reported no such incidences involving Jehovah's Witnesses (African Rights, 1995; see *Reformierte Nachrichten*, 1998, December 8). However, until now the actual circumstances of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda have not been investigated by any systematic empirical study.[4]

Organizational Background of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda

Jehovah's Witnesses are neither a colonially established religion nor a newly established post-Genocide religion in Rwanda. The following historical information is based on the *2012 Yearbook of Jehovah's Witnesses* (Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society of Pennsylvania, 2012).

Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda date back to more than 2 decades before the Genocide. The first evangelizers were a Swahili-speaking couple who came from Tanzania to Kigali in 1970—Oden and Enea Mwaisoba. Then in 1975, a native Rwandan and Kinyarwanda speaker, Gaspard Rwakabubu, with his wife Melanie and their four children, left the Congo for Kigali. It was Rwakabubu who translated the first Kinyarwanda publication of Jehovah's Witnesses, the 32-page booklet *This Good News of the Kingdom* that covered topics about God; Christ Jesus; sin, death, and the Devil; the Kingdom of God; life on earth; and the meaning of Christian dedication.

[4] To our knowledge, only two studies related to the Genocide against the Tutsi include Jehovah's Witnesses, three people in total, all of whom were post-Genocide converts (Bazuin, 2013; Brown, 2018).

In 1976, one of the first Kinyarwanda speakers baptized in Rwanda as one of Jehovah's Witnesses was Justin Rwagatore, who lived in Save.[5]

During the early 1970s, the Catholic, Protestant, and Seventh-day Adventist clergy took little note of the small group; however, during the early 1980s, as the number of those who were resigning from their church increased, the government labeled the small group a danger to the country. Referring to Jehovah's Witnesses, the president of the country declared on national radio that he would not tolerate those who denigrated the "Rwandan faith." Interestingly, the arrests of Jehovah's Witnesses coincided with the appointment of the archbishop of the Catholic Church in Rwanda as chairman of the central committee of the ruling political party.[6]

Government suppression during the 1980s ultimately resulted in about one third of Witnesses—140 out of 435, both men and women—being imprisoned for their religious activities, such as preaching and holding meetings in small groups. For example, a schoolteacher was imprisoned for refusal to make contributions to the army and eventually lost her job and house. During the political instability of the early 1990s, the position of nonviolence and political neutrality of Jehovah's Witnesses drew attention for their refusal to participate in patriotic ceremonies or perform military service. Political neutrality also led to Witnesses' nonconformity with discriminatory social norms that developed in line with the ethnopolitics of the day (Seminega, 2019). As a result, Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda suffered economic loss, separation from families, incarceration, and at times physical violence for holding to the same religious principles

[5] The first Kinyarwanda publication *This Good News of the Kingdom* is accessible at https://wol.jw.org/rw/wol/d/r127/lp-yw/1101965001. For more details about the early history of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda reported in the *2012 Yearbook of Jehovah's Witnesses*, go to https://wol.jw.org/en/wol/d/r1/lp-e/302012004 in English.

[6] With the support of the Rwandan President, Vincent Nsengiyumva was appointed Archbishop of Kigali from 1976 until his death in June 1994 (Simonsson, 2019). Nsengiyumva was chairman of the central committee of the ruling party between 1975 and 1990 (*The Age*, 2004). He was known to wear the Rwandan President's portrait pin during Mass (Des Forges, 1999).

that underpinned Witnesses' later decision to refuse participation in atrocities committed during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.[7] (For more information about Jehovah's Witnesses during the period of government ban between 1982 and 1992, see Sections 3 and 5 of this report.)

The situation improved for the Witnesses in April 1992. With the support of a new and sympathetic Ministry of Justice, the government granted the organization legal recognition in Rwanda, allowing them to freely meet for worship and publicly share their message. By early 1994, there were some 2,500 Witnesses in 45 congregations in Rwanda. Just weeks prior to the outbreak of the Genocide, the Witnesses were planning for regional assemblies and a facility for an enlarged Kinyarwanda translation team (Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society of Pennsylvania, 2012). Although not targeted in the Genocide as a religious group, an estimated 400 Witnesses and their associates (family and Bible students) were killed.[8] Many died because of their presumed ethnicity and others for their nonviolent stance and altruistic actions (Chu, 2019). (Section 5 provides statistics on the Genocide situations of those targeted to be killed—a term in this report applied to Tutsi—who were Jehovah's Witnesses by 1994 and who converted after 1994.)

Jehovah's Witnesses' Organization and Activity in Contemporary Rwanda

The early post-Genocide growth of the Witness community came primarily from first-generation believers who were born to parents affiliated with other religions, but in more recent years, growth included generations who have grown up in Jehovah's Witness households. This combination of external and internal growth over time means that congregations consist of people

[7] Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda have attracted national and international attention for their consistent political neutrality and resultant refusal to participate in political or military activities (e.g., Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, 2009, 2011, 2017; Ntirenganya, 2020; Office of International Religious Freedom, 2020; War Resisters' International, 2008). For a historical discussion of the Witnesses' doctrine of "political neutrality" and its roots in early Christian practice, see Chu (2004).

[8] Jehovah's Witnesses do not keep record of congregants' age, gender, race, or ethnicity. The number of Witnesses who died during the Genocide would have included those targeted for their Tutsi ethnicity and Hutu Witnesses who provided help to those targeted and refused to participate in the Genocide.

from diverse religious backgrounds and those with both personal and secondhand knowledge of experiences during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. Before making the decision to be baptized as Jehovah's Witnesses, individuals participate in an extensive Bible study program that covers religious doctrines and moral principles.[9] The number of Witnesses increased approximately 100% from 1994 to 1996 and 1,600% from 1994 to 2023, making it one of the fastest growing religions in Rwanda.[10] (See Section 3 for study findings on the attraction to the religion of Jehovah's Witnesses and the community's growth over time.) During the COVID-19 pandemic, between 2020 and 2023, congregation meetings were held remotely in rural and urban areas throughout the country. In 2022, some 590 congregations of Jehovah's Witnesses counted over 33,000 active Witnesses, and nearly 106,000 persons attended their annual Memorial commemoration of Jesus' death (Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society of Pennsylvania, 2023).[11] (See Section 2 on Methodology for a comparison of the sample population and Rwanda general population and Section 3 for research findings on the growth of the religious community over time.)

Rwanda is one of 240 lands in which Witnesses carry out their public ministry. Compared with the early years when only one Witness brochure was available in Kinyarwanda, today Rwandans can search jw.org for hundreds of Kinyarwanda publications and audio-visual resources on topics of importance to individual wellbeing, family life, and social cohesion. They offer free

[9] The Bible study material used at the time of the survey in Kinyarwanda is accessible at https://www.jw.org/rw/isomero/ibitabo/ishimire-ubuzima-iteka-ryose-2/.

[10] Calculations are based on the pre-Genocide 1994 figure of 2,500 minus an estimated 400 Witnesses (and associates) who were killed during the Genocide; the 1996 service year report of 4,223 peak publishers; and the 2023 service year report of 33,664 peak publishers. (Service years run from September 1 to August 31 of the following year.) To see how Jehovah's Witnesses report peak, average, and ratio of publishers by country, see https://www.jw.org/en/jehovahs-witnesses/faq/how-many-jw/. "Publisher" is the term used for a Witness who actively participates in the public ministry, that is, one who publicizes the gospel.

[11] "Active Witnesses" refers to persons who are involved in "witnessing" or telling others about their faith. The count for the annual Memorial attendance includes children and associated individuals who are not active, baptized persons.

biblical literature in printed or electronic form in Kinyarwanda, Rwandan Sign Language, Chiga, Swahili, French, and English, along with over 1,000 other languages.[12]

Meetings of Jehovah's Witnesses, held in buildings called Kingdom Halls, are open to the public without tithing or the taking of collections. Two meetings each week include instructional sessions using textual and audio-video materials. Regular participation in these interactive, classroom-style meetings, where study and discussion of important life questions take place, may have contributed to the willingness of survey respondents to complete the long survey with introspective questions. Study materials for weekly meetings are disseminated without cost through the organization's official website, jw.org. In Rwanda, local volunteers help congregants to access and use digital files. Having an organized technical support infrastructure already in place facilitated the deployment and implementation of the JW-RWA survey.

In addition to social interaction of congregants at weekly meetings, Jehovah's Witnesses are known for publicly sharing their faith. This regular, shared ministry fosters feelings of familiarity and commonality among congregants by emphasizing group values in a context of prosocial outreach.

Working with Rwanda Correctional Service, volunteer ministers have a well-established Bible education program for those in prisons, providing Bible studies and religious meetings in all 13 prisons in Rwanda. According to the branch office of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda, the Witnesses began organizing the prison ministry in 1995, shortly after the Genocide; and the government officially granted permission in 2001. On average, 60 prisoners have been baptized as Jehovah's Witnesses each year from 2016 to 2024, totaling more than 500 prisoners in the 13 correctional facilities in Rwanda. The outreach program provides in-depth Bible education that

[12] For an overview of Jehovah's Witnesses' beliefs in Kinyarwanda, see https://www.jw.org/rw/abahamya-yehova/ and in English, see https://www.jw.org/en/jehovahs-witnesses/.

helps participants to develop prosocial attitudes and behaviors to help promote improved relationships.

Each congregation is overseen by a body of elders (the number depending on qualifications, need, and availability). Elders are unsalaried, their primary responsibilities involving biblical instruction and pastoral care of congregants. They are not mental health professionals but are trained to provide spiritual guidance and comfort. During fielding of the JW-RWA survey, elders were instructed to be alert to any congregants exhibiting signs of emotional distress. Elders were prepared to suggest seeking professional help, if needed. (See Appendix F, Congregation Announcements to Recruit Survey Participants.)

In times of natural or man-made disaster, organization-wide arrangements are in place to provide various forms of relief by crews of volunteers who are trained and organized by Disaster Relief Committees working under the direction of the national office. For instance, during the COVID-19 pandemic, the headquarters of Jehovah's Witnesses called a global halt to in-person religious meetings and ministry; and relief committees were formed to deliver sanitizing kits, medications, and food to those in need. National offices coordinated arrangements for virtual meetings so that congregants could maintain social ties and communicate their needs while maintaining physical distancing (Chu, 2023; Organisation Religieuse des Témoins de Jéhovah for the Rwanda Governance Board, 2023). During the JW-RWA fielding period, relief committees were activated when severe flooding occurred in northwestern Rwanda. Survey question sets on congregational support included giving and receiving disaster relief.

Inception of a Nationwide Quantitative Study

With an awareness of the passing of time and the aging of the generation of Genocide survivors, developmental discussions began in 2019 on ways to document the collective and

individual historical experiences of approximately 2,500 Jehovah's Witnesses and their associates in Rwanda in April 1994. No systematic study existed on the impact of the Genocide on the Witness community. In fact, during more than 50 years of their presence in Rwanda, no scientific data had been gathered on the history of their faith community in Rwanda. Likewise, the national office of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda did not maintain a list of congregants and held no records that could be used to locate individuals or identify the ethnicity of those who were associated with the Witness community in Rwanda during the Genocide against the Tutsi 3 decades ago.

Thus, the effort to document the community's experience necessitated the conducting of a nationwide survey that could reach Witnesses in all parts of Rwanda. In addition to inquiring about the experiences of those who were affiliated with Jehovah's Witnesses during the 1994 Genocide, the nationwide effort would also enable the collection of such data as demographic profile (gender, age, geographical distribution, vocational and educational status), religious history (religious identity, motivations for affiliation, communal support and helping), psychosocial factors (trauma effects and post-trauma recovery; forgiveness, hope, and prosocial attributes), and familial communication about the Genocide. In addition, data could be collected on those Jehovah's Witnesses who lived during the earlier period of governmental ban (1982–1992). These data would provide retrospective context to the behavior of Rwandan Jehovah's Witnesses during the Genocide.

In the course of devising a method to locate and survey this cohort, it became clear that a nationwide data-collection effort was also an opportunity to learn about the 95% of the present Jehovah's Witness community who were not part of the Witness cohort in Rwanda in 1994. These included a large number of post-Genocide, first-generation adult converts who at birth had parents who were not Witnesses; second-generation Witnesses who were born after 1994 and whose

parents were JWs at the time of their birth; and returnees who were outside Rwanda at the time of the Genocide and returned after 1994. Expanding the sample to include these subgroups created the possibility for cross-group comparisons. For instance, the large data set was used to study post-Genocide relationships within a group of individuals with differing Genocide situations, along with the demographic and religious characteristics of those who now comprise a single faith community.

The wide-ranging exploration of research possibilities led to the development of a survey instrument designed to generate a multilayered data set for scholarly study from a broad spectrum of disciplines and perspectives.

Conclusion

The JW-RWA study offers a cross-sectional portrait of a religious community with distinct characteristics and experiences. Despite the limitations of quantitative research, the large data set yields insights useful to genocide scholars, historians, social scientists, religion specialists, and mental-health professionals. The JW-RWA study investigates religious beliefs and practices that contributed to impartiality, nonviolence, and prosocial behavior before, during, and after the Genocide against the Tutsi. Such insights can strengthen genocide education and prevention programs with the goal of “Never again.”

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2. METHODOLOGY

A study of baptized, adult Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda collected quantitative data nationwide from an anonymous online survey in the spring of 2023. The study was conducted by the Organisation Religieuse des Témoins de Jéhovah with support from the World Headquarters of Jehovah's Witnesses, reviewed by the Ministry of National Unity and Civic Engagement (MINUBUMWE) and approved by the Rwanda National Ethics Committee (RNEC). The purpose of the study was to investigate psychosocial factors related to those in the faith community and their experiences before, during, and now—31 years after the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. This section describes the research methodology, including the survey design, data collection, data cleaning, sample composition, and data analysis.

Research Objectives

The research objectives of the study were the following:

Objective 1. Identify demographic and religious characteristics of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda: growth of Jehovah's Witnesses before and after the Genocide against the Tutsi; their religious beliefs, motivations, orientation, and identity; and experiences during the government ban on the religion prior to the Genocide.

Objective 2. Examine forgiveness and prosocial characteristics of the faith community: three types of forgiveness (of others, of self, and by God); other prosocial attributes (compassionate love, community support, and helping behaviors); and perceived changes in social relationships.

Objective 3. Investigate gender, generational, and other group differences in Genocide situations and trauma events experienced by those who were Jehovah's Witnesses at the time of the Genocide and those who adopted the faith after the Genocide with respect to the following: duration of danger during the Genocide, changes in household composition before and after the Genocide, Genocide role-situations, trauma events, and helping behaviors during the Genocide against the Tutsi.

Objective 4. Investigate factors related to subjective social and psychological wellbeing of those in the faith community, including family satisfaction, attitudes and communication about Genocide and traumatic events, posttraumatic stress symptoms, posttraumatic growth, centrality of Genocide, temporal orientation, hope, and scriptures to cope.

Following the Introduction in Section 1 and the Methodology in this Section 2, the research findings for each objective are reported: Objective 1 in Section 3 titled "Faith"; Objective 2 in Section 4 titled "Forgiveness and Prosocial Behaviors"; Objective 3 in Section 5 titled "Genocide and Trauma"; Objective 4 in Section 6 titled "Subjective Social and Psychological Wellbeing." (See Table 2.1 below for the breakdown by theme, objective, and main variables.)

Survey Design

The survey instrument was organized into five sections: (a) Religious Beliefs, (b) General Attitudes, (c) Situations During the 1994 Genocide Against the Tutsi, (d) Dealing With Traumatic Events, and (e) Intergenerational Communication. (See Appendix A, Survey Instrument in English.)

Most questions were closed-ended with prompts for yes-no, multiple-choice, or Likert-scaled responses. A numeric, open-ended question format was used for short demographic information (e.g., year of birth, year of baptism, and number of children). Respondents had the

option at the end of the survey to add a general text comment. Fourteen question sets were drawn from existing, empirically tested measures developed by other researchers for the following variables: religious orientation, social group identification, socially desirable response, compassionate love, trait forgiveness, divine forgiveness, self-forgiveness, hope, community support, centrality of events, trauma events, posttraumatic stress symptoms, posttraumatic growth, and family satisfaction. Some measures were modified to better fit the research objectives and study population. Other survey questions were developed for the study population, drawing from related empirical research (e.g., questions on temporality, "How often, if at all, do you think about your life during the following time periods?"; cf. Benda, 2018).

A team of three experienced translators who were native Kinyarwanda speakers and fluent English speakers translated the survey instrument from English to Kinyarwanda using a back-translation protocol (cf. Wild et al., 2005). The instrument was field tested to determine if the translation was readable, accurately understood, and appropriate for the target population. (See Appendix B, Survey Instrument in Kinyarwanda.)

Field testing confirmed that a longer-than-usual questionnaire could be used. In determining the length of the survey, the principal investigator and co-principal investigator took into account the culture of the religious group. For example, Jehovah's Witnesses are accustomed to weekly classroom-style religious meetings that average 90 minutes in length. The subject matter of the survey was of high interest to congregants. It was anticipated that a survey conducted by the organization of Jehovah's Witnesses would have broad participation since it would be trusted and deemed worth the respondents' time and thought. Anonymity would encourage sincere and candid responses. Additionally, the online platform with the implementation of "loops" allowed specific

sets of questions to be directed to an intended subgroup, so that not all respondents would be asked all the questions, shortening the time required of individual respondents.

Table 2.1 shows the overarching themes, corresponding research objectives, and main variables associated with each. The theme "Faith" identified religious beliefs and motivations—who, why, and how individuals become Jehovah's Witnesses. "Forgiveness and Prosocial Behavior" examined attitudes and behaviors that are important to post-genocide recovery, particularly different types of forgiveness (of others, of self, and by God). "Genocide and Trauma" covered both traumatic events and helping behaviors during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. "Subjective Social and Psychological Wellbeing" examined factors related to family life, relationships, and perceived stress and coping. Each section of research findings includes a review of relevant empirical and theoretical literature, with definitions and explanations of variables and measures.

Table 2.1

Main Variables by Theme and Research Objective

Thematic Framework	Research Objectives	Main Variables
Faith	Objective 1. Identify demographic and religious characteristics of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda.	Year of baptism Parents' religious background Baptism circumstance (country, age, study period) Attraction to religion: original and current Religious beliefs Experiences during the legal ban prior to 1994 Interrupted association after baptism Social group identification Religious orientation: extrinsic and intrinsic

Table 2.1 (continued)

Forgiveness and Prosocial Behavior	Objective 2. Examine forgiveness and prosocial characteristics of the faith community.	Trait forgiveness Divine forgiveness Self-forgiveness Social relations Compassionate love Changes in relationships Community support Helping behaviors—giving and receiving
Genocide and Trauma	Objective 3. Investigate group differences in Genocide situations and trauma events.	Duration of danger Households before and after Genocide Genocide role-situations Helping behaviors during 1994 Genocide Children's role during 1994 Genocide Types of trauma during the Genocide Experiences of those who were Jehovah's Witnesses before and during the Genocide
Subjective Social and Psychological Wellbeing	Objective 4. Examine factors related to subjective social and psychological wellbeing.	Attitudes toward education about Genocide Attitudes related to dialogue of Genocide and trauma events Dialogue about Genocide and trauma events Family satisfaction Centrality of Genocide Posttraumatic stress symptoms Posttraumatic growth Perceived changes in psychological wellbeing Temporal view of present, past, and future Hope Scriptures to cope with thoughts of Genocide

Data Collection

Data collection for a nationwide, online survey in post-Genocide Rwanda involved procedures and provisions to maintain the scientific integrity of the study.

Eligibility Criteria

For the nationwide study, all Jehovah's Witnesses who met the following four eligibility criteria were invited to participate in the survey: (a) at least 18 years old, (b) baptized as one of Jehovah's Witnesses, (c) currently attending a congregation of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda,

and (d) understand and agree to participate in the survey as described in the introduction and informed consent to the survey. (See Appendix C, Informed Consent.)

Survey Provisions

Those eligible to participate in the survey included persons with limited formal education and without access to the Internet or electronic devices. Some in the target population resided in refugee camps, remote areas, or correctional facilities. To minimize selection bias, increase response rate, and include segments of the study population, certain provisions were incorporated in the survey platform and procedures.

Online Survey Platform

An online platform that allowed online-offline submissions was selected to help those with limited data access. The platform KoboToolbox has been used by other researchers in Rwanda and surrounding countries and is designed for large confidential data collection. The functionality and accessibility of the platform were tested in different geographic areas.

Correctional Service Requirement

For those currently imprisoned, the ethical protocols approved by the Rwanda National Ethics Committee (RNEC) were followed, along with requirements set by the Rwanda Correctional Service (RCS), which does not allow prisoners to use electronic devices. In order for eligible inmates to participate in the study, a paper version of the survey was provided. The paper version of the survey was distributed in unsealed envelopes but collected in sealed envelopes by Jehovah's Witnesses who already had RCS approval to conduct prison ministry outreach in the 13 prisons in Rwanda. (Appendix D, Survey Procedures for Those in Correctional Facilities, explains the survey recruitment and data collection procedures for those in prison.)

Reading and Electronic Assistance

With the approval of RNEC, allowances were made for those needing assistance with reading and with using an electronic device. The survey invitation announcement and the informed consent explained: "If you need help to read or use the online survey, or if you lack access to an electronic device, please contact your congregation elders. You may ask a trusted relative or friend to help; but your answers should be based on your own thoughts, without influence from others." This provision has been used by other Rwanda researchers who allowed friends or family members to help research participants, and it models a provision that Rwanda and other countries allow in voting procedures (e.g., Staub et al., 2005).

Internet Accessibility

To increase participation, particularly in rural areas with more limited Internet accessibility, congregations received donated data hubs and electronic tablets for use by individuals who wished to use them to participate in the survey. In each congregation, designated individuals who would provide technical assistance were trained on the use of the survey platform and ways to maintain the scientific integrity of the research. (Appendix E, Provision for Technical Support, explains the procedures to provide electronic devices to congregations and to train local and regional technical support personnel for the survey respondents.)

Trauma Mitigation and Support

In considering sensitive topics, the survey avoided raising detailed questions about past traumas. Both the invitation to participate and the informed consent explained that respondents were not required to answer questions that were uncomfortable for them. Congregation elders were reminded of their role to provide spiritual and emotional support to any who expressed distress during or after participating in the survey. Contact information for public health services in health

centers and hospitals was available to congregants in case individuals and their families determined that they wanted to seek the help of trained mental-health providers.

Recruitment

Invitations to participate in the study were extended through standard announcements to congregations and through the prison ministry outreach for those incarcerated. Congregation elders were directed to make it clear that the survey was voluntary and anonymous in order to encourage participation, but that no congregants should feel pressured to participate. (See Appendix F, Congregation Announcements to Recruit Survey Participants.)

Survey Period

The survey was fielded from April 5 to June 15, 2023. For the online version of the survey, the survey period included one week for a soft launch, plus five weeks for the full launch, from April 5 to May 21, 2023. The distribution and collection of the paper survey occurred between June 7 and June 15, 2023.

Submissions

A total of 383 individuals opened the survey link but could not begin the survey because they did not meet all four of the eligibility criteria. A KoboToolbox error occurred when enabling the online and offline submission mode that resulted in 52 duplicate submissions with the same Universally Unique Identifier. As KoboToolbox recommends in these cases, these duplicates were removed. Not including those ineligible and the duplicates, a total of 14,046 respondents submitted the survey (13,903 online submissions and 143 paper submissions).

Response Rate

Several months before the survey fielded, in the fall of 2022, congregations reported the number of baptized publishers who were 18 years or older, which totaled 26,727. In the spring of

2023, during the data collection, a total of 14,046 submitted the survey, representing 52.55% of the target population. During data cleaning, 456 submissions were removed, resulting in a total of 13,590 completed surveys in the data set, for a final cleaned response rate of 50.85%. (See information on data cleaning below.)

Completion Time

The online-offline feature of the KoboToolbox survey platform helped those in areas with limited Internet accessibility to download the survey online, complete it offline, and then reconnect to the Internet later to submit the completed survey. This made it impossible to determine the actual time respondents took to complete the survey. For an approximate calculation, the average time of survey completion was computed for respondents whose start and end dates fell within the fielding period and who took less than 12 hours to complete the survey. These respondents took an average of 139 minutes to complete the survey.

Data Cleaning

A data management protocol was implemented to handle the large data set. Using R Statistical Software (version 4.1.2; R Core Team, 2021), the data set was first anonymized. Data cleaning procedures improved the quality of the data for the sample population. First, responses from 88 respondents were deemed unreliable and removed from the data set because of inconsistent critical data (e.g., year of baptism was earlier than year of birth). To avoid problems with missing data from incomplete data entry, the data set used for this analysis did not include 87 paper submissions with less than 90% completion. To reduce the effects of socially desirable responses (SDR), a 5-item scaled SDR measure was included in the survey instrument (Hays et al., 1989). Removed from the data set were 281 respondents who gave only SDR answers to all five items (e.g., “I am always courteous to people, even to unpleasant ones.”). In total, responses from

456 respondents were cleaned from the data set for unreliable data, missing data, or socially desirable responses. After data cleaning, the total sample that was used for statistical analysis numbered 13,590 respondents (13,534 online and 56 paper survey respondents). This represented 50.85% of the 26,727 baptized adult Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda aged 18 and over who were eligible to complete the survey.

Sample

The demographic composition and geographic distribution of Jehovah's Witnesses are similar to the general population of Rwanda, with some notable differences. (See Appendix G, Sample Population and 2022 Census Comparison.) Compared with the general population in Rwanda, the JW sample population had a slightly higher proportion of females (55.8% of JWs compared with 51.5% of the general population).[1]

The distribution of the JW sample population in rural areas was similar to the general population—70.95% in the JW sample compared with 72.10% for the general population. The percentage of the sample in urban areas was 29.05%, slightly higher than the 27.90% for the general population. The distribution by province was as follows: Kigali, 19.41%; Southern Province, 15.73%; Western Province, 22.70%; Northern Province, 15.00%; and Eastern Province, 27.15%. This distribution was similar to the general population ages 18 and over, but with a higher percentage in Kigali (19.41% compared with 14.75%) and a lower percentage in the Southern Province (15.73% compared with 22.71%). The JW sample had a lower proportion with no formal education (6.03% versus 17.3% for the general population) and a higher proportion of those who completed secondary school (25.68% compared with 21.3%). Although the RNEC did not allow

[1] The higher percentage of females is consistent with other research: More females than males are attracted to religion (Pew Research Center, 2016, March 22), and females typically have a higher response rate to online surveys than males (Becker & Glauser, 2018).

the survey questionnaire to directly inquire about ethnicity, respondents could self-identify as being *targeted to be killed*, which applied to ethnic Tutsi during the Genocide against the Tutsi. In the study population, a higher percentage of Jehovah's Witnesses in 1994 (23.15%) than non-JWs in 1994 (12.56%) reported being targeted (Tutsi) during the Genocide against the Tutsi.

The number of respondents who used at least one provision of assistance numbered 5,979 (44.00%): 445 (3.27%) had help reading the questions; 3,654 (26.89%) had help using an electronic device; and 1,880 (13.83%) received both reading and technical assistance.

Data Analysis

Statistical analysis was conducted on the cleaned, anonymized data set using SPSS (version 29.0.2.0). The cross-sectional data that was collected at one point in time allowed for analysis to assess characteristics of the study population with group comparisons of subgroups (e.g., gender, generation). Analysis did not test predictions or aim to determine causation (cf. Szucs & Ioannidis, 2017; Wang & Cheng, 2020). For group comparisons (e.g., gender, age group, Genocide experience) of selected variables, inferential analyses included ANOVAs, *t*-tests, and post hoc tests.

To address potential Type I errors due to large sample size and disproportionate group sizes, both the substantive significance (effect size) and statistical significance (*p* value) are reported (Sullivan & Feinn, 2012). The level of significance, or *p* value, was set for less than .05. When the Bonferroni correction was applied for multiple comparisons, the adjusted *p* significance value was reported. Effect sizes were calculated using eta-squared (η^2), in which $\eta^2 = .01$ was considered a small effect size, $\eta^2 = .06$ was a medium effect size, and $\eta^2 = .14$ was a large effect size (Richardson, 2011) for ANOVA's results. When appropriate in comparing the means of two variables, this was followed by Cohen's *d*, with effect sizes classified as small ($d = 0.2$), medium

(d = 0.5), and large (d = 0.8). The survey instrument included *prefer not to answer* (PNA) response options for sensitive genocide and trauma questions. When applicable, response options also included *do not know* (DNK), *none of the above* (NOA), and *other*. The PNA, DNK, and NOA responses were included in the analysis and reported if the findings provided insights, but they were excluded for scaled measures that used sum scores and for measures where these responses were not meaningful or produced skewed or misleading findings. The analysis process for each variable measure is explained in the report.

The large data set allowed statistical comparisons across selected demographic groups. Group categories were based on theoretical and empirical literature in developmental psychology and studies of religion and genocide. For example, the generation categories accounted for differences in the Genocide Generation who were in Rwanda during the Genocide, Returnees who were outside Rwanda during the Genocide, and the Post-Genocide Generation who were born after the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.

As an example, Table 2.2 shows the breakdown of the main demographic groups used as independent variables to statistically analyze the characteristics and variations of the study population. In addition to these, findings in the respective sections include other defined subgroups for comparative analysis. In the report, frequencies varied depending on the number of missing data or PNA responses that were removed from the analysis.

Table 2.2

Demographic Variables for Group Comparisons

Group	Category	*n* (%)	Birth Year	Age
Gender	Male	6,001 (44.16)	-	-
	Female	7,589 (55.84)	-	-
Age Group	Early young adults	3,316 (24.40)	Born 1995–2005	18–28
	Young adults	3,774 (27.77)	Born 1984–1994	29–39
	Middle-aged adults	5,196 (38.23)	Born 1964–1983	40–59
	Older adults	1,304 (9.60)	Born before 1964	60+
Generation	Genocide Generation, in Rwanda in 1994	8,516 (62.66)	Born in or before 1994	29+
	- Genocide Generation Adults	3,736 (27.49)	Born in or before 1976	47+
	- Genocide Generation Minors	4,780 (35.17)	Born after 1976 and in/before 1994	29 to 46
	Returnees, outside Rwanda in 1994	1,046 (7.70)	Born in or before 1994	29+
	Post-Genocide Generation	3,316 (24.40)	Born after 1994	Under 29
Time Baptized	Baptized in or before 1994, JW for 29 years or more	661 (4.86)	-	-
	Baptized 1995–2004, JW for 19 to 28 years	3,239 (23.83)	-	-
	Baptized 2005–2014, JW for 9 to 18 years	5,290 (38.93)	-	-
	Baptized 2015–2019, JW for 4 to 8 years	3,314 (24.39)	-	-
	Baptized 2020–2023, JW for 3 years or less	1,086 (7.99)	-	-

Note. The sum of each demographic group totals 13,590 except for the Genocide group, which totals 12,878 due to missing information. Ages were calculated from the year of the survey in 2023.

Ethics and Bias Mitigation

In all phases of the JW-RWA project, from design to deployment to analysis and reporting, careful attention was given to scientific protocols. Strict procedural methods were taken to avoid and mitigate bias and data contamination.

The JW-RWA study was conducted by researchers associated with the community of Jehovah's Witnesses whose goal was to adhere to the highest ethical and scientific standards. The research team endeavored to maintain scientific integrity during all stages of the study (cf. Choi &

Pak, 2005). An academic advisory committee of scholars who are not associated with the JW community reviewed the study design, survey instrument, data findings, and this report. The multi-disciplinary, five-member advisory committee had collective expertise in the fields of genocide studies, philosophy, psychology, public health, and theology. Three of the five advisors are genocide survivors: two survived the Genocide against the Tutsi and one survived the Holocaust—experiences that have informed their research. (See brief biographical information about the Academic Advisory Committee at the end of the report.)

Several steps were implemented to produce high-quality data by following rigorous scientific methodology. During the development of the survey instrument, validated measures were selected where possible. Customized questions avoided leading, intrusive, or ambiguous questions. Response choices included *prefer not to answer* and *do not know* options, where appropriate. The nationwide survey extended invitations to participate to all baptized Jehovah's Witnesses aged 18 years and over and currently attending a congregation in Rwanda. Sampling biases common in survey studies were addressed by certain provisions to accommodate special hard-to-reach subgroups (e.g., prisoners and those needing assistance). Prior to and during data collection, clear protocols and training were issued for those involved in the recruitment, technical and literacy support, and data handling. Bias-mitigation strategies for respondent bias included assurance of anonymity, instructions for respondents not to discuss their responses with others, and a socially desirable response question set.

As a research standard, all procedures in the study were carried out in accordance with ethical principles and in agreement with the 1964 Declaration of Helsinki and its later amendments, and applicable legislation on Non-Interventional Studies.

Conclusion

The JW-RWA study was conducted to gather data regarding the historical situations and psychosocial characteristics of those who are now Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda. Attention to scientific integrity marked the design and implementation of the survey, from design to the translation process, to data collection and management to analysis. The study design took into account specific cultural factors among the study population, such as their likely tolerance of a longer-than-usual questionnaire. The project took measures to ensure that the survey was available to subpopulations with special needs—those with reading challenges, limited access to or competency with electronic devices, those with limited Internet access, and prison inmates.

The size and demographic composition of the sample allowed statistical analysis of variables and comparison of subgroups. Organized according to the thematic structure of the research objectives, the subsequent sections provide a review of related literature and report the statistical findings under these four themes: "Faith," "Forgiveness and Prosocial Behavior," "Genocide and Trauma," and "Subjective Social and Psychological Wellbeing."

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3. FAITH

The study of religion includes both systems of religious beliefs and practices and those who adopt those beliefs and practices, collectively and individually. The JW-RWA study focused on individual attitudes, beliefs, and social experiences of religiosity rather than institutional features of the religious community. The study aimed, among other goals, to better understand what it meant to become and be one of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda, drawing from the theoretical and empirical literature on (a) religious conversion (Hood et al., 2009; Rambo, 1993), (b) psychological dimensions of religion (Paloutzian & Park, 2013; Saroglou, 2011), and (c) intrinsic and extrinsic religious orientation (Allport & Ross, 1967; Gorsuch & McPherson, 1989; Gorsuch & Venable, 1983; Maltby, 1999; Maltby & Lewis, 1996). With this foundation, results from the study are reported on Jehovah's Witnesses' personal religious history, adoption and retention of religious affiliation, religious belief, practices under opposition, sense of religious identity and commitment, and religious orientation. The findings show a demographically diverse population with shared beliefs and practices.

Literature Review

Religion appeals to individuals by satisfying cognitive, emotional, moral, and social needs (Pargament, 1997). The related concepts of *faith* and *religion* have been defined from various theological, philosophical, anthropological, sociological, and psychological perspectives. By one definition, religion encompasses broad personal and communal dimensions; whereas faith, although associated with religious belief systems, is an "inner attitude, conviction, or trust" shown, for instance, toward a "supreme God or ultimate salvation" (Encyclopædia Britannica, n.d.). The

psychosocial study of religious groups provides insights into the interplay between inner religious convictions and outward practice of religion.

Conversion—Becoming Jehovah's Witnesses

Religious conversion is a complex process that can be affected by immediate personal propensities and situations, surrounding social contexts, and larger cultural influences (Pop & Pop, 2024; Rambo, 1993). "Conversion,"—to turn around or be transformed—refers to changes in an individual's beliefs or actions based on a perceived reality (Barbour, 1994). Some conversions may be sudden and emotional, and others gradual and deliberate (James, 1902). Early research on conversion pointed to personality type as the main factor in determining which religion(s) a person chooses (Paloutzian et al., 1999). Subsequent research added environmental and cultural factors accounting for attraction, such as a religion's teachings and traditions, community structure, social ties, demographic composition, and perceived or real benefits (Rambo, 1993). A still later concept is called a "fit model" of conversion, in which an individual's needs combine with a religious group that fits those needs to explain initial conversion and the course of one's membership, as well as the psychosocial effects of conversion (Paloutzian et al., 2013).

Studies have shown that those who become Jehovah's Witnesses come from widely divergent religious backgrounds, ranging from devout members of other faiths to irregular attendees to the altogether irreligious, even to agnostics and atheists (e.g., Beckford, 1975; Dobbelaere & Wilson, 1980). For many people, religious affiliation is a volitional act undertaken in adolescence or adulthood, sometimes in response to such diverse factors as need, crisis, spiritual seeking, or intellectual curiosity. For others, religious affiliation is a matter of familial inheritance, which can differ greatly from the experience of adult religious conversion. Children reared in a religion by one or both parents may be socialized in the religion's beliefs and values from a young

age and internalize those concepts in adolescence (Kim-Spoon et al., 2012; Smith & Adamczyk, 2021). Parents' religious background can have a strong effect on the religious choices and experiences of their children (Granqvist & Kirkpatrick, 2004). A study of Belgian Witnesses concluded that considering parental teaching and the added influence of other relatives, Jehovah's Witnesses are "a family faith, in which kinship ties reinforce the distinct culture of the movement" (Dobbelaere & Wilson, 1980, p. 101).

The growth pattern in Rwanda with first-generation converts is similar to the development of Jehovah's Witness communities in other parts of Africa. As of 2023, about 1.9 million of Jehovah's Witnesses were actively worshipping and evangelizing on the continent. Among early sociological studies that examined growth patterns is Norman Long's 1968 study of rural Zambia. Long noted that kinship and other social ties, along with age, gender, and socio-economic factors, influenced receptivity to Witness evangelizing (Long, 1968). Renowned Oxford sociologist of religion Bryan Wilson (1973) credited Kenyan Witnesses' success in drawing first-generation converts to their egalitarian ethics and inter-tribal diversity, as well as their all-volunteer structure and singular focus on evangelism. Continuing Bible education at their meetings included training in public speaking and "in setting forth doctrine in an orderly way" (p. 144).

Beckford (1975) described similar characteristics in his 1975 study of Jehovah's Witnesses in Britain, where he reported "the virtual absence of anything which closely resembles the phenomenon of religious conversion as it is customarily understood" (p. 190). Witnesses' instructional pattern of both learning and teaching may account for the comparatively "closer proximity between official teaching and believers' understanding" among Witnesses in general (Chryssides, 2022, p. 4).

Dimensions of Religion

To categorize the psychological processes of religion, psychologist Vassilis Saroglou (2011) proposed a model involving four interconnected dimensions: believing, bonding, behaving, and belonging, each reflecting cognitive, emotional, moral, and social functions of religion, respectively. These dimensions vary in salience, emphasis, and content from person to person; and some or all may interact to produce individual religiousness. The JW-RWA survey examined aspects of each of these four dimensions in JW beliefs and practices.

Believing—A Cognitive Appeal to Logic

A universal feature of religion is a set of beliefs in things beyond the realm of humanity, such as divine beings, impersonal forces, or principles (Saroglou, 2011). The cognitive processes involved in believing may be seen in the theoretical concept of "quest," a stage of conversion in which one actively seeks to build meaning, erase ignorance, and resolve inconsistency (Rambo, 1993, p. 56; Richardson, 1985). The centrality of religious beliefs to an individual's identity can determine the extent to which those beliefs influence other spheres of the person's life (Murken & Namini, 2006). For instance, a belief in life after death might affect an individual's outlook and decisions in the present.

The religion of Jehovah's Witnesses is classified by scholars as "restorationist" in that it seeks to return to the model of doctrine, practice, and structure of first-century Christianity as described in biblical accounts (Chu & Peltonen, 2024; Weddle, 2006). Several doctrinal beliefs of Jehovah's Witnesses (e.g., restoration of paradise earth, resurrection on Earth of the righteous and unrighteous, and the impending rule of God's Kingdom in heaven over the Earth) differ from those

of mainstream Christian religions.[1] Belief in these teachings about future life influences the conduct and choices of Witnesses in the present (Barker, 2024; Chryssides, 2016). Two distinctive practices modeled on early Christianity (Cadoux, 1919; Dombrowski, 1991; Johnson, 1999) are Witnesses' public witnessing, or evangelizing (How & Brumley, 1999), and their apolitical ethic of nonviolence (Brock & Young, 1999; Knox, 2018; Schroeder, 2011).

Before deciding to become Jehovah's Witnesses, individuals participate in an extensive course of Bible study, including both doctrines and moral precepts. Those who decide to accept and agree to adhere to the teachings may be baptized as Jehovah's Witnesses. Sociologists have described the JW belief system as "rational" with "impressive uniformity of doctrine" (Beckford, 1975, p. 119; Wilson, 1973, p. 145). Beckford (1975) observed a "very unusually high degree of doctrinal awareness" among Witnesses (p. 121). Long (1968) found that "joining did not take the form of a sudden conversion but was a gradual awakening to the faith," an "interplay of ethic and action" (p. 239), with the objective to "become mature in the knowledge of the Bible" in order to teach others (p. 208). Hence, JW core beliefs and style of teaching tend to be more cognitive than emotive in nature. However, as noted above, Long observed that Bible study for Jehovah's Witnesses was not merely academic; rather, JW ethical teachings had "action" as their aim, as exemplified in the public evangelizing work.

Bonding—Close Relationship or Religious Ritual

Self-transcendent emotional experiences bond an individual to "a deeper reality that transcends everyday reality and the self." "Awe—the emotion of respectful admiration" and "hope" are examples of this dimension (Saroglou, 2011, p. 1326). Attachment theory originally

[1] Publications regarding the teachings and practices of Jehovah's Witnesses are accessible without cost on the organization's official website, jw.org, in over 1,090 languages.

referred to "styles" of early-life relationships with caregivers (e.g., parent-child) that set the pattern for interpersonal relationships throughout life. Attachment theorists extended the concept to include religious dimensions. For instance, one who desires closeness with God may form a secure attachment bond that sees Him as a safe haven and source of support (Granqvist, 2020). For many religious traditions, bonding to "a deeper reality" is mediated through patterned rituals. The religion of Jehovah's Witnesses has few practices that could be described as ritualistic; however, bonding with God, Jehovah, is a recurring theme in JW publications and study materials. Two-way communication—receiving God's teaching through Bible study and speaking with him in prayer—gradually helps the believer form a close, personal relationship with God, a special Friend who values, cares for, and understands those close to him (Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society of Pennsylvania, 2022, p. 17). Although unity with fellow Witnesses is an important community value, religious studies scholar Artur Artemyev wrote that "the center of their religious life and practice is developing their own relationship with God" (Artemyev, 2021, p. 303).

Belief in a deity's existence or a knowledge of sacred texts may not in itself entail changes in thinking and behavior. In JW teaching, a thorough knowledge of God and his attributes contributes to the formation of an affective, reciprocal bond that engenders love, loyalty, reverence, and other qualities that in turn motivate godly acts. For instance, when faced with extreme coercion and brutality during the genocidal Nazi era, Witnesses consistently explained their refusal to conform to Nazi demands in terms of their loyalty toward God over the State (Garbe, 1993/2008). Historian Claudia Koonz (1986) concluded that Witnesses who refused to perpetrate violence against Jews and others "felt that they acted out of a direct personal responsibility to God, rather than from a commitment to abstract principles" (p. 343). In effect, they attributed their actions to believing, which led to bonding, which in turn motivated their behavior. Although Witnesses'

nonviolent and prosocial behavior during the Nazi era has been thoroughly documented, no systematic study has been done to determine whether Witnesses have adhered to the teaching of nonviolent behavior in other situations of mass violence and genocide, most notably in Rwanda.

Behaving—Adhering to Principles During Persecution

Religions promote moral norms of right and wrong that often go beyond those of surrounding society, including "altruistic sacrifice, humility, or strong self-control of impulsivity-related behaviors" (Saroglou, 2011, p. 1327). Behavior according to the moral norms of a religion may be an indicator of strong religious commitment. A religious adherent's alignment or misalignment with the moral and behavioral norms of the chosen belief system can impact the individual's religious experience (McCullough & Carter, 2013). On one hand, religion can "promote morally virtuous behavior by means of improving self-control" (Zell & Baumeister, 2013, p. 498). On the other hand, lack of compliance can produce spiritual struggles or the closely related experience of moral injury (Koenig & Al Zaben, 2021; Pargament & Exline, 2021; Pargament & Exline, 2022).

Behaving according to religious norms presents a challenge when the religion's values differ sharply from those of the surrounding society, such as during the periods of mass political movements and collective violence. This was the situation during the period of 1982 to 1992, when the Witnesses were banned in Rwanda and faced severe pressure to abandon their ethic of nonviolence and their teaching of "political neutrality." Although Witnesses generally paid their taxes, performed community service, and obeyed civil law, their stance of political neutrality precluded participation in patriotic ceremonies, political elections, armed civil service, and military service. This period of persecution tested the religious congruence between beliefs and behavior. Fully one third of Jehovah's Witnesses in the country, male and female, were incarcerated

during this period rather than violate their religious values. At one point, all imprisoned Witnesses were transferred to the central prison in Kigali, bringing them in close proximity to one another. Witnesses at liberty later recalled that they expected to be arrested; but in the meantime, some reportedly cared for the children of their imprisoned co-religionists (Seminega & Nkurikiyinka, 2025; Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society of Pennsylvania, 2012, pp. 178–186, 254). Such shared experiences and the mutual reinforcement of their religious values of neutrality and nonviolence would potentially have strengthened solidarity and established mutual trust. Their experiences could also have increased empathy for other victims of discrimination and propaganda, leading to altruistic acts. (See further discussion on prosocial and helping behavior in Sections 4 and 5.)

Until the JW-RWA study, no scholarly research had quantified the experiences of Jehovah's Witnesses during this 10-year period of persecution. Nor have researchers investigated whether the pattern of religious behavior among Witnesses during the ban was consistent with their behaviors and choices during and after the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, as was the case in a study of genocide rescuers whose various options were shaped by their "prior decisions or actions" (Burnet, 2023, p. 2).

Only a small minority of the JW-RWA sample population were Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda during the periods of the ban and the 1994 Genocide. A large majority of respondents who were not then Witnesses came from other backgrounds and behaved at the time according to other values and social situations.

Belonging—Commitment and Identity

The social dimensions of religious belonging in some ways mirror those of other types of social collectives. However, features such as shared religious narratives or symbols, sacred texts,

a common source of religious authority, and organized worship bind believers together and contribute to feelings of religious communion in distinctive ways (Saroglou, 2011). Researchers measure religious commitment using a variety of factors, such as formal affiliation, frequency of religious behaviors (e.g., church attendance, prayer), subjective importance of religion (Brenner, 2017), and conformity to religious values and moral standards. Based on their religious participation, Belgian Witnesses appeared to "manifest a very high level of commitment to their religion" (Dobbelaere & Wilson, 1980, p. 96).

A related concept, religious identity, encompasses not only one's inner personal relationship to the religion but also the individual's psychological experience of belonging to a group (Greenfield & Marks, 2007; Postmes et al., 2013). (Postmes prefers the term *social identification* rather than *social identity* when referring to the relationship between an individual and an ingroup.) Religious identity may be strongly rooted in the belief system itself since those particular beliefs may explain the individual's choice of a given religion. Similar to religious commitment, strong convictions about religion as a guide to life and belonging to a shared community are marks of individuals with high levels of religious identification, made evident in their everyday attitudes and actions.

Research has pointed to strong political or religious ideology as a potential factor in the turn of group identities toward violent extremism (e.g., Horz, 2024; Rasoulikolamaki et al., 2023). However, little research has been done on the role of ideologies, such as Jehovah's Witnesses' teaching on nonviolence as a distinctive feature of their religious group identity that potentially contributes to the decision by individual adherents to refuse participation in violent conflict (Chu, 2015).

Challenging social contexts, such as low social status, may actually strengthen ingroup collective identification (Ellemers et al., 1993). Similarly, religious identities tend to be stronger for individuals in minority religions who face discriminatory practices and governmental restrictions (Beyer, 2023). It has been noted of Soviet Witnesses that meetings held in secret "created a sense of kinship" (Baran, 2014, p. 115). Religious communities that encourage social friendship, emphasize intrinsic religiosity, and promote values such as love and commitment can shape individual identities and reduce prejudices (Burch-Brown & Baker, 2016). Given the marginalized status of the mixed-ethnic minority group during the period of the ban of 1982 to 1992 and the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, these dynamics may possibly apply to the Jehovah's Witness community in Rwanda.

The process of belonging to a religion is different for those who stop and later resume their religious affiliation. With rising secularization and declines in religious affiliation, church attendance, and other indicators of religiosity in recent decades, attention has turned to how, when, and why people leave religious groups, with or without joining a different religion. Considerable scholarly attention has been given to religious "switching" from one faith to another (e.g., Loveland, 2003); and the few deconversion studies have focused on those who have left small and new religious groups (Hood et al., 2009) or the reasons for deconversion: pursuit of autonomy, disillusionment, crisis and self-reflection, and finding a new frame of reference (Streib et al., 2009). Demographers have also identified "reverts" who have left a faith and then later returned to it (Pew Research Center, 2009); however, little literature is available on those who have left off associating with a faith and later rejoined it. The incidence of those who interrupt association with the JW community for a time, ceasing participation in religious meetings or the public ministry work and then later resuming their activities, has also not been previously examined. Framed as a

reversal and then a repeat of Saroglou's dimensions of religion, the JW-RWA survey investigated the extent to which Witnesses in post-Genocide Rwanda stopped affiliation and, after a period of time, resumed their "belonging" to the faith community.

Intrinsic and Extrinsic Religiosity

The most widely used psychological measure of religion was developed by Allport and Ross (1967) to categorize religious orientation according to intrinsic and extrinsic (I-E) motivations. Intrinsic orientation referred to "mature" motivations of those who live their religion; extrinsic orientation referred to an "immature" religious outlook that pursued religion for self-serving ends (cf. Benson et al., 1993). Subsequent work criticized the concept as unduly polarized in its positive and negative evaluation of religious motivations (Donahue, 1985). Among numerous revisions of the original I-E scale was the division of extrinsic items into extrinsic-personal items (religion as a source of comfort) and extrinsic-social items (religion as social gain) (Kirkpatrick & Hood, 1990; Maltby, 1999). By this revised measure, Jehovah's Witnesses in Kazakhstan were found to have a high degree of intrinsic religiosity, while extrinsic social religiosity was much less salient (Auyezbek & Beisembayev, 2023).

The theoretical and empirical literature provided a foundation to study the faith of Jehovah's Witnesses. The research results show characteristics of those converting, or becoming baptized Jehovah's Witnesses, including the religious affiliations of respondents' parents, the conversion rate before and after the Genocide against the Tutsi, and the period of preparatory Bible study prior to baptism.

Using Saroglou's framework, the findings show ways in which the dimensions of believing, bonding, behaving, and belonging apply to Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda. Beginning with questions of what originally and currently attracts persons to the religion, results show which

of the four dimensions of religion are priorities. Research findings reveal the extent to which Jehovah's Witnesses believe the main organizational teachings, how they behaved during periods of political persecution, and the extent to which they identify with Jehovah's Witnesses. Finally, characteristics of Jehovah's Witnesses are evident using Allport's model of intrinsic and extrinsic religiosity.

Results

The research findings related to the topic of Faith are presented below under headings and in the same sequence that correspond to the review of literature, following the three models: Conversion (becoming Jehovah's Witnesses), Dimensions of Religion (bonding, believing, behaving, belonging), and Intrinsic and Extrinsic Religiosity.

Conversion—Becoming Jehovah's Witnesses

Individuals become Jehovah's Witnesses in ways that are both unique from and similar to one another. The findings show the diverse religious affiliations of respondents' parents (those born into families with non-JW parents and second-generation Jehovah's Witnesses), the age of respondents at baptism, and the length of time taken to investigate the religion before baptism.

Religious Upbringing—Parents' Religion

Religious and cultural dynamics in Rwanda are reflected in the varied religious affiliations of Jehovah's Witnesses' parents. The survey questionnaire asked: *What was your [mother's/father's] religion at the time of your birth?* In the predominantly Catholic country of Rwanda, approximately half of the Jehovah's Witnesses' mothers (n = 7,250, 53.35%) and fathers (n = 6,913, 50.87%) were Catholic, as shown in Table 3.1. However, despite being in a minority religion, a sizable portion of respondents were second-generation Jehovah's Witnesses with fathers (n = 1,440, 10.60%) and/or mothers (n = 1,570, 11.55%) who were affiliated with the faith at the

time of the respondents' birth. Of the total sample with JW parents (n = 1,822), two thirds (n = 1,188, 65.20%) had both JW mothers and fathers and one third (n = 634, 34.80%) had one JW parent.

Table 3.1

Religion of Father and Mother at Time of Respondent's Birth

Religion	Father		Mother	
	n	%	*n*	%
Anglican	1,059	7.79	1,132	8.33
Baha'i	9	0.07	2	0.01
Baptist	154	1.13	214	1.57
Catholic	6,913	50.87	7,250	53.35
Evangelical	20	0.15	20	0.15
Jehovah's Witness	1,440	10.60	1,570	11.55
Latter-day Saint	12	0.09	9	0.07
Methodist	114	0.84	105	0.77
Muslim	99	0.73	58	0.43
Pentecostal	399	2.94	543	4.00
Presbyterian	278	2.05	301	2.21
Seventh-day Adventist	537	3.95	596	4.39
Traditional/Animist	158	1.16	123	0.91
Other	133	0.98	77	0.57
No Religion	1,070	7.87	730	5.37
Do Not Know	1,195	8.79	860	6.33
Total	13,590	-	13,590	-

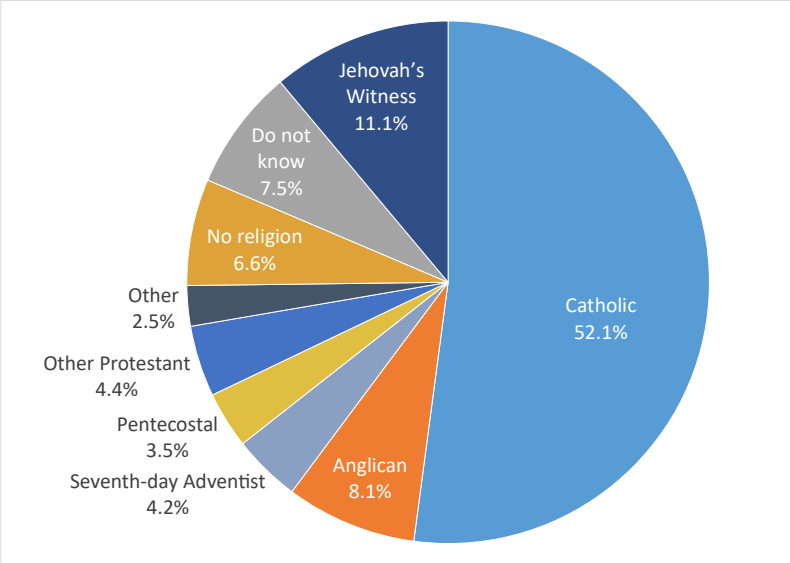
Note. Percentages are based on responses from the total sample of 13,590.

Figure 3.1 shows the religious affiliation of mothers and fathers combined for the main religious categories. For all parents combined, Anglicans were the most common of the Protestant groups (8.06%), followed by Seventh-day Adventists (4.17%) and Pentecostals (3.47%). Parents belonging to other Protestant denominations (i.e., Baptist, Evangelical, Methodist, and Presbyterian) made up 4.44% of the sample population. A smaller percentage of Jehovah's Witnesses (2.50%) had parents who were affiliated with other minority religions (i.e., Baha'i,

Latter-day Saints, Muslim, traditional or animist religions, and "other" religions). Despite the high percentage of Rwandans who identify as Christian, it is noteworthy that 6.62% of parents in the JW sample population indicated that at least one of their parents had no religion. Another 7.56% reported parents with unknown religious affiliations.

Figure 3.1

Parents' Religious Affiliation at Time of Respondents' Birth



Note. *N* = 27,180 (total of mothers and fathers combined).

Growth Over Time—Generations of Jehovah's Witnesses

Most respondents (n = 13,318, 98.00%) were baptized in Rwanda, with only a few baptized in neighboring or other countries: Zaire/Democratic Republic of Congo (n = 140), Burundi (n = 26), Tanzania (n = 27), Uganda (n = 22), and other countries (n = 57).

The research findings from the JW sample population show growth patterns consistent with the organization's annual reports. The published annual reports of Jehovah's Witnesses indicate that only a few became affiliated with the religion in the early postcolonial Rwanda of the 1960s, and 1970s. Although the religious organization was legally banned in Rwanda between 1982 and 1992, organizational records show slow but continued growth. After the ban was lifted and before

the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, over 500 new baptisms took place. In the ensuing post-Genocide years, the faith community grew exponentially—approximately 100% by 1996 and 1,600% by 2023.[2] In compliance with governmental public health restrictions during the COVID-19 pandemic, Jehovah's Witnesses held religious meetings virtually, but few were baptized during this period.

Research findings of the baptisms of survey respondents each year showed growth patterns consistent with the organization's annual reports during key historical periods. A total of 64 in the JW sample were baptized before 1982, with single-digit numbers baptized during the years prior to 1980, and numbering in the teens in 1980 and 1981 prior to the government ban on Jehovah's Witnesses. During the legal ban period from 1982 to 1992, 397 in the JW sample were baptized. In the years 1993 and 1994—after the ban and before the Genocide against the Tutsi—another 200 in the sample population were baptized. In total, 661 survey respondents (4.86% of the total sample of 13,590) were baptized as Jehovah's Witnesses in or before the year of the Genocide against the Tutsi.

Respondents baptized in 1995 and 1996—the first 2 years after the Genocide against the Tutsi—numbered 643. This was an increase of almost 100% (97.28%) from the total number of respondents who were baptized by the end of 1994. During the 5-year period between 1995 to 1999, a total of 1,461 in the JW sample were baptized—an increase of 221% from the year 1994.

From 2000 to 2019, the number of respondents baptized each year ranged from 339 to 705, with the most baptisms occurring in the year 2018. As would be expected, the number of baptisms

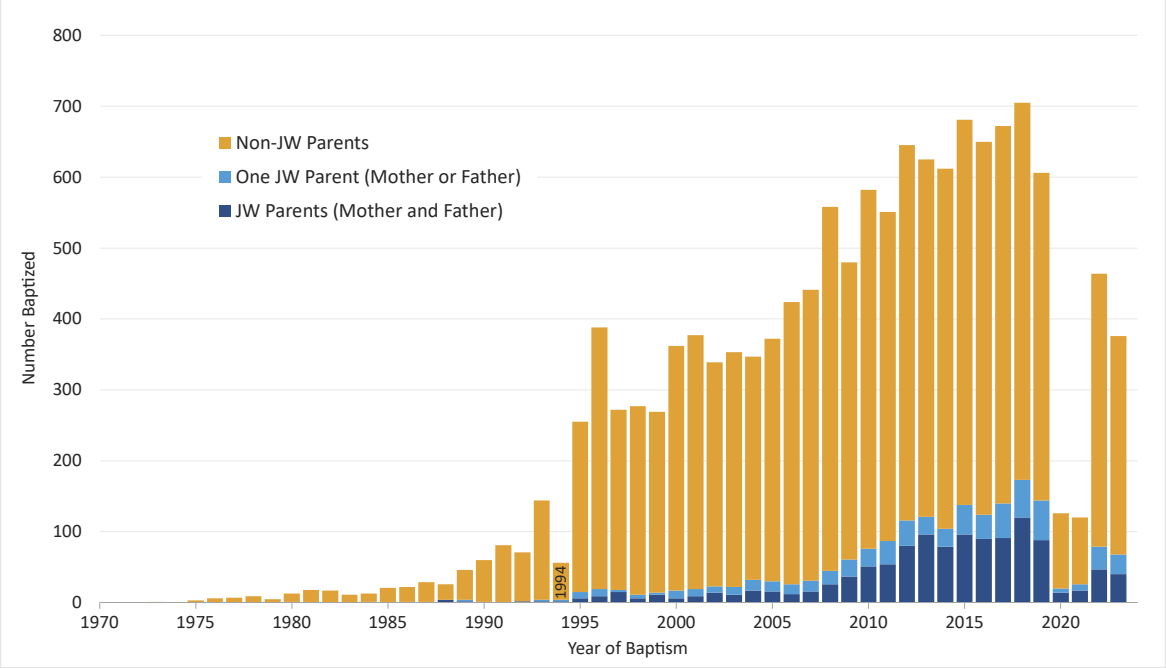
[2] Calculations are based on the pre-Genocide 1994 figure of 2,500, minus the estimated 400 Witnesses (and associates) who perished in 1994; the 1996 service report of 4,223 peak publishers; and the 2023 service year report of 33,664 peak publishers. Reports are calculated by "service year" from September to the following August. For instance, the 2023 service year commenced on September 1, 2022, and ended on August 31, 2023. For 2023 statistics and information about how Jehovah's Witnesses report peak, average, and ratio of publishers by country, see https://www.jw.org/en/library/books/2023-Service-Year-Report-of-Jehovahs-Witnesses-Worldwide/2023-Grand-Totals/.

in 2020 with the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic dropped significantly, with an increase again in 2022, when pandemic restrictions ended. (The survey was completed in June 2023, so data for the year 2023 were only for a partial year.)

Figure 3.2 combines data of respondents' year of baptism and their parents' religion to show the number of the sample population baptized each year, with a breakdown of those whose parents were not Jehovah's Witnesses, those with one JW parent, and those whose mother and father were both Jehovah's Witnesses. At the time of respondents' birth, most parents of the sample population were not Jehovah's Witnesses. Second-generation adopters of the religion who had at least one JW parent were relatively few, but their numbers increased over time, particularly after 2005. For the total sample, 86.59% (n = 11,768) were born into families whose parents were not Jehovah's Witnesses and 13.41% (n = 1,822) were second-generation Jehovah's Witnesses with at least one JW parent.

Figure 3.2

Number of Baptisms per Year, With JW and Non-JW Parents at Time of Respondents' Birth



Note. Total baptized, n = 13,590.

The transgenerational family influence in the growth of the Witness faith community in Rwanda was evident by the number of respondents with close relatives who were Jehovah's Witnesses. Table 3.2 shows the number and percentage of JW relatives for respondents with and without a JW parent at birth and how the conversion of one family member might influence others in the family to adopt the religion. Many respondents whose parents were not Witnesses at the time of their birth reported having JW mothers (23.10%) and JW fathers (9.28%) at the time of the survey. Their parents' conversion could have taken place when they were a minor or an adult, or before or after their own baptism. For this subgroup, 27.76% had at least one JW sibling, and 19.02% had other relatives who were also Jehovah's Witnesses.

Compared with those with non-JW parents at birth, second-generation JWs had a larger family network who shared their beliefs. Although the data do not provide specific numbers of those in families with multiple generations of Jehovah's Witnesses, the data do indicate the added influence or support of JW grandmothers (9.44%) and JW grandfathers (3.69%). Over half of second-generation JWs (56.65%) had fellow believers in their sibling network. Beyond their immediate family, 14.08% had other relatives who were Jehovah's Witnesses (cf. Long, 1968).

Table 3.2

Jehovah's Witnesses With JW Family Members

Current JW Relatives	Non-JW Parents at Birth (*n* = 11,497)		Second-Generation JW (With JW Parents at Birth) (*n* = 1,790)	
	n	%	*n*	%
JW Father	1,067	9.28	935	52.23
JW Mother	2,656	23.10	1,313	73.35
JW Grandfather	76	0.66	66	3.69
JW Grandmother	225	1.96	169	9.44
JW Sibling	3,191	27.76	1,014	56.65
Other JW Relative	2,187	19.02	252	14.08

Note. *N* = 13,287, after removing PNA responses and missing data.

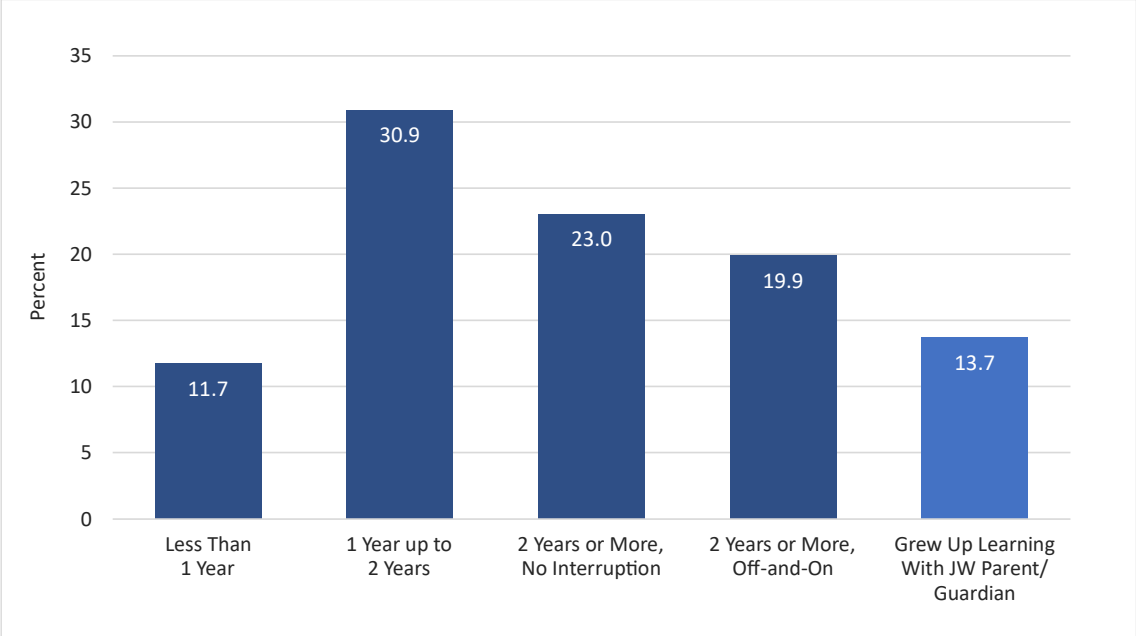
Preparatory Study and Age at Baptism

Before one makes the commitment associated with baptism as one of Jehovah's Witnesses, individuals take time to study and understand the teachings in order to decide whether to adhere to the religion's principles and practices. Figure 3.3 shows the length of time survey respondents studied the Bible with Jehovah's Witnesses before they were baptized. Most respondents (42.94%) reported studying for 2 or more years, either without interruption (23.03%) or intermittently during the period of time before baptism (19.91%). Almost one third (30.85%) studied between 1 and 2 years, while a smaller percentage (11.73%) studied for less than 1 year.

The percentage of the total sample who grew up learning the Bible as children of JW parents or guardians was 13.72%. The total number of those who studied with someone other than a parent or guardian when they were children comprised 85.52% of the sample population, reflecting the religion's growth from evangelizing outside the family circle.

Figure 3.3

Length of Time Studying With Jehovah's Witnesses Before Baptism



Note. *N* = 13,590; PNA responses (*n* = 103, 0.76%) are not shown in the chart.

Just as the length of study prior to baptism varied, Jehovah's Witnesses' age at baptism varied. Table 3.3 shows the percentage of males, females, and the total sample who were baptized at different age groups. Most (45.35%) were baptized as young adults (ages 18 to 29). Over half of the males (52.49%) became baptized Jehovah's Witnesses as young adults. Almost three fourths of the males (73.97%) were baptized before age 30, compared with two thirds (66.45%) of the females. Less than one third of the total sample (30.24%) were baptized at age 30 or older. The average age at baptism was 26 years old.

Table 3.3

Age at Baptism

Age at Baptism	Males (*n* = 6,001)		Females (*n* = 7,589)		Total Sample (*n* = 13,590)	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Under Age 18	1,289	21.48	2,030	26.75	3,319	24.42
Age 18 to 29	3,150	52.49	3,013	39.70	6,163	45.35
Age 30 to 39	900	15.00	1,407	18.54	2,307	16.98
Age 40 to 49	407	6.78	722	9.51	1,129	8.31
Age 50 to 59	170	2.83	292	3.85	462	3.40
Over Age 59	85	1.42	125	1.65	210	1.55

Almost all (99.09%) of those who indicated that they learned from a JW parent or guardian were baptized before age 30. Three fourths (72.39%) who studied with parents or guardians were baptized under age 18 and one fourth (26.70%) at ages 18 to 29.

Table 3.4 highlights the influential role of JW parents on the age at baptism. Over 95% of those who had JW parents were baptized before age 30—63.56% under the age of 18 and 32.11% between the ages of 18 and 29. However, a high percentage of those without JW parents (65.76%) were also baptized Jehovah's Witnesses before age 30, suggesting broader cultural influences on Rwandan youths who make religious commitments at relatively young ages.

Table 3.4

Age at Baptism for Those With JW and Non-JW Parents at Birth

Age at Baptism	With JW Parent (*n* = 1,822)		With Non-JW Parent (*n* = 11,768)	
	n	%	*n*	%
Under Age 18	1,158	63.56	2,161	18.36
Age 18 to 29	585	32.11	5,578	47.40
Age 30 to 39	53	2.91	2,254	19.15
Age 40 to 49	21	1.15	1,108	9.42
Age 50 to 59	3	0.16	459	3.90
Over Age 59	2	0.11	208	1.77

The path to becoming Jehovah's Witnesses involves personal processes and choices, even for those who are introduced to the faith in childhood. The next section examines factors involved in choosing to remain in the religion, personal consequences of adherence to the teaching of political neutrality, and attitudes toward religious belonging and practice.

Dimensions of Religion: Being Jehovah's Witnesses

The study investigated aspects of Jehovah's Witnesses' faith to better understand what it means to be affiliated with the religion. The findings in this report follow Saroglou's Dimensions of Religion schema of bonding, believing, behaving, and belonging (Saroglou, 2011). The findings for the main variables include (a) the original and current attractions to the religion (with bonding and believing aspects being most salient), (b) doctrinal beliefs (believing), (c) practices while under political ban (behaving), (d) organizational identity and commitment (belonging), and (e) interrupted affiliation after baptism (belonging).

Attraction to Jehovah's Witnesses: Original and Current

To understand what attracts individuals to Jehovah's Witnesses, the survey asked respondents two related questions. The first question was, *Individuals are attracted to a religion*

for different reasons. What originally attracted you to Jehovah's Witnesses? The second question was, *Individuals decide to remain in a religion for different reasons. What attracts you now to Jehovah's Witnesses?*

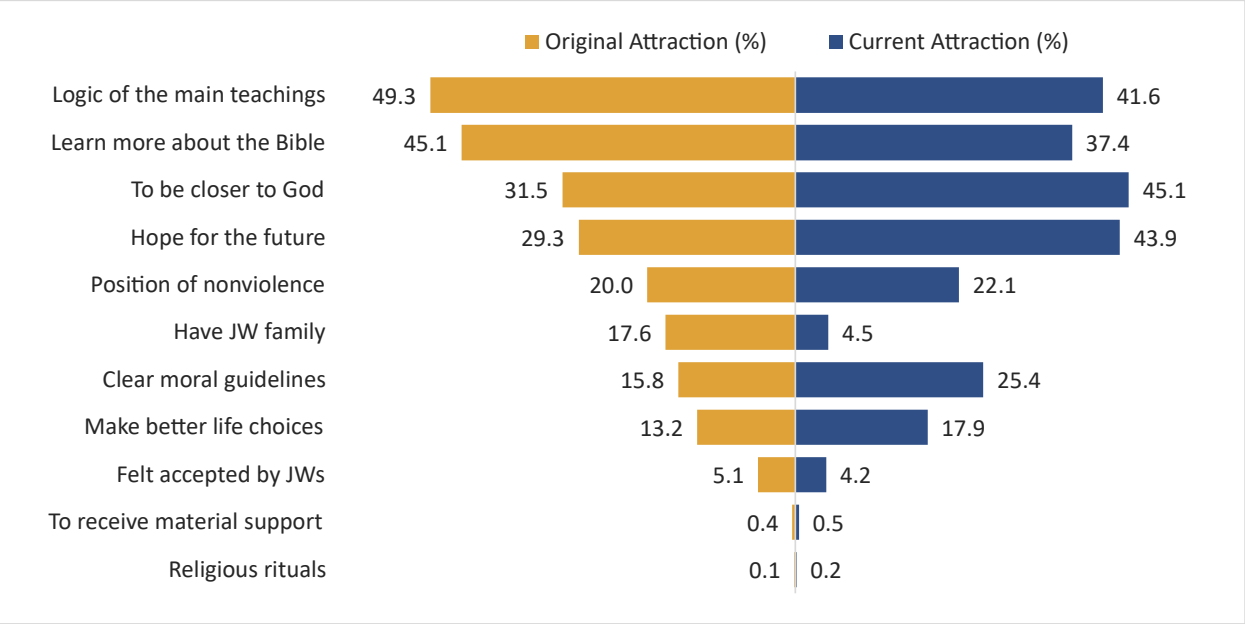
Respondents were asked to select up to 3 out of 12 items. The response options included statements Di Marzio (2020) found that Jehovah's Witnesses often use to explain their religious conversion (e.g., *I wanted to learn more about the Bible*; *I wanted to be closer to God*; *I wanted to make better life choices*). For comparison, the response options also included two possible attractions not associated with Jehovah's Witnesses: *religious rituals* and *to receive material support*. The item *Jehovah's Witnesses' position of nonviolence* was added to the list of attractions for its relevancy to JWs' teachings in the aftermath of the Genocide against the Tutsi. Items for original and current attractions were identical, except the list of original attractions was phrased in the past tense and the current attractions were phrased in the present tense.

As shown in Figure 3.4, the top four original and current attractions were the same, but in a different order. The top two *original* attractions were related to information about beliefs: *the logic of the main teachings* (49.34%) and to *learn more about the Bible* (45.14%). These two items were also among the top four reasons for *current* attractions, but moved to third and fourth place, respectively, replaced by more relational and reflective items: *to be closer to God* (45.08%) and *hope for the future* (43.86%).

Having *clear moral guidelines* was less salient originally but increased over time as a current attraction (from 15.84% to 25.43%). *Religious rituals* and *to receive material support*—two factors that draw some to organized religion—were identified by only a miniscule number in the JW sample population.

Figure 3.4

Original and Current Attractions to Jehovah's Witnesses

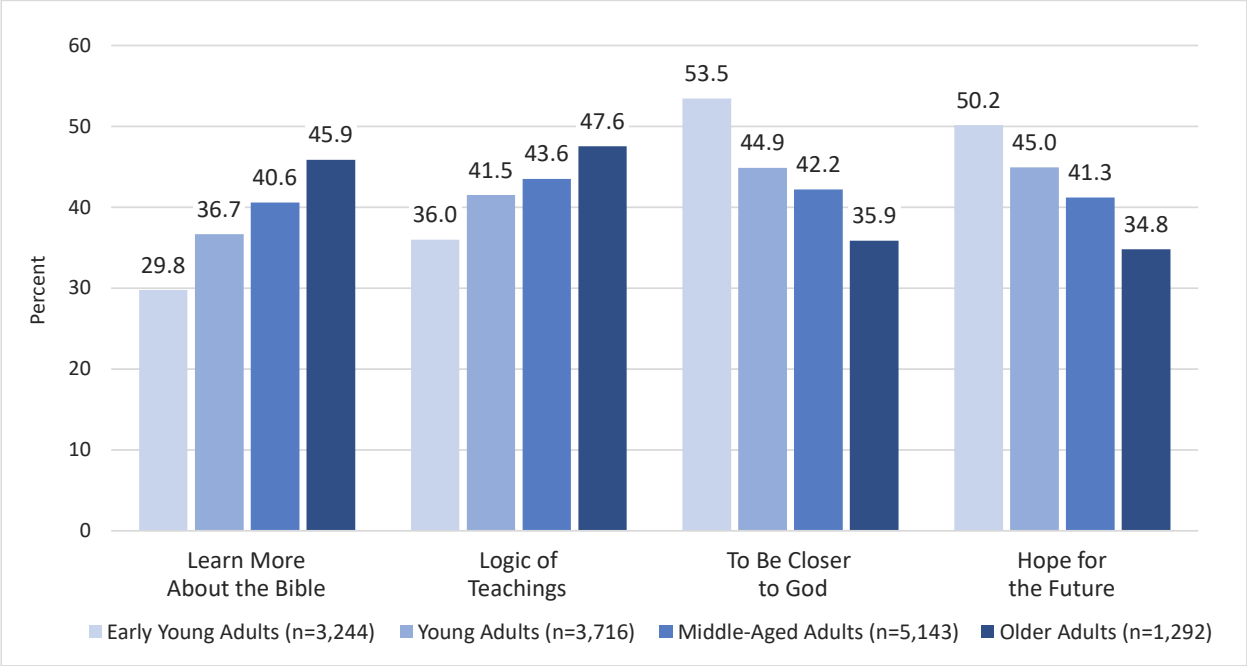


Note. *N* = 13,395 for both original and current attractions after removing PNA, NOA, and missing data.

Original and current attractions to the religion were compared for the four adult age groups: early young adults (born after 1994), young adults (born from 1984 to 1994), middle-aged adults (born from 1964 to 1983), and older adults (born before 1964). The most pronounced age group differences were in their four top current attractions. As shown in Figure 3.5, a consistent stair-step pattern by age group was found but in different descending and ascending order for current attractions. Higher percentages of middle-aged and older adults were drawn to *learn more about the Bible* and *the logic of the main teachings*, while younger age groups were more likely to select wanting *to be closer to God* and having *a hope for the future*.

Figure 3.5

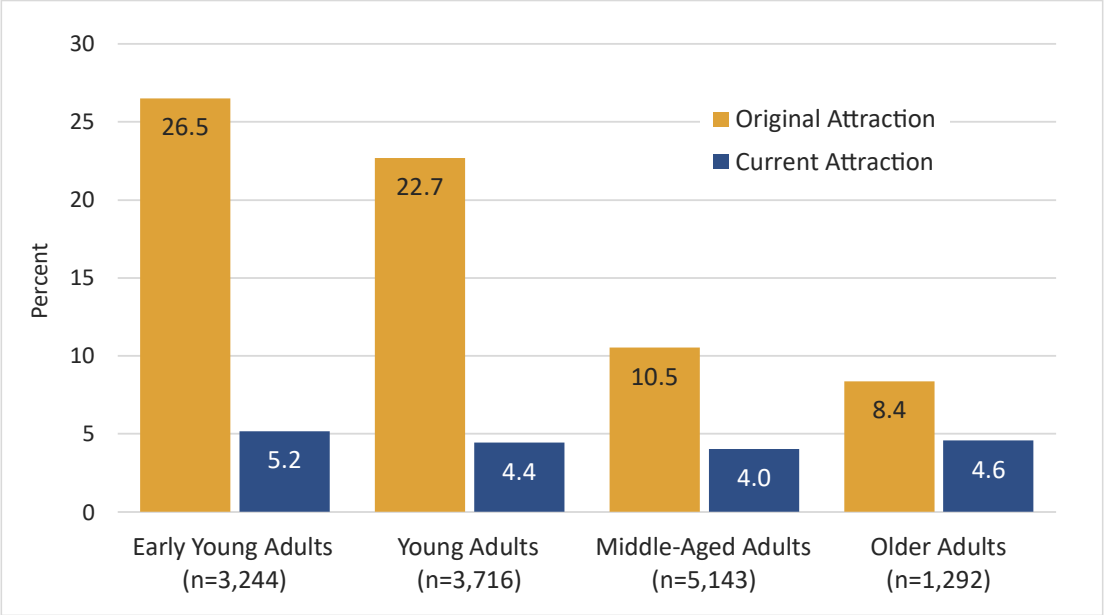
Current Attraction to Jehovah's Witnesses by Age Group



The greatest decrease from original to current attraction of any item for the total sample was *family were/are Jehovah's Witnesses*, which dropped from 17.57% as an original attraction to 4.47% as a current attraction. However, as shown in Figure 3.6, the higher percentage for *family* as an original attraction differed by age cohort. For those under age 29, over one fourth (26.51%) were attracted originally because of having JW family. However, consistently across all age groups, only 4% to 5% of respondents indicated that having JW family was a main reason to remain in the faith. Family was an initial draw to the religion, but for Jehovah's Witnesses, having family of the same faith was not a dominant reason why individuals remained Jehovah's Witnesses.

Figure 3.6

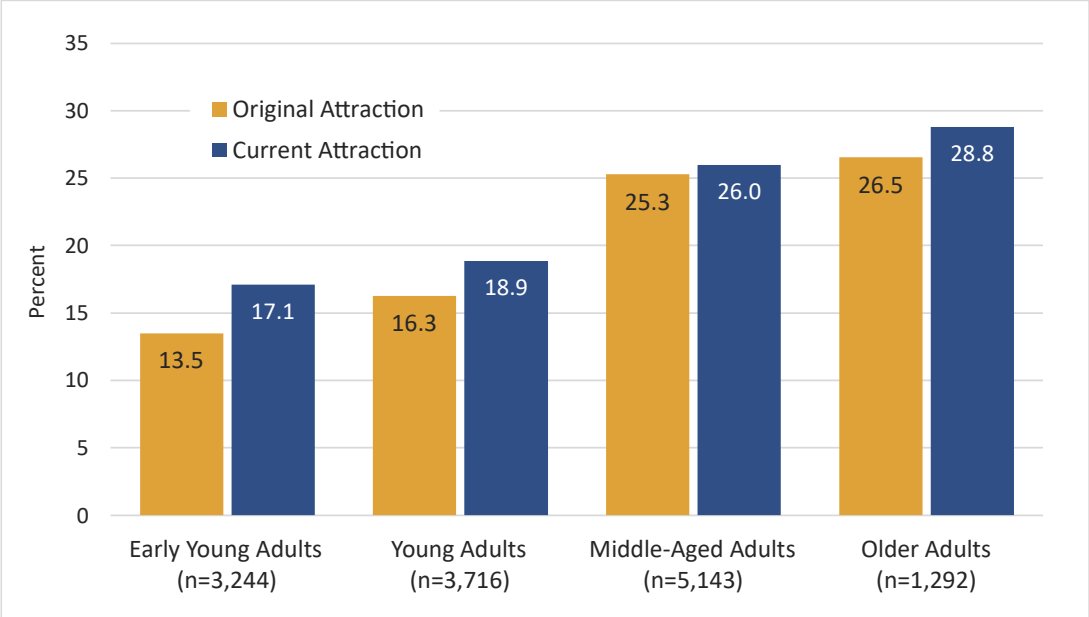
Family as Main Attraction to Jehovah's Witnesses by Age Group



Between 10% and 30% of respondents of different age groups selected Jehovah's Witnesses' position of nonviolence as a main attraction to the religion. Figure 3.7 shows the stair-step pattern with incremental increases from younger to older age groups. The older the subgroup, the more likely *nonviolence* was selected; the youngest subgroup—those born after 1994—was the least likely to select this item. However, across all age groups, the position of neutrality became more salient as a current attraction to the faith as compared with their original attraction to the religion, which could reflect developmental shifts or contemporary geopolitical trends of violent political confrontations. If, instead of a "pick three" question, the survey used an agree-disagree scale, the position of nonviolence (as well as other items) might emerge as an important aspect of the religion attracting the JW population.

Figure 3.7

Original and Current Attraction to Position of Nonviolence by Age Group



The age cohort of early young adults—the post-Genocide generation—was of particular interest, in part because of global trends that show young people increasingly disillusioned with and dropping out of religion (Pew Research Center, 2018). Also, as the youngest age cohort, the time period between original and current attractions would be shorter, so recall of original attraction would be more recent and differences between original and current attractions would be an indicator of shifts in the thoughts and priorities relatively soon after affiliating with Jehovah's Witnesses. The following findings provide insights into the attitudes, values, and priorities of this unique historical cohort of young people growing up as Jehovah's Witnesses in the shadow of the Genocide against the Tutsi.

Figure 3.8 shows the percentages of the Post-Genocide Generation who selected each item as their top original and current attractions to Jehovah's Witnesses. For the under-29 age group, family influence was relatively high originally but dropped from 26.51% to 5.18%. This youngest

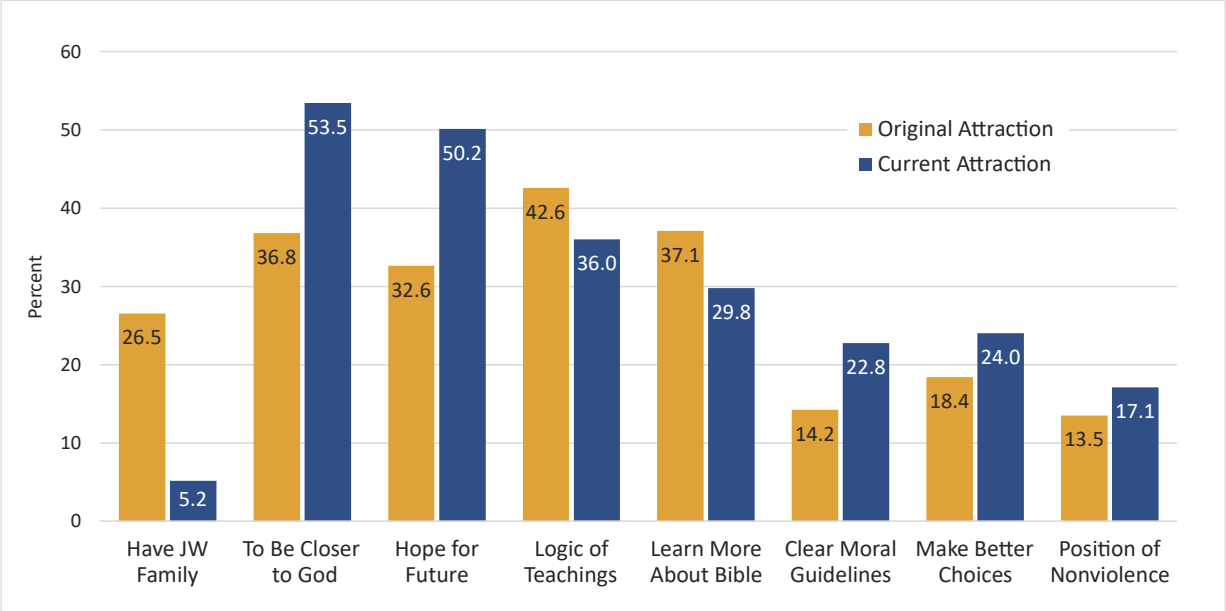
age cohort of the JW sample recognized early family influences but viewed themselves as separate from family when choosing to remain in the religion.

The findings show that, during their relatively short time as Jehovah's Witnesses, early young adults identified spiritual, emotional, and moral aspects of the religion as important current attractions. From the original attraction to the current attraction, *to be closer to God* and *hope for the future* increased about 17%, from 36.81% to 53.45%, and 32.64% to 50.15%, respectively. From their original to current attractions, more young Jehovah's Witnesses selected *clear moral guidelines* (from 14.24% to 22.78%) and wanting *to make better life choices* (from 18.40% to 24.01%). The Post-Genocide Generation, born after 1994, would have learned about Genocide atrocities from secondhand accounts; but the position of nonviolence became more important even between the short interval period of their original to current attraction (from 13.50% to 17.11%).

Information learned from Jehovah's Witnesses—the *logic of the main teachings* and wanting to *learn more about the Bible*—were top current attractions for about one third of early young adults; but the percentages dropped some 7% from original attractions to current (*logic of the main teachings*, from 42.57% to 36.04%; *learn more about the Bible*, from 37.08% to 29.78%). Overall, for early young adults, the more informative or cognitive aspects of the religion were important, but less so over time. Personal application of Jehovah's Witnesses' teachings became more salient, with higher percentages currently attracted to *moral guidelines* (22.78%) and wanting *to make better life choices* (24.01%) compared with their original attraction to these items.

Figure 3.8

Original and Current Attractions to Jehovah's Witnesses for Early Young Adults



Note. *N* = 3,244.

Data on attraction to the religion were also analyzed by gender. Differences between males and females of close to 3% for either original or current attractions were found for four items: *to be closer to God*, *hope for the future*, *logic of teachings*, and *moral guidelines*. (For all other items, the percentage of males and females was similar or had differences less than 3%.)

As shown in Figure 3.9, more females than males selected wanting *to be closer to God*. Both males and females showed a similar upward trend from original to current attraction, with an increase of 14.56% for males (from 29.59% original to 44.15% current attraction) and 12.82% for females (from 32.98% to 45.80%). For both men and women, the bond with God became more salient over time, which respondents identified as a main attraction to Jehovah's Witnesses. The percent increase between original and current attractions was slightly more for males than females.

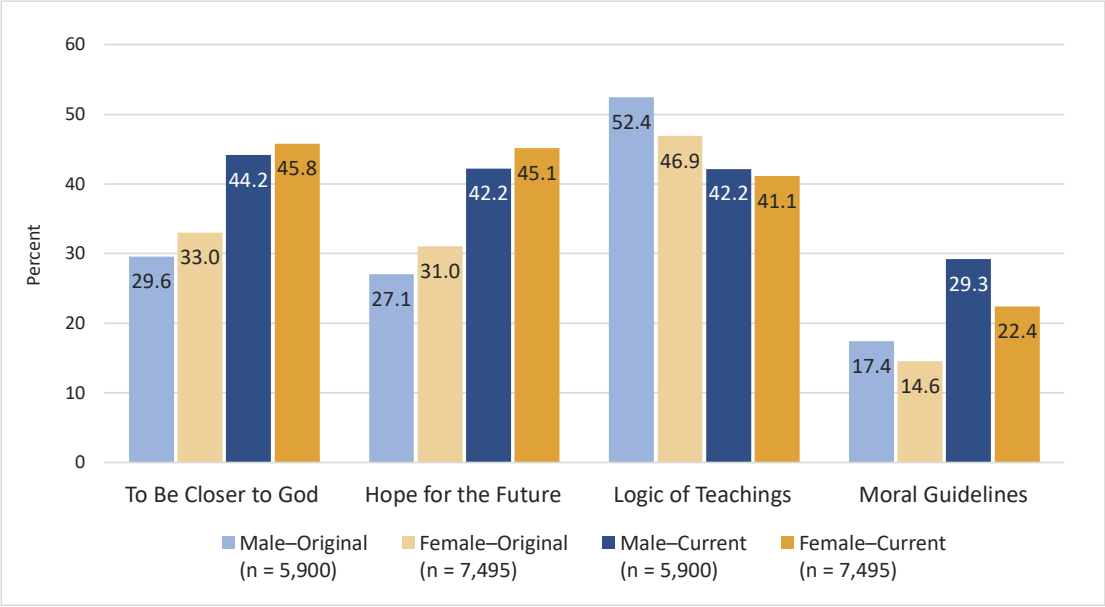
The original attraction to the *logic of the main teachings* was higher for males (52.44%) than females (46.90%)—a difference of 5.54%. The percentages decreased for both males and

females from original to current attraction, but with only a difference of 1% between males (42.17%) and females (41.13%).

Having *moral guidelines* was not one of the top four attractions to Jehovah's Witnesses but had noteworthy gender differences. The original attraction to *moral guidelines* had less than a 3% difference in the percent of males (17.44%) and females (14.58%). However, the gender gap increased to almost 7% for the current attraction to *moral guidelines* for males (29.25%) and females (22.43%). As a reason to remain in the religion, a higher percentage of males than females were attracted to the moral guidelines of Jehovah's Witnesses.

Figure 3.9

Original and Current Attractions to Jehovah's Witnesses by Gender



Believing: Doctrinal Teachings

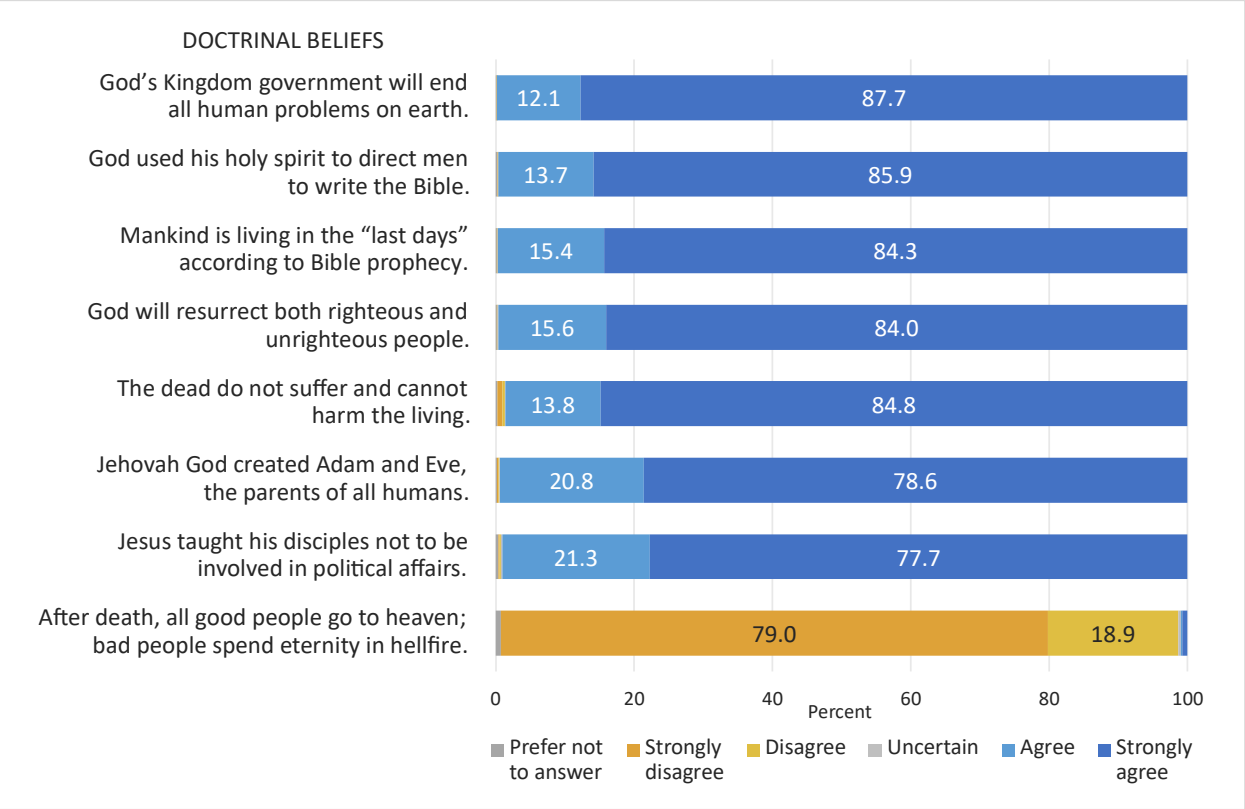
Some core teachings of Jehovah's Witnesses differ from those of other Christian groups. Yet, as discussed previously, respondents were attracted to learning about the Bible and the logic of the teachings of Jehovah's Witnesses. To investigate the degree of agreement with core

teachings of Jehovah's Witnesses among respondents, the survey included a question set with a list of eight doctrinal teachings, using a 5-point Likert scale for respondents to indicate agreement or disagreement. Four of the eight items were related to beliefs about the Bible, the account of Adam and Eve, the condition of the dead, and who go to heaven and hell. The other four items were related to concepts that Jehovah's Witnesses might use to reason on the suffering and injustices during the Genocide against the Tutsi or other life traumas: *Mankind is living in the "last days." God will resurrect both righteous and unrighteous people*. Christians are *not to be involved in political affairs*. *God's Kingdom government will end all human problems on earth*. Seven of the eight statements are teachings of Jehovah's Witnesses; but the statement that *all good people go to heaven, and bad people spend eternity in hellfire* is not a JW teaching.

Figure 3.10 shows a 98% to 100% agreement among the JW sample population on each doctrinal teaching, indicating a broad awareness of the religion's core beliefs. Jehovah's Witnesses share a common belief system. Believing is an integral part of being one of Jehovah's Witnesses.

Figure 3.10

Extent of Agreement With Jehovah's Witnesses' Doctrinal Teachings



Note. *N* = 13,587, total sample minus missing data.

Behaving: Persecution During Government Ban

One distinguishing characteristic of Jehovah's Witnesses as a religious organization is their neutrality toward political matters, coupled with the obligation to obey governmental laws that do not conflict with moral or scriptural commands. Their apolitical stance means that followers would not involve themselves in political activities, siding with one position over another, even if their neutral stand would result in perceived injustices or serious personal consequences. It would also follow that Witnesses would reject politically motivated ethnic divisions as irrelevant to their moral obligations toward fellow humans. This study provided an opportunity to investigate how individual Jehovah's Witnesses faced the decade-long government ban on the small group of believers between 1982 and 1992, before the Genocide against the Tutsi. During this period of

political persecution, findings show ways in which individuals maintained political neutrality and with what consequences. How this minority behaved under the government ban would provide a template for how Jehovah's Witnesses as individuals and as a group would handle the more dangerous conditions during the Genocide against the Tutsi.

During the ban period from 1982 to 1992, 1,137 survey respondents (8.37% of the total sample) identified themselves as either being Jehovah's Witnesses or associated with the religion as family members, Bible students, or unbaptized publishers. This number included 533 males and 604 females.

The survey listed five acts of refusal that were associated with Jehovah's Witnesses' position of political neutrality during the ban (e.g., *refused to make political donations*) and asked this subgroup of respondents if they did any of the acts during the ban period. Table 3.5 presents the politically neutral actions by gender. For each refusal act, a higher percentage of males than females faced these situations. Females were slightly more likely to select *prefer not to answer* (10.60%) compared with males (8.44%).

Table 3.5

Politically Neutral Acts of Jehovah's Witnesses by Gender, 1982–1992

Politically Neutral Acts During Ban, 1982–1992	Males (*n* = 533)		Females (*n* = 604)		Total (*n* = 1,137)	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
I refused to						
. . . make political donations.	296	55.53	275	45.53	571	50.22
. . . join or participate in the military.	190	35.65	70	11.59	260	22.87
. . . participate in political observances or celebrations.	247	46.34	241	39.90	488	42.92
. . . wear a political emblem.	247	46.34	197	32.62	444	39.05
. . . cease evangelizing.	175	32.83	166	27.48	341	29.99
None of the above	94	17.64	128	21.19	222	19.53
Prefer not to answer	45	8.44	64	10.60	109	9.59

Table 3.6 lists the politically neutral stance taken by those who were adults aged 18 and over in 1992 and minors under age 18 in 1992. As confirmed by the data, minors faced fewer political demands than adults during the ban period. Three fourths (75.12%) of adults refused to make political donations and over half refused to wear a political emblem (56.72%) or to participate in political observances (53.23%). The percentage of those who refused to stop evangelizing was 40.05% for adults and 24.49% for minors. Between one third and one fourth of minors indicated that they refused to participate in political celebrations (37.28%), make political donations (36.60%), or wear political emblems (29.39%).

Table 3.6

Politically Neutral Acts of JW Adults and Minors, 1982–1992

Politically Neutral Acts During Ban, 1982–1992	Age 18 and Over in 1992 (*n* = 402)		Under Age 18 in 1992 (*n* = 735)	
	n	%	*n*	%
I refused to				
. . . make political donations.	302	75.12	269	36.60
. . . join or participate in the military.	121	30.10	139	18.91
. . . participate in political observances or celebrations.	214	53.23	274	37.28
. . . wear a political emblem.	228	56.72	216	29.39
. . . cease evangelizing.	161	40.05	180	24.49
None of the above	32	7.96	190	25.85
Prefer not to answer	25	6.22	84	11.43

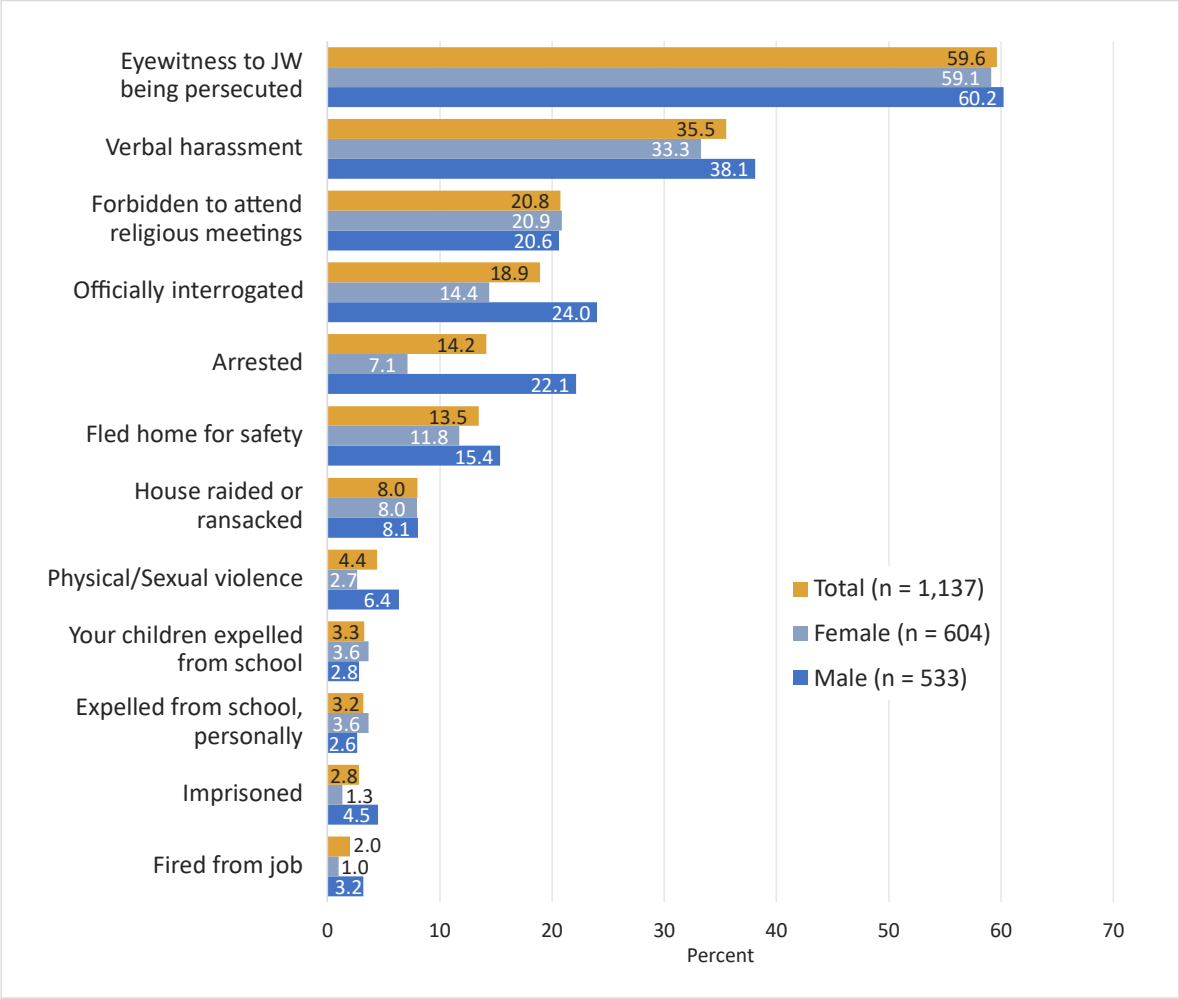
The study investigated the consequences that those affiliated with the small religious group might experience for their refusal to be politically involved. The survey asked this subgroup who lived during the government ban which of 12 experiences happened to them because of their religious affiliation with Jehovah's Witnesses during the ban. Figure 3.11 lists the 12 items from most to least experienced. Over half (59.63%) indicated that they saw Jehovah's Witnesses being persecuted. Verbal harassment was experienced by 35.53% of the subgroup, and 20.76% indicated they were banned from attending religious meetings. Other physically dangerous experiences included being arrested (14.16%), fleeing for safety (13.46%), experiencing physical or sexual violence (4.40%), and being imprisoned (2.81%). The ban affected parents and children, with 3.17% reporting being personally expelled from school and another 3.25% having children who were expelled.

The gender breakdown was similar for certain experiences that were common to Jehovah's Witnesses in general (observing persecution, meetings forbidden, house raids); whereas males

more often faced persecution for refusal to take part in military service or armed night patrols, hence undergoing more harassment, interrogations, and arrests than women.

Figure 3.11

Religious Persecution Jehovah's Witnesses Experienced During Legal Ban, 1982–1992



Note. *N* = 1,137.

Religious Identity and Commitment

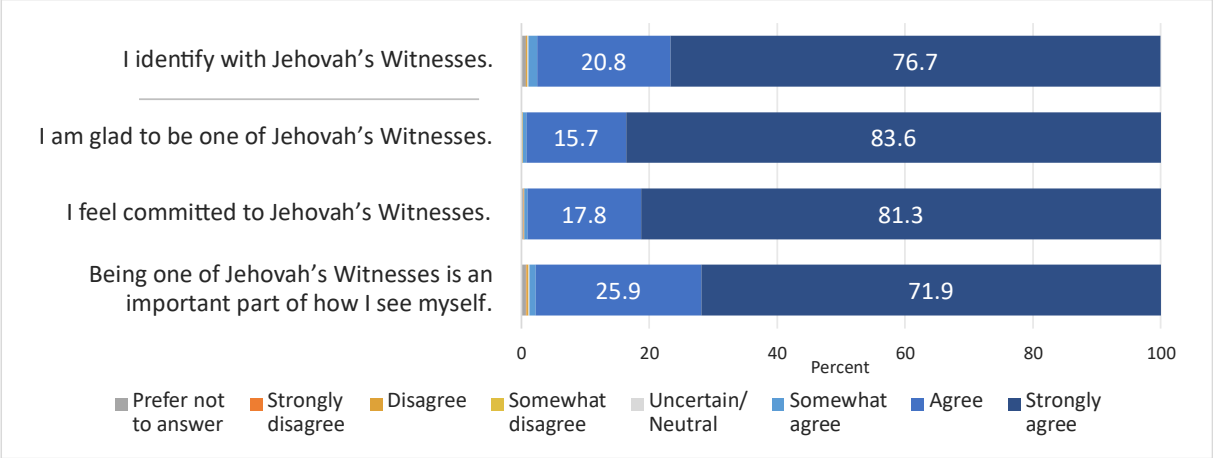
The study investigated the extent to which Jehovah's Witnesses self-identify with the religious organization, using the Four-Item Social Identification (FISI) measure developed by Postmes, Haslam, and Jans (2013). The developers of the 4-item measure tested the reliability and validity of a single-item measure—*I identify with [In-group]*—to measure "the positive emotional

valuation of the relationship between self and ingroup" (Postmes et al., 2013, p. 599). If space in the study instrument allowed, they recommended the three additional tested items that incorporate (a) self-investment, *I feel committed to [In-group]*; (b) satisfaction, *I feel glad to be [In-group]*; and (c) centrality, *Being [In-group] is an important part of how I see myself*. The measure used a 7-point Likert scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*).

Figure 3.12 separates the first single item with almost all respondents indicating that they self-identify with the religious organization. Similarly, responses to the other three items showed that being Jehovah's Witnesses is a central part of how they view themselves and that they have a high degree of satisfaction and solidarity with the religious organization. Less than one percent for each item (range of 0.15% to 0.73%) selected *prefer not to answer*. The vast majority of respondents either agreed or strongly agreed with all items (97.48% to 99.18%), and a negligible fraction of respondents selected *neutral* or the three disagree options (between 0.11% to 0.52%).

Figure 3.12

Self-Identification With Jehovah's Witnesses



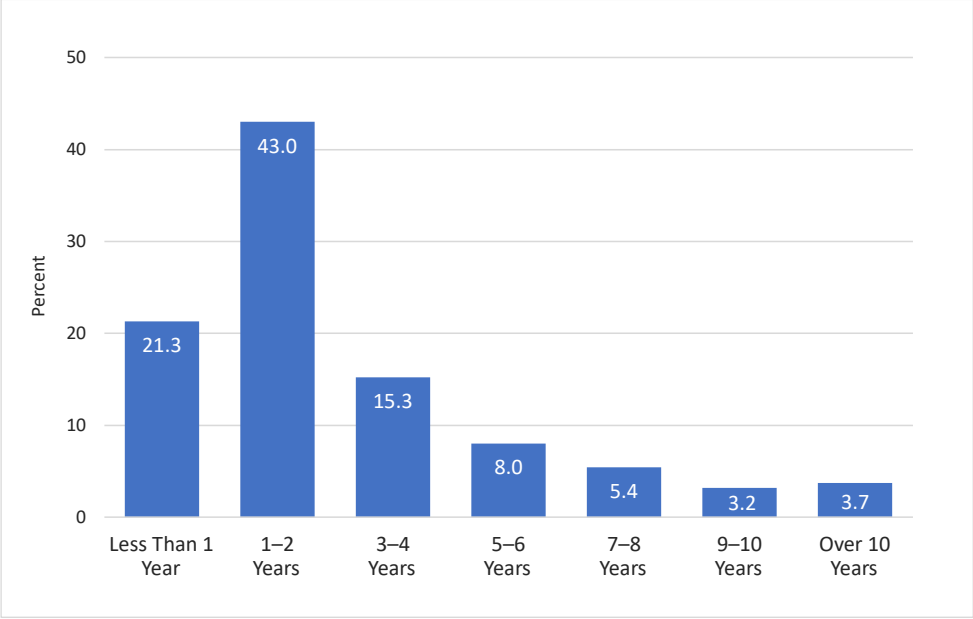
Note. *N* = 13,583, total sample minus missing data. Items are based on the Four-Item Social Identification measure recommended by Postmes, Haslam, and Jans (2013), using Jehovah's Witnesses as the identification ingroup.

Interrupted Association After Baptism. The survey asked respondents if they had ever stopped their association with Jehovah's Witnesses, and if so, for how long? A large majority of respondents (89.83%) reported having remained active Jehovah's Witnesses after their baptism without interruption. Nine percent (9.45%, n = 1,284) reported that they had stopped associating with Jehovah's Witnesses after their baptism for a period of time and later resumed association, which could have occurred for different reasons (e.g., inactivity in the ministry, temporary lapse in moral behavior, or a physical, emotional, or financial crisis).

As shown in Figure 3.13, of the 1,069 who reported how long they were away from the congregation of Jehovah's Witnesses, almost two thirds (64.36%) reported that they resumed their association within 2 years or less. Just under one third (31.9%) resumed association after being away between 3 and 10 years; 3.74% resumed association after an extended time away of 10 years or more.

Figure 3.13

Length of Interrupted Association



Note. N = 1,069. Percentages are based on those who stopped their association with Jehovah's Witnesses for a time and reported the length of time they were not affiliated.

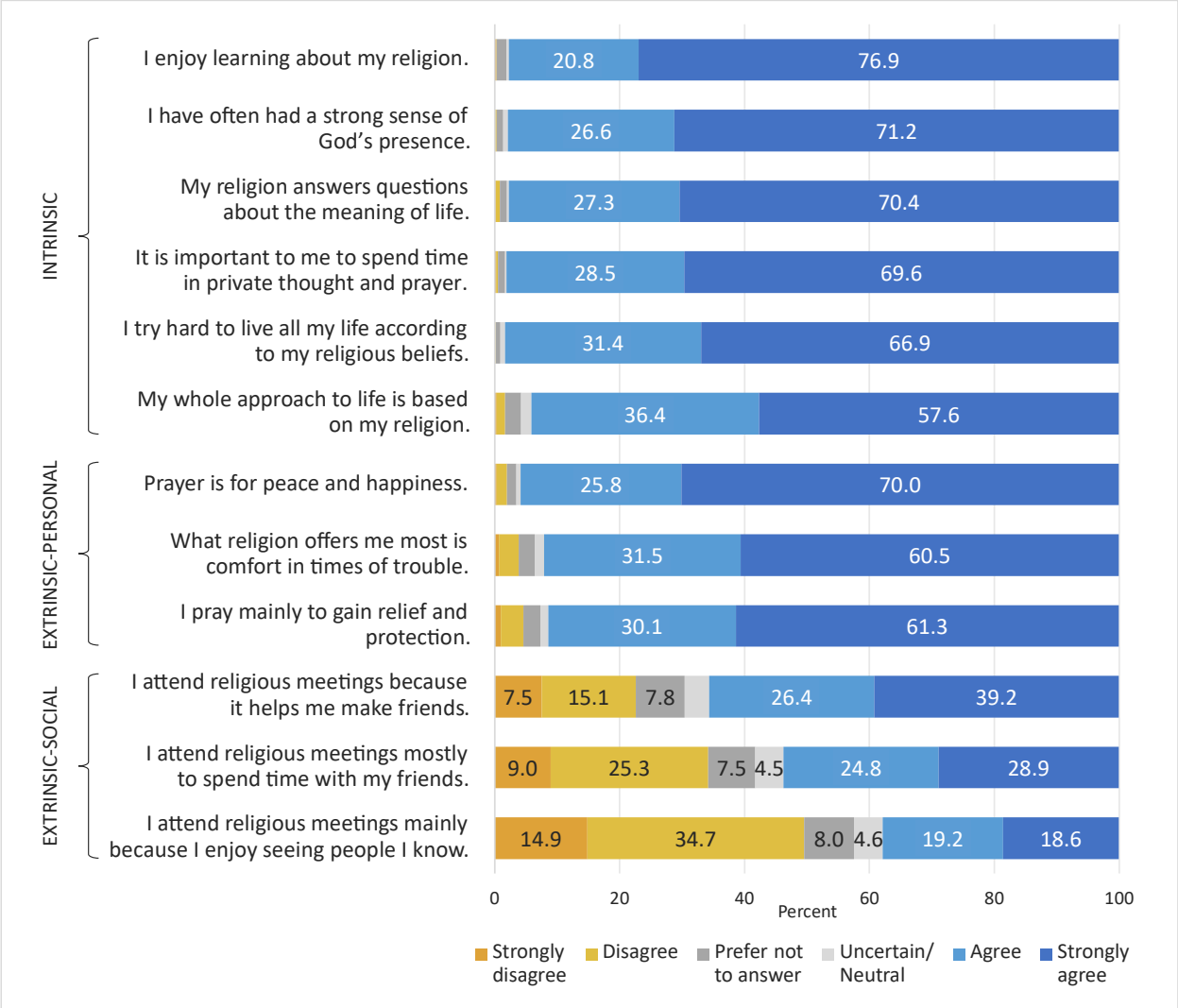
Religious Orientation: Intrinsic and Extrinsic Religiosity

To better understand what being Jehovah's Witnesses means, the survey questionnaire examined their intrinsic, extrinsic-personal, or extrinsic-social religious orientation—those committed to beliefs that influence every aspect of their life and those who see in their religion a source of protection or social connection (Gorsuch & McPherson, 1989; Gorsuch & Venable, 1983). The 12-item validated measure of Maltby and Lewis (1996) was used, with six items related to intrinsic religiosity (e.g., *I have often had a strong sense of God's presence*); three items related to extrinsic-personal religiosity (e.g., *Prayer is for peace and happiness*); and three items related to extrinsic-social religiosity (e.g., *I attend religious meetings because it helps me make friends*). The total religiosity score on a 7-point Likert scale ranged from 12 to 84, with subscales of intrinsic religiosity (range of 6 to 42), extrinsic-personal (range of 3 to 21), and extrinsic-social (range of 3 to 21).

Figure 3.14 shows the breakdown for each item and the dominant extrinsic orientation of Jehovah's Witnesses. Their religion is an integral part of their lives, with nearly 95% agreeing with each of the six intrinsic items. However, an intrinsic orientation does not exclude extrinsic motivations, as shown by the three extrinsic-personal items that indicate personal benefits that Jehovah's Witnesses associate with their religion (e.g., happiness, comfort, and relief). Similarly, along with the intrinsic and extrinsic-personal orientation, some identify extrinsic-social motivations for their religiosity motivation: to *make friends* (65.63%), to *spend time with my friends* (53.73%), and less so, to *see people I know* (37.81%).

Figure 3.14

Religious Orientation: Intrinsic, Extrinsic-Personal, and Extrinsic-Social



Note. *N* = 13,583, total sample minus missing data. Items are based on the 12-item religious orientation scale used by Maltby and Lewis (1996).

The data were analyzed for group differences based on gender (male and female), age group (early young adults, young adults, middle-aged adults, and older adults), generation (Genocide Generation, Returnees, and Post-Genocide Generation). Notably, results from ANOVAs with post hoc tests found no meaningfully statistical differences in any of the group comparisons for the total religiosity or subscales. Regardless of gender, age, or generation, what motivates or orients Jehovah's Witnesses to their religion is much the same. Religion

was an integral part of their lives (intrinsic religiosity) with perceived psychological benefits (extrinsic-personal religiosity). Jehovah's Witnesses recognize social benefits of the religion, but extrinsic-social religiosity is less characteristic of motivations to be part of the faith community than are intrinsic and personal motivations.

Conclusion

The research findings of the personal religious history and experience of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda show how, when, and why they became Jehovah's Witnesses, what some experienced because of their religious affiliation, and features of their current religious life. In line with findings from previous religious studies about Jehovah's Witnesses (Auyezbek & Beisembayev, 2023; Hu & Murata, 2024), JW-RWA confirms that spiritual learning is central to the group's religious practice and personal religiousness. Whether adopting the faith after a period of Bible study or with parental teaching during their youth, respondents' decision to adopt the religion was driven largely by cognitive, not emotional, processes.

Other findings appear contrary to general trends:

1. The study identified a small percentage of Rwandan respondents whose parents had no religious affiliation, which may reflect broader secularizing trends or specific disillusionment with religion that has not been well-researched. The finding illustrates the appeal of the JW faith to those of both religious and nonreligious backgrounds.
2. Contrary to the trend worldwide of younger age cohorts abandoning organized religion, the findings show that among Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda, young people are attracted, not repelled, by religious moral guidelines and adopt a strong religious identity. That most Jehovah's Witnesses are baptized before age 30 and that the average age at baptism is 26 may reflect the strongly religious culture in Rwandan society.

Another factor may be certain post-Genocide effects, such as accelerated maturation of young people due to the drastic reordering of family structures or increased spiritual seeking as a means of solace, healing, and hope.

3. Similarly, the heightened attraction of males to the moral guidelines of the religion may reflect a keenly felt need among those who seek support because of having seen or experienced the negative consequences of extreme social pressure when many of them were in early adulthood.
4. Across cultures and religious groups, women are more religiously involved than men. However, gender differences were not found among Jehovah's Witnesses on religious measures, with male Jehovah's Witnesses indicating religiosity and religious attractions similar to females. This may indicate an influence of the religious culture and/or the broader Rwandan culture in the religious socialization of males.
5. Previous research identified religious rituals as a "bonding" religious dimension. For Jehovah's Witnesses, bonding with God was characterized by a perceived relationship with or attachment to God, but not by rituals. More research and statistical analysis are needed to understand the effect on both the Genocide and post-Genocide generations of the profoundly devastating experience of 1994.

Personal bonding or attachment to God as prominent motivation among respondents may explain Witnesses' strong adherence to what they perceive as divine commands, even in situations that present strong social pressure to the contrary. Broad agreement with key doctrines of the faith suggests a clear understanding and consensus of teachings. Strong identity with the religious community is another consistent characteristic of Witness adherents, and yet counterintuitively, respondents scored relatively lower in extrinsic social orientations toward their faith, with intrinsic

and extrinsic-personal orientations clearly more salient. Respondents came from various demographic, ethnic, and religious backgrounds. While they expressed diverse opinions regarding religious motivations, for certain measures of religiosity, Jehovah's Witnesses were relatively consistent. Such general consensus merits cross-cultural exploration to see if the same patterns hold in populations of Jehovah's Witnesses in other cultures and political climates, as well as with future generations of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda.

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4. FORGIVENESS AND PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOR

The JW-RWA study examined Jehovah's Witnesses' attitudes related to the psychosocial concepts of forgiveness and other prosocial behaviors. This section outlines concepts, definitions, and theories of forgiveness and related variables. Definitions from JW literature are provided as the survey respondents' possible frame of reference when rating their attitudes and behaviors. Key findings from statistical analysis of survey responses identified consistent patterns in the attitudes and behaviors of the study population across demographic groups.

Literature Review

An overview of the scholarly literature provides background and context for the research findings. It highlights the significance of forgiveness and prosocial behavior in interpersonal relationships, with positive cumulative effects on social groups and the larger society.

Interpersonal, Divine, and Self-Forgiveness

Forgiveness, as a core focus of this study, has deep religious and philosophical roots as well as multifaceted psychosocial implications that profoundly impact personal, communal, and societal outcomes. Research has centered on three basic categories of forgiveness: interpersonal forgiveness, self-forgiveness, and divine forgiveness. JW-RWA investigated aspects of these three categories, using or adapting validated measures by leading forgiveness researchers and the empirical findings.

Early research into forgiveness was mainly carried out by clinical researchers in therapeutic fields, along with several pioneering social psychologists (Worthington, 1998). By the late 1990s, scientific studies accelerated, proposing definitions, theories, and processes of forgiveness, as well

as methods of empirical research (Worthington & Wade, 2020). The majority of early research was conducted with college students or those in close personal relationships, such as families or romantic partners (McCullough et al., 1998). Forgiveness researchers later broadened the field of study to situations of mass violence, including a few studies in Rwanda (e.g., Kubai, 2016; Ordóñez-Carabaño et al., 2020). Research findings have demonstrated connections between the three types of forgiveness, as well as between forgiveness and other prosocial attitudes, such as compassion, empathy, and caring. Forgiveness has been linked to positive outcomes, including psychological wellbeing, posttraumatic healing, behavior modification, and relationship repair (Long et al., 2020). On balance, forgiveness under certain conditions can lead to negative effects, such as depressive symptoms, imposing undue pressure on victims to forgive, or reducing the incentive for offenders to reform (Exline, 2013; McNulty, 2020; Staub, 2005).

Forgiveness and Religion

In Rwanda, official efforts toward forgiveness and reconciliation on a societal and individual level can be supplemented by religious communities that foster a readiness to forgive among their congregations. Researchers have long agreed that forgiveness and religious affiliation, activity, or attachment to God are linked; although how this relationship works has been unclear (Choe et al., 2020; Pargament & Rye, 1998). Escher (2013) proposed that “a person who has internalized a belief system in which forgiveness is a moral necessity is socialized into forgiving practices” (p. 103). Also important to Escher is one’s orientation toward God as a collaborator in living life and solving problems, as well as an Exemplar to imitate; and Escher attributes this orientation with causality in motivating forgiveness.

Interpersonal Forgiveness

The most commonly studied type of forgiveness involves situations in which one person or group has experienced a real or perceived wrong (e.g., by insult, injury, or injustice) and another is seen as having caused the wrong (Enright et al., 1998). Most definitions of forgiveness involve changing emotions toward the offender from negative to positive feelings or intentions. Some definitions go further by including an actual move on the part of the offended to repair or restore the relationship that was disrupted by the offense (Worthington, 2020). The propensity to extend forgiveness may be influenced by such factors as age (Garthe & Guz, 2020; Tao et al., 2021), culture (Sandage et al., 2020), personality type (Brose et al., 2005), and religion (Escher, 2013; Toussaint & Williams, 2008). Forgiving an offender may prompt the forgiver to show prosocial feelings and behaviors toward others (Karremans et al., 2005).

It has been commonly assumed that women forgive more than men. One theory held that increased forgiveness in females occurs because women prioritize preserving relationships, while men prioritize justice and social order. Another theory argued that since women are usually more religious than men, they receive more religious influence to forgive (Miller et al., 2008). Overall, however, studies have measured only small gender differences in trait forgiveness, and even these findings have been questioned (Kaleta & Mróz, 2022). As for age effects, Krause & Ellison (2003) found that older people tend to be more forgiving than younger ones, which may be related to the tendency of religiousness to increase with age.

Forgiveness can occur as a result of a deliberate (cognitive) decision or an emotional (affective) reaction (Worthington et al., 2007). An individual may be moved to forgive a specific person or single offense, called *situational* forgiveness. The general inclination to forgive across time and space is called *trait* or *dispositional* forgiveness (Hodge et al., 2020). Researchers have

also made clear what forgiveness does not mean: condoning, tolerating, or minimizing the wrong. Forgiving is neither synonymous with nor contingent on forgetting (Smedes, 1984). It need not be unconditional (Enright et al., 1998), nor should it be obligatory (Lamb, 2002).

Although broadly termed *interpersonal forgiveness*, some researchers suggest the term *intrapersonal forgiveness* to refer to the inner change of feelings or intentions toward the offender, such as relinquishing resentment or the right to retaliate, or viewing the offender empathetically. These internal changes mirror closely the etymological sense of the Greek biblical term, *a·phi'e·mi*, literally translated as "let go off" (cf. Jehovah's Witnesses—Official Website, n.d.). Letting go of resentment can take place whether or not the offender expresses remorse or is even known to the injured party. From both a religious and a therapeutic standpoint, by effecting intrapersonal forgiveness, the injured party may be able to reduce or even resolve bitter or angry feelings independent of an offender's contrition, which may or may not be forthcoming. *Hollow forgiveness* involves an outward expression or action signaling forgiveness without a corresponding inner feeling, perhaps in response to external pressure or social expectations to forgive (Baumeister et al., 1998). Conversely, *silent forgiveness* entails an inner decision or emotional change without an outward expression toward the offender. The latter might take place, for instance, if the victim fears that overtly expressing forgiveness may embolden the offender to repeat the wrong.

Similar to provisos in the research literature, JW study material explicitly states that forgiveness does not equate with condoning the sin but rather means the forgiver is "trustfully leaving the matter in Jehovah's hands. He is the righteous Judge" (*Watchtower*, 2022a, p. 10; cf. *Watchtower*, 2000[1]). Seeking revenge risks worsening a bad situation and perpetuating a cycle of

[1] After the notorious, race-related torture and murder of African-American James Byrd by three white men, three of Byrd's sisters, who are Jehovah's Witnesses, stated: "Retaliation, hateful speech, or promotion of hate-ridden propaganda never entered our mind. We thought: 'What would Jesus have done? How would he have responded?' The answer was crystal clear. His message would have been one of peace and hope" (*Watchtower,* 2000, p. 5).

hatred (*Watchtower*, 2022b). This view may have been reflected in responses indicating which scriptures were most helpful in coping with thoughts of the Genocide against the Tutsi. The top selection of JW-RWA respondents was *Return evil to no one. Vengeance belongs to God* (paraphrase of Romans 12:17, 19). Leaving the matter with God, in effect, relieves the victim of judging and avenging the wrong. (See Section 6, Subjective Social and Psychological Wellbeing, in this report.)

In considering how to measure interpersonal forgiveness, the research team elected to use a measure of trait forgiveness (Berry et al., 2005), rather than a situational measure that asks respondents to think of a particular offense when selecting responses (e.g., most recent, most hurtful, violent crime). Given the diversity of the sample population, including those in varied Genocide situations, as well as those who were not in Rwanda in 1994 or were born after 1994, a situational approach seemed problematic for this study since it would be unknown what type of offense(s) the respondent had in mind. Although responses to the forgiveness measures may plausibly reflect attitudes toward acts committed during the Genocide, particularly for those who were in Rwanda in 1994, this may not necessarily be the case. More meaningful for the overall objective of the study was the examination of forgiveness as a prosocial trait that could potentially contribute to community and societal recovery after the Genocide.

Divine Forgiveness

The concept of divine forgiveness is based on the perception that a higher power extends forgiveness for transgressions, either conditionally or unconditionally (Exline, 2020). In his article "Towards a Psychology of Divine Forgiveness," leading theorist Frank Fincham reviewed the sparse research on divine forgiveness, dating back to the late 1990s, and outlined an extensive future research agenda (Fincham, 2022). Although some early studies demonstrated correlations

between divine forgiveness and physical and mental health, most studies were cross-sectional and limited to US-based Christian populations. Fincham critiqued the use of a single item to measure divine forgiveness—"I believe God has forgiven me for the things I've done wrong" (e.g., Krause & Ellison, 2003, p. 83)—and called for a multi-item list that captured not only cognitive but emotional and behavioral responses toward perceived forgiveness by God. Fincham raised questions about the role of intrapersonal, interpersonal, religious, and cultural factors in differing perspectives of divine forgiveness. Researchers need to examine how belief in conditional versus unconditional divine forgiveness affects interpersonal forgiveness, as well as the association between divine and earthly (interpersonal) forgiveness.

From a biblical perspective, God is described as "ready to forgive" (Psalm 86:5; cf. *Watchtower*, 2022a, p. 2). While the biblical Greek word for forgiveness is applied to human relationships, usage of the biblical Hebrew word *sa·lach'* in the Old Testament is reserved for God alone, referring to pardoning a sinner (cf. Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society of Pennsylvania, 2018). Hence, in JW literature, divine forgiveness is generally presented as contingent on repentance (*Watchtower*, 2024a).

The JW-RWA study included a measure of divine forgiveness that incorporated questions and concepts developed by Fincham and his colleagues, together with items that considered the religious culture of the target population (Fincham et al., 2020).

Self-Forgiveness

The concept of self-forgiveness strikes some as extremely offensive, assuming that it involves the idea that perpetrators of violence or passive bystanders can absolve themselves of guilt. However, as is true of interpersonal forgiveness, genuine self-forgiveness does not imply condoning or exonerating oneself of harmdoing. Self-forgiveness sits between self-exoneration,

by which an individual sees no need to change or take responsibility, and self-condemnation, by which an individual believes he cannot change and engages in self-hatred or self-punishment.

Genuine self-forgiveness is not about feeling better about oneself, but "it is about feeling right and doing right" (Woodyatt & Wenzel, 2020, p. 23). Self-forgiveness is an elongated, arduous process that involves work and likely unpleasant feelings, and requires humility (Fisher & Exline, 2006; Hall & Fincham, 2005). Self-forgiveness begins with taking personal responsibility for one's actions or failures (Griffin et al., 2018). "Responsibility is understood in a moral sense as the acceptance of wrongdoing, its seriousness, the lack of justification, and acceptance of blame" (Wenzel, 2012, p. 620). It can involve a period of self-reflection on the causes, meaning, and consequences of a violation of shared values. This reflection can lead to value reaffirmation, recalling why values are important and the benefits experienced when they were followed in the past, thereby restoring the offender's agency in making things right and committing to change. At the same time, it is other-oriented, taking the perspective of the victim and showing empathy (Hall & Fincham, 2005). These are internal processes, but voluntary confession indicates a coming to terms with the transgression. While taking responsibility can lead to a more negative self-regard (e.g., due to guilt or shame), value reaffirmation breaks this negative response and allows positive self-regard to be the reaction.

A puzzling finding of some researchers was that self-forgiveness was related to lower empathy toward others, higher narcissism, selfishness, and low motivation to change, which could lead to a repeat or perpetuation of the behavior (Wenzel et al., 2012). On closer examination, researchers called this *pseudo-self-forgiveness* in offenders who put past offenses behind them but are not consumed with guilt or self-hatred and apparently view themselves positively (cf. Tsang, 2002). Pseudo-self-forgivers have not taken personal responsibility or reflected on their harmdoing;

rather, they avoid their victim and any thoughts and feelings associated with the sin, self-deception, and rationalization (Hall & Fincham, 2005).

Correlations Between Types of Forgiveness

Researchers have found certain relationships between types of forgiveness. For instance, higher levels of interpersonal forgiveness are related to divine forgiveness (Krause & Ellison, 2003). In two longitudinal studies, Fincham and May (2023) found that belief in divine forgiveness predicts interpersonal forgiveness, but not vice versa. This finding has implications for Christian traditions, including that of Jehovah's Witnesses, that highlight God's forgiveness as evidence of the possibility of closeness to God, followed by encouragement toward interpersonal forgiveness as "moral imperative" for Christians to imitate that divine model (cf. Fincham & May, 2023, p. 167). Of the three types of forgiveness, low self-forgiveness correlated most strongly with depressive symptoms. However, the depressive effects of low self-forgiveness can be moderated if a person has a strong belief in divine forgiveness (Fincham & May, 2019). Spiritual struggles can result from a perceived lack of forgiveness or love by God or from guilt or shame over not living up to one's standards (Desai & Pargament, 2015; Pargament & Exline, 2022; Zarzycka & Puchalska-Wasyl, 2020).

Prosocial Behaviors

Prosocial behaviors refer to actions that benefit others without the expectation of personal benefit (e.g., acts of kindness, helping, volunteering, and sharing), which are considered symbols of social responsibility and contribute to social harmony (Dovidio et al., 2006; Penner et al., 2005). JW-RWA investigated several aspects of prosocial behavior—compassionate love, community support, giving and receiving behaviors, and perceived changes in relationships since becoming Jehovah's Witnesses.

Compassionate Love

Compassion as a prosocial construct is rooted in empirical and theoretical literature related to altruism and empathy (Batson, 2011). More than feelings of empathy, compassion is a desire to act to alleviate others' suffering (Singer & Klimecki, 2014). The altruistic tendencies of compassion can be inspired by religious and spiritual traditions (Saroglou, 2013). Developmental psychologists view compassion as an expression of generativity that promotes meaningfulness particularly during middle age and later life (Erikson et al., 1986/1994; Kahana et al., 2013).

Compassionate love is defined by Chiesi et al. (2020) as "awareness and understanding of one's suffering, connecting with the distress, and being emotionally and cognitively moved to alleviate suffering" (p. 1). "Compassionate love includes caring, tenderness, and a helpful orientation toward humanity as a whole, especially in times of suffering or need" (p. 2). Compassionate love correlates with reduced prejudice and more positive attitudes toward culturally diverse outgroups (Oosthuizen, 2021; Sprecher & Fehr, 2005) and contributes to positive ingroup and outgroup relations (Dovidio et al., 2010).

Changes in Interpersonal and Conflict Relationships

Interpersonal relations can become strained for any number of reasons, including religious differences. While religious change does not automatically result in familial conflict, religious similarity is generally linked to greater happiness and satisfaction in marital and parent-child relationships (Curtis & Ellison, 2002; Hendricks et al., 2024; Zimmerman et al., 2015). Although affiliation with a minority religion can potentially create tension in close relationships with those who have different beliefs, prosocial behaviors based on religious principles can have a moderating effect. A study of Jehovah's Witnesses in Kazakhstan reported generally positive changes in relationships with family and other proximate associates after respondents' conversion to the JW

faith (Auyezbek & Beisembayev, 2023). The JW-RWA study further explores the connection between prosocial behaviors and interpersonal relationships.

Community Resilience/Support and Helping Behavior

The study of resilience seeks to understand the ability of individuals and communities to cope with trauma or adversity. Social support is a key component in the functioning of society, especially in the wake of adversity. Both resilience and social support help protect against alcohol abuse, depression, and anxiety (Esparza-Reig et al., 2022).

Definitions of community resilience and the measures used to quantify such resilience differ widely (Patel et al., 2017). Cénat et al. (2021) examined two aspects of community resilience: (a) processes that enable a community to become functional again after a collective trauma and (b) the community's use of resources to facilitate the resilience of individual community members. Esparza-Reig et al. (2022) pointed to feelings of being socially supported as a predictor of prosocial behaviors. Not feeling supported by one's social network may "trigger antisocial behaviors that are harmful to the rest of society" (p. 1). Resilience "encourages individuals to manifest more prosocial behaviors and increase prosocial behaviors instead of focusing on themselves" (p. 1). "Feeling close to God" is also a strong predictor of prosocial behavior (Ciarrochi et al., 2003, p. 71).

Psychologists have argued that altruistic behavior instrumentalizes helping for self-interest, such as image enhancement or political advantage (Ciarrochi et al., 2003). However, such theories have been challenged by studies demonstrating that the values of empathy, volunteerism, principled giving, and altruism are also potent motivators for prosocial helping (Stürmer & Siem, 2017; Stürmer & Snyder, 2010). Personal autonomy in giving is associated with personal wellbeing (Rinner et al., 2022). Although altruistic giving is without the expectation of personal

gain, the norm of reciprocity means that within social groups, givers often become recipients of giving (Burger et al., 2008). Belief in a benevolent God predicted increased volunteering and prosocial attitudes, even toward a religious outgroup (Johnson et al., 2013).

Charitable activities carried out by Jehovah's Witnesses are self-supported and implemented by volunteers. These activities have not received much scholarly attention. Among sources of formal community support is a global network of disaster-relief volunteers who are mobilized on an as-needed basis, such as during disease outbreaks, natural and manmade disasters, and refugee crises. The JW national, regional, and headquarters offices coordinate distribution of material aid via local congregations to congregants and their families in times of need (Chu & Peltonen, 2024). At the local level, congregation elders arrange support by and for congregants spiritually, emotionally, and practically, such as with patient visitation, bereavement support, and disaster preparedness (*Watchtower*, 2024b; *Watchtower*, 2017). Materials for congregation study regularly encourage congregants to be attentive to one another's needs and to practice giving of emotional, material, and instrumental support, especially to vulnerable persons, such as orphans, widows, and frail older persons (*Watchtower*, 2008; *Watchtower*, 2014; *Watchtower*, 2018).

Results

The research findings from the JW-RWA study contribute to the empirical literature showing how Jehovah's Witnesses view and practice forgiveness and other prosocial attitudes and behaviors that could potentially contribute to positive relationships and resilient communities. The main variables investigated in this section include three types of forgiveness, together with compassionate love for humanity, and community resilience and support of congregation. Following a description of each measure, results are presented for the total sample, with charts showing the breakdown of responses to individual items in question sets. The Witnesses' responses

are analyzed by demographic groups: gender; adult age groups; the length of time since baptism; and Genocide experience for those who lived in Rwanda in 1994, Returnees who lived outside Rwanda at the time of the Genocide against the Tutsi, and the Post-Genocide Generation or early young adults. The results show a collective profile of salient psychosocial characteristics of the faith community in Rwanda.

Forgiveness

Three types of forgiveness were investigated: trait forgiveness, divine forgiveness, and self-forgiveness. Findings show the extent to which these characterize the study population.

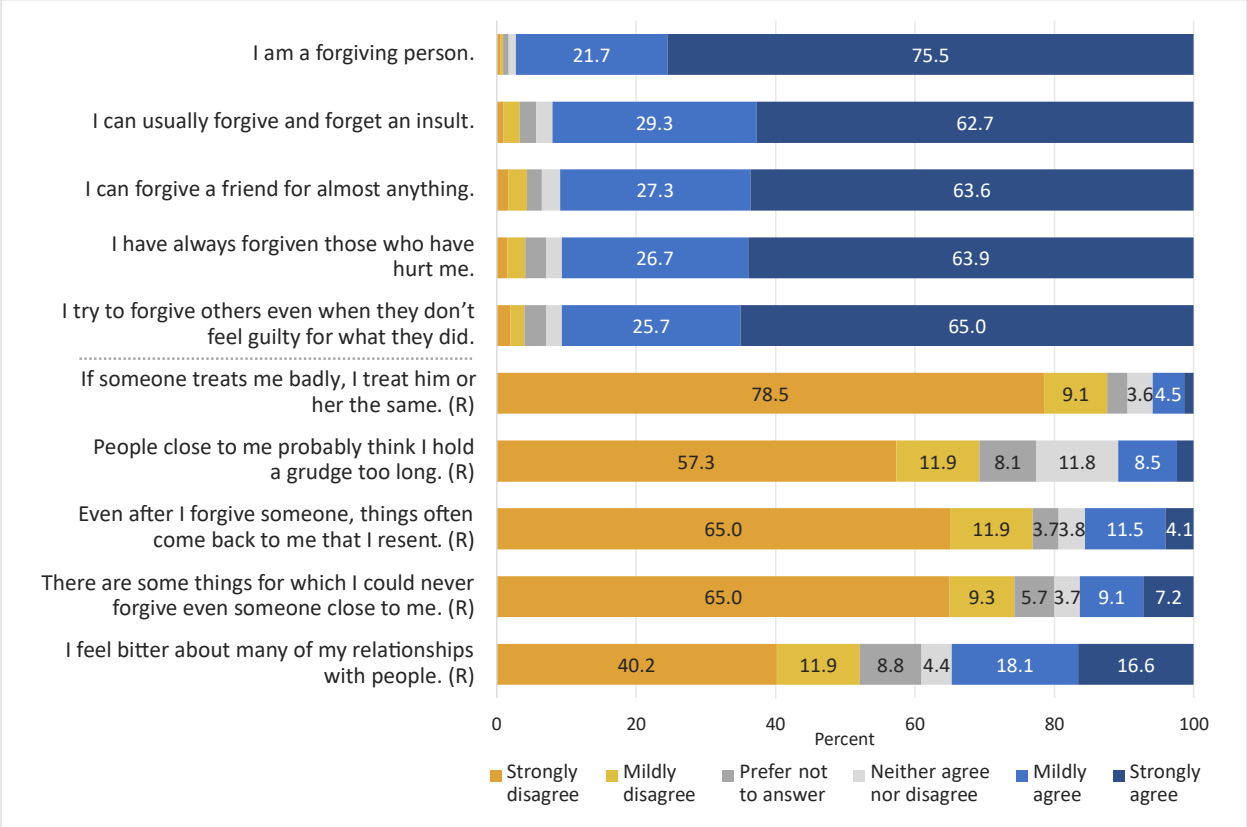
Trait Forgiveness

The 10-item Trait Forgivingness Scale (TFS) (Berry et al., 2005) was used to assess respondents' self-appraised disposition to forgive interpersonal transgressions. The measure consisted of five positively phrased statements (e.g., *I have always forgiven those who have hurt me*) and five negatively phrased statements (e.g., *Even after I forgive someone, things often come back to me that I resent*). Respondents rated their degree of agreement on a 5-point scale, *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*. Negative statements were reverse scored and the sum total of the measure was used for statistical analysis, ranging from 10 to 50. Berry and his colleagues reported results from five studies they conducted to validate the TFS, which found mean scores of the college sample of all demographic groups well below 40 (mean scores between 30.4 to 36.6 with standard deviation ranging from 5.37 to 7.47). Four later studies used the TFS to assess trait forgiveness before and after subjects participated in forgiveness workshops and public health intervention programs, with pretest and posttest mean scores below 40 (pretest mean scores ranging from 35.1 to 36.8; posttest ranging from 37.1 to 38.0) (Ortega Bechara et al., 2024).

Figure 4.1 shows the 10 items and the breakdown of responses for each item. The findings show that the study population view themselves overall as being forgiving people with 97.21% agreeing to the single statement *I am a forgiving person*. The findings also show candidness of respondents and the realities of social relationships, with half (52.09%) indicating that they did not *feel bitter about many of [their] relationships*, and a third (34.69%) indicating *[feeling] bitter about many of [their] relationships*.

Figure 4.1

Trait Forgivingness Scale, Percentages of Responses by Item



Note. *N* = 13,586, total sample minus missing data. (R) indicates items that were reverse scored. Items are from the Trait Forgivingness Scale (TFS) developed by Berry et al. (2005).

Table 4.1 shows TFS mean scores and standard deviation by gender, age group, years baptized, and Genocide experience. With a possible range of 10 to 50, respondents showed consistently high scores over 43 across all demographic groups. The cumulative TFS mean scores for the JW sample population were higher than other sample populations using the same measure.

For the JW-RWA sample, no significant gender differences were found (males, $M = 43.84$; females, $M = 43.77$). Statistical differences in TFS mean scores for age groups were found, with incremental increases in scores with age. The TFS scores ranged from the youngest age group ($M = 43.03$, $SD = 5.58$) to the oldest age group ($M = 44.86$, $SD = 4.98$). However, when comparing the Genocide Generation (those who lived in Rwanda during the Genocide against the Tutsi) with Returnees (outside Rwanda during the Genocide) and the Post-Genocide Generation (born after 1994) in the Witness community, no statistical differences were found. The statistical differences in age groups did not carry over in the comparisons by Genocide experience. Similarly, no significant differences were found based on how long a person had been a baptized Witness. Developmental age was not a strong factor in TFS, but it was more salient than how long respondents were Jehovah's Witnesses or whether a person had first-hand experience or secondhand knowledge of the Genocide experience. Overall, the findings show consistency across demographic groups with a high degree of trait forgiveness as characteristic of the religious community.

Table 4.1

Trait Forgivingness Scale by Demographic Groups

Group	*n*	*M*	*SD*	Significance
Total Sample	10,912	43.80	5.44	-
Gender				
Male	5,009	43.84	5.41	*ns*
Female	5,903	43.77	5.47	
Age Group				
Early Young Adults	2,766	43.03	5.58	
Young Adults	3,084	43.46	5.71	$p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .013$
Middle-Aged Adults	4,000	44.32	5.15	
Older Adults	1,062	44.86	4.98	
Years as Baptized Jehovah's Witness				
JW for 29 Years or More (Baptized in or Before 1994)	518	44.86	4.92	
JW for 19 to 28 Years (Baptized 1995–2004)	2,523	44.27	5.21	
JW for 9 to 18 Years (Baptized 2005–2014)	4,266	43.72	5.59	*ns*
JW for 4 to 8 Years (Baptized 2015–2019)	2,704	43.38	5.53	
JW for 3 Years or Less (Baptized 2020–2023)	901	43.56	5.25	
Genocide Experience				
Genocide Generation	6,830	44.10	5.33	
Returnees	860	43.85	5.77	*ns*
Post-Genocide Generation	2,766	43.03	5.58	

Note. ANOVA tests were conducted on the total TFS score. A small statistically significant effect was found for age groups, $F(3, 10908) = 48.97$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .013$. Multiple post hoc Bonferroni comparison tests were conducted with adjusted *p* value for multiple comparisons, followed by Cohen's *d* calculations for effect size with the following: early young adults ($M = 43.03$, $SD = 5.58$) were significantly less than middle-aged adults ($M = 44.32$, $SD = 5.15$, $p < .001$) and older adults ($M = 44.86$, $SD = 4.98$, $p < .001$); young adults were significantly less than older adults ($p < .001$). Cumulative *n* varies depending on missing data.

Divine Forgiveness

To investigate Jehovah's Witnesses' views related to being forgiven by God, the survey included a Divine Forgiveness Scale (DFS) that was developed for the JW-RWA study and which incorporated concepts identified by other researchers (e.g., Fincham et al., 2020). Respondents

indicated their degree of agreement or disagreement with seven statements related to being forgiven by God.

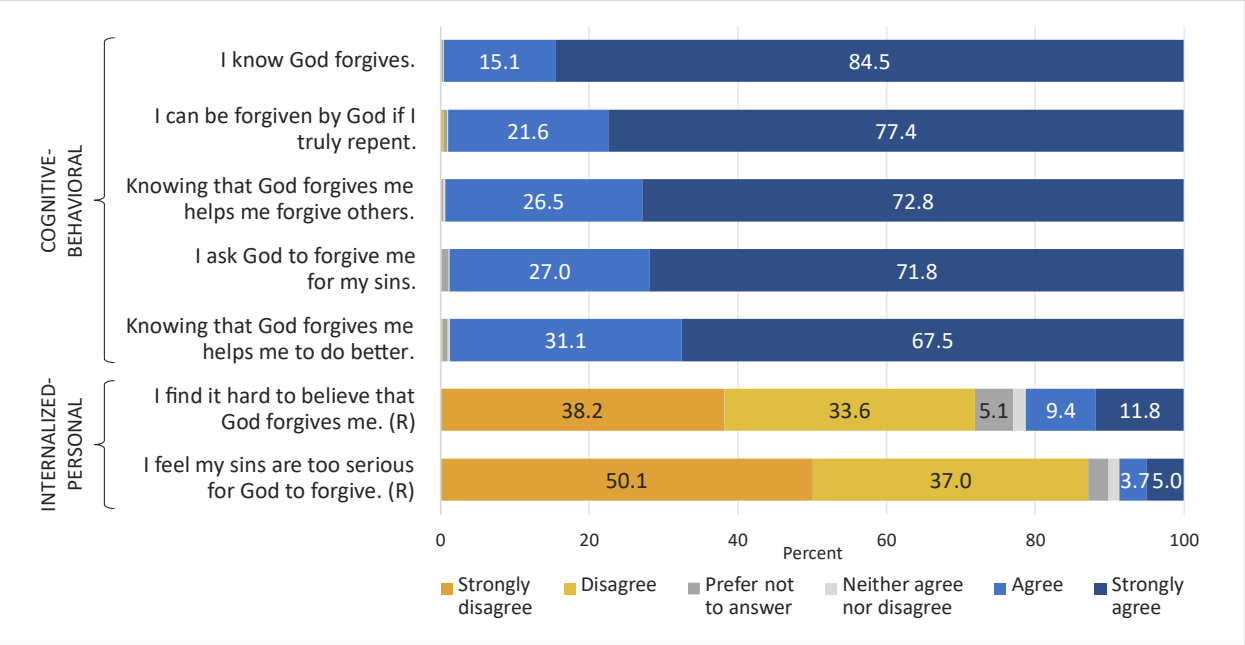
Five positive statements were related to cognitive-behavioral aspects of divine forgiveness: belief that God forgives, repentance, request for forgiveness, effort to do better, and extending forgiveness to others. Two negative statements were related to internalized-personal understanding of divine forgiveness—such as, feeling that it is *hard to believe that God forgives me* and that *my sins are too serious for God to forgive*. The two personalized items were phrased in the negative and reverse scored. On a 5-point scale, the possible cumulative score ranged from 7 to 35.[2]

Figure 4.2 shows the percentage of responses per item. The overwhelming majority of respondents believed in a forgiving God and indicated that their behaviors were consistent with repentance necessary for divine forgiveness, as taught by Jehovah's Witnesses. Most indicated that they believed in being personally forgiven by God. One fifth (21.25%) agreed with the statement *I find it hard to believe that God forgives me*, and over 5% of respondents selected *prefer not to answer*. The responses could reflect lack of self-forgiveness or an appreciation for divine forgiveness (e.g., feeling that *God forgives me*, but still finding the concept of a forgiving God *hard to believe* in their particular case). A portion of Jehovah's Witnesses (8.65%) indicated that they feel their *sins are too serious for God to forgive*. Data do not indicate the circumstances surrounding the "serious" wrongdoings that might or might not be related to the Genocide against the Tutsi but do indicate that some struggle spiritually with accepting and internalizing divine forgiveness.

[2] The survey instrument included an eighth statement, *No matter what I do, God forgives me*. This item was deleted from analysis because the intended meaning of the added statement was unclear and did not provide meaningful data.

Figure 4.2

Divine Forgiveness Scale, Percentages of Responses by Item



Note. *N* = 13,586, total sample minus missing data. (R) indicates items that were reverse scored. The divine forgiveness measure was adapted from Fincham (2022).

Statistical comparisons tested differences in cumulative DFS mean scores for the different demographic groups. As shown in Table 4.2, the total scores were consistently over 31 on a measure with 35 as the highest possible score. The low standard deviation (*SD*) for gender and length of time baptized showed little within-group variations.

Table 4.2

Divine Forgiveness Scale by Demographic Groups

Group	*n*	*M*	*SD*	Significance
Total Sample	12,035	31.87	2.93	-
Gender				
Male	5,337	32.14	2.89	*ns*
Female	6,698	31.65	2.94	
Age Group				
Early Young Adults	2,953	31.83	2.78	*ns*
Young Adults	3,366	32.02	2.88	
Middle-Aged Adults	4,522	31.83	3.00	
Older Adults	1,194	31.64	3.15	
Years as Baptized Jehovah's Witness				
JW for 29 Years or More (Baptized in or Before 1994)	599	32.37	2.81	*ns*
JW for 19 to 28 Years (Baptized 1995–2004)	2,824	32.20	2.83	
JW for 9 to 18 Years (Baptized 2005–2014)	4,699	31.82	2.96	
JW for 4 to 8 Years (Baptized 2015–2019)	2,930	31.63	2.96	
JW for 3 Years or Less (Baptized 2020–2023)	983	31.52	2.97	
Genocide Experience				
Genocide Generation	7,603	31.93	2.96	*ns*
Returnees	925	31.54	3.12	
Post-Genocide Generation	2,953	31.83	2.78	

Note. Missing data and PNA responses were removed. ANOVA tests were conducted on the total cumulative DFS score. No significant difference was found.

Self-Forgiveness

To assess self-forgiveness, the survey used a validated measure that could be used with different adult ages and circumstances (Griffin et al., 2018). The measure was framed with this introduction: *Sometimes we think back on situations when we did wrong or failed to do right. When that happens to you, how true or not true are the following 10 statements?* The measure used a 7-point scale with response options ranging from 1 for *not at all true of me* to 7 for *very true of me*. Respondents' answers could be in the context of any number of perceived wrongdoings with

varied degrees of seriousness. Understanding the focus of the study and the post-Genocide situation of the sample population, some respondents may have considered perceived failings during the Genocide; however, others may have answered the questions about perceived wrongdoings that were recent and relatively less serious. Despite this limitation, the measure provides useful information about the degree of perceived self-forgiveness.

The original Self-Forgiveness Dual-Process Scale (SFDPS) used a two-factor model: reorientation of values and restoration of self-esteem. However, factor analysis for the JW study population had high factor loadings for three components that were characterized by responsibility, remorse, and self-esteem.

The factor analysis used the principal component analysis with varimax rotation using Kaiser normalization and an eigenvalue of greater than 1.0. The three factors accounted for a total of 58.26% of the variance for the entire set of 10 items. The three factors were as follows:

1. The Responsibility factor (3) had high loadings for two items related to acknowledging and not repeating wrongdoings. It accounted for 11.01% of extraction sums of squared loadings of the total variables.
2. The Remorse factor (2) had high loadings for three items related to taking back wrongdoing, violation of values, and violation of things important to me. It explained 16.55% of extraction sums of squared loadings of the total variables.
3. The Self-Acceptance factor (1) explained 30.70% of extraction sums of squared loadings of the total variables due to high loading of five items related to feeling valuable, self-acceptance, self-respect, self-compassion, and love of self.

The communalities of the variables included a range between 44% (for *would take back*) to 66% (for *I feel like a valuable person*) of the common variance with the other items. The Kaiser-Meyer-

Olkin (KMO) and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity confirmed that the set of variables was adequately related for factor analysis. Table 4.3 shows the items and factor loadings for the SFDPS measure.

Table 4.3

Self-Forgiveness Dual-Process Scale, Factor Analysis

Rotated Component Matrix			
Item	Component		
	1	2	3
I will try not to repeat my offense in the future.	−0.01	0.03	**0.78**
I acknowledge that I am to blame for my actions.	0.12	0.13	**0.72**
I would take back what I've done if I could.	0.03	**0.62**	0.22
I regret that my past actions violated my values.	0.02	**0.78**	0.11
My actions violated something that is important to me.	0.11	**0.79**	−0.13
Even though I did something wrong, I feel a sense of self-acceptance.	**0.69**	0.10	0.01
I feel like a valuable person despite my wrongdoing.	**0.81**	0.01	0.04
I still love myself even though I did wrong.	**0.76**	0.08	0.05
I respect myself even though I did wrong.	**0.81**	0.06	0.06
I feel compassion toward myself.	**0.75**	−0.02	0.04

Note. Principal component analysis: Rotation method was varimax with Kaiser normalization. Bolded numbers show the items that correspond to factor loadings. The three factors were labeled: 1. Self-Acceptance; 2. Remorse; and 3. Responsibility.

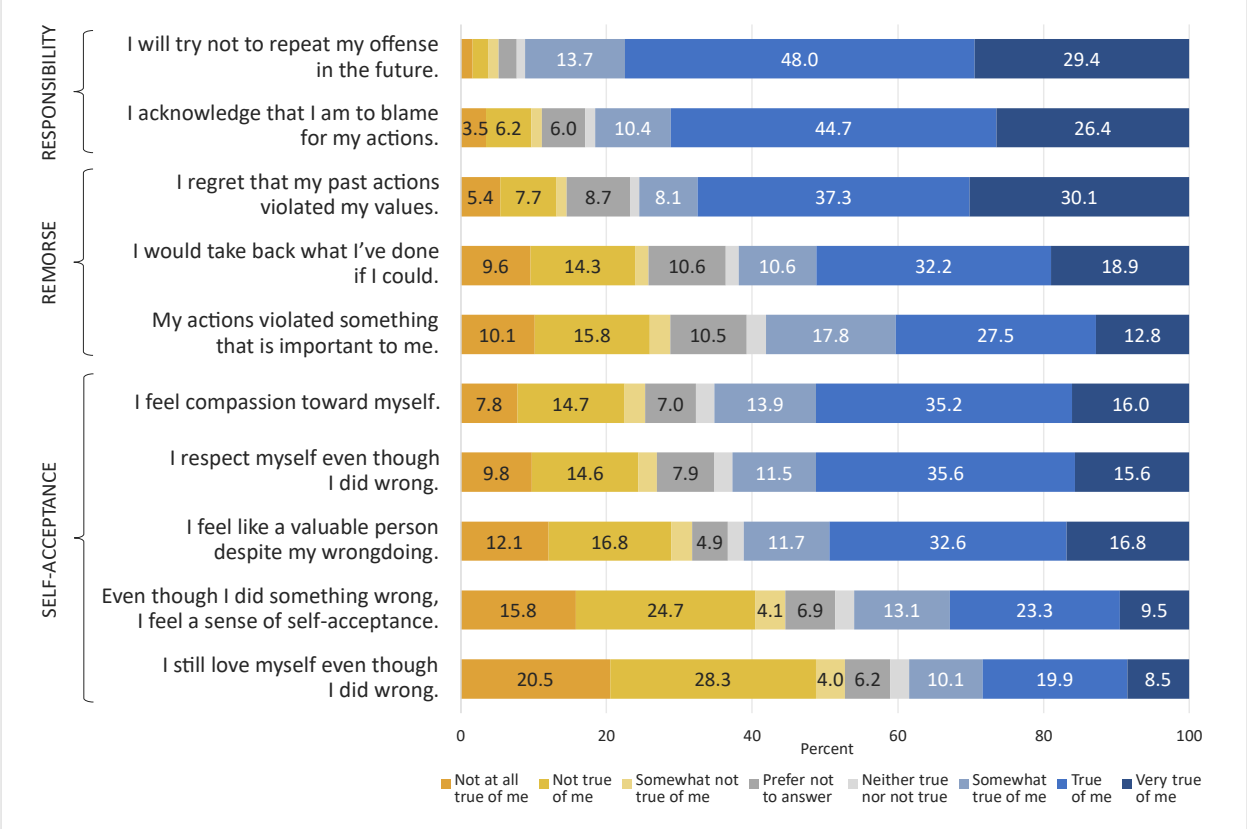
Figure 4.3 shows the breakdown of responses per item, including PNA responses. For JW respondents, the highest positive agreement was for the two items under the Responsibility factor, with over 90% indicating that they try to not repeat their offense and over 80% indicating that they acknowledge fault for their actions. As indicators of remorse, three fourths of respondents indicated having regrets for past actions that violated their values. Approximately 60% would take back wrongs if they could and felt their actions violated something important to them. The question

was broadly framed and the degree of seriousness of the actions or types of situations respondents had in mind cannot be known.

Overall, respondents viewed themselves as taking responsibility, not repeating, and feeling remorse for wrongdoings. In the context of past transgressions, most respondents reported having self-compassion, respect, and worth; but many indicated they do not feel a sense of self-acceptance or still love themselves even after doing something wrong. For some, a high degree of self-acceptance despite wrongdoing would be contradictory to their taking responsibility and feeling remorse.

Figure 4.3

Self-Forgiveness Dual-Process Scale, Percentages of Responses by Item



Note. *N* = 13,586, total sample minus missing data. Items are from the Self-Forgiveness Dual-Process Scale developed by Griffin et al. (2018).

Analysis was conducted to compare SFDPS by demographic groups. As shown in Table 4.4, no statistical differences were found in any group for the total SFDPS score or the subscales of Responsibility, Remorse, and Self-Acceptance. The mean and standard deviation show a consistent pattern with some variations among respondents.

Table 4.4

Self-Forgiveness Dual-Process Scale by Demographic Groups

Group	*n*	Total Score (Range 10–70)	Responsibility (Range 2–14)	Remorse (Range 3–21)	Self-Acceptance (Range 5–35)	Significance
		M (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	
Total Sample	9,851	48.42 (10.28)	11.59 (2.12)	15.05 (4.34)	21.77 (8.06)	-
Gender						
Male	4,574	48.48 (10.05)	11.66 (2.07)	15.37 (4.18)	21.44 (7.89)	*ns*
Female	5,277	48.36 (10.48)	11.53 (2.15)	14.78 (4.45)	22.05 (8.20)	
Age Group						
Early Young Adults	2,505	48.38 (9.68)	11.45 (2.08)	15.34 (4.45)	21.60 (7.58)	*ns*
Young Adults	2,809	48.45 (10.16)	11.56 (2.07)	15.26 (4.29)	21.63 (7.96)	
Middle-Aged Adults	3,561	48.29 (10.61)	11.61 (2.20)	14.80 (4.30)	21.87 (8.21)	
Older Adults	976	48.86 (10.93)	11.98 (1.95)	14.65 (4.26)	22.23 (8.91)	
Years as Baptized Jehovah's Witness						
JW for 29 Years or More (Baptized in or Before 1994)	437	47.26 (10.64)	11.86 (1.95)	14.66 (4.40)	20.74 (8.30)	*ns*
JW for 19 to 28 Years (Baptized 1995–2004)	2,211	48.10 (10.41)	11.67 (2.08)	14.83 (4.30)	21.60 (8.12)	
JW for 9 to 18 Years (Baptized 2005–2014)	3,897	48.52 (10.19)	11.63 (2.09)	15.28 (4.30)	21.61 (8.10)	
JW for 4 to 8 Years (Baptized 2015–2019)	2,470	48.76 (10.07)	11.50 (2.15)	15.14 (4.36)	22.12 (7.94)	
JW for 3 Years or Less (Baptized 2020–2023)	836	48.32 (10.78)	11.36 (2.29)	14.53 (4.64)	22.43 (7.90)	

Table 4.4 (continued)

Genocide Experience						
Total	9,460	48.44 (10.24)	11.60 (2.11)	15.07 (4.37)	21.76 (8.05)	*ns*
Genocide Generation	6,192	48.63 (10.41)	11.70 (2.08)	15.04 (4.26)	21.90 (8.20)	
Returnees	763	47.03 (10.57)	11.34 (2.39)	14.45 (4.48)	21.24 (8.28)	
Post-Genocide Generation	2,505	48.38 (9.68)	11.45 (2.08)	15.34 (4.45)	21.60 (7.58)	

Prosocial Behaviors

This section reports findings on variables related to prosocial behaviors—compassionate love, community support, giving and receiving behaviors, and perceived changes in relationships since becoming Jehovah's Witnesses.

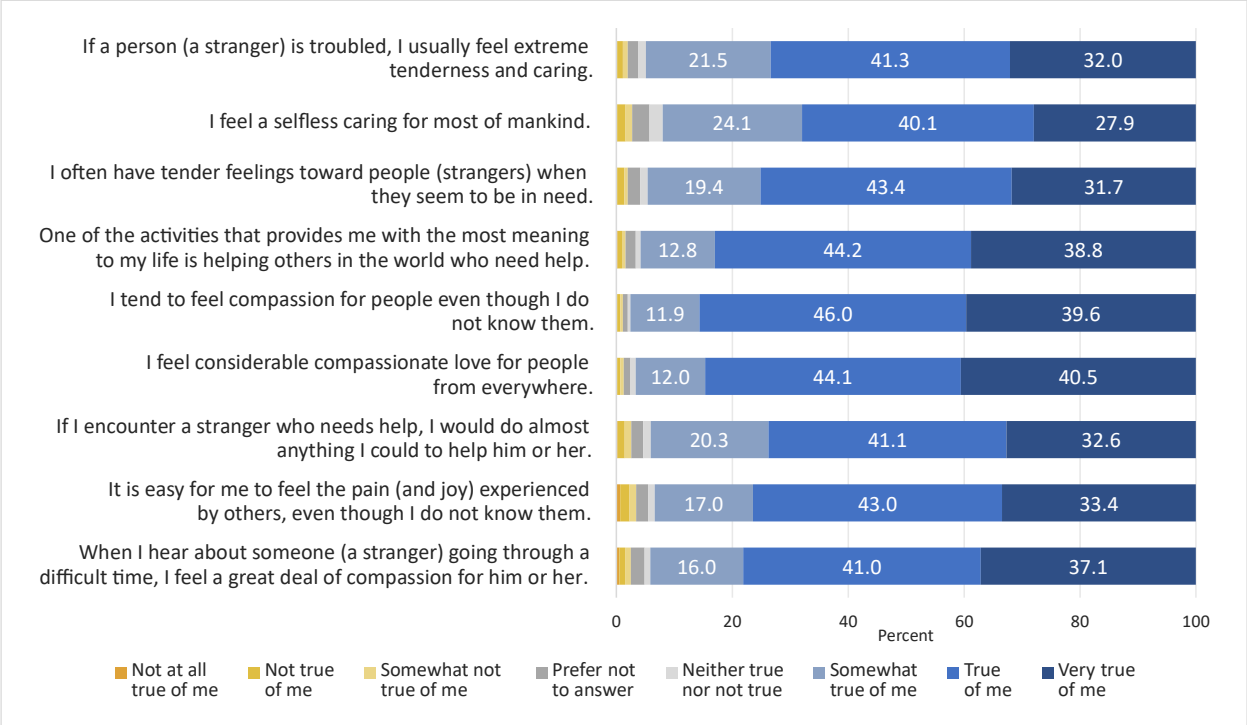
Compassionate Love for Humanity

The survey included the revised short version of the Compassionate Love Scale for Humanity (CLS-H) to measure "compassion towards strangers who need help and/or are vulnerable" (Chiesi et al., 2020, p. 20). The one-factor measure consisted of nine items on a 7-point scale from 1 (*not at all true of me*) to 7 (*very true of me*).

Figure 4.4 shows the responses for each of the items. Respondents had a consistent pattern of agreement that the statements were true of them, with considerable variation in the degree of agreement. Considering the religious culture of the study population with love as a foundational tenet, the high proportion of those who perceived themselves as having compassionate love for humanity was expected. A small percentage indicated that they thought certain CLS-H statements were not true of them (e.g., *It is easy for me to feel the pain (and joy) experienced by others, even though I do not know them*).

Figure 4.4

Compassionate Love Scale for Humanity, Percentages of Responses by Item



Note. *N* = 13,587, total sample minus missing data. Items are from the short version of the Compassionate Love Scale for Humanity (CLS-H-SF) developed by Chiesi et al. (2020).

As shown in Table 4.5, with a possible score ranging from 9 to 63 on the CLS-H scale, the mean of the total score for the JW sample was 54.84. A breakdown by demographic group showed that no group had scores under 53. Comparisons of demographic groups found no differences for gender or length of time being Jehovah's Witnesses. Statistical differences were found for age groups and Genocide experiences.

Table 4.5

Compassionate Love for Humanity by Demographic Groups

Group	*n*	*M*	*SD*	Significance
Total Sample	12,468	54.84	6.19	-
Gender				
Male	5,575	54.62	6.45	*ns*
Female	6,893	55.01	5.96	
Age				
Early Young Adults	3,058	53.79	6.44	
Young Adults	3,447	54.48	6.38	$p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .017$
Middle-Aged Adults	4,723	55.38	5.93	
Older Adults	1,240	56.37	5.39	
Years as Baptized Jehovah's Witness				
JW for 29 Years or More (Baptized in or Before 1994)	605	55.51	5.82	
JW for 19 to 28 Years (Baptized 1995–2004)	2,955	55.19	6.00	
JW for 9 to 18 Years (Baptized 2005–2014)	4,859	54.66	6.33	*ns*
JW for 4 to 8 Years (Baptized 2015–2019)	3,059	54.56	6.19	
JW for 3 Years or Less (Baptized 2020–2023)	990	55.08	6.16	
Genocide Experience				
Total for Subgroup	11,880	54.85	6.17	
Genocide Generation	7,882	55.24	6.03	$p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .010$
Returnees	940	55.00	5.96	
Post-Genocide Generation	3,058	53.79	6.44	

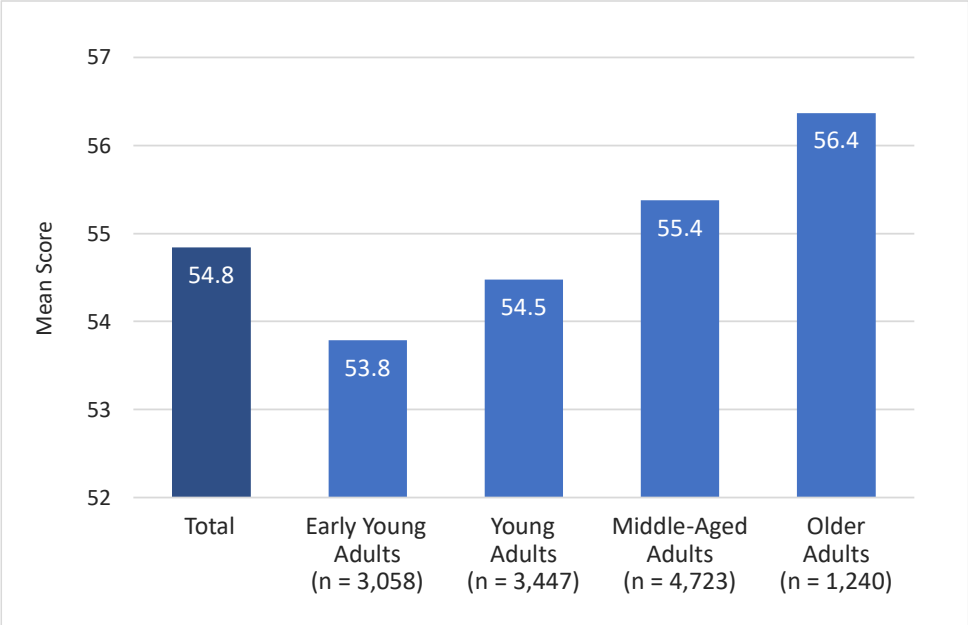
Note. Analysis for age-group comparisons: ANOVA test conducted on age groups found a small statistically significant effect, $F(3, 12464) = 71.72$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .017$. Multiple post hoc Bonferroni comparison tests were conducted with adjusted *p* value for multiple comparisons, followed by Cohen's *d* calculations for effect size. CLS−H scores were significantly less for early young adults ($M = 53.79$, $SD = 6.44$) than middle-aged adults ($M = 55.38$, $SD = 5.93$, $p < .001$) and older adults ($M = 56.37$, $SD = 5.39$, $p < .001$). CLS-H scores for young adults were significantly less than older adults ($p < .001$).

Analysis for the three groups based on Genocide experience: ANOVA test conducted on the total CL (compassionate love) score indicated a small statistically significant mean variance between Genocide-related groups, $F(2, 11877) = 62.15$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .01$. Post hoc Bonferroni comparison tests were conducted with adjusted *p* value for multiple comparisons, followed by Cohen's *d* calculations for effect size. CLS-H for the Genocide Generation ($M = 55.24$, $SD = 6.03$) was significantly higher than the Post-Genocide Generation ($M = 53.79$, $SD = 6.44$, $p < .001$) but not different from Returnees. Returnees' CL score ($M = 55.00$, $SD = 5.96$) was significantly higher than the Post-Genocide Generation ($p < .001$).

Figure 4.5 shows the incremental increase in compassionate love scores for each age group.

Figure 4.5

Compassionate Love for Humanity, Age Group Differences in the Mean of Total Score

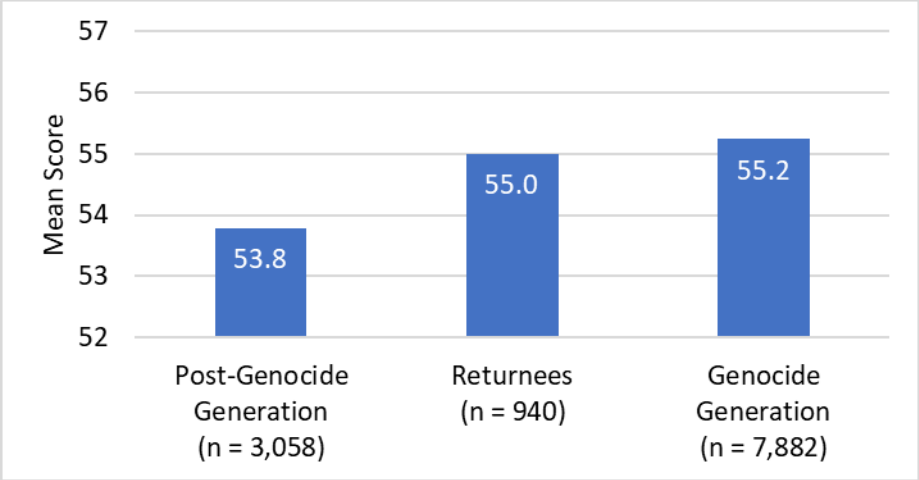


Note. *N* = 12,468. ANOVA test revealed significant variance between age groups on the cumulative CLS-H score. With the increase of age, the CLS-H scores increased.

Differences in compassionate love were also found between those who lived in Rwanda at the time of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, those who were Returnees, and the Post-Genocide Generation born after 1994. Unlike the Trait Forgiveness findings with age-group differences but not Genocide-experience differences, compassionate love showed significant differences for each demographic subgroup. The differences in CLS-H scores shown in Figure 4.6 may be related to the developmental age differences, as noted above in Figure 4.5.

Figure 4.6

Compassionate Love for Humanity by Genocide-Related Groups



Note. *N* = 11,880. ANOVA test conducted on the total CLS-H score found a significant difference in the mean variances between Genocide-related groups. The results show that Genocide-Generation and Returnees have a significantly higher score compared with Post-Genocide Generation.

Community Resilience and Support

The resilience of a community or social group depends much on the degree to which its members feel supported and available during difficult times such as during natural disasters and/or pandemics. This applies to religious communities that support those in local congregations. To measure how respondents viewed their religious community's ability to provide them support when they faced difficulties, the Transcultural Community Resilience Scale (T-CRS) was revised and used. The measure was developed and tested in several countries, including Rwanda (Cénat et al., 2021).

For purposes of the JW-RWA study, the revised measure, Community Resilience and Support Scale (CRSS), used 10 items from the original 29-item T-CRS measure. The items selected had the highest factor loadings and could be applied to a religious community. The word *community* was changed to read *congregation*. On the 5-point scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to

5 (*strongly agree*), the range for the cumulative score was 10 to 50. Using factor analysis, the 10 items had high loadings as a one-dimensional scale, as shown in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6

Community Resilience and Support Scale, Factor Analysis

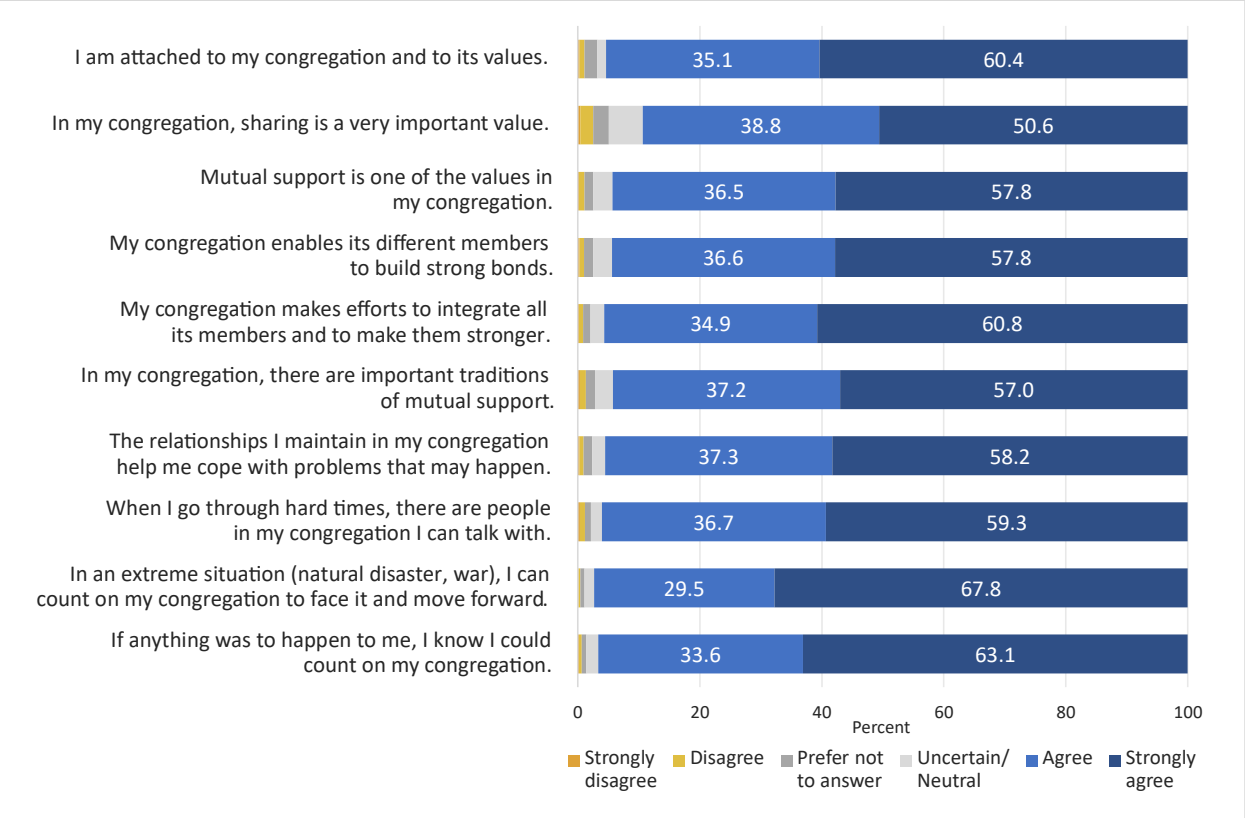
Component Matrix	Component
	1
If anything was to happen to me, I know I could count on my congregation.	0.76
In the event of an extreme situation (natural disaster, war, etc.), I know that I can count on my congregation to face the event and move forward.	0.77
When I go through hard times, there are people in my congregation I can talk with.	0.74
The relationships I maintain in my congregation help me cope with problems that happen to me or that may happen.	0.78
In my congregation, there are important traditions of mutual support.	0.82
My congregation makes efforts to integrate all its members and to make them stronger.	0.84
My congregation enables its different members to build strong bonds.	0.84
Mutual support is one of the values in my congregation.	0.84
In my congregation, sharing is a very important value.	0.76
I am attached to my congregation and to its values.	0.64

Note. Factor analysis used the principal component analysis with varimax rotation using Kaiser normalization and an eigenvalue of greater than 1.0. The results show one factor loading that accounts for a total of 61.27% of the variance for the entire set of 10 items. The communalities of the variables included a range between 41% (for *attached to my congregation*) to 71% (for *integrate all its members* and *build strong bonds*) of the common variance with the other items. The KMO and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity confirmed (0.93) that the set of variables were adequately related for factor analysis. With only one component extracted, rotation was not applied.

Figure 4.7 shows the percentage of responses for each of the 10 statements. The findings show a consistent pattern with 90% of respondents viewing their congregations as a reliable source of support during difficult times.

Figure 4.7

Community Resilience and Support Scale, Percentages of Responses by Item



Note. *N* = 13,589, total sample minus missing data. The ten-item revised measure was derived from the Transcultural Community Resilience Scale (T-CRS) developed by Cénat et al. (2021).

The mean and standard deviation of the cumulative score for Community Resilience and Support are shown in Table 4.7. With 50 as the top score, the mean score across all demographic groups was not less than 45, reflecting the respondents' view of their congregation as being able to provide practical and emotional support during unexpected or difficult times.

Table 4.7

Community Resilience and Support by Demographic Groups

Group	*n*	*M*	*SD*	Significance
Total Sample	12,604	45.67	4.69	-
Gender				
Male	5,609	45.79	4.66	*ns*
Female	6,995	45.57	4.71	
Age Group				
Early Young Adults	3,011	45.13	5.03	*ns*
Young Adults	3,466	45.61	4.85	
Middle-Aged Adults	4,876	45.93	4.37	
Older Adults	1,251	46.10	4.45	
Years as Baptized Jehovah's Witness				
JW for 29 Years or More (Baptized in or Before 1994)	622	46.03	4.32	*ns*
JW for 19 to 28 Years (Baptized 1995–2004)	3,017	45.91	4.46	
JW for 9 to 18 Years (Baptized 2005–2014)	4,909	45.52	4.81	
JW for 4 to 8 Years (Baptized 2015–2019)	3,034	45.47	4.86	
JW for 3 Years or Less (Baptized 2020–2023)	1,022	46.02	4.40	
Genocide Experience				
Total for Subgroup	12,008	45.67	4.69	*ns*
Genocide Generation	8,033	45.87	4.55	
Returnees	964	45.75	4.60	
Post-Genocide Generation	3,011	45.13	5.03	

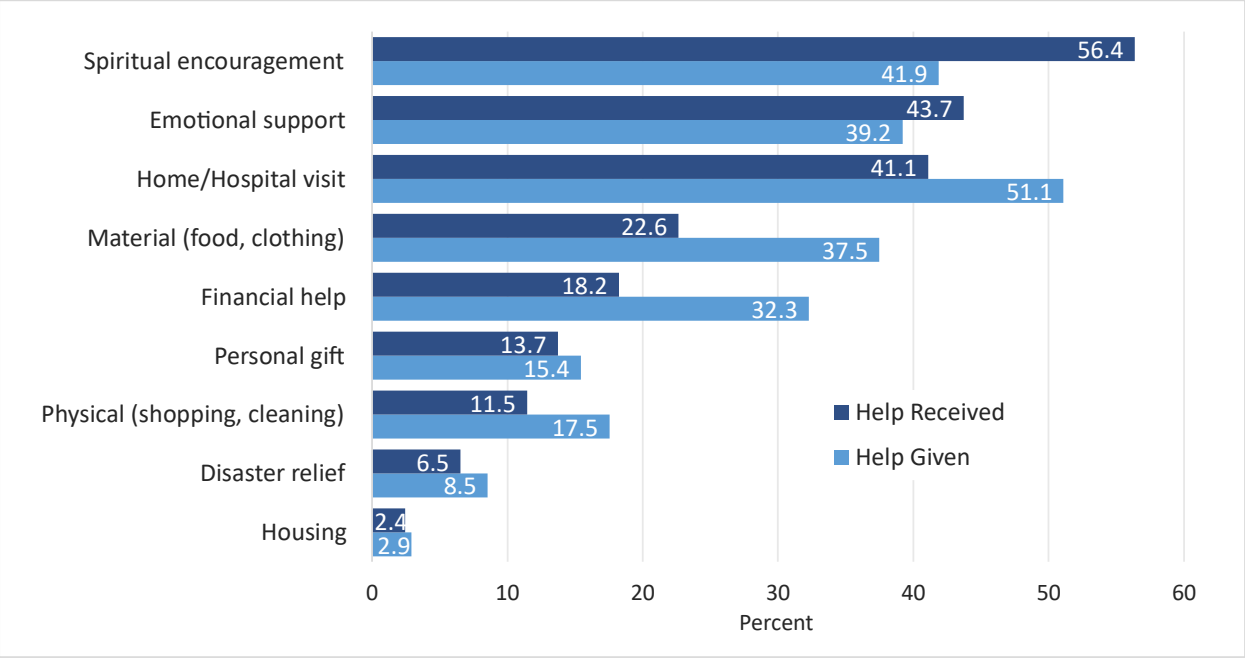
Helping Behaviors—Giving and Receiving

The degree of community or congregation support for the JW sample population was further investigated not only by their general perception of support in the congregation but also the degree to which giving and receiving help was reported. The survey asked respondents two separate questions about giving and receiving help in the congregation: *In the past year, did you or your family [give/receive] help from any of Jehovah's Witnesses in the following ways?* The list of nine items, shown in Figure 4.8, included instrumental help (e.g., physical assistance, shopping, cleaning), material and financial help, and emotional and spiritual help. The help respondents reported receiving most was *spiritual encouragement*. They perceived receiving more spiritual and

emotional support than they gave but reported giving more instrumental support than they received. Findings suggest that giving to those in need was shared by many in the congregation. For example, approximately one fifth received *material* assistance (22.6%) and *financial help* (18.2%) with approximately one third of congregants providing *material* assistance (37.5%) and *financial help* (32.3%).

Figure 4.8

Giving and Receiving Help Among Jehovah's Witnesses



Note. *N* = 11,047, total of respondents who reported both giving help and receiving help.

Changes in Interpersonal and Conflict Relationships

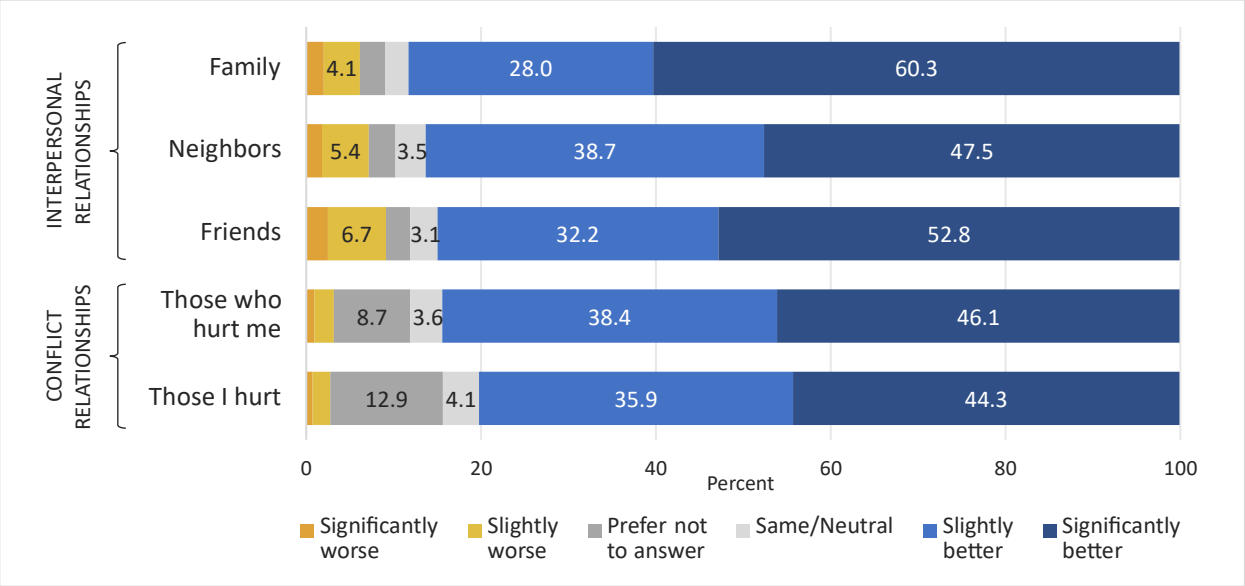
The survey asked respondents how their current relationships compared with the time before they became Jehovah's Witnesses. Respondents rated two types of relationships—interpersonal relationships and conflict relationships—on a 5-point scale: *significantly worse*, *slightly worse*, *same or neutral*, *slightly better*, and *significantly better*, with the higher number representing more positive change. Changes in interpersonal relationship were rated for three

groups: *family*, *friends*, and *neighbors*. Ratings of change in conflict relationship ratings were for two groups: *those I have hurt or offended* and *those who hurt or offended me*.

Figure 4.9 shows the percentages of responses for each relationship category. Respondents perceived all relationships as improving since they became Jehovah's Witnesses. Across all interpersonal relationships, 85% or more indicated better relationships—slightly more for family relationships. On the 5-point measure, mean scores for perceived relationship changes were slightly higher for *family* (4.48) compared with *friends* (4.34) and *neighbors* (4.32).

Figure 4.9

Perceived Change in Relationships Since Becoming Jehovah's Witnesses



Note. *N* = 13,585, total sample minus missing data.

As shown in Table 4.8, no statistically significant differences were found in perceived changes in interpersonal relationships for gender or age groups; however, relationship changes were significantly better the longer respondents had been Jehovah's Witnesses.

Table 4.8

Relationship Changes, Interpersonal and Conflict Changes by Demographic Groups

Group	*n*	Interpersonal Relationships			Conflict Relationships		
		M	*SD*	Significance	*M*	*SD*	Significance
Total Sample	11,293	13.14	2.28	-	8.81	1.36	-
Gender							
Male	5,047	13.31	2.13	*ns*	8.84	1.30	*ns*
Female	6,246	13.01	2.38		8.79	1.41	
Age Group							
Early Young Adults	2,788	13.05	2.26	*ns*	8.83	1.37	*ns*
Young Adults	3,153	13.24	2.21		8.85	1.30	
Middle-Aged Adults	4,252	13.12	2.29		8.78	1.38	
Older Adults	1,100	13.18	2.42		8.76	1.45	
Years as Baptized Jehovah's Witness							
JW for 29 Years or More (Baptized in or Before 1994)	512	13.50	1.96	$p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .010$	8.87	1.32	*ns*
JW for 19 to 28 Years (Baptized 1995–2004)	2,638	13.36	2.13		8.84	1.31	
JW for 9 to 18 Years (Baptized 2005–2014)	4,395	13.20	2.28		8.82	1.36	
JW for 4 to 8 Years (Baptized 2015–2019)	2,825	12.99	2.32		8.78	1.39	
JW for 3 Years or Less (Baptized 2020–2023)	923	12.56	2.56		8.79	1.48	
Genocide Experience							
Genocide Generation	7,085	13.18	2.28	*ns*	8.80	1.37	*ns*
Returnees	887	13.14	2.30		8.85	1.31	
Post-Genocide Generation	2,788	13.05	2.26		8.83	1.37	
Total for Subgroup	10,760	13.14	2.28		8.81	1.37	

Note. N = 11,293. ANOVA tests indicated a small statistically significant effect of length of time baptized on perceived changes in interpersonal relationships score, $F(4, 11288) = 28.14$, $p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .01$. Post hoc comparisons using the Bonferroni test, accounting for multiple comparisons with adjusted p value for multiple comparisons, followed by Cohen's d calculations for effect size, revealed that the longer the period of time baptized, the higher the interpersonal score becomes. Therefore, those baptized in or before 1994 (M = 13.5, SD = 1.96) had higher scores compared with those baptized from 2015 to 2019 (M = 12.99, SD = 2.32, $p < .001$) and in or after 2020 (M = 12.56, SD = 2.56, $p < .001$). No significant effect was found for those baptized from 1995 to 2004 (M = 13.36, SD = 2.13) or 2005 to 2014 (M = 13.20, SD = 2.28). The same pattern was observed for those baptized from 1995 to 2004 with a significantly greater score than those baptized in or after 2020 ($p < .001$); Those baptized from 2005 to 2014 had a significantly greater score than those baptized in or after 2020 ($p < .001$).

Relationship of Forgiveness and Prosocial Variables

Table 4.9 shows the Pearson correlation matrix for forgiveness and prosocial variables discussed in this section. Self-forgiveness and trait forgiveness were not significantly related. All other forgiveness and prosocial variables were interrelated: trait forgiveness, divine forgiveness, self-forgiveness, compassionate love for humanity, and community resilience and support.

Table 4.9

Correlation Matrix of Forgiveness and Prosocial Variables

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1-Trait Forgiveness							
2-Divine Forgiveness	.23**						
3-Self-Forgiveness	−.01	.05**					
4-Compassionate Love	.38**	.20**	.12**				
5-Community Resilience	.35**	.34**	.09**	.39**			
6-Interpersonal Relationships	.24**	.13**	.03*	.20**	.21**		
7-Conflict Relationships	.31**	.16**	.03*	.26**	.26**	.58**	

Note. *N* = 7,433. *Correlation (2-tailed) is significant at .05 level. **Correlation (2-tailed) is significant at .01 level.

Conclusion

The findings discussed in this section allow the possibility to explore correlations between the religious characteristics described in the previous section and views on forgiveness and other psychosocial characteristics described herein. This is the case with concepts that have been studied both from a social science perspective and as an explicit part of the religious teaching of the JW community. The study's focus on three aspects of forgiveness is based on its centrality to the process of post-Genocide intrapersonal and interpersonal healing. Related variables also contribute to the understanding of relationships and attitudes of respondents toward fellow congregants as well as in their social attitudes and interactions as a whole.

Based on the statistical analysis of the survey responses, Jehovah's Witnesses showed a consistent and positive pattern in the three measures of forgiveness: trait forgiveness, divine

forgiveness, and self-forgiveness. Trait forgiveness was consistently high (positive) across all demographic groups and with low variance in mean scores. To show the significance of the findings, when compared with other sample populations who were tested using the same measure of trait forgiveness, the JW sample in post-Genocide Rwanda showed higher trait forgiveness than all other study populations in developed countries, including those who participated in programs intended to improve forgiveness among participants.

Results on divine forgiveness found that almost all Jehovah's Witnesses in the study believe "God forgives." They also uniformly agree that divine forgiveness involves asking for God's forgiveness and being truly repentant, and the knowledge that God forgives helps them to do better and to forgive others. Although the vast majority of respondents believe in principle that God forgives, some indicated that they did not believe they were personally forgiven by God for past wrongdoings. The study did not identify what perceived wrongs respondents had in mind when answering the question, but those who viewed their past "sins" as being "too serious" struggled with believing that divine forgiveness could be applied to their personal situation.

For the JW study population, the measure of self-forgiveness was multidimensional, with three factors: responsibility, remorse, and self-esteem. The survey question was framed in the broad context of doing wrong or failing to do right, and it did not identify the nature or seriousness of respondents' perceived wrongdoing. Still, with this limitation, findings give insight into the thinking and feelings of the Witness community.

Self-forgiveness responses regarding self-esteem were compatible with those related to taking responsibility and feeling remorse for the wrongdoing. Seeming ambiguity about believing in God's forgiveness but not feeling forgiven by God may be understood by considering the context of these items related to self. The questions related to self-esteem were posed in the context

of having committed some perceived wrong. Self-acceptance and love of self in the context of doing wrong would be incompatible with taking responsibility and showing remorse. This is different from generalized perceptions of self-worth, opinion of self, and emotional wellbeing since becoming one of Jehovah's Witnesses, attitudes that were also investigated in the survey. (Findings are reported in Section 6, Subjective Social and Psychological Wellbeing.)

The self-reported measure of compassionate love for humanity showed a similar congruent and positive pattern. Variations in responses were in the degree to which respondents viewed themselves as having compassion for others. As with the findings on the three types of forgiveness, a small percentage of respondents indicated that they did not view themselves as having compassion for humanity.

The research findings show that respondents favorably assessed the congregation's ability to provide instrumental and emotional support, strengthening their confidence in their ability to cope with difficulties. The reported degree of help given and received in the religious community showed considerable exchange of instrumental and emotional assistance. The findings of perceived community support and reports on help given are consistent with patterns of improved relationships after conversion to the faith of Jehovah's Witnesses and with measures of wellbeing.

Not all in the study population had favorable responses to all measures, which would reflect candidness, diversity in psychological and social characteristics of the sample, and the realities of life's challenges. However, the overall consistency of responses among Jehovah's Witnesses across demographic groups suggests the influence of their common denominator—their shared beliefs and religious identity, as well as congregants' regular group study of these prosocial characteristics from a religious standpoint.

As noted in the previous section, the desire to learn about the Bible and to be closer to God figured in a majority of respondents' reported attraction to the faith. As research has shown, an individual's concept of God as loving and nurturing on one hand, or authoritarian and harsh on the other, can impact overall psychological wellbeing. The image of God as loving and forgiving, coupled with a personal desire to imitate those qualities, can provide strong incentive to overcome the negative emotions and dispositions that would quite normally arise following an intense and traumatic experience, such as genocide.

Overall, respondents viewed their relationships with others as having improved since becoming Jehovah's Witnesses—that is, with family, friends, and neighbors, and with those who had harmed or offended them or whom they had harmed or offended. Statistical correlations between variables showed a positive relationship between prosocial behaviors and perceived changes in personal relationships. The positive association was strongest with trait forgiveness, compassionate love for humanity, and community (congregation) support. Interpersonal relationships are two-way, with multiple influences that contribute to the quality of interactions. However, the JW-RWA findings support previous research that shows the positive effect of prosocial behaviors on both ingroup and outgroup relationships, with dispositional tendencies of forgiveness and compassion resulting in purposeful helping of individuals outside one's immediate social circle.

The study of Jehovah's Witnesses shows how religious tenets of forgiveness and compassionate love for humanity—values extolled almost universally by religions—can be reinforced by a supportive faith community. These values have the potential to facilitate the transformation of attitudes and behaviors that could, in turn, contribute to the stability and wellbeing of families, neighborhoods, and society as a whole.

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5. GENOCIDE AND TRAUMA

The JW-RWA study investigated situations experienced during the Genocide against the Tutsi. Findings from the large sample of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda provide insights into the experiences of persons from a wide demographic, geographic, and generational span. The scope of the study necessarily set temporal, spatial, and population boundaries, with Genocide-related survey questions applied specifically to the Genocide against the Tutsi that occurred between April 6 and July 19, 1994, as recalled by the study population who became Jehovah's Witnesses either before or after the Genocide.

The data analysis revealed the contours of residential patterns and family composition just before and just after the Genocide. Data on the location and duration of danger provided context for understanding conditions under which helping behavior did or did not take place. The types of traumatic events experienced during the Genocide reflected the degree of personal suffering and upheaval.

Findings are based on analysis of responses from the total sample, including those who were Jehovah's Witnesses at the time of the Genocide and the majority of the sample who became Jehovah's Witnesses after the 1994 Genocide. Important to the research objectives was understanding the situation of those who belonged to the Rwandan Jehovah's Witness community in 1994. The last part of Section 5 presents findings that are specific to this subgroup.

The study observed certain boundaries in the scope of inquiry. The survey instrument quantified individual circumstances while not delving deeply into sensitive areas that could have caused emotional distress or discouraged participation in the study. Respondents were also not asked about any past or current political views, this in keeping with the research objectives of the

study and the religion's doctrine of political neutrality. Furthermore, in compliance with the requirement of the Rwanda National Ethics Committee, the survey had no direct question about the ethnicity of respondents. However, in a question on Genocide situations, respondents could self-identify as having been *targeted to be killed*, inferring a Tutsi identity. For some Genocide-related statistical analysis, responses to this question were used to categorize respondents as either targeted or not targeted, which provided an indirect indicator of ethnic identity and better understanding of their differential experiences during the Genocide against the Tutsi.

Literature Review

The scourge of genocide raises a host of questions for historians, philosophers, theologians, and social scientists. Extant academic literature about the Genocide against the Tutsi is grounded in scholarship produced in the wake of the Holocaust in Europe and the development of the legal concept of genocide.[1] Scholars have since probed the origins of genocides, means and mechanisms of mass murder, the spread of ideologies, and similar macro-level perspectives (e.g., Clark, 2010; Fox, 2021; Guichaoua, 1995; King, 2010; Mamdani, 2001; McDoom, 2014; Scherrer, 1999; Tammes, 2022). However, as political scientist Kristen Monroe observed, genocide scholars "cannot long remain involved at only an intellectual level" (Monroe, 2012, p. 3). The deliberate attempt to destroy an entire people, often along with any who defy such an attempt, strikes at the very core of what it means to be human, and the moral fabric that binds humans into collective relationships within families, social groups, communities, and nations. Grasping the origins, course, and impact of genocide necessarily includes understanding human elements—individual's actions, beliefs, motivations, vulnerabilities, connections, and social, physical, and psychological

[1] The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide was approved by the United Nations General Assembly on December 9, 1948. https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/documents/atrocity-crimes/Doc.1_Convention%20on%20the%20Prevention%20and%20Punishment%20of%20the%20Crime%20of%20Genocide.pdf

consequences. Among the questions academics probe are, Does the decision to join or resist genocide occur in the heat of the moment, or is it based on established notions and values from indoctrination or socialization in culture, family, and religion? In what ways can shared beliefs and practices in faith communities play a role in how individuals behave during genocide?

Empirical research that brings the human dimensions of the Genocide against the Tutsi into clearer focus includes regional and demographic studies of patterns of violence and rescue, and qualitative studies that probe the perspectives and circumstances of those directly involved or impacted (e.g., Ashraph, 2017; Burnet, 2023; Fujii, 2009; Guichaoua, 2005; McDoom, 2021, Straus, 2013a; Verwimp, 2005, 2011), as well as writings by journalists and human rights researchers such as Gourevitch (1998), Hatzfeld (2003/2005), Keane (1995), and Melvern (2000, 2006). Two of the earliest and most detailed accounts are *Rwanda: Death, Despair, and Defiance* (1995) by the NGO African Rights and *Leave None to Tell the Story* by Alison Des Forges (1999) of Human Rights Watch. Written soon after 1994, these exhaustive works were based on interviews, eyewitness accounts, and available documentation. Later studies investigated individuals according to demographic characteristics, such as age and gender (e.g., Banyanga et al., 2017; Brown, 2018; Burnet, 2012, 2015; Mullins, 2009; Sharlach, 1999), or according to Genocide and post-Genocide life circumstances, such as survivors, widows, perpetrators, and their children (Ng et al., 2015; Rieder & Elbert, 2013; Schaal et al., 2009). The mental health of Rwandan refugees has been the subject of several studies (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 1996; de Jong et al., 2000; Pham et al., 2004).

Genocide and Religion

Of particular relevance to the JW-RWA study is research on religion and genocide. The role of religious ideology and religious adherents in 20th-century genocides has been well documented (Bartov & Mack, 2001; Brown & Smith, 2022; Mojzes, 1998). Religion-state collusion in genocide has occurred when the religious hierarchy embraced the ethnonationalist ideology of the governing regime. For example, the involvement of German churches in condoning or collaborating with Nazi genocide has received intense scholarly scrutiny (Bergen, 1996; Ericksen & Heschel, 1999; Rittner et al., 2000).

Extensive scholarship exists on the conduct of Christian churches in Rwanda (e.g., Benda, 2012; Bizimana, 2001; Carney, 2014; Denis, 2022; Gatwa, 2005; Gifford, 1995; Katongole, 2011; Katongole & Wilson-Hartgrove, 2009; Linden & Linden, 1977; Longman, 2010; Loumakis, 2016; Rittner et al., 2004; Rutayisire et al., 2000; Schliesser et al., 2021). Institutional religion in the highly missionized country of Rwanda played an ambiguous role in colonial and post-colonial society, and especially during the Genocide against the Tutsi. As Benda has written, foreign missionaries "were church-planting settlers who framed the social, political and theological identities of faith communities of which they assumed leadership for a long time. Therefore, they have to be directly implicated in the critical appraisal of Christianity's failure in 'Rwanda 94.'" (Benda, 2012, pp. 49–50; see also Gatwa, 2005; Simonsson, 2021). Of the many theories accounting for the Genocide, some scholars have looked at the responses of religious groups through a historical, philosophical, and theological lens.

Genocide has been called a "process" rather than an "event" (Fujii, 2009, p. 11), one that entails "millions of discrete acts by thousands or hundreds of thousands of people" (Burnet, 2023, p. 2). To gain insight into individual choices and actions, scholars have called for systematic

micro-level and quantitative studies about perpetration of and resistance to violent acts (Beer, 2014; Croes, 2013; McDoom, 2021; Straus, 2013a). The following discussion covers literature on these more granular, or "neighbor-level" (Fujii, 2009, p. 21), aspects of the Genocide that are examined in the JW-RWA study.

Geography, Duration of Genocide, and Impact on Household Composition

The sheer scale of the Genocide against the Tutsi involves immense challenges in quantifying the human toll across all geographic areas in Rwanda. In addition to official accountings of Genocide-related deaths (e.g., Commission pour le Mémorial du Génocide et des Massacres au Rwanda, 1996; République Rwandaise, 2002; National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda, 2008), some geographically focused studies provide clues to the scope, timing, and intensity of violence in certain locations (e.g., African Rights, 1995; Des Forges, 1999; Fujii, 2009; McDoom, 2014, 2021; Nyseth Nzitatira et al., 2022; Straus, 2013a).

Additionally, the Genocide profoundly impacted family life and household composition (Denov, 2024; Kuehr, 2015; Mutuyimana et al., 2019; Ng et al., 2015; Sadruddin, 2020). As a 1996 Human Rights Watch report on sexual violence observed: "Rwanda has become a country of women," with females then composing an estimated 70% of the population and heading 50% of households (Human Rights Watch, 1996). UNICEF reported that in 1994, some 114,000 "unaccompanied children" had been orphaned or otherwise separated from their parents. Some were taken in by other families or placed in special centers (United Nations Children's Fund, 1996). In 2001, a reported 17% of all children in Rwanda were orphans, and 37% of orphan-headed households cared for other children (United Nations Children's Fund, 2003, November). Orphan-headed households were due to the death of parents during the Genocide against the Tutsi as well as the high rates of HIV/AIDS that spread during and after the Genocide (Human Rights

Watch, 2003). The result was, as Berckmoes et al. noted, in post-Genocide Rwanda, "households are often composed of various family and non-family members" (2017, p. 5). Findings from the present study support other research that the family structure of those targeted to be killed was especially impacted by the Genocide.

Ambiguities of Genocide Role-Situations

Holocaust scholar Raul Hilberg (1992) made famous the genocide roles of perpetrator, victim, and bystander. These roles, or labels, have often been affixed to individual historical actors. Scholarly grappling with the horror of the Genocide against the Tutsi has spawned a substantial body of "perpetrator research" that has explored predictors, correlates, and motivations of genocidal participation, such as demographic profile (Anderson & Jessee, 2020; Nyseth Brehm et al., 2016; Nyseth Nzitatira et al., 2023); personal edification and greed (Loyle, 2009); nature, location, and density of social networks (McDoom, 2021); indoctrination, fear, and social pressure (Adler et al., 2007; Adler et al., 2008; Straus, 2013a); rationalization (Anderson, 2017); childhood abandonment (Bigabo & Jansen, 2020); and bystanders (Doná, 2017; Staub, 2003a, 2005, 2011).

However entrenched the labels of "perpetrators," "victim," "bystander," and "rescuer" may be, abundant research shows that the reality was often more ambiguous. Anthropologist Jennie Burnet borrowed from Holocaust literature the concept of a moral "gray zone" to illuminate "the ways that people navigated complex and morally ambiguous decisions on a daily, sometimes even a minute-by-minute, basis" in Rwanda (Burnet, 2023, p. 48). Moral decision-making at critical moments was muddled by genocide propaganda that used religious symbolism that dehumanized Tutsi (cf. Appleby, 2000; Karegeye, 2015; Simonsson, 2019, 2021). Even in the case of the approximately 100 days of the Genocide against the Tutsi, individuals reportedly assumed multiple roles, sometimes simultaneously, such as those who selectively chose to aid or protect individuals

close to them while engaging in general harmdoing (Anderson, 2019; Bigabo & Jansen, 2020; Campbell, 2010; Fujii, 2009).[2]

The JW-RWA study expands on these earlier empirical studies based on responses from those who were baptized Witnesses by the time of the Genocide and those who converted to the faith in the years after 1994. Broad categories were created for those who (a) faced harm, either targeted to be killed or not targeted; (b) helped those targeted and those not targeted; (c) refused to betray or harm those targeted; or (d) fled the country for safety. In this report, the hyphenated term *role-situation* is used to reflect the agency that individuals may have to adopt certain roles (e.g., *génocidaire*, helper), while recognizing that circumstances can limit or influence role options (e.g., targeted). For example, individuals could become helpers if they were in proximity to or known by those needing help and if they had the means to help. Also, recollection about the nature of help given to Tutsi during the Genocide decades ago could vary widely, and as evidenced by the immense murder rates of Tutsi, it is clear that most Rwandans chose not to take on the role of helper.

Helpers and Rescuers During Genocide

Research findings on the Holocaust are relevant to the study of helping behaviors during the Genocide against the Tutsi. For example, although genocides have historically been state-sponsored programs of mass murder, the acquiescence or cooperation of the general populace has also played a crucial part. Much scholarly exploration of this sobering fact has been prompted by the large-scale participation or support of ordinary citizens in the genocide of the Jews during the Nazi era. The population's consent, support, and participation during the Holocaust did not arise

[2] In the JW-RWA study, the category of "perpetrator" is narrowly defined for the purpose of data analysis, as applied only to those who self-identified as having been imprisoned for participation in the Genocide; that said, definitive or specific guilt cannot be assigned based on the available data.

out of a vacuum. Historian John Weiss (1996), among others, attributes a central role to Europe's long-term history of political, religious, and popular antisemitism in fostering a broad acceptance of the Nazi regime's attempted destruction of European Jews.

Historian Doris Bergen's (2003) observation about the Holocaust can also be applied to the Genocide against the Tutsi: "A substantial part of the population had to be ready to consider it desirable, acceptable, or at least unavoidable, that certain other people would be isolated, persecuted, and killed" (p. 1). The range of participation of the Rwandan populace, from compliance to complicity, increased the risks of aiding Tutsi, a main factor in the extreme rarity of helping behavior during the Genocide against the Tutsi. The JW-RWA study sought to add to the small body of literature on rescue during the Genocide by exploring questions similar to those posed by scholars of Holocaust-era rescue: What characteristics, motivations, and conditions underlay the actions of those few who chose to help Tutsi, whether family, friends, or strangers, during the Genocide?

Pertinent to the Genocide against the Tutsi, decades of scholarship from psychologists and sociologists provide useful insights into the cognitive processes involved in helping behavior that could potentially thwart genocide acts and ideologies. During genocides, helping behavior involves a high degree of moral decision-making. Egoistic (person-centered) inhibitors of helping include operating in "a revised moral context," characterized by the removal of normal moral barriers to murder (Anderson, 2019, p. 135), moral disengagement from targets of violence (Bandura, 1999), low feelings of self-efficacy (Li et al., 2023), and perceived difference or dislike (Stürmer & Snyder, 2010). In the "gray zone" of genocide, helping acts were sometimes mingled with motives of personal gain, such as monetary, material, or sexual payments.

A natural corollary for Holocaust researchers has been to study the dispositional and relational characteristics of individuals who became altruistic helpers and rescuers, that is, those who acted in others' behalf despite risk or sacrifice. Oliner and Oliner (1988) and Tec's (2003) pioneering studies of rescue during the Holocaust isolated several salient factors among the rescuers they interviewed: marginality from the majority community; strong moral and humanitarian values; inclusive feeling of connection toward those belonging to other groups; and willingness to extend help under difficult or dangerous circumstances toward those outside one's immediate social circle. Oliner and Oliner (1988) listed characteristics such as empathetic "involvement, commitment, care, and responsibility" (p. 186) in altruistic rescuers. Some acted according to "internalized norms of social groups to whom they were strongly attached," a "universalistic obligation to help," or "autonomous principles rooted in caring and justice" (pp. 166, 221, 249). Monroe's (2012) qualitative study of Holocaust rescue concluded that identity and self-image played a central role in their actions. "Altruists see themselves as closely connected to others through bonds of common humanity" (p. 151). There are major differences between the historical and cultural contexts of the Holocaust and the Genocide against the Tutsi, but the situational and personal attributes described above could well apply to those few individuals who took the initiative to help Tutsi in 1994.

Roots of Helping and Prosocial Behavior

Analysis of actions and circumstances surrounding helping acts during the Genocide against the Tutsi is often grounded in theories of morality (personal values), empathy (personal feelings), altruism (personal sacrifice), and ingroup/outgroup relations (personal/social identity and the "other"). Staub (2003b) identified three primary motivations behind helping acts: a value of care that assumes personal responsibility for others' welfare; the desire to live up to moral

principles; and empathetic reactions to the suffering of others. A review of key research findings on the role of morality, empathy, and group processes in altruism relates to understanding how the values and motivations of those socialized by religious teachings and practices of the Jehovah's Witness community might contribute to helping behaviors.

Moral Cognition and Helping. "One of the reasons we study rescuers," wrote Block and Drucker (1992), "is that they represent the highest form of moral achievement" (p. 10). Morality and personality are the beginning points for much scholarly discourse on altruistic acts in both ordinary and extraordinary circumstances. Socialization by family, secular or religious teachers, and others is seen as a key explanatory factor that relates to both dispositional traits and relational perspectives (e.g., Bauman, 1989; Dovidio et al., 2006; Hoffman, 2000; Kohlberg, 1964; Mussen & Eisenberg-Berg, 1977). The broad category of morality has been divided into facets of the continuum from (internalized) moral principles to (external) moral actions (Ding et al., 2018), with the caveat that one does not inevitably lead to the other (cf. Batson, 2016). Morality is seen as having both cognitive aspects (e.g., moral reasoning, moral judgment) and affective ones (moral emotion, moral elevation) (Ding et al., 2018).

Empathic Motivation of Helping. Morality has been closely linked with empathy (Decety & Cowell, 2014). Empathy has been seen as a primary motivation for altruistic acts (Batson et al., 1981; Batson 2016) and as a predictor of prosocial behavior more generally (Eisenberg & Fabes, 1991; Penner et al., 1995). Volunteering, which often takes place within religious communities, has also been linked to prosociality, empathy, and helping (Dovidio et al., 2006; Finkelstein et al., 2005; Penner et al., 2005). Studies have shown that children and adolescents may learn and retain prosocial habits as they develop a "volunteer identity" that carries over into later life (Kim & Morgül, 2017). Volunteers scored higher than others in empathy and helpfulness, and those who

volunteered longer than six months scored significantly higher in prosocial behavior (Penner et al., 1995). Piliavin (2010) proposes that volunteer activities can be involved in the development of motivations. “We are what we do, and we engage in activities that reinforce whom we believe ourselves to be” (p. 165).

Group Processes to Reduce Bias in Helping. Altruistic helping and volunteering often take place in group contexts. Ingroup members predictably prefer to help one another, whether within families, social groups, or other collectives, rather than outside the group (Penner et al., 2005). Research on ingroup/outgroup relations often focuses on the dynamics of aggression, discrimination, stereotyping, and other negative manifestations (e.g., Abbink & Harris, 2019; Eisenberg et al., 2010). The field of genocide studies has made important contributions to this literature (e.g., Hinton, 2005; Moshman, 2011; Staub, 2011). However, beyond attention to negative ingroup/outgroup relations, positive dynamics involving intergroup altruism, and particularly ingroup helping of outgroup members, are also increasingly the subject of scholarly study (Stürmer & Snyder, 2010). Intergroup helping can result from shifts in attitudes, such as perspective-taking, which can reduce stereotypical evaluations of others and increase emotional responses to their needs (Davis & Maitner, 2010). Decategorization, or reducing the salience of group membership, can occur through personalized interactions that displace stereotypes with knowledge gained by personal acquaintance. Recategorization involves reordering group boundaries in inclusive ways that reduce group biases, such as by finding common ground among members of separate groups that, in effect, constitutes new groups, or by seeing ingroups and outgroups as subgroups of a larger “superordinate” collective (Gaertner et al., 2000). Reduced biases, in turn, increase openness to intergroup cooperation and helping (Dovidio et al., 2010).

Darley and Latané (1968) explained the "bystander effect" with the concept of "diffusion of responsibility," in which the presence of others may tend to inhibit helping behavior. Levine and Cassidy have, in part, turned the theory on its head by suggesting that "if group norms favor intervention, then the presence of the group can facilitate intervention" (2010, p. 214). Key differences lie in both the psychosocial relationship of those with a shared social identity and the nature of that identity itself. For instance, "some group identities embody norms and values which promote helping the outgroup as a way of establishing or maintaining ingroup value and distinctiveness" (Levine & Cassidy, 2010, p. 222).

Findings from extant literature on prosocial helping behavior during genocides could be compared to the characteristics of the faith community of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda as reported in Sections 3 and 4 of this report on faith and forgiveness. As one example, the Witnesses' emphasis on attending to the spiritual needs of others through their public ministry regardless of their ethnic or economic backgrounds may have disposed individual Witnesses to help those in physical distress as a natural extension of their charitable religious work.

Gender, Children, and Helping

The JW-RWA study compared gender differences in helping behaviors and explored the role of children during the Genocide against the Tutsi. Regarding gender differences and helping behavior, Eagly and Crowley's (1986) meta review concluded that male social roles foster heroic helping, whereas female roles foster nurturing and caring helping. Espinosa and Kovářík (2015) found more malleability in gender roles, and Nadler (2020) noted little difference between males and females in gender-neutral situations. While the majority of officially recognized rescuers have been males, Brown (2018) documented cases of women offering help in the form of hiding, aiding, and otherwise protecting others, even at great personal risk.

Studies on helping during childhood in general have found that even young children engage in prosocial behavior and helping increases with age (Bar-Tal et al., 1982; Chernyak et al., 2018). Slight gender differences have been noted, with girls who engage in early prosocial behavior developing greater empathy-related traits (Hardy et al., 2015; Van der Graaff et al., 2018). Moran & Taylor (2022) reviewed studies of children in conflict zones for evidence of prosocial behavior toward outgroups. While younger children mainly helped those within their group, empathy and perspective-taking in older children and adolescents may have contributed to prosocial actions across group lines.

Helping During the Genocide Against the Tutsi

The foregoing discussion of prosocial behavior lays the groundwork for considering the characteristics of helping behavior in high-risk settings. In Rwanda, helping behavior has been documented based largely on qualitative interviews of "rescuers" designated as such by survivor organizations or NGOs (e.g., Brown, 2018; Burnet, 2023; Fox & Nyseth Brehm, 2018; Fujii, 2014; Mulinda, 2014; Rothbart & Cooley, 2016; Straus, 2013b; Stefano, 2016). Most researchers delimit "rescuer" to include those who had helped others and had not killed. Expanding traditional definitions, Semelin (2013) introduces additional nuances to the term "rescue," including "ordinary everyday acts" to protect others that become "extraordinary gestures" because of the risk they entailed (p. 2). Rather than the term "rescue," Andrieu (2013) prefers the term "help" because it better reflects the "continuous chain of acts, carried out by a whole series of players," instead of "rescue," which focuses on one moment or person (p. 51). Considering the multilayered acts and individuals involved during the Genocide, the two words are used interchangeably in the succeeding discussion.

According to Burnet (2023), during the early days of the Genocide, rescue of Tutsi, while uncommon, took place somewhat more often than later during the Genocide; as the killing intensified and became more organized, rescue attempts quickly diminished. With the sudden onset of the Genocide in Rwanda, the decision to rescue acquaintances and strangers alike must have occurred spontaneously. It is logical, therefore, that researchers would focus on preconditions that predicted helping behavior. Rothbart & Cooley (2016) examined the effect of ethical education and role models on Hutu rescuers, identifying patterns such as rescuers' sense of self, sense of humanity, and interconnectedness with Tutsi. Rescuers had parental and other role models who explicitly taught them by word and deed to live at peace and who provided "foundational moral clarity" that helped them respond as they did when faced with genocidal violence (p. 88). Many had also witnessed or heard stories of suffering due to anti-Tutsi violence and discrimination during prior periods (i.e., 1959, 1963, 1967, and 1973; cf. Bizimana, 2001), perhaps accounting for empathetic reactions to present Tutsi suffering. Conversely, ambivalence of beliefs and lack of moral clarity can contribute to a lack of compassion and violent acts toward fellow humans (cf. Appleby, 2000; Juergensmeyer, 2017).

Similarly, Fox and Nyseth Brehm (2018) argue that while stable personality traits are usually seen as most salient to the decision to rescue, other factors are also involved, particularly in collective rescue in high-risk situations. As McDoom (2021) found with those who perpetrated violence, rescue also apparently depended heavily on 'who you were, where you lived, and who you knew.' Socialization, such as in parental or religious norms against violence, and situational contexts, such as trusted social networks, played a role in the decision to rescue. "Biographical availability," which refers to personal circumstances such as employment, marriage, and family responsibilities, was also found to facilitate or hinder ones from helping (Fox & Nyseth Brehm,

2018, p. 1629). As examples, those who lived in a home with an underground hiding place might have been more likely to hide fugitives; and those with full-time jobs may have had no time to rescue others.

Religion and Helping During Genocide. In contrast to a substantial body of literature on the complicity of Christian religions to genocide, relatively little has been written on religion and rescue. (See discussion in the Introduction, Section 1 of this report.) This is likely because not only was rescue relatively rare, but evidence of religiously motivated rescue and helping is even rarer. In the face of genocide, individual adherents of various religions ranged in behaviors from zealous participation to passive acquiescence to selfless resistance and rescue (Brown & Smith, 2022; Tec, 2003). However, such actions were not always closely linked to individuals' religious identity. Moreover, even where self-reports indicate a religious motivation, evidence of directionality may be lacking. For example, a rescuer of Jews during the Holocaust may have attributed altruistic acts to his or her religious orientation. Yet, it may not be clear which came first: Did the convert learn and adopt religious values that motivated altruistic acts? Or did the person already have altruistic tendencies and then decide to seek affiliation with a religious community as a structure within which to perform good deeds? Researchers generally agree: The fact that "religious affiliation per se did not distinguish between rescuers and nonrescuers is suggested by their similar religious backgrounds" (Oliner & Oliner, 1988, p. 156). In other words, the link between religious belonging and prosocial acts is challenged by the conspicuous presence of rescuers' co-religionists who acted in harmful ways.

Still, most religious groups embrace values of caring and fraternity, and some (but not all) rescuers belonging to various faith groups explicitly attributed their actions to religious socialization and values (e.g., Burnet, 2023, pp. 84–87). Oliner and Oliner (1988) observed that

such rescuers differed from others "in their interpretation of religious teaching and religious commitment, which emphasized the common humanity of all people" (p. 156). Burnet's (2023) research on Rwandan rescuers concluded: "Participating in a faith community, whether at a mosque, church, or prayer group, that . . . described racial discrimination as sinful greatly increased the likelihood that people would oppose the genocide, attempt to rescue people from death, and persist in those choices even when faced with growing danger" (p. 87).

An important study by Fox et al. (2021) sought clarity with regard to the role of religious beliefs, practices, and social networks in rescue, concluding that religion factored into rescue in three ways: (a) cognitive safety nets, such as low death anxiety due to belief in resurrection, that enabled risky acts; (b) religious practices that inhibited adherents from joining social networks perpetrating violence; and (c) religious social networks that provided opportunities and resources connected to rescue. The marginal status of religious minorities may have produced a stronger inclination to rescue "due to greater empathy or well-established, insular social networks in these communities" (pp. 99–100). Burnet (2023) describes the dense social networks among Rwandan Muslims, who had historically been regarded as "other" in the majority-Christian country. Some among the tiny Muslim minority perpetrated genocidal harm but even these generally avoided killing other Muslims, whereas others joined forces with non-Muslims to resist attacks on Tutsi. The prior experience of repression among marginal groups may have motivated resistance to participation in communal harmdoing. Low-profile and clandestine worship among minority religions may also have prepared some congregants for the dangerous undertaking of help and rescue (Fox & Nyseth Brehm, 2018).

Researchers have identified what seems intuitive about helping behavior: Humans tend to help those whom they know, those with whom they share emotional or social attachment, and

those to whom they relate and toward whom they feel greater empathy or compassion. The greater the cost or sacrifice, the less likely helping takes place. Yet, in contradiction of claimed "helplessness" by those who chose to cooperate, conform, or stand by while atrocities were perpetrated, altruistic acts of rescue have occurred during the Holocaust, the Genocide against the Tutsi, and in other extraordinary situations. Researcher Jean Damascène Bizimana (2001) noted the rarity and core values of those who resisted the Genocide against the Tutsi:

> During the genocide, there were Christians and a few priests who distinguished themselves by courage and compassion beyond human strength. It's a small number, but it's enough to prove that in the most terrible conditions, there are still men and women who respect the life of others, even to the point of dying for it. (p. 139, translated by report author)

Extant research provides evidence that individuals from various religious backgrounds (sometimes contrary to the position of their religious leaders) made decisions of conscience to resist the Genocide by not joining *génocidaires* and by proactively helping those targeted to be killed, even at personal risk. The JW-RWA study contributes to the academic literature by examining ways in which emphasis on peaceful and apolitical positions within a faith community might have influenced both the individual and collective decisions and circumstances of targeted and not-targeted Jehovah's Witnesses during the Genocide against the Tutsi.

Jehovah's Witnesses' Historical Pattern of Nonviolence and Social Cohesion

The subpopulation of special research interest in the JW-RWA study consisted of those who belonged to the religious community of Jehovah's Witnesses prior to and during the Genocide against the Tutsi. Distinctive features of the Witness community include their political neutrality, belief in ethnic equality, ethic of nonviolence, evangelizing work, strong sense of religious identity, and social cohesion. This section of the report discusses factors relevant to their general situation

as a community, the social consequences of their religious affiliation, and their behavior and attitudes in light of certain teachings of the faith.

The response of a given religious community, and individual congregants, to a State-sponsored genocide can partly be attributed to the community's institutional and ethical position toward secular authority. Scholars ascribe the failure of Rwanda's majority churches in 1994 to their pre-existing symbiotic relationship with governmental authorities that at the very least suppressed expressions of disapproval of genocide (Carney, 2014; Gatwa, 2005; Longman, 2010; Schliesser et al., 2021). The "remarkably high degree of political interlinking between the church and the state" included inculcation of obedience to authority by government and religious authorities interested in pacification of the masses (Banyanga & Björkqvist, 2017, p. 3). Pseudoscientific theories of racial superiority underpinned church practices instituted by European missionaries dating back to colonial times and contributed to systemic societal discrimination (Court, 2016; Eltringham, 2006).

The situation of Rwandan Jehovah's Witnesses differed greatly, in part because of their teaching of political neutrality that prevented them from forming a religion-State alliance, even if the government had been willing. According to biblical precepts, Witnesses consider themselves as subjects of God's Kingdom, an actual heavenly government to which they owe their allegiance (John 17:14; 18:36; 2 Corinthians 5:20). At the same time, Witnesses teach the biblical requirement to respect and obey secular authority (Romans 13). Following the model of Jesus and the early Christians, Witnesses do not take sides in political disputes, nor do they engage in political or military activity (John 6:15). Neither do they support resistance movements or violent protests (Romans 12:18; 2 Timothy 2:24). They would refuse compliance only if governments demand actions forbidden by God (Acts 5:29).

Witnesses globally have faced severe challenges to their stand of conscience, particularly during wartime and civil strife, and under dictatorships (Baran, 2014; Garbe, 1993/2008; Marinozzi, 2011; Peters, 2000). It is instructive to examine the historical record regarding the response of Jehovah's Witnesses to the genocidal Nazi regime. During the early years of Nazi rule, Witnesses were targeted and their worship was banned because of their refusal to conform to the discriminatory and militaristic norms of the regime. Witness workers were fired from jobs and their children were expelled from school for refusing to give the Hitler salute (Garbe, 1993/2008). Witness businessmen were punished with boycotts, violence, or incarceration for refusing to observe racial laws (Wilker, 2022). Several thousand Witnesses were incarcerated in prisons and camps for adhering to their religious identity and ideals (Hesse, 2001). As the Hitler government consolidated its power and prepared for war, the consequences of neutrality increased, with hundreds of Witness males being executed for their conscientious objection to military service (Kehoe, 2019). Producing and distributing banned religious literature also led to executions of Witness men and women. As part of its psychological warfare, the Nazi regime offered Jehovah's Witness prisoners the opportunity to go free if they would sign a document recanting their faith. Eyewitnesses report and scholars confirm that very few Witnesses did so (Garbe, 1993/2008).

Under such circumstances, with active suppression and constant surveillance, opportunities for altruistic helping would have been limited. In a similar way to the dynamics identified by Fox and Nyseth Brehm (2018) regarding rescue in the Rwandan context, increasing Nazi repression of Witnesses may have strengthened their social cohesion and motivated clandestine helping behavior. Numerous non-Witness observers reported strong solidarity and mutual helping among incarcerated Witnesses (e.g., Buber-Neumann, 2008; Herbermann, 1959; Kempler, 2013; Liebster, 2003;). Others, including Nazi officials and clergymen, noted Witnesses' staunch refusal to

abandon their religious identity and compromise their stance (Bettelheim, 1960; Hoess, 1959; Lilje, 1985; Niemöller, 1947). Many accounts by non-Witnesses indicate that Witnesses extended help and refused to harm Jews and other targeted groups (Daxelmüller, 2001; King, 1982; Langbein, 1996; Wilker, 2022). Daxelmüller's 2001 study, based on recollections by non-Witness prisoners, attributes the solidarity and prosocial acts of Witness prisoners to the "pre-camp socialization and civilization patterns" of their religious teachings (p. 29).

Although the genocides in Nazi-occupied Europe and Rwanda differ in major respects, the situation of Jehovah's Witnesses had certain similarities. The 10-year governmental ban on Witnesses in Rwanda (1982–1992) was imposed, in part, because of Witnesses' refusal to participate in military service, night patrols, and patriotic exercises (Chu, 2019; Seminega & Nkurikiyinka, 2025). Rwandan Witnesses' experience of government repression may have contributed to a strengthened social network, supporting individuals' refusal to participate in ethnic discrimination and violence and heightening their own willingness and ability to engage in high-risk helping behavior inside and outside the community.

As noted previously, studies of rescuers indicated that universalistic values that rise above social divisions tended to predict altruistic helping (e.g., Oliner & Oliner, 1988). Jehovah's Witnesses, like many other religious and ethical systems, believe in the common origins of all humans and the impartiality of God (Acts 10:34, 35; 17:26–28). Witnesses teach that neither national borders nor ethnic divisions ought to govern their interpersonal relationships with or moral responsibilities toward fellow humans. The Witnesses' evangelizing activity is a visible manifestation of this value. Belief in their obligation to share the gospel message with all persons regardless of nationality, ethnicity, religion, or social status (Matthew 28:19, 20; Acts 1:8) has resulted in interracial and socio-economic diversity in their congregations in Africa and elsewhere

(Long, 1968; Wilson, 1973; Yi & Graziul, 2017). In line with research findings on volunteerism, the unpaid ministry undertaken by all Jehovah's Witnesses may be one factor in the development of prosocial attitudes, including perspective-taking and empathy toward others, especially disadvantaged persons, outside their community. This other-oriented, salvific activity may have primed some Witnesses to offer spontaneous help to strangers despite extreme risk during the Genocide (Chu & Seminega, 2022; cf. Graziano et al., 2007). Witness helpers' belief in the hope of resurrection of the righteous could have acted as a "cognitive safety net" as they undertook extreme risks to help those in need. As detailed in Seminega (2019), their strong social network might have enabled Rwandan Witnesses to engage in collective rescue and helping efforts—a finding that the research data from those targeted to be killed would bear out.

Results

The research findings include analysis of responses from the total sample who were affiliated with various religions at the time of the Genocide and those who were Jehovah's Witnesses before and during the Genocide. General findings related to the Genocide cover the following topics: location and duration of danger, changes in household composition, personal or family traumatic events, multiple role-situations, and children's role as recalled by those who were parents and children. These findings are based mostly on data from the Genocide Generation. In some cases, subgroups within the Genocide Generation were compared (e.g., adults and minors). Some analysis also included how the Post-Genocide Generation understood the traumatic events experienced by older family members. The subgroups analyzed and the number of respondents to each survey question varied. For example, some questions in the survey were directed to certain subgroups (e.g., parents during the Genocide). Respondents who were minors in 1994 would have varied and limited recall of their own experiences, depending on their age; thus, most analysis

focused on those who were adults in Rwanda during the Genocide. Given the period of almost 30 years between the time of the 1994 Genocide and the 2023 JW-RWA survey, a high percentage of respondents in the study population selected *prefer not to answer* (PNA) and *do not know* (DNK) response options to some questions. As would be expected, the Post-Genocide Generation had a high percentage of DNK responses when asked about their family's experiences during the 1994 Genocide. From the analysis, PNA and DNK responses were removed from percentage calculations in the descriptive statistics if these did not contribute meaningfully to the findings.

In order to better understand the impact of the Genocide against the Tutsi, the original intent of the JW-RWA survey was to allow respondents to self-identify as Hutu, Tutsi, or Twa. However, the RNEC stipulated that the survey instrument could not inquire explicitly about the ethnicity of the respondents. Nevertheless, respondents could report whether, during the Genocide against the Tutsi, they had been targeted to be killed—a classification that clearly applies to Tutsi. It is possible that some respondents who were not ethnically Tutsi may have self-identified as having been targeted (e.g., those mistakenly identified by the Interahamwe militia as being Tutsi; those with Tutsi spouses or relatives; or perhaps certain Hutu who were targeted, not for genocide, but because the Interahamwe viewed them as politically moderate or resistant to the Genocide). However, the proportion of such non-Tutsi respondents would have been relatively small in comparison with those targeted to be killed because they were Tutsi.

For purposes of statistical analysis in this study, the category *targeted to be killed* allowed for inferential group comparisons of those targeted (Tutsi) and not targeted (not Tutsi) on selected variables (e.g., posttraumatic stress symptoms, change in household composition, and help received by those targeted during the Genocide). This common ethnic classification for Tutsi was also used to investigate the types and sources of help given to those *targeted to be killed* during

the Genocide against the Tutsi. The analysis of helping behaviors included a breakdown of respondents who were targeted Jehovah's Witnesses and targeted non-JWs in 1994, which provided insights into the faith community and the extent and nature of help given to targeted Tutsi during the Genocide.

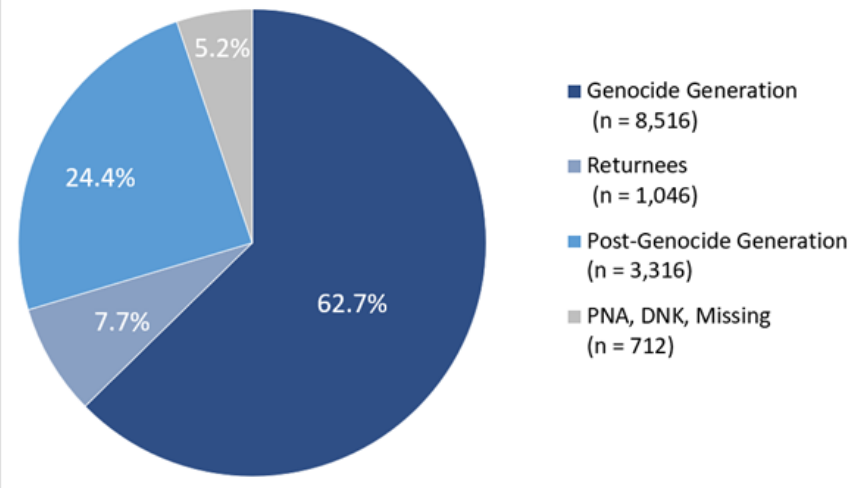
Finally, findings specific to Jehovah's Witnesses before and during the Genocide identify some ways in which principles of nonviolence, political neutrality, and prosociality of Jehovah's Witnesses likely contributed to their practices during the decade-long government ban on the religion and during the Genocide against the Tutsi. Findings on what non-JWs in 1994 saw at the time of the Genocide and reported provide compelling evidence of an overall peaceful and apolitical stance of the Witnesses. In light of the pervasive ethnically divisive ideology and violence perpetrated by génocidiares, the analysis examined how a faith community composed of those who were targeted to be killed (Tutsi) and those not targeted (not Tutsi) could function as a cohesive unit.

Demographic Overview

The JW-RWA study examined the experiences and understanding of the Genocide against the Tutsi of three main demographic groups with different generational or geographical perspectives: (a) the Genocide Generation, which consisted of those born before or in 1994 and were adults or minors living in Rwanda during the Genocide against the Tutsi; (b) Returnees who reported that they were outside Rwanda during the 1994 Genocide; and (c) the Post-Genocide Generation who were born after 1994. Figure 5.1 shows the proportion of the three main groups in the total sample and the percentage of the sample whose group could not be identified because of PNA and DNK responses and missing data.

Figure 5.1

Sample Population by Main Demographic Groups



Note. Total sample, *n* = 13,590. As elsewhere in this report, *prefer not to answer* and *do not know* responses are abbreviated PNA and DNK.

Table 5.1 gives a breakdown of the three main generational groups by gender and age.

Table 5.1

Generational Breakdown by Gender and Age

Group	Genocide Generation	Returnees	Post-Genocide Generation	Total
	n (%)	*n* (%)	*n* (%)	*n* (%)
Total	8,516 (66.13)	1,046 (8.12)	3,316 (25.75)	12,878 (100)
Gender				
Male	3,826 (67.16)	426 (7.48)	1,445 (25.36)	5,697 (44.24)
Female	4,690 (65.31)	620 (8.63)	1,871 (26.05)	7,181 (55.76)
Age				
Early Young Adults Age 18–28, Born 1995–2005	-	-	3,316 (100)	3,316 (25.75)
Young Adults Age 29–39, Born 1984–1994	2,802 (32.90)	504 (48.18)	-	3,306 (25.67)
Middle-Aged Adults Age 40–59, Born 1964–1983	4,514 (53.01)	465 (44.46)	-	4,979 (38.66)
Older Adults Over Age 59, Born Before 1964	1,200 (14.09)	77 (7.36)	-	1,277 (9.92)

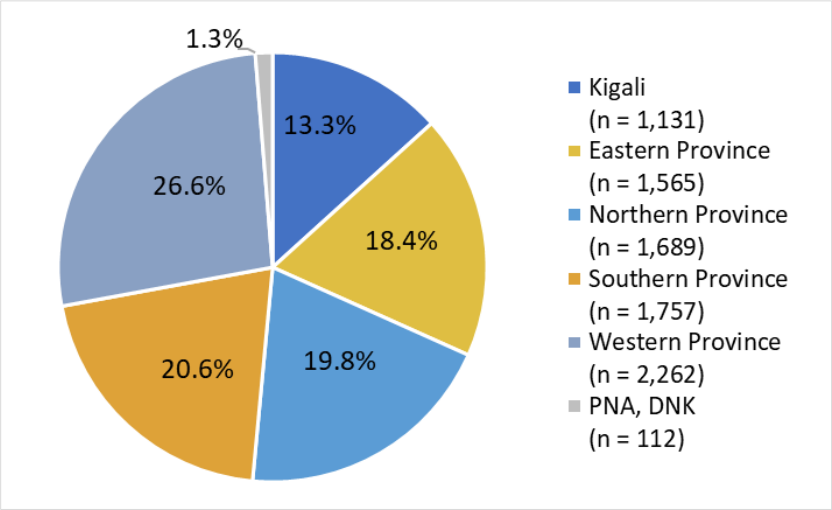
Note. The total of 12,878 equals the total sample (*n* = 13,590) minus 712 respondents who had missing demographic data that did not allow group classification. In the data analysis, the *n* varied depending on missing data, PNA, and DNK responses. Present ages are calculated based on the year of data collection, 2023.

Location of Genocide Generation During the Genocide

The survey asked Genocide Generation respondents which province and district they lived in during the Genocide (using today's geographic divisions). As shown in Figure 5.2, the Genocide Generation in the sample population ($n = 8{,}516$) was geographically distributed across all provinces.

Figure 5.2

Residence by Province During the Genocide Against the Tutsi



Note. *N* = 8,516. Residence was based on current geopolitical divisions.

Jehovah's Witnesses are not concentrated in specific geographic areas or districts. The JW-RWA survey data identified districts in which the Genocide Generation (adults and minors) resided at the time of the 2023 survey and used the current geographic divisions to determine their district of residence at the time of the Genocide against the Tutsi. Table 5.2 lists the 30 districts in Rwanda, with the number of respondents who reported where they lived at the time of the 1994 Genocide. Respondents who did not provide both their Genocide location and current location were removed from this analysis ($n = 187$). The table shows variations in the number and percentages who remained in the same area since the Genocide (e.g., 76.47% of those in Nyagatare in the Eastern Province and 75.50% of those in Rusizi in the Western Province) or who moved to a different area since the Genocide (e.g., 67.52% of those in Nyarugenge in Kigala and 57.14% of those in Karongi in Western Province.)

Table 5.2

Residence of Genocide Generation by District at Time of the 1994 Genocide Against the Tutsi and Any Change at the Time of the 2023 Survey

Province	District	Residence, 1994	Stayed		Left	
		n	*n*	%	*n*	%
Kigali	Gasabo	451	242	53.66	209	46.34
	Kicukiro	270	122	45.19	148	54.81
	Nyarugenge	391	127	32.48	264	67.52
Northern	Burera	139	66	47.48	73	52.52
	Gakenke	542	316	58.30	226	41.70
	Gicumbi	366	199	54.37	167	45.63
	Musanze	277	139	50.18	138	49.82
	Rulindo	352	202	57.39	150	42.61
Southern	Gisagara	206	123	59.71	83	40.29
	Huye	427	242	56.67	185	43.33
	Kamonyi	190	88	46.32	102	53.68
	Muhanga	397	214	53.90	183	46.10
	Nyamagabe	164	93	56.71	71	43.29
	Nyanza	104	53	50.96	51	49.04
	Nyaruguru	169	94	55.62	75	44.38
	Ruhango	94	50	53.19	44	46.81
Eastern	Bugesera	307	213	69.38	94	30.62
	Gatsibo	291	177	60.82	114	39.18
	Kayonza	129	86	66.67	43	33.33
	Kirehe	137	79	57.66	58	42.34
	Ngoma	262	194	74.05	68	25.95
	Nyagatare	85	65	76.47	20	23.53
	Rwamagana	330	156	47.27	174	52.73
Western	Karongi	119	51	42.86	68	57.14
	Ngororero	625	419	67.04	206	32.96
	Nyabihu	237	119	50.21	118	49.79
	Nyamasheke	107	73	68.22	34	31.78
	Rubavu	542	362	66.79	180	33.21
	Rutsiro	370	244	65.95	126	34.05
	Rusizi	249	188	75.50	61	24.50
Total		8,329	4,796	57.58	3,533	42.42

Note. Residence by district during the time of the Genocide against the Tutsi is based on current geopolitical divisions. The frequencies and percentages of those who stayed or left are based on the current location reported in the 2023 JW-RWA survey.

The main reasons for population shifts in districts varied over time. For example, the National Census Service (2003) in Rwanda noted in its preliminary report on the 2002 census that "the demographic situation of Rwanda, some 11 years since the last Census and 8 years after the war and the genocide . . . unleashed massive population displacements that have profoundly modified the structure of the population of this country" (p. 4). In fact, the 2002 census was delayed 1 year "due to the need to ensure that the population had properly settled down within the entire national territory after the massive displacements of the 1990s" (National Census Service, 2005, p. i). Later population shifts during the last 2 decades are generally attributed to rural-urban migration and economic development strategies, with improved economic, education, and healthcare advantages in urban areas (cf. National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, 2016; World Bank Group, 2017; World Bank Group, Government of Rwanda, 2020). For the study population overall, 57.58% of the Genocide Generation lived in the same district where they experienced the Genocide against the Tutsi.

Duration of Danger

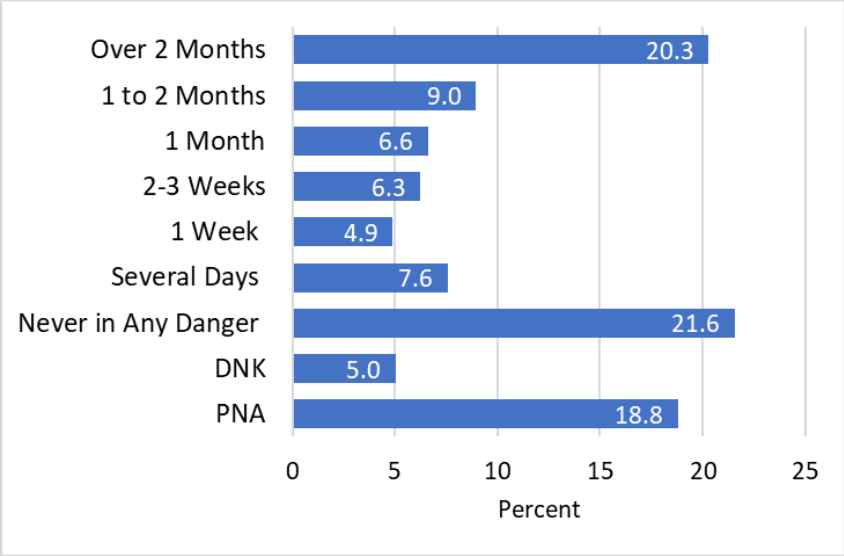
Coordinated massacres of Tutsi took place nationwide, with the Genocide against the Tutsi affecting every part of Rwanda in some way (cf. National Commission for the Fight against Genocide, 2021). Other studies have documented the unfolding of Genocide events and identified the varied degrees of danger by ethnicity, gender, and region (cf. African Rights, 1995; McDoom, 2014, 2021). The JW-RWA study considered the duration of danger during the Genocide against the Tutsi primarily as one of several factors that might have influenced helping behavior during the Genocide. The findings reported below give an overview, followed by a breakdown by gender and province, shown in Figures 5.3, 5.4, and 5.5. Additional analysis on the duration of danger

was conducted on the types of help given to those targeted and in danger for 1 month or more, shown in Figure 5.21.

To determine the approximate length of time respondents recalled being in danger, the survey asked those who were adults in the Genocide Generation, *Approximately how long were you in danger, if at all, during the time of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi?* As shown in Figure 5.3, one fourth (23.84%) gave PNA or DNK responses. One third (35.87%) reported being in danger for 1 month or more; about one fifth (18.72%) were in danger for several days or up to 3 weeks; about one fifth (21.57%) reported never being in danger.

Figure 5.3

Duration of Danger, Breakdown by Time Intervals, Genocide Generation Adults



Note. *N* = 3,616 adults in Rwanda during the Genocide who reported duration of danger.

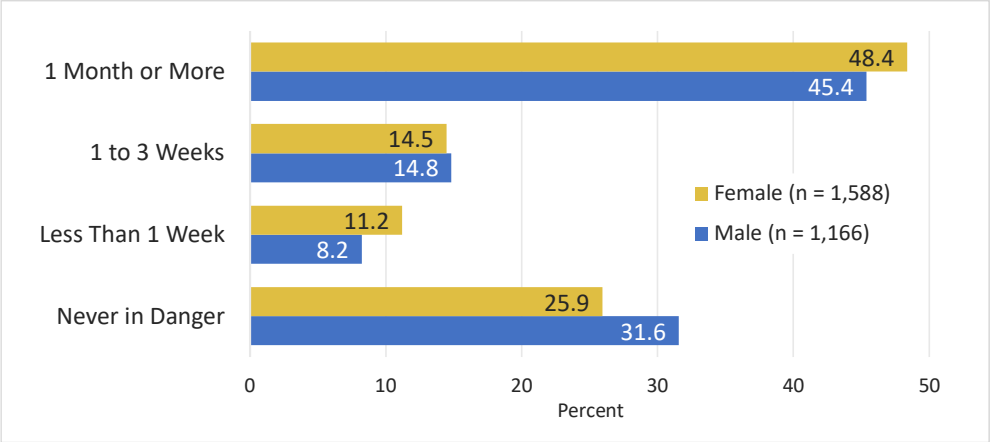
Duration of Danger by Gender

Figure 5.4 shows the duration of danger with a breakdown by gender. Excluding the PNA and DNK respondents, almost half (47.10%, *n* = 1,297) of respondents (males and females combined, *n* = 2,754) were in danger for 1 month or more; a little over one fourth (28.32%) were

never in danger. A slightly higher percentage of females (48.36%) reported being in danger for 1 month or longer, compared with males (45.37%); more males (31.56%) than females (25.94%) reported never having been in danger. Findings are consistent with other research of the intense danger Tutsi women experienced.

Figure 5.4

Duration of Danger by Gender, Genocide Generation Adults



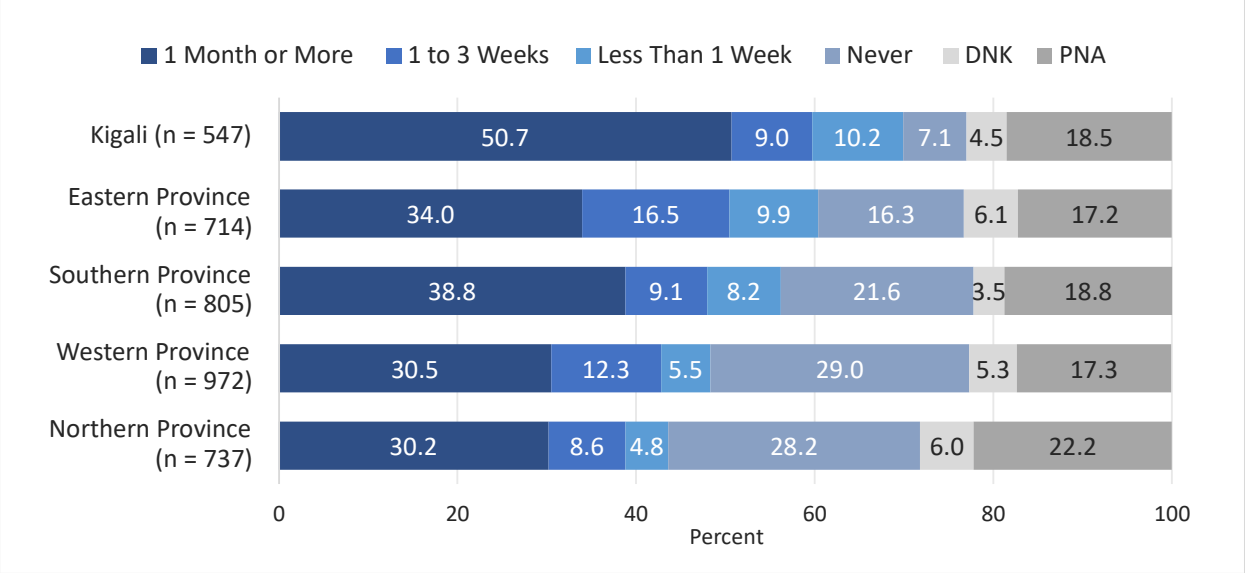
Duration of Danger by Province

The length of danger experienced during the Genocide against the Tutsi varied by geographic location. The survey only allowed respondents to report the duration of danger at one location, so the data do not reflect situations of those who changed locations, fleeing to different districts or provinces. Recall of past traumas and the duration of danger changes over time, and the survey question does not account for the types and intensity of danger, such as those experienced in areas where large-scale massacres of Tutsi were sometimes fast-moving. Findings show that the Genocide against the Tutsi was carried out across Rwanda and that danger persisted in some areas more than others. As shown in Figure 5.5, those in Kigali during the Genocide reported being in danger the longest, with about half in danger for 1 month or more. Those in the Western and Northern Provinces reported the shortest time in danger. The percentage of those who selected

PNA was similar across all provinces—between 17.2% and 22.2% of respondents regardless of the geographic location and duration of danger.

Figure 5.5

Duration of Danger by Province, Genocide Generation Adults



Note. *N* = 3,600. The figure does not include those who selected PNA for the geographic location (*n* = 16).

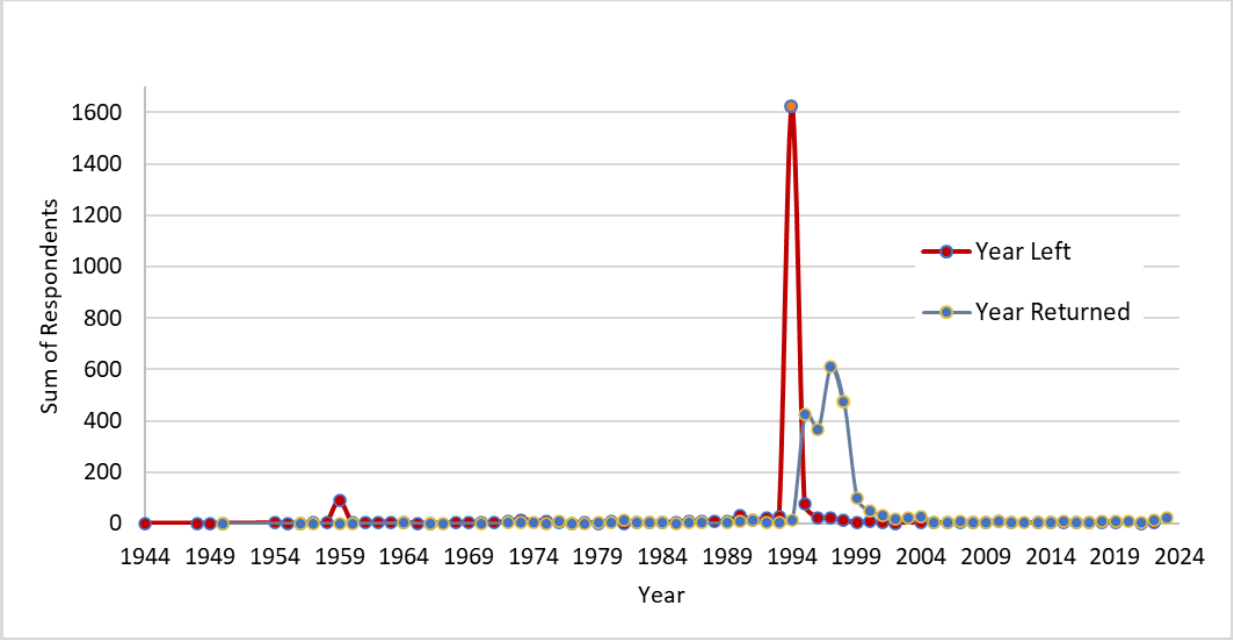
Those Who Lived Outside Rwanda for a Time

For a broader context, the survey asked respondents, to the best of their recollection, in both the Returnee and Genocide Generation subgroups if they had ever lived outside Rwanda at any time, and if so, in which country and which year they left and returned. A total of 3,902 reported living outside Rwanda for a time in the following countries: 51.50% (*n* = 2,233) in Zaire/Democratic Republic of Congo; 15.13% (*n* = 656) in Tanzania; 10.15% (*n* = 440) in Burundi; 8.95% (*n* = 388) in Uganda; 1.68% (*n* = 73) in Kenya; 4.38% (*n* = 190) in other countries. (Some [8.21%, *n* = 356] did not report in which country outside Rwanda they lived.)

Figure 5.6 charts the peak years of migration during the period of political violence around 1959 and around the time of the Genocide against the Tutsi. The chart highlights the exodus and return of displaced persons who fled Rwanda over decades and later returned.

Figure 5.6

Those Who Lived Outside Rwanda for a Time, Years Left and Returned



Note. Respondents who reported the year left numbered 2,146; those who reported the year returned numbered 2,379.

Effect of Genocide on Household Composition

In the wake of the Genocide against the Tutsi, the disruption of family life would be evident by the reconfiguration of households and loss of family members. Both an increase or decrease in size of the household unit during the Genocide would require significant adaptations in roles and functions within restructured family units. The survey investigated the number in households and the types of households respondents recalled 1 month before and 1 month after the Genocide against the Tutsi. Unlike Rwanda census data collected face-to-face per household at the time of the census-taking, the survey data were based on individual respondents' retrospective recall.

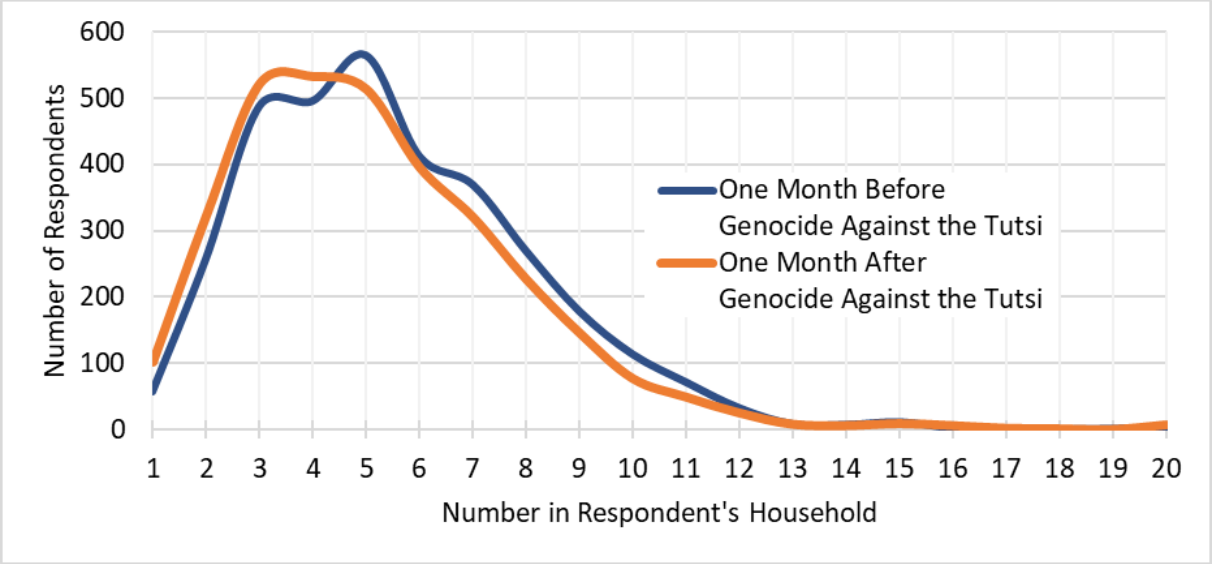
Although the questions, collection procedures, and timing of the JW-RWA survey data and national census data differed, statistics from the general population censuses are provided for context and comparison.

Household Size Before and After the Genocide Against the Tutsi

The study analyzed the shifts in the household size before and after the Genocide against the Tutsi as recalled by those who were adults and in Rwanda during that time. (See Figure 5.7.) For a direct comparison, analysis was conducted on those who reported their household size both before and after the Genocide. The average number of persons that respondents reported living in their households before the Genocide was 5.5 individuals (total of 17,092 in households reported by 3,113 respondents) and 5.2 individuals after the Genocide (total of 16,137 persons in households reported by 3,113 respondents). Within the short interval of a few months, households numbering 4 or less members increased and households with 5 to 12 members decreased. According to the 2002 census report, which was the most recent census post-Genocide, household sizes averaged 4.5 persons in 1978, increased to 4.7 in 1991, and declined again to 4.5 in 2002, with 61.2% of households consisting of 3 to 6 members (National Census Service, 2005). Thus, a 0.7 difference existed between the average household size of 5.5 persons 1 month after the Genocide as reported almost 30 years post-Genocide by survey respondents and the average household size of 4.5 persons reported in the 2002 national census conducted 8 years after the Genocide. However, the 0.3 decline in household size 1 month before and after the Genocide reported by the study population is roughly consistent with the 0.2 decline found between the 11-year interval of the 1991 and 2002 national censuses. For comparison, in the last census conducted in Rwanda in 2022, the mean size of household was 4.1 individuals, reflecting more recent socio-economic factors contributing to a decrease in household size (National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda, 2023).

Figure 5.7

Number in Genocide Generation Households One Month Before and After the 1994 Genocide



Note. Respondents who reported household composition both 1 month before and 1 month after the Genocide against the Tutsi numbered 3,113.

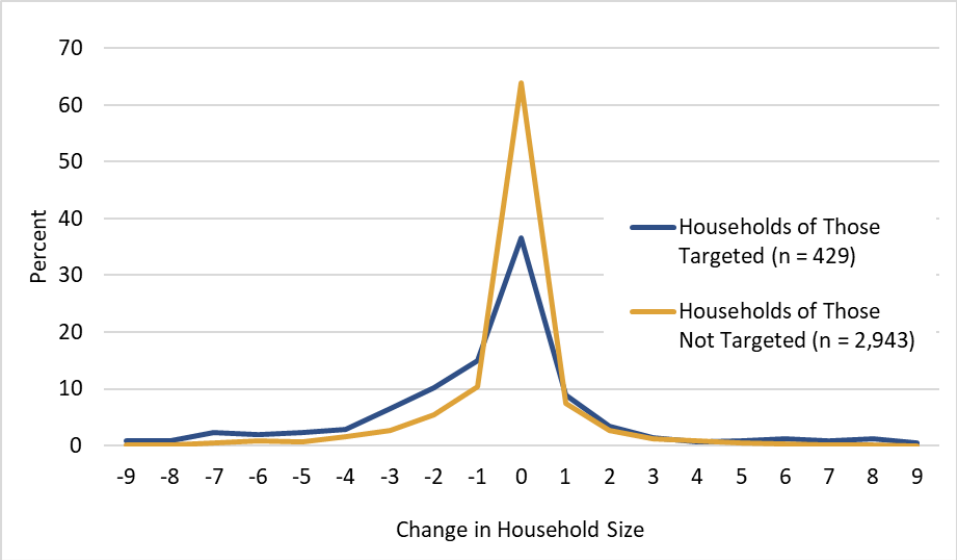
Household Size One Month Before and After the Genocide for Those Targeted and Not Targeted

The Genocide against the Tutsi resulted in unfathomable loss and disruption for families of Tutsi targeted to be killed. Figure 5.8 shows changes in household composition from the period 1 month before and 1 month after the Genocide for those who were targeted (Tutsi) and not targeted (not Tutsi) during the Genocide. Almost two thirds (63.40%) of those targeted reported a change in household size compared with 36.14% of those not targeted. The percentage of those targeted whose household size declined was twice that of those who were not targeted (42.89% and 22.52%, respectively). Household size increased following the Genocide for 19.11% of those targeted and 13.23% of those not targeted, which was likely the result of reconfigured households due to death, disability, and displacement of members resulting from Genocide events. Whether an increase or decrease, the dramatic changes in households immediately after the Genocide would

mean other adjustments, such as in gender roles and economic situation. The survey findings underscore the differential experiences of those targeted and not targeted.

Figure 5.8

Change in Household Size Between One Month Before and After the Genocide for Those Targeted and Not Targeted



Types of Households, One Month Before and After the Genocide Against the Tutsi

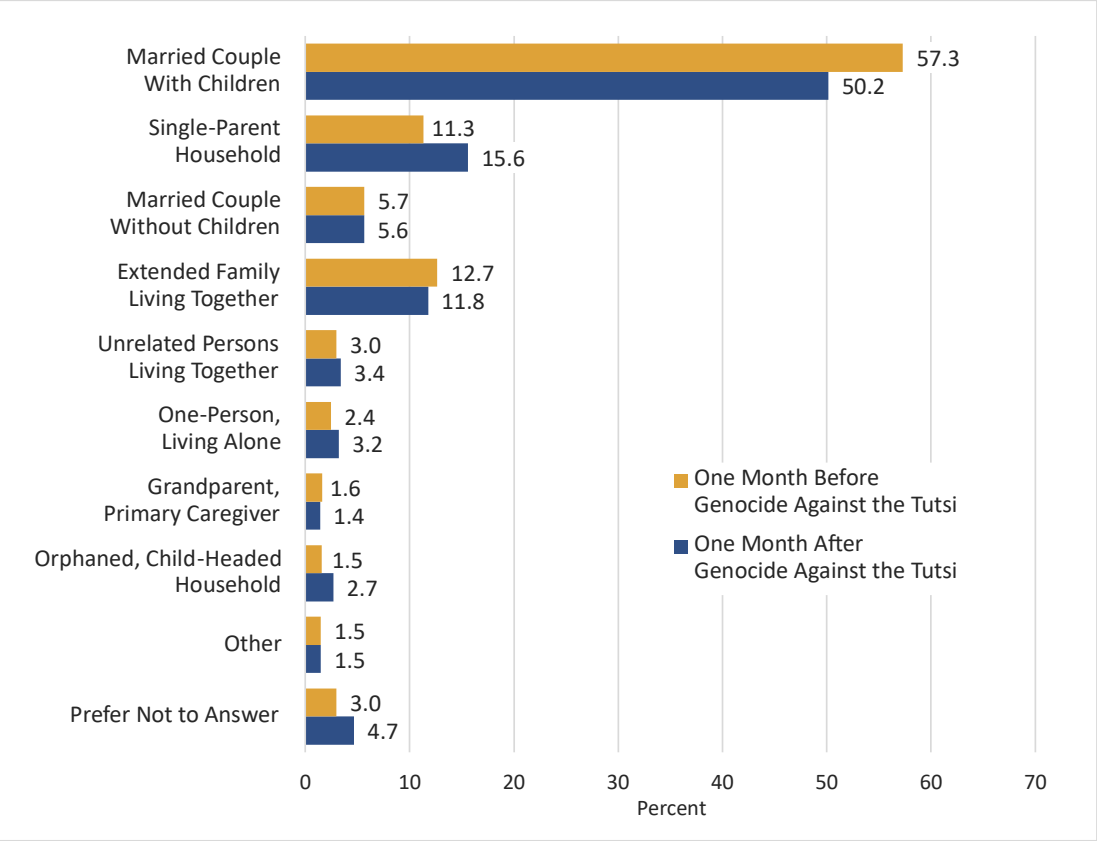
The change in the types of households before and after the Genocide against the Tutsi indicates the disruption within households. Figure 5.9 shows how the types of households changed, as reported by survey respondents who were adults in Rwanda during the Genocide (n = 3,619). The percentage of single parent households increased by about 4% from 11.33% (n = 410) to 15.58% (n = 564), while the percentage of households composed of married couples with children declined almost 7%, from 57.31% (n = 2,074) to 50.15% (n = 1,815). Although comparable national data are not available for 1 month before and after the Genocide, for purposes of comparison, the 1991 and 2002 census data reported that over the 11-year span, single-parent

households increased from 19.0% to 29.1%, while two-parent households declined from 59.1% to 47.7% (National Census Service, 2005).

For other household types, the JW-RWA study population found between 1 month before and after the Genocide, orphaned, child-headed households increased from 1.55% ($n = 56$) to 2.68% ($n = 97$). The percentage of those who lived alone increased from 2.43% ($n = 88$) before the Genocide to 3.21% ($n = 116$) after the Genocide. The data do not identify the relationships of those in households with extended family members or grandparents as primary caregivers; however, in both cases, the decrease in percentages, as shown in the chart, would reflect changes in intergenerational roles and relationships.

Figure 5.9

Household Types, One Month Before and After the Genocide – Genocide Generation Adults



Note. *N* = 3,619.

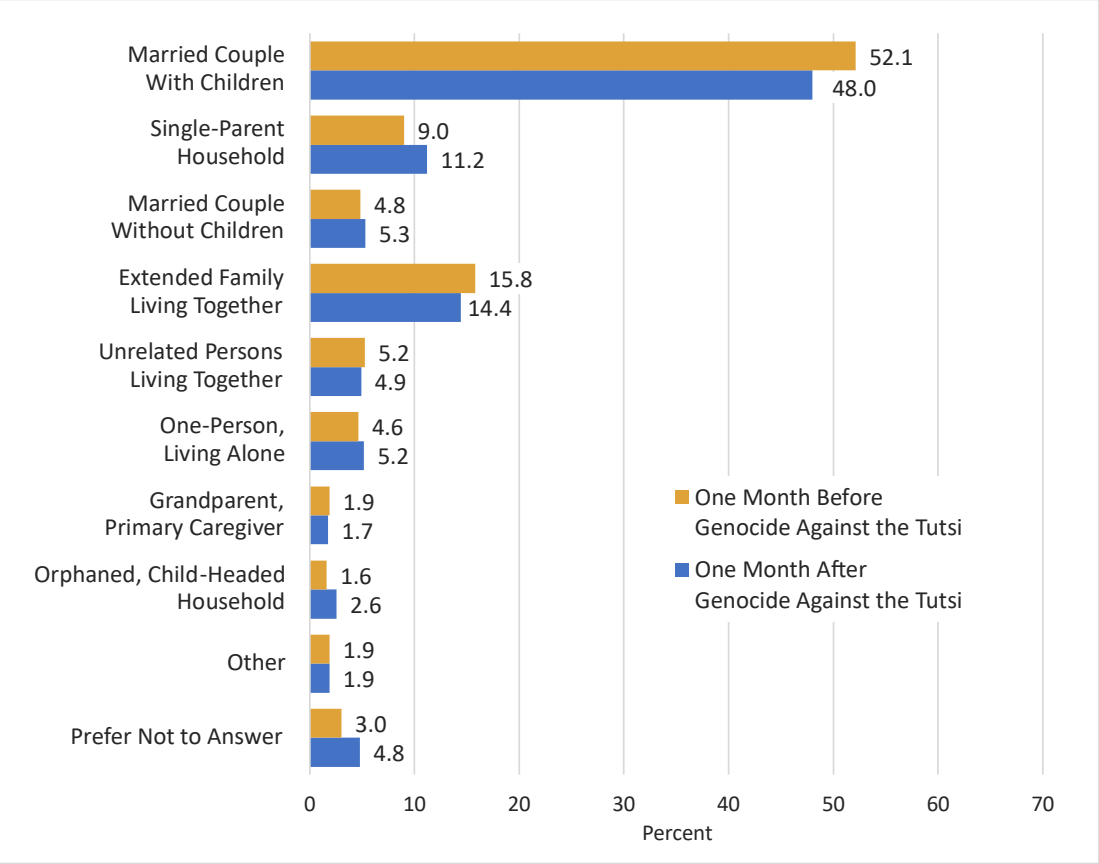
Gender Differences in Household Types, One Month Before and After the Genocide Against the Tutsi

Noticeable gender differences in types of households were found, based on responses from 2,130 females and 1,489 males in the Genocide Generation of the sample population. (Figure 5.10 shows the changes in household types for males; Figure 5.11 shows the changes for females.) The decline in the percentage of households of *married couples with children* for females before and after the 1994 Genocide was twice that for males (9.30% versus 4.10%). Female respondents in *single-parent households* increased 5.68% compared with an increase of 2.22% for male respondents. By comparison, government sources indicate that "between 1991 and 2002, the

proportion of female-headed households increased considerably from 25.0% to 35.2%" (National Census Service, 2005, p. 160). Although a higher percentage of males than females lived with *unrelated persons* after the 1994 Genocide (4.90% of males compared with 2.35% of females), the percentage of females living with *unrelated persons* increased 0.94%, while the percentage of males decreased 0.34%. Of the *orphaned, child-headed* households after the 1994 Genocide, 59 were females and 38 were males. Of those living *alone* (in one-person households) after the Genocide, 77 were males and 39 were females.

Figure 5.10

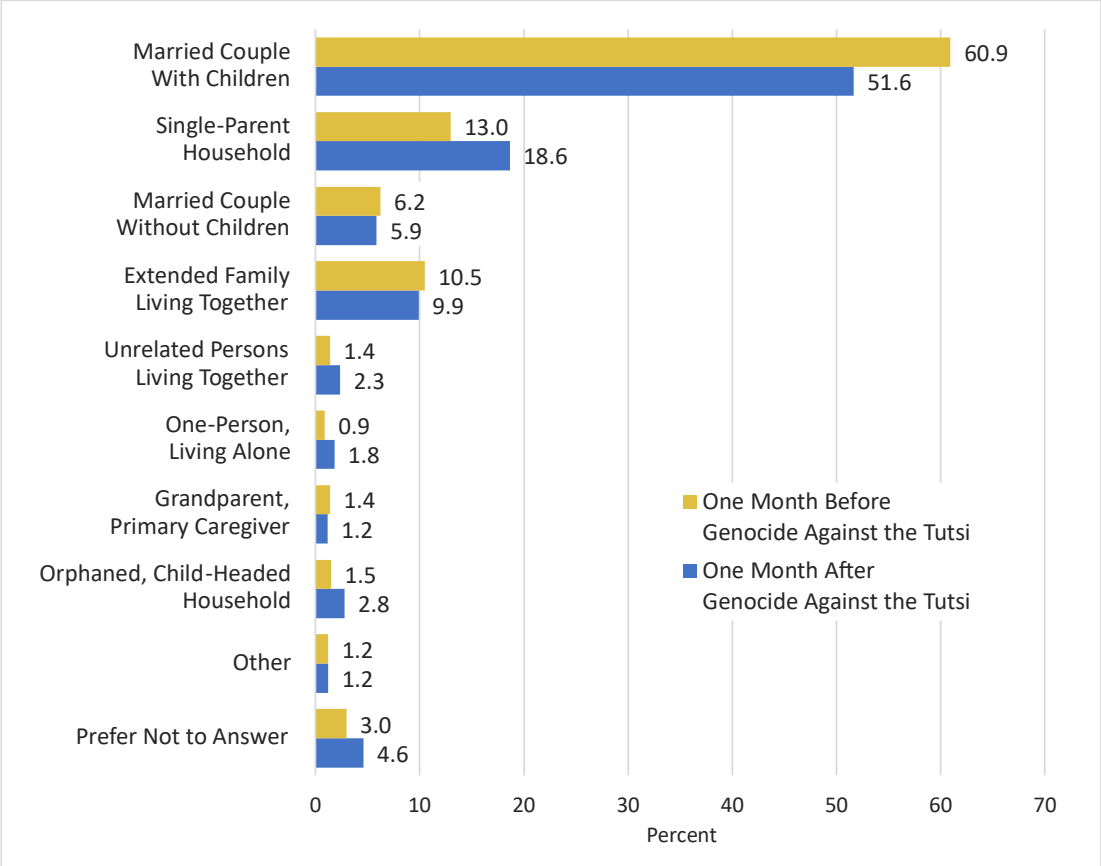
Household Types, One Month Before and After the Genocide – Males



Note. Males, *n* = 1,489.

Figure 5.11

Household Types, One Month Before and After the Genocide – Females



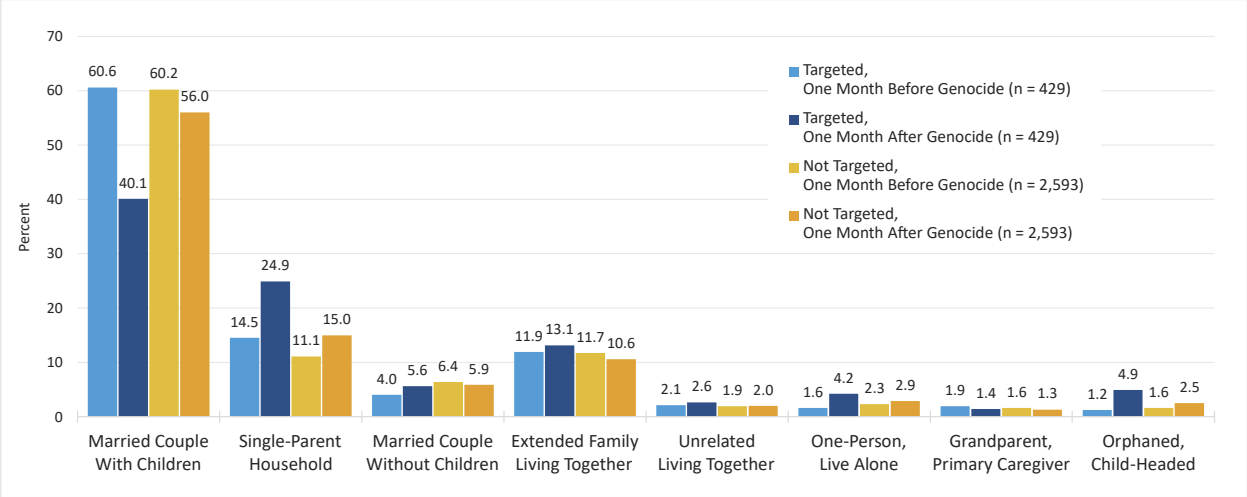
Note. Females, *n* = 2,130.

Household Types, One Month Before and After the Genocide Against the Tutsi for Those Targeted and Not Targeted

Similar to the findings on the change in household size, data analysis identified differences in types of households between those targeted and not targeted during the Genocide. As shown in Figure 5.12, 1 month after the Genocide, a higher percentage of those targeted (24.9%) were in single-parent households, representing a 10% increase from 1 month before the Genocide. This compared with 15.0% and a 4% increase in single-parent households for those who did not identify as being targeted. The findings underscore the differential experiences of targeted and not targeted groups during the Genocide against the Tutsi. No comparable national data were found.

Figure 5.12

Change in Household Types, One Month Before and After the Genocide for Those Targeted and Not Targeted



Traumatic Events During the Period of the Genocide Against the Tutsi

From a list of nine traumatic events, the survey asked all respondents which events they or their family experienced during the time of the Genocide against the Tutsi. The list of nine events was adapted from ones used in Rwanda by other trauma researchers (Pham et al., 2004; Rugema et al., 2015). The events listed in the measure did not represent all possible traumatic events but frequently reported events. The following examines traumatic events experienced by the Genocide Generation in Rwanda during the Genocide, then compares traumatic events by gender, Genocide experiences (those in and outside Rwanda), and generations (Genocide Generation about personal experiences and Post-Genocide Generation about their immediate family's experiences).

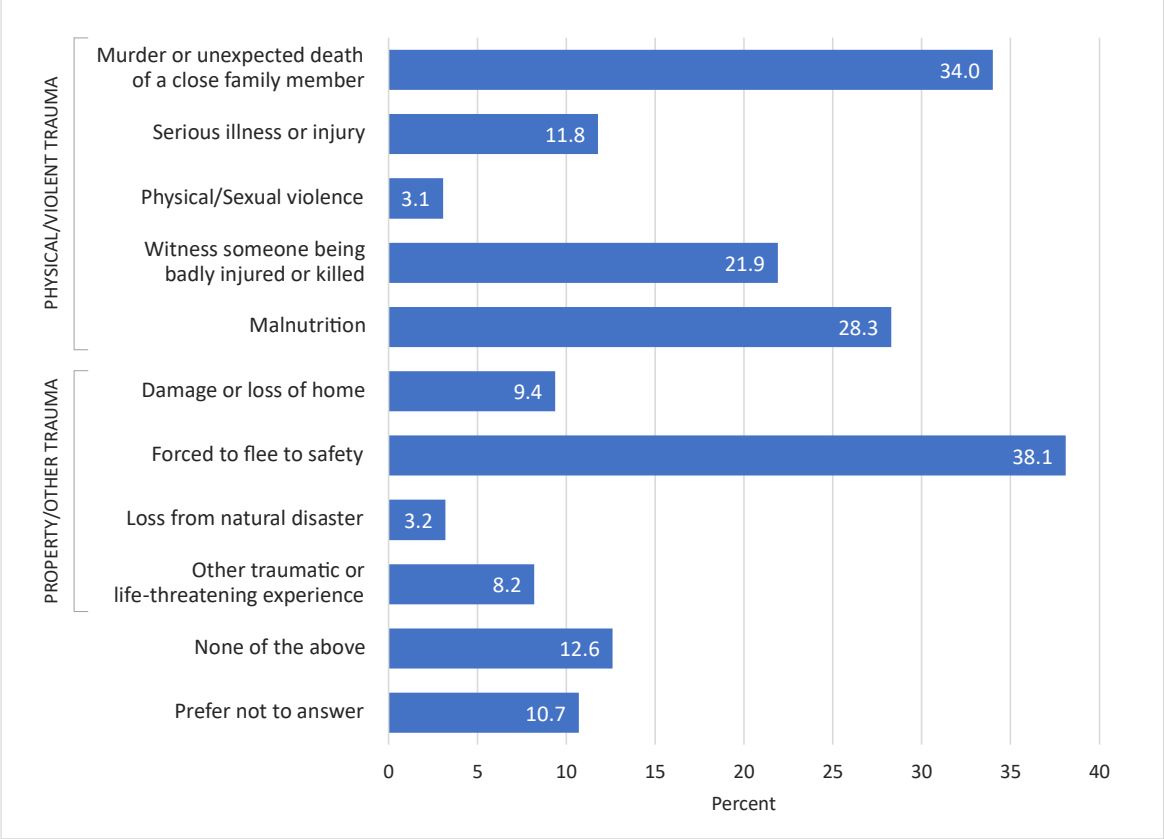
Traumatic Events Experienced by the Genocide Generation

Figure 5.13 shows the list of trauma events and the percentage of respondents in Rwanda during the Genocide against the Tutsi who experienced each event. The degree of violence during the Genocide was reflected in the data. One third (34.00%) of the Genocide Generation

respondents reported having a close family member *murder[ed] or die unexpected[ly]*; one fifth (21.89%) reported witnessing *someone being badly injured or killed*; one tenth (11.84%) had *serious illness or injury*; and 3.09% reported experiencing *physical or sexual violence*. *Malnutrition* was experienced by 28.26% of respondents, and 12.55% of respondents reported that they had *none* of the listed traumatic events during the time of the Genocide, which could reflect the diversity of experiences, individually and geographically, and the limited number of traumatic events listed in the question. One tenth (10.69%) of respondents *prefer[red] not to answer* what traumatic events they had experienced during this time.

Figure 5.13

Traumatic Events the Genocide Generation Experienced During the Genocide Against the Tutsi



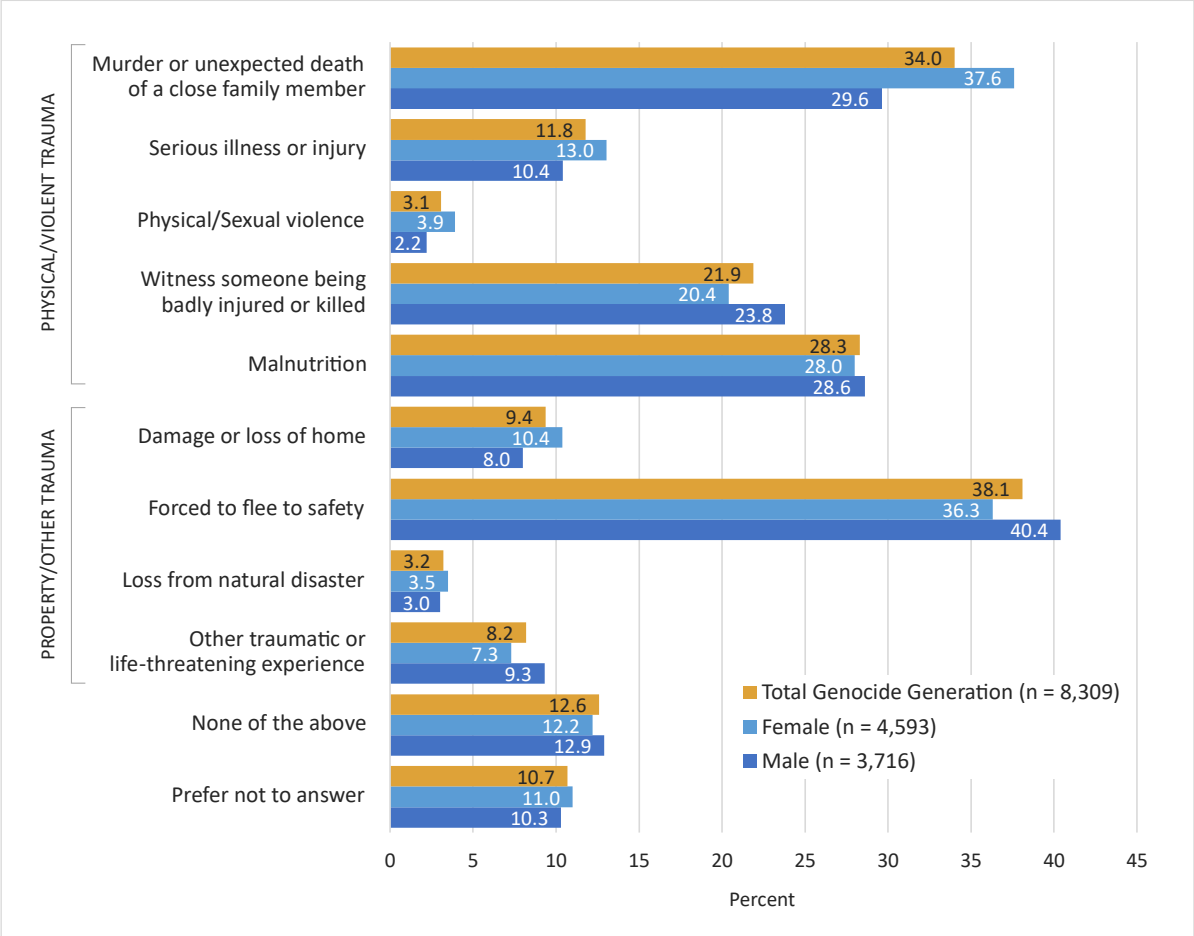
Note. *N* = 8,309.

Traumatic Events During the Genocide Against the Tutsi by Gender

Males and females had somewhat different traumatic experiences during the Genocide against the Tutsi. Analysis examined the traumatic events as reported by the total Genocide Generation—adults and minors who were in Rwanda during the Genocide against the Tutsi (n = 8,309). Figure 5.14 shows the findings for the total subgroup and a breakdown by gender (males, n = 3,716; females, n = 4,593). A higher percentage of females than males experienced the following traumatic events: had the *murder or unexpected death of a close family member* (37.56% females; 29.60% males), *serious illness or injury* (13.04% females; 10.36% males), *physical or sexual violence* (3.85% females; 2.15% males), and *damage or loss of home* (10.43% females; 8.05% males). A higher percentage of males than females experienced the following: *witness[ed] someone badly injured or killed* (23.76% males; 20.38% females) and *forced to flee to safety* (40.45% males; 36.25% females). A similar proportion of males and females experienced *malnutrition* (28.61% males; 27.98% females).

Figure 5.14

Traumatic Events During the Genocide Against the Tutsi—Gender Differences

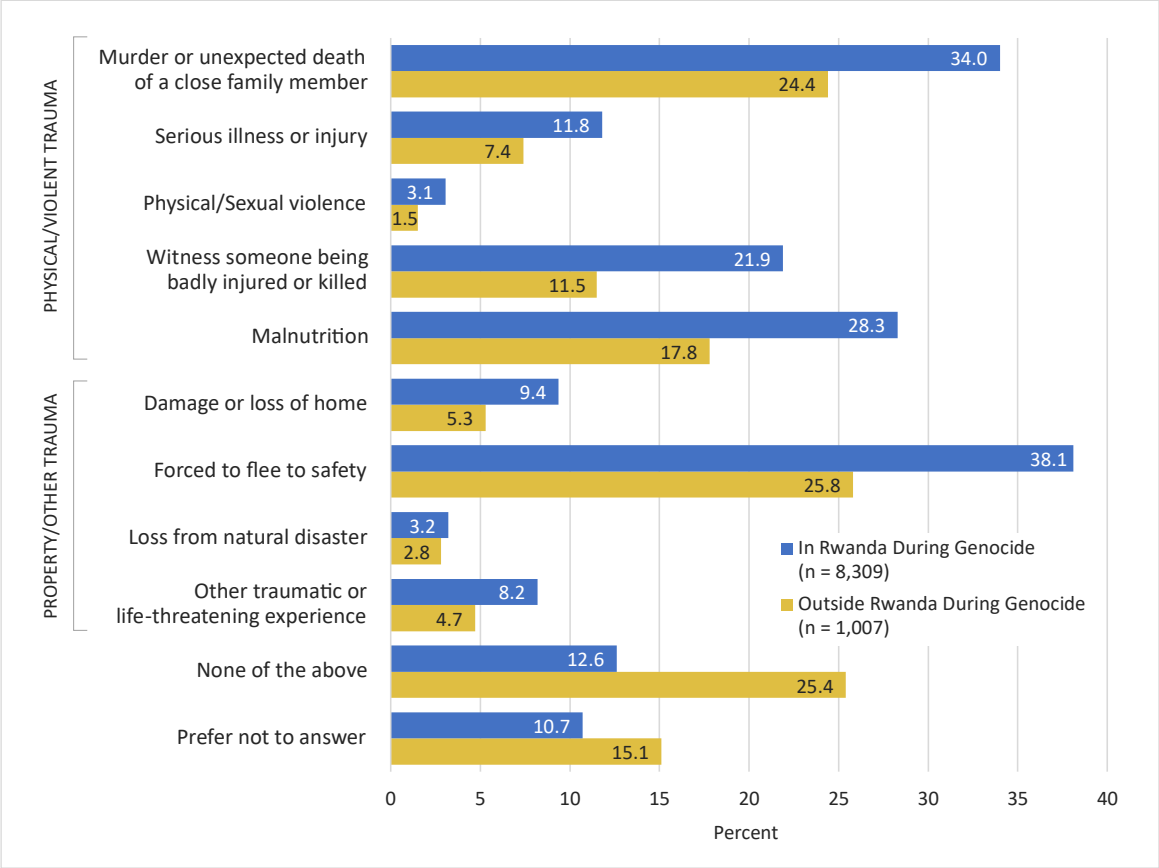


Traumatic Events of Those In and Outside Rwanda

Figure 5.15 compares the personal experiences reported by those born in or before 1994 who were (a) in Rwanda during the Genocide against the Tutsi (n = 8,309) and (b) outside Rwanda during the Genocide (n = 1,007). As would be expected, those outside Rwanda at the time of the Genocide experienced fewer traumatic events than those in Rwanda during the Genocide against the Tutsi.

Figure 5.15

Traumatic Events During the Genocide Reported by Those In and Outside Rwanda



Traumatic Events Reported by Those in Rwanda About Personal Experiences and Those Born After 1994 About Family's Experiences

In addition to asking about personal traumatic events of those born in or before 1994, the survey asked respondents who were born after 1994—the Post-Genocide Generation—what members of their immediate family experienced during the time of the Genocide against the Tutsi. Figure 5.16 compares traumatic events of those born in or before 1994 who were in Rwanda during the Genocide against the Tutsi (n = 8,309) and the experiences of family members as reported by the Post-Genocide Generation who were born after 1994 (n = 3,285). (It was outside the scope of this research to investigate the situations and characteristics of those outside Rwanda; thus, the

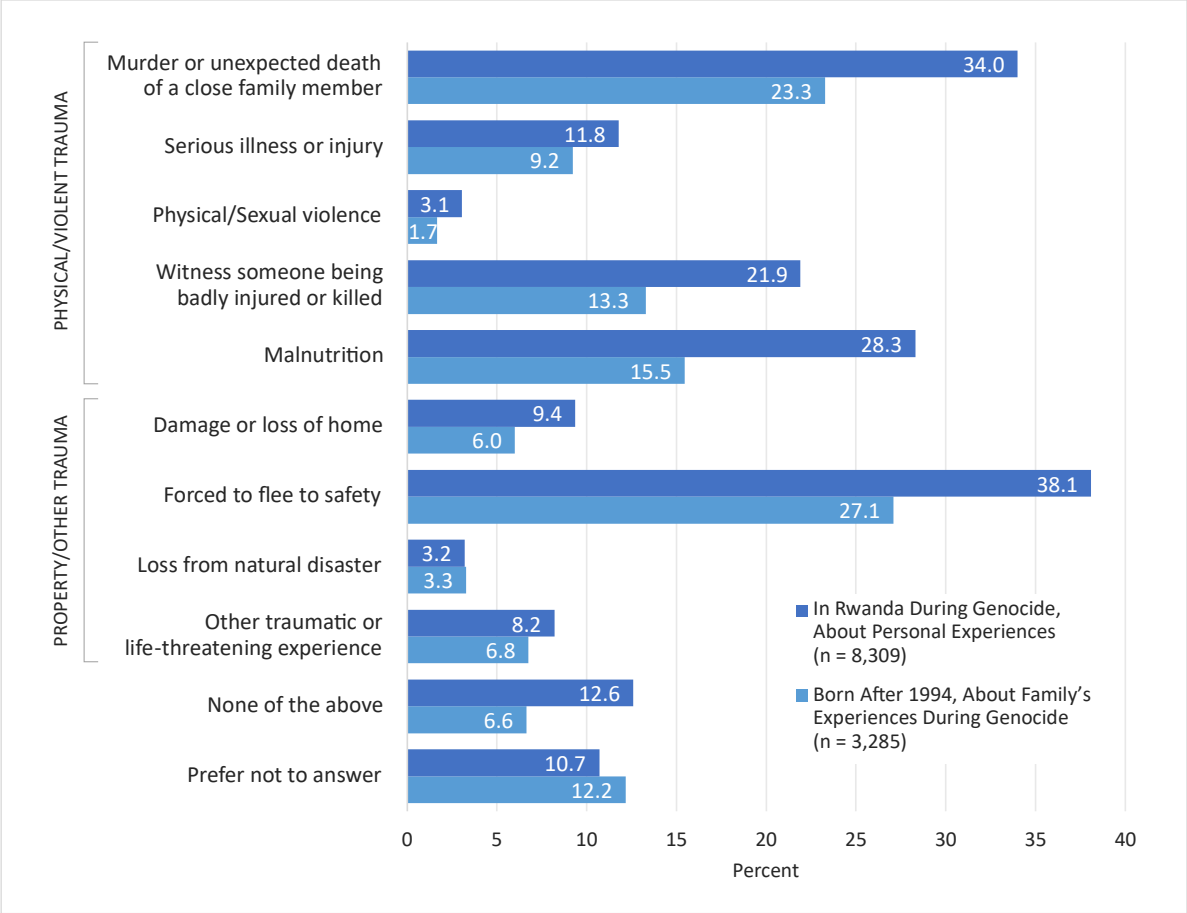
survey data did not separate Post-Genocide Generation respondents whose family were in or outside Rwanda during the Genocide.)

The survey gave the Post-Genocide Generation the response option *do not know*, since they would know less about the experiences of family members than would those answering the questions for themselves. Over one fourth (29.56%) of the Post-Genocide Generation reported they did not know about any family members' traumatic events during the time of the Genocide.

A higher percentage of the Genocide Generation (in Rwanda in 1994) reported experiencing every traumatic event listed in the measure than what the Post-Genocide Generation's understood of their family's experiences. As shown in Figure 5.16, the gap between the Genocide Generation and Post-Genocide Generation was more than 8% for the following items: *murder or unexpected death of a close family member*; *forced to flee*; *malnutrition*; and *witness[ed] someone badly injured or killed*.

Figure 5.16

Traumatic Events During the Period of the Genocide Reported by Those in Rwanda During the Genocide About Personal Experiences and Those Born After 1994 About Family's Experiences



Note. Post-Genocide Generation respondents were given the option *do not know*. DNK responses (*n* = 971, 29.56%) were included in the calculation but are not shown in this chart.

Role-Situations During the Genocide Against the Tutsi

The study investigated the situations of those who were baptized Witnesses during the Genocide and those who converted to the faith in the years following the Genocide. As previously explained, the hyphenated term "role-situation" is used to reflect that individuals may or may not have agency in the roles they adopted or situations they experienced. The survey provided a list of eight Genocide role-situations: (a) *targeted to be killed* (Tutsi); (b) *faced harm but not targeted*; (c) *helped those targeted*; (d) *helped those in danger but not targeted*; (e) *refused to betray those*

targeted; (f) *refused to harm those targeted*; (g) *later imprisoned for participating in Genocide*; and (h) *fled the country for safety*. To encourage candor from respondents who self-identified as having been imprisoned for participating in the Genocide, no further details were requested about their imprisonment.

Analysis showed the percentage of responses per individual items. For further analysis, four broad composite groups were created to explore the interaction of role-situations: (a) faced harm (targeted to be killed and not targeted); (b) helped those targeted and not targeted; (c) refused to betray or harm those targeted; and (d) fled the country for safety. Using these four categories, analysis investigated multiple role-situations as respondents perceived themselves. (Of the 3,736 respondents who comprised the Genocide Generation Adults in the sample, 3,620 provided data on their role-situations. The number of respondents to subsequent Genocide-related questions varied.)

When inquiring about helping and harming behaviors, the survey did not assess what opportunities, if any, individual respondents had to give or refuse help or harm. Thus, it cannot be assumed that those not selecting *refused to harm* then must have harmed others, or that those not selecting *helped those targeted* then must have refused to help. The self-categorizations reflect respondents' subjective recall. The findings from the study population of Jehovah's Witnesses and those who later became Jehovah's Witnesses cannot be generalized to other religious or demographic groups in Rwanda. With these interpretive limitations in mind, the findings support qualitative studies that have used in-depth interviews to explore the complexity of human behavior and the capacity of men, women, and even children to simultaneously take multiple, morally contradictory roles, such as perpetrator/enabler and rescuer/helper, especially in the complicated

conflict situations of the Genocide (e.g., Brown, 2018; Fox & Nyseth Brehm, 2018; Rothbart & Colley, 2016; Straus, 2013b).

Additionally, since most genocide studies focus on the experiences of adults rather than on children or the family unit, the JW-RWA study included measures to explore the helping role of children during the Genocide against the Tutsi—what parents remembered observing their children doing and what children remembered they did during this period. Memory of events changes over time and with the retelling, and what parents recall in hindsight about the helping roles of their children may differ from their children's version of their situations. Parents and adult children's reconstructed memory of negative events can vary depending on developmental, relational, and other psycho-social and cultural influences (cf. Dykas et al., 2010; Fivush et al., 2003; Fivush et al., 2004). The survey findings provide insights into how parents and adult children remembered the ways children contributed to or complicated situations during the Genocide.

Data analysis was first conducted for adults in the Genocide Generation with a breakdown by gender. Respondents who were minor children during the Genocide were asked to identify roles of family members; these were compared with responses of adults.

Role-Situations of Adults in the Genocide Generation

Percentages of responses from adults in the Genocide Generation were calculated for each of the eight role-situations, along with a breakdown for males and females. Figure 5.17 shows the percentages, including the PNA, DNK, and *none of the above* responses.

The response options allowed respondents to indicate if they saw themselves in active roles by helping others or in more passive positions by not participating in the Genocide. The highest percentage of responses were for those who either *refused to harm* those targeted (37.40%, $n = 1{,}354$) or *refused to betray* those targeted (32.43%, $n = 1{,}174$). Refusing to harm or betray

those targeted and providing help to those targeted for some may have involved taking a stance on behalf of those targeted to some degree and could have entailed a degree of personal risk.

Although the survey items did not qualify the degree of help that might have been given—which could have ranged from relatively small acts to ones involving extreme personal risks or sacrifices—only a relatively small percentage of respondents self-identified as helping others during the Genocide. One fourth (28.01%, $n = 1{,}014$) indicated that they helped those targeted; one tenth (10.03%, $n = 363$) reported that they helped those who were in danger but not targeted.

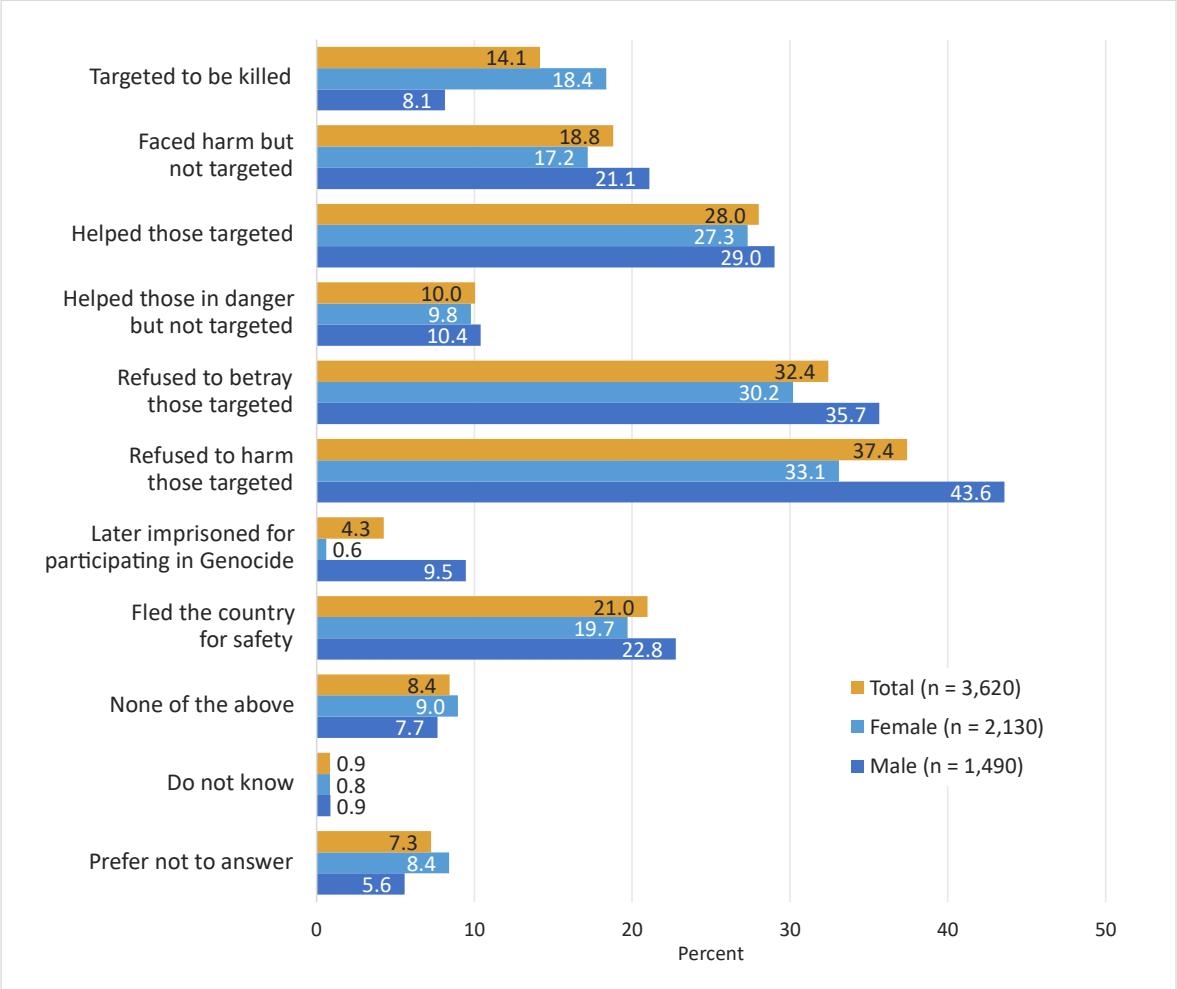
Those who were targeted to be killed totaled 512 or 14.14% of the 3,620 adult respondents in Rwanda during the Genocide—121 males and 391 females. Those who faced harm for reasons other than being targeted numbered 680—314 males and 366 females.

Respondents who indicated that they had been imprisoned for participating in the Genocide against the Tutsi totaled 154 (4.25% of the Genocide Generation Adults in the sample)—141 males and 13 females. They came from all provinces in Rwanda. Their ages at the time of the 1994 Genocide ranged from 18 to 64, with a mean age of 31.85. Of the 154 who were or had been imprisoned, 146 (94.81%) became baptized Jehovah's Witnesses after the 1994 Genocide. (Jehovah's Witnesses' ministry outreach extends to those in the community and in prison.) Eight respondents reported that they were baptized adult Jehovah's Witnesses at the time of the 1994 Genocide and were accused and imprisoned for participating in the Genocide.[3]

[3] With respect to Jehovah's Witnesses' doctrine of nonviolence, the question arises as to how the community views violation by baptized congregants of this deeply held religious value against harmdoing. In such cases, certain internal congregational measures may be taken, separate from and, if applicable, in addition to actions undertaken by civil authorities. Within Witness congregations, the matter of serious, unrepentant sin by baptized congregants is handled by congregation elders based on biblical principles. Violent behavior can constitute grounds for removal from the congregation. However, upon sincere repentance and cessation of the sin, a wrongdoer may request to be reinstated into the congregation. For a description of the ecclesiastical process of removal from the congregation and pastoral resources available to facilitate reinstatement into the congregation, see *The Watchtower,* August 2024, study articles 31 to 35, pp. 2–31 (*Watchtower*, 2024).

Figure 5.17

Role-Situations of Adults in Genocide Generation, Total and by Gender



Role-Situations as Identified by Adults and by Minors About Family Members During the Genocide

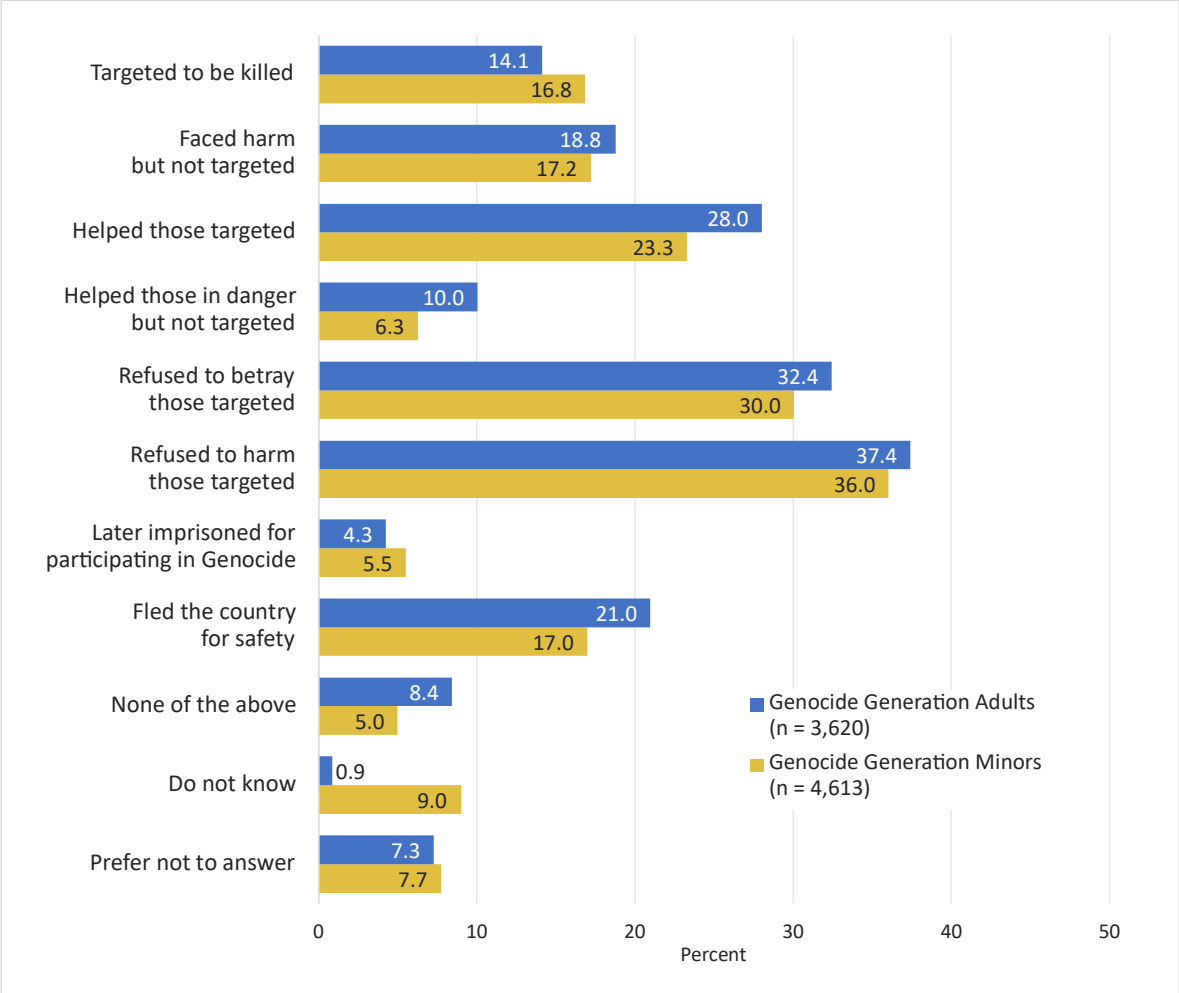
The JW-RWA survey data allowed a comparison of how adults during the Genocide identified their own role-situations and how minors during the Genocide reported the role-situations of their respective family members. The survey asked respondents in the Genocide Generation who were under age 18 which role-situations described members of their immediate family (e.g., targeted, helped those targeted, refused to betray those targeted, later imprisoned).

The findings provide insights into the perceptions of minors about the role-situations of their family.

Figure 5.18 shows the role-situations that adults identified for themselves and how minors at the time of the Genocide perceived the Genocide role-situations of family members. Ten percent (9.6%) of the minors during the Genocide reported that they did not know the situations of family members during the Genocide. Still, a comparison of the responses of adults and minors for each role category (e.g., targeted, helped targeted) was informative, with the two perspectives being within a few percentage points of each other. A higher percentage of minors reported having family who were targeted or imprisoned than did adults who self-identified, perhaps due in part to a higher number of offspring reporting in reference to the same parents. The lower percentages of minors for other role-situations may reflect less communication within family circles about these situations. (See Section 6, Subjective Social and Psychological Wellbeing.) However, in general, the ways that adults and minors in the Genocide Generation perceived the role-situations they or their family experienced were similar.

Figure 5.18

Role-Situations During the Genocide as Reported by Adults and by Minors About Family Members



Multiple Role-Situations During the Genocide Against the Tutsi

Research findings confirm that the role-situations of individuals were more complex than the one-dimensional categorizations (e.g., victim, perpetrator, bystander, and rescuer). To better understand the fluidity, complexity, and dynamics of Genocide situations, the intersection of the four broad Genocide role-situations was analyzed.

Table 5.3 shows the frequencies and percentages of the profiled role-situations and how the situations intersected for adults in Rwanda during the Genocide (n = 3,620). For example, almost one third (30.63%) of those who faced harm also reported that they helped others. One

fourth of those who refused to harm or betray those targeted also reported that they faced harm. Half of those who fled for safety also refused to harm those targeted, and some 40% who fled indicated that they also helped others. (See Section 6, Subjective Social and Psychological Wellbeing, for further analysis of those who self-identified with distinct role-situations.)

Table 5.3

Matrix of Multiple Role-Situations During the Genocide Against the Tutsi

Role-Situation	Faced Harm	Refused to Harm/Betray	Helped Others	Fled for Safety
	n (%)	*n* (%)	*n* (%)	*n* (%)
Faced Harm (*n* = 1,172)	-	394 (33.62)	359 (30.63)	219 (18.69)
Refused to Harm/Betray (*n* = 1,576)	394 (25.00)	-	719 (45.62)	379 (24.05)
Helped Others (*n* = 1,170)	359 (30.68)	719 (61.45)	-	302 (25.81)
Fled for Safety (*n* = 759)	219 (28.85)	379 (49.93)	302 (39.79)	-

Note. Total combined profile groups, *n* = 3,620.

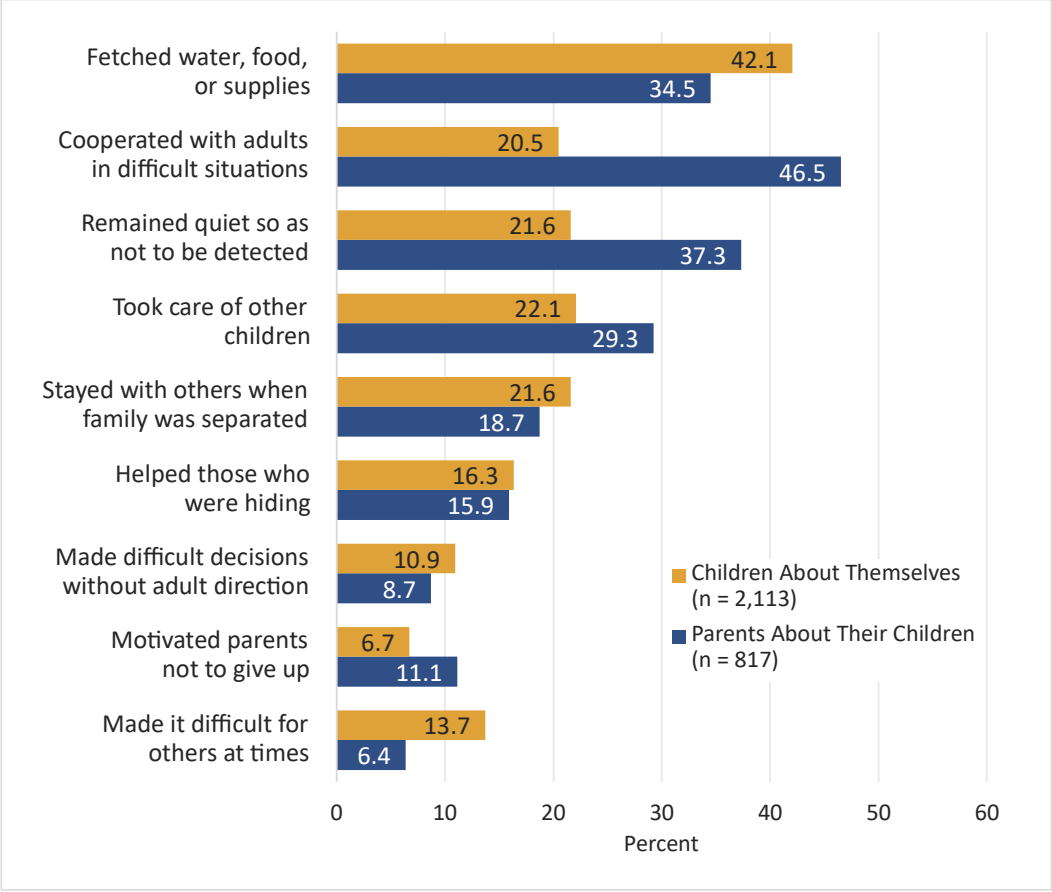
Children's Roles During the Genocide Against the Tutsi

Survey respondents who were parents or children in Rwanda during the 1994 Genocide were given a list of behaviors common for children during the Genocide. Parents were asked which they had observed their minor children doing, and children were asked which they remembered doing during the Genocide against the Tutsi. Of the parents (*n* = 1,851) and children (*n* = 4,357), 267 parents and 790 children selected *prefer not to answer* (PNA), and 767 parents and 1,454 children selected *none of the above* (NOA). Those who selected NOA may have been in areas less affected during the Genocide against the Tutsi, or the items listed in the survey might not have reflected their situation. For a more accurate understanding of the situation of children during the Genocide, PNA and NOA responses were removed in the final analysis.

The findings reveal consistencies and differences between parents and children's recollections, as shown in Figure 5.19. Parents' recall was more positive about children cooperating, remaining quiet so as not to be detected, caring for other children, and being a motivation not to give up. Children were more likely to recall instrumental tasks (fetching water, food, and supplies) and times when they made it difficult for parents. From the perspectives of both parents and children, the findings show that role-situations of children varied and affected how families navigated difficult situations during the Genocide against the Tutsi.

Figure 5.19

Children's Role During the Genocide as Recalled by Parents and Children



Help Received by Those Targeted—Jehovah's Witnesses and Non-JWs

The JW-RWA study investigated helping behavior during the Genocide against the Tutsi based on data from those who identified themselves as being targeted to be killed during the Genocide. (As explained in the introduction to Section 5, in this analysis the term *targeted* is applied to Tutsi.) The findings include the following: (a) the types of help those targeted received; (b) the approximate number of persons who helped; (c) the relationship to the persons who helped (e.g., family, neighbor, stranger); (d) the religion of those who helped them, if known; and (e) whether they had communicated with any helper in the past year.

Analysis included a breakdown of those targeted who were either Jehovah's Witnesses or non-JWs at the time of the Genocide against the Tutsi. Out of a total of 3,620 respondents who were adults in Rwanda during the Genocide, 540 were Jehovah's Witnesses and 3,080 were not JWs. As shown in Table 5.4, the percentage of those in the two subgroups who self-identified as being targeted (Tutsi) was 10% higher for Jehovah's Witnesses in 1994 than non-JWs in 1994 (23.15%, 125 out of 540 compared with 12.56%, 387 out of 3,080).

Table 5.4

Targeted and Not Targeted During the Genocide Against the Tutsi, Jehovah's Witnesses and Non-JWs

Group	Genocide Generation Adults (*n* = 3,620)		Jehovah's Witnesses, 1994 (*n* = 540)		Non-JWs, 1994 (*n* = 3,080)	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Targeted	512	14.14	125	23.15	387	12.56
Not Targeted	3,108	85.86	415	76.85	2,693	87.43

Types of Help Those Targeted Received

Analysis examined the extent to which different types of help were given to those who were targeted—help that could have contributed to their surviving the Genocide. Table 5.5 shows the types of help that those targeted received.

Table 5.5

Types of Help Received During the Genocide – Targeted Jehovah's Witnesses and Non-JWs

Types of Help Received	Total Targeted (*n* = 512)		Jehovah's Witnesses in 1994, Targeted (*n* = 125)		Non-JWs in 1994, Targeted (*n* = 387)	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Hid me on their property	194	37.89	63	**50.40**	131	33.85
Gave me food, clothing, or supplies	176	34.38	59	**47.20**	117	30.23
Warned of dangers	162	31.64	51	**40.80**	111	28.68
Helped me to get to a hiding place	149	29.10	53	**42.40**	96	24.81
Tried to stop an attack	143	27.93	29	23.20	114	**29.46**
Could have been killed for helping me	94	18.36	44	**35.20**	50	12.92
Took care of children in my family	78	15.23	26	20.80	52	13.44
Gave gift or money to bribe attackers	70	13.67	20	16.00	50	12.92
Helped me to flee the country	64	12.50	23	18.40	41	10.59
Coordinated with others to help me	51	9.96	19	15.20	32	8.27
Helped in other ways	40	7.81	12	9.60	28	7.24
Received no help	97	18.95	12	9.60	85	21.96

Note. Bolded numbers show higher percentages for each type of help reported by targeted Jehovah's Witnesses and targeted non-JWs. PNA responses (*n* = 4) are not shown in the table.

Figure 5.20 presents these data graphically. The type of help most received was being hid on others' property—given to half (50.40%) of the targeted Jehovah's Witnesses and one third (33.85%) of targeted non-JWs. Over 40% of targeted Jehovah's Witnesses and approximately 30% of targeted non-JWs reported that they were warned of danger, helped to a hiding place, and/or

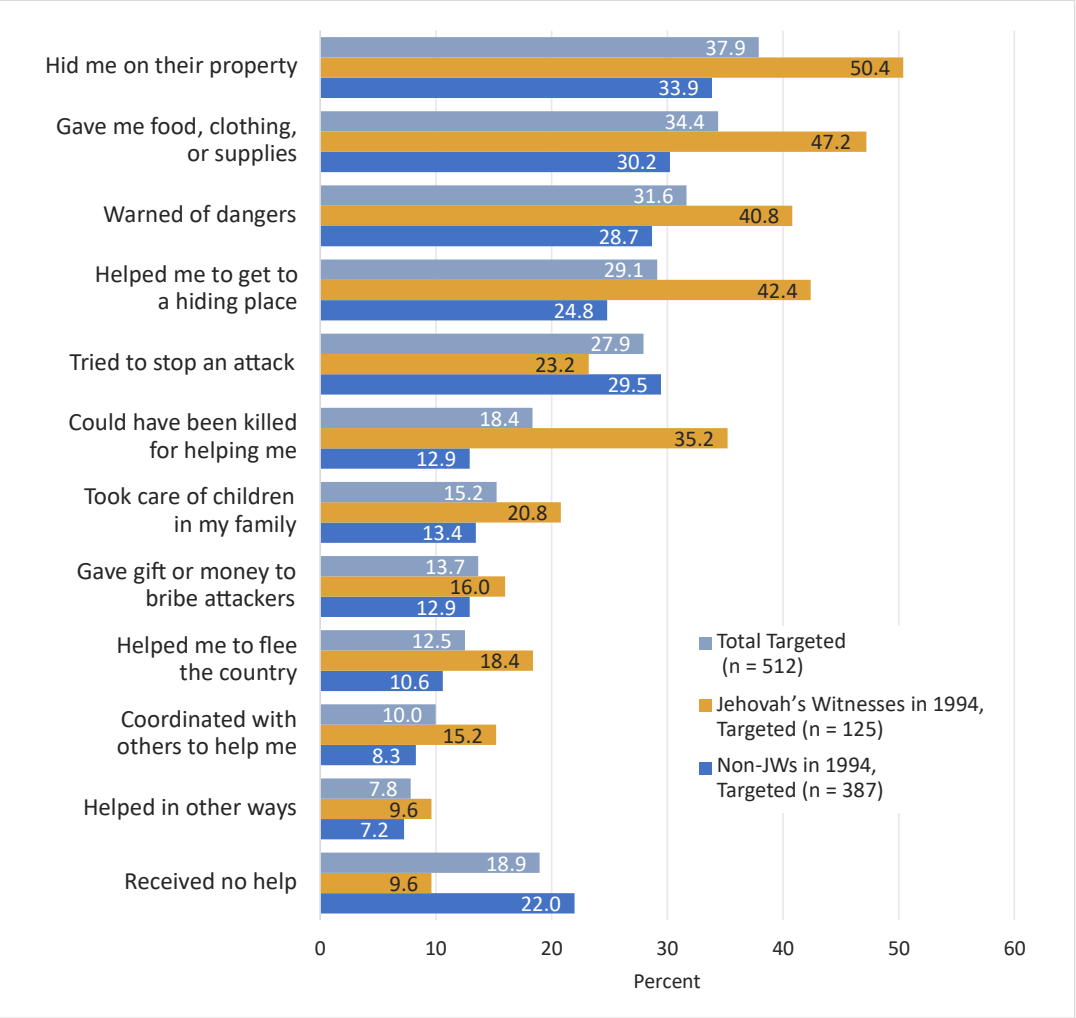
given food, clothing, or supplies. The percentage of those whose helper(s) tried to stop an attack was higher for targeted non-JWs than targeted Jehovah's Witnesses (29.46% compared with 23.20%). (Efforts to stop attacks that involved using weapons or physical force would have been less likely among Jehovah's Witnesses.)

Ten percent of those targeted reported receiving help that was coordinated with others (15.20% of targeted Jehovah's Witnesses and 8.27% of targeted non-JWs). For those who reported receiving no help, a little over 12% difference was reported between targeted non-JWs (21.96%) and targeted Jehovah's Witnesses (9.60%).

The greatest percentage difference in types of help the two subgroups received was that their helper could have been killed for helping—35.20% targeted Jehovah's Witnesses compared with 12.92% targeted non-JWs.

Figure 5.20

Types of Help Received During the Genocide – Targeted Jehovah's Witnesses and Non-JWs



Effect of Danger on Types of Help Targeted Received

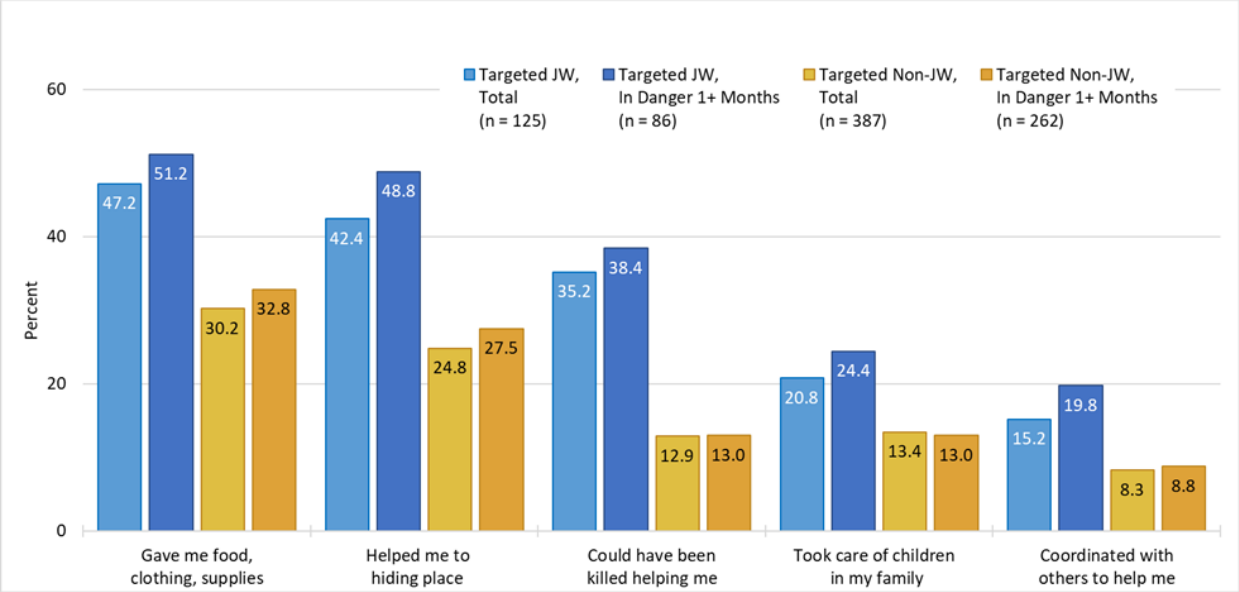
As previously reported, duration of danger during the Genocide varied by gender, and region (as shown in Figures 5.4 and 5.5). Results reveal that duration of danger also affected the extent and types of help given to those targeted to be killed. To test whether the extent and types of help differed between those who were in danger for short versus longer durations, analysis was conducted on two subgroups—targeted Jehovah's Witnesses and targeted non-JWs in 1994.

The percentages of the 125 targeted Jehovah's Witnesses and 387 targeted non-JWs who were in danger for 1 month or more were similar (67.97% and 67.70%, respectively). However, as measured in types of help received, targeted Jehovah's Witnesses in danger longer received more types of help than other targeted Witnesses in danger for shorter periods; whereas, targeted non-JWs who were in danger longer received the same or fewer types of help than other targeted non-JWs endangered for shorter times. Of the 11 types of help (listed in Figure 5.20 above), the difference in percentages for each item between the total targeted non-JWs and those who were in danger for 1 month or more was relatively small, ranging from a decrease of −1.46% to an increase of +2.59%. In contrast, for targeted Jehovah's Witnesses, the percentage of types of help for those in danger 1 month or more increased from +0.87% to +6.44%.

Figure 5.21 shows the five items with the highest percentage change in types of help received for those who were targeted and in danger for 1 month or more. A difference of over 25% was found between targeted Jehovah's Witnesses and targeted non-JWs in danger for 1 month or more who also indicated that their helper could have been killed for helping them. A difference of approximately 20% existed for those given food, clothing, and supplies, and for those helped to a hiding place. Over 10% more targeted Jehovah's Witnesses than targeted non-JWs had help caring for their children if they were in danger for 1 month or more. The percentage of those targeted who had coordinated help was two times more for targeted Jehovah's Witnesses than non-JWs.

Figure 5.21

Change in Helping Those Targeted in Danger One Month or More



Number of Helpers for Those Targeted

The findings highlight the importance of individual acts of help that can mean the difference between survival and death. As shown in Table 5.6, 21.96% of targeted non-JWs received no help compared with 9.60% of targeted Jehovah's Witnesses. (The percentage of those receiving no help would likely be higher for those targeted who did not survive the Genocide.) Most of the targeted in the sample survived with the help of a few, or between 1 and 5 persons, with similar percentages for targeted Jehovah's Witnesses (44.80%) and targeted non-JWs (49.09%).

The findings suggest that a religiously connected community can provide both individual and collective support during hardships, even genocide. In the case of targeted Jehovah's Witnesses, 20.00% reported receiving help from over 15 individuals, over twice the percentage for targeted non-JWs (8.27%). The fact that 15.20% of targeted Jehovah's Witnesses reported having received help that was coordinated with others (as shown in Figure 5.20) and 20.00% reported

having help from over 15 people suggests that they benefited from a socially connected network of trusted individuals.

Table 5.6

Number of Helpers Reported by Targeted Jehovah's Witnesses and Non-JWs

Number Who Helped	Total Targeted (*n* = 512)		Jehovah's Witnesses in 1994, Targeted (*n* = 125)		Non-JWs in 1994, Targeted (*n* = 387)	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
No one helped	97	18.95	12	**9.60**	85	21.96
A few (1–5)	246	**48.05**	56	**44.80**	190	**49.09**
Several (6–10)	64	12.50	20	16.00	44	11.36
Many (11–15)	16	3.13	3	2.40	13	3.36
Very many (over 15)	57	11.13	25	**20.00**	32	8.27
PNA and DNK	32	6.25	9	7.20	23	5.96

Note. Bolded numbers highlight the items with notable variations between targeted Jehovah's Witnesses and targeted non-JWs.

Relationship of Targeted to Their Helpers

The study investigated the social context in which those targeted knew those who helped them. The survey question asked, *Who helped you during the Genocide against the Tutsi?* Respondents could select all that applied from the following options: (a) *extended family*, (b) *neighbor*, (c) *schoolmate, workmate*, (d) *teacher, supervisor, stranger*, and (e) *other*, along with *do not know* and *prefer not to answer*. The question did not indicate how many persons in each category helped, identify the religion of the helper, or provide the option *helped by fellow believer*.

Table 5.7 gives a breakdown of the relationship category in which those targeted reported at least one person who helped them. Both targeted Jehovah's Witnesses and non-JWs who became Witnesses after the Genocide showed similar patterns. Both groups received help from at least one person, with most help coming from neighbors and extended family. Slightly more of the targeted

Jehovah's Witnesses reported receiving help from at least one neighbor (41.60%) and extended family (28.00%) compared with non-JWs in 1994 (37.73% and 22.74%, respectively).

In considering whether shared religious identity factored into helping acts, it is important to note that residence patterns of religious communities in Rwanda varied. Targeted members of larger, well-established churches may have been more likely to reside near relatives and neighbors having the same faith. Rwandan Muslims, a marginalized religious community dating back at least to colonial times, tended to live together in semi-autonomous villages often termed "Swahili quarters" (Benda, 2012, pp. 85–86). By contrast, the community of Jehovah's Witnesses in the 1990s consisted mainly of first-generation adult converts who did not necessarily live in geographic proximity to fellow believers, nor would they have had many extended family members of like faith. Some of the most disturbing accounts during the Genocide against the Tutsi were of neighbors, friends, and family who joined in massacres (cf. Fujii, 2009). Although neighbors and extended family could not always be trusted, the research findings show that neighbors ranked first in the list of helpers for those targeted, followed by extended family. It suggests the importance of geographic proximity and relational context in helping behaviors during the Genocide. A relatively high percentage of those targeted selected *other*, which likely included those connected by religious or social ties who did not fit the response options of geographic or relational proximity (e.g., those belonging to the same religious community or friends who came from a distance to assist). Eleven percent of those targeted received help from a stranger, highlighting that familiarity alone was not a determinant for some to provide help and for those targeted to accept help.

Table 5.7

Relationship of Targeted Jehovah's Witnesses and Non-JWs to Helpers During the 1994 Genocide

Relationship to Helpers	Total Targeted (*n* = 512)		Jehovah's Witnesses in 1994, Targeted (*n* = 125)		Non-JWs in 1994, Targeted (*n* = 387)	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Neighbor	198	38.67	52	41.60	146	37.73
Extended Family	123	24.02	35	28.00	88	22.74
Other	82	16.02	31	24.80	51	13.18
Stranger	58	11.33	13	10.40	45	11.63
Schoolmate, Workmate	36	7.03	12	9.60	24	6.20
Teacher, Supervisor	7	1.37	1	0.80	6	1.55
Received No Help	97	18.95	12	9.60	85	21.96
PNA and DNK	18	3.51	1	0.80	3	0.78

Note. Respondents could select more than one option.

Religion of Those Who Helped the Targeted

The survey also asked, *What was the religious affiliation of those who helped you?* Table 5.8 shows the response options and the number and percentage of respondents who reported having at least one person of the listed religions help them. Respondents selected the religion category if at least one helper was affiliated with the religion. Findings show that the religion of those who gave help was not proportional to the religious distribution in Rwanda at the time of the Genocide. Less than one third (31.27%) of targeted non-JWs in the study population received help from Catholics—about half the percentage of Catholics in Rwanda in 1994. Although Jehovah's Witnesses were a fraction of one percent (0.03%) of the Rwandan population in 1994, one fifth (20.67%) of respondents who were targeted non-JWs reported that they received help from Jehovah's Witnesses or those associated with them (i.e., JW family or Bible students). (*Family* in this question would likely have been immediate family in contrast with *extended family* that was

specified in the previous question.) Help at a critical point could possibly have contributed to their interest in studying and eventually becoming Jehovah's Witnesses.

Notably, the vast majority of targeted Jehovah's Witnesses (80.80%) reported receiving help from those associated with the religious community—either baptized or unbaptized publishers (64.80%) or their relatives and Bible students (16.00%). Targeted Jehovah's Witnesses also reported receiving help from Catholics (16.00%) and those of other religious affiliations (10.40%).

Table 5.8

Religion of Helpers for Targeted Jehovah's Witnesses and Non-JWs

Religion of Helpers	Total Targeted (*n* = 512)		Jehovah's Witnesses in 1994, Targeted (*n* = 125)		Non-JWs in 1994, Targeted (*n* = 387)	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Jehovah's Witness (Baptized/Unbaptized Publisher)	142	27.73	81	64.80	58	14.99
JW Associate (Family, Bible Student)	42	8.20	20	16.00	22	5.68
Catholic	141	27.54	20	16.00	121	31.27
Protestant	38	7.42	6	4.80	32	8.27
Muslim	17	3.32	3	2.40	14	3.62
Traditional/Animist	3	0.59	1	0.80	2	0.52
Other	31	6.05	3	2.40	28	7.24
Received No Help	97	18.95	12	9.60	85	21.96
PNA and DNK	84	16.41	6	4.80	78	20.55

Note. Respondents could select more than one option.

Table 5.7 shows the relational context of helpers and Table 5.8 shows the religion of helpers. The tables provide different information, and the data in each do not intersect or quantify the number of helpers in each category. However, it is reasonable to conclude that most help given to targeted Jehovah's Witnesses came from fellow believers, as might be expected in a small,

close-knit, marginalized faith community. Despite the generally low social status of Witnesses in the larger Rwandan community during this period, targeted Jehovah's Witnesses also benefitted from help from non-JWs who were neighbors and extended family.

These findings provide insights into the circumstances of those targeted in the faith community of Jehovah's Witnesses. Eighty percent received help from fellow believers and their associates; 35% reported that those helping them could have been killed doing so; 20% had help from more than 15 people during the Genocide; 20% of those in danger for 1 month or more received help that was coordinated with others. This level of help despite the life-threatening risks to both the targeted and their helpers suggests a socially connected network of trusted individuals. These findings are consistent with anecdotal and biographical accounts of some targeted Jehovah's Witnesses who survived the Genocide with the aid from a support network of mostly fellow believers who improvised strategic, coordinated help at great personal risk. (See Section 1, Introduction.)

Communication Between Those Targeted and Their Helpers

The JW-RWA survey asked whether those targeted had been in communication with any who had helped them during the Genocide. Despite the passing of almost 30 years after the Genocide, many reported that they and their helpers had been in communication during the year of the survey (2023). This was the case for 38.50% of targeted non-JWs (149 out of 387 respondents) and 63.20% of targeted Jehovah's Witnesses (79 out of 125 respondents).

A proportion (57.58%) of the Genocide Generation lived in the same district at the time of the survey as they did during the Genocide against the Tutsi. (See Table 5.2 for residence during the Genocide and change in residence at time of the 2023 survey.) Living in the same district or in close proximity to where one personally experienced Genocide events could mean having regular,

unsettling reminders of past traumas. In like manner, knowing and being in communication with those who shared personal experiences of simple or significant acts of kindness could prompt reminders that provide a measure of optimism in an otherwise dark history. Judging from survey findings on congregation support and resilience for those who are now Jehovah's Witnesses, the common experience of trauma (in all its variations), remembrance of help given at critical times, and now having shared beliefs could contribute to a bonding effect within their congregations. (See Section 4, Forgiveness and Prosocial Behavior.)

Jehovah's Witnesses—Nonviolence and Political Neutrality During the Ban and Genocide

At a time when hate rhetoric was laden with religious symbolism, churches were massacre sites, and parishioners became perpetrators, moral prohibitions against harm and murder gave way to widespread participation in dehumanizing violence. Conformity and self-preservation led individuals to actively or passively support Genocide. Those moved with empathy to resist the Genocide by helping victims could not be certain they had the support of their religious leaders. Under these dire circumstances, relatively few had or made opportunities to help those targeted to be killed.

This begged the question, What contributed to the higher percentages of helping behavior among Jehovah's Witnesses compared with others during the Genocide? The research suggests an advantage that the Witnesses had over others who were moved to help, that is, the Witnesses' collective experience dealing with persecution prior to the Genocide. Within the small faith community, individuals had already demonstrated to themselves and one another that their religious identities could override the divisiveness of political agendas and socially prescribed ethnic identities. During the ban period, the religious group in Rwanda strengthened their social network and reaffirmed their shared religious values that helped them to navigate the moral

dilemmas posed by the violence and chaos of the Genocide. Mutual trust and, in some cases, coordinated help provided targeted Witnesses with individual and collective sources of support.

The JW-RWA study sought to collect data on those who were Jehovah's Witnesses or JW associates during both the government ban and the Genocide. As reported in Section 3 of this report, 661 survey respondents (4.86% of the total sample of 13,590) were already baptized Jehovah's Witnesses in or before the year of the Genocide against the Tutsi. Of these, 552 were adults in Rwanda in 1994. According to the organization's records, approximately 2,500 Jehovah's Witnesses participated in the ministry during the year prior to 1994 and approximately 400 Witnesses, family, and Bible students are believed to have been killed during the Genocide. Thus, the sample population from the JW-RWA survey research—conducted 30 years after the 1994 Genocide—consisted of approximately one fourth of those who were Jehovah's Witnesses at the time of the Genocide.

A total of 1,137 survey respondents identified themselves as having been either baptized Jehovah's Witnesses or unbaptized associates of the group (e.g., family members or Bible students) during the government ban, 1982 to 1992. Two years after the ban was lifted, 981 of the 1,137 of the sample population who had lived through religious persecution during the ban reported also being in Rwanda during the Genocide against the Tutsi. Thus, the study could investigate the practices and circumstances of the same individuals under two historical events—as Jehovah's Witnesses or JW associates under ban and as baptized Jehovah's Witnesses during the Genocide. This section examines the patterns of nonviolence and political neutrality of these longtime Witnesses during these periods in two ways:

1. During the government ban (1982 to 1992), Witnesses refused involvement in political and military activities, with many reporting their experiences of suppression. These

findings corroborate historical and anecdotal evidence of the development of a social network of mutual support. The study findings show that this network apparently continued to support individual and collective help for those targeted to be killed, which could be considered a form of nonviolent resistance against the Genocide.

2. Individuals who were not Jehovah's Witnesses during the Genocide reported seeing Jehovah's Witnesses refuse to participate in the Genocide.

The JW-RWA findings provide research-based information during two periods of its early history in Rwanda.

Jehovah's Witnesses Under Ban

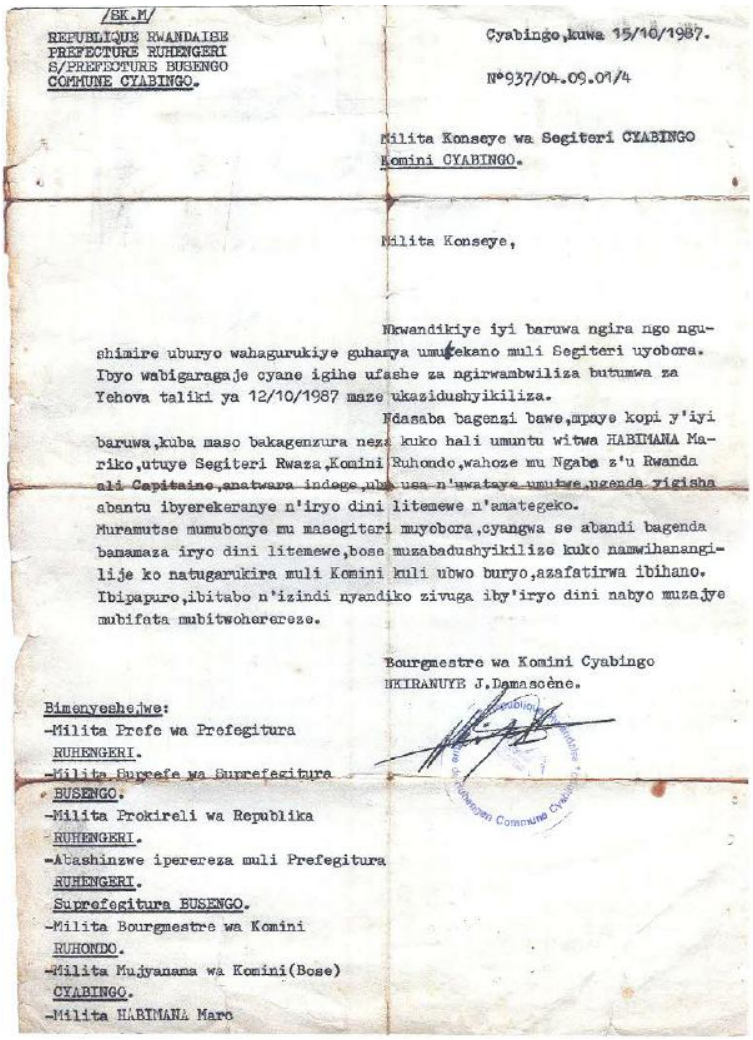
The documentary record of the history of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda during the 1980s and 1990s is incomplete. Written communications and administrative documents under the previous government give evidence of the extent to which the community of Jehovah's Witnesses was the target of official repression throughout the country. For instance, as shown in Figure 5.22, a 1987 letter from the Burgomaster of Cyabingo Commune demonstrates the coordinated government efforts to apprehend and punish Jehovah's Witnesses for sharing their religious beliefs.

Figure 5.22

1987 Letter From Burgomaster of Cyabingo Commune About Jehovah's Witnesses

J. Damascène NKIRANUYE to the counselors of all sectors, October 15, 1987; No. 937/04.09.01/4.

Burgomaster of Cyabingo Commune urges officials to arrest Jehovah's Witnesses and confiscate their literature.



/SK.M/
REPUBLIQUE RWANDAISE
PREFECTURE RUHENGERI
S/PREFECTURE BUGENGO
COMMUNE CYABINGO.

Cyabingo,kuwa 15/10/1987.

N°937/04.09.01/4

Milita Konseye wa Segiteri CYABINGO
Komini CYABINGO.

Milita Konseye,

Nkwandikiye iyi baruwa ngira ngo ngushimire uburyo wahagurukiye guhanya umukekano muli Segiteri uyobora. Ibyo wabigaragaje cyane igihe ufashe za ngirwambwiliza butumwa za Yehova taliki ya 12/10/1987 maze ukazidushyikiliza.

Ndasaba bagenzi bawe,mpaye kopi y'iyi baruwa,kuba maso bakagenzura neza kuko hali umuntu witwa HABIMANA Mariko,utuye Segiteri Rwaza,Komini Ruhondo,wahoze mu Ngabe z'u Rwanda ali Capitaine,anatwara indege,ubu usa n'uwateye umutwe,ugenda yigisha abantu ibyerekeranye n'iryo dini litemewe n'amategeko.

Muramutse mumubonye mu masegiteri muyobora,cyangwa se abandi bagenda banamaza iryo dini litemewe,bose muzabadushyikilize kuko namwihanangilije ko natugarukira muli Komini kuli ubwo buryo,azafatirwa ibihano.

Ibipapuro,ibitabo n'izindi nyandiko zivuga iby'iryo dini nabyo muzajye mubifata mubitwohereze.

Bourgmestre wa Komini Cyabingo
NKIRANUYE J.Damascène.

Bimenyeshejwe:
-Milita Prefe wa Prefegitura
RUHENGERI.
-Milita Burefe wa Burrefegitura
BUSENGO.
-Milita Prokireli wa Republika
RUHENGERI.
-Abashinzwe iperereza muli Prefegitura
RUHENGERI.
Suprefegitura BUSENGO.
-Milita Bourgmestre wa Komini
RUHONDO.
-Milita Mujyanama wa Komini(Bose)
CYABINGO.
-Milita HABIMANA Maro

Source. Organisation Religieuse des Témoins de Jéhovah.

Additionally, the 2002 census report provides some demographic information about "adherents" of the religious group (National Census Service, 2005). According to this census data most closely following the Genocide against the Tutsi, Jehovah's Witnesses in 2002 made up 0.5% of the total population, with some 30% of congregants living in urban areas across Rwanda. The

largest concentration was in the City of Kigali. Percentages of Jehovah's Witnesses in the 12 provinces in 2002 were as follows: Kigali City (1.4%), Kigali Ngali (0.5%), Gitarama (0.2%), Butare (0.4%), Gikongoro (0.2%), Cyangugu (0.2%), Kibuye (0.2%), Gisenyi (0.8%), Ruhengeri (0.3%), Byumba (0.4%), Umutara (0.5%), and Kibungo (0.3%).

Prior to the Genocide against the Tutsi, the small religious group of converts faced intense opposition during a decade-long government ban. The Witnesses' collective stance and mutual support during the historical period of persecution between 1982 and 1992 foreshadowed the response of the faith community as individuals and as a group during the Genocide. The government ban came from powerful political forces using legal means to directly attack the beliefs and religious identity of the Witnesses.

For example, during the meeting of the Ruhashya Commune Development Council, chaired by the prefect of Butare, on July 7, 1989, Jehovah's Witnesses were described as undermining the security of the Commune. As shown in Figure 5.23, the minutes stated that the Witnesses "must be confronted and suppressed because they disturb public order by refusing to respect authority, salute the flag, sing the national anthem, wear the President's pin, and more."

Figure 5.23

1989 Communication From Ruhashya Commune Development Council About Jehovah's Witnesses

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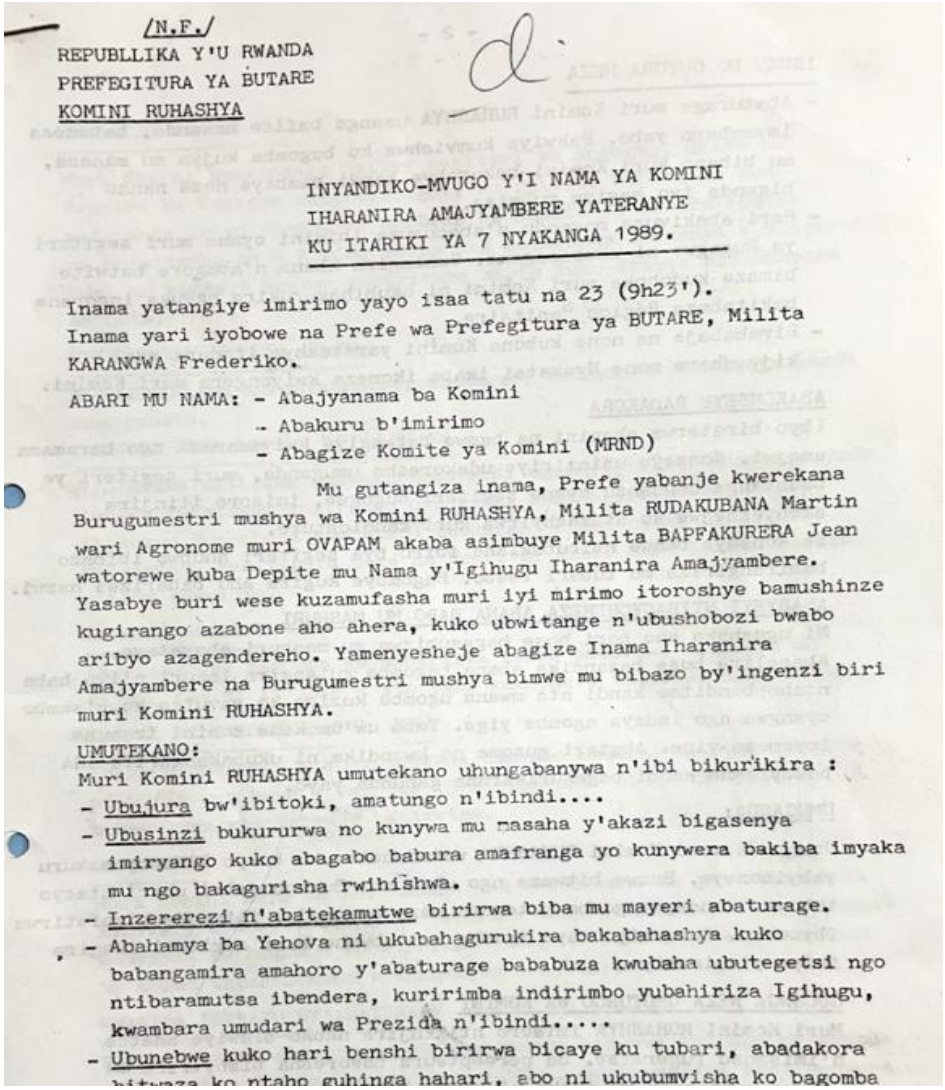
Meeting minutes of the Ruhashya Commune Development Council, July 7, 1989, chaired by Frederiko KARANGWA, Prefect of Butare Prefecture.



/N.F./
REPUBLLIKA Y'U RWANDA
PREFEGITURA YA BUTARE
KOMINI RUHASHYA

INYANDIKO-MVUGO Y'I NAMA YA KOMINI
IHARANIRA AMAJYAMBERE YATERANYE
KU ITARIKI YA 7 NYAKANGA 1989.

Inama yatangiye imirimo yayo isaa tatu na 23 (9h23').
Inama yari iyobowe na Prefe wa Prefegitura ya BUTARE, Milita KARANGWA Frederiko.

ABARI MU NAMA: - Abajyanama ba Komini
- Abakuru b'imirimo
- Abagize Komite ya Komini (MRND)

Mu gutangiza inama, Prefe yabanje kwerekana Burugumestri mushya wa Komini RUHASHYA, Milita RUDAKUBANA Martin wari Agronome muri OVAPAM akaba asimbuye Milita BAPFAKURERA Jean watorewe kuba Depite mu Nama y'Igihugu Iharanira Amajyambere. Yasabye buri wese kuzamufasha muri iyi mirimo itoroshye bamushinze kugirango azabone aho ahera, kuko ubwitange n'ubushobozi bwabo aribyo azagendereho. Yamenyesheje abagize Inama Iharanira Amajyambere na Burugumestri mushya bimwe mu bibazo by'ingenzi biri muri Komini RUHASHYA.

UMUTEKANO:
Muri Komini RUHASHYA umutekano uhungabanywa n'ibi bikurikira :
- Ubujura bw'ibitoki, amatungo n'ibindi....
- Ubusinzi bukururwa no kunywa mu masaha y'akazi bigasenya imiryango kuko abagabo babura amafranga yo kunywera bakiba imyaka mu ngo bakagurisha rwihishwa.
- Inzererezi n'abatekamutwe birirwa biba mu mayeri abaturage.
- Abahamya ba Yehova ni ukubahagurukira bakabahashya kuko babangamira amahoro y'abaturage bababuza kwubaha ubutegetsi ngo ntibaramutsa ibendera, kuririmba indirimbo yubahiriza Igihugu, kwambara umudari wa Prezida n'ibindi.....
- Ubunebwe kuko hari benshi birirwa bicaye ku tubari, abadakora bituza ko ntaho guhinga hahari, abo ni ukubumvisha ko bagomba

Source. MINUBUMWE Archives, Butare Prefecture files (page 1 of 4)

Despite government repression and societal discrimination, the authorities noted that Jehovah's Witnesses slowly continued to increase in numbers even under ban and especially after the ban was lifted 2 years prior to the Genocide. As shown in Figure 5.24, a November 10, 1989,

letter from the Burgomaster of the Ngoma Urban Commune to the Prefect of Butare Prefecture stated: "I believe the relevant authorities should take this matter seriously, as instead of discouraging them, the number of Jehovah's Witnesses continues to grow."

Figure 5.24

1989 Letter From Burgomaster of Ngoma Urban Commune About Jehovah's Witnesses

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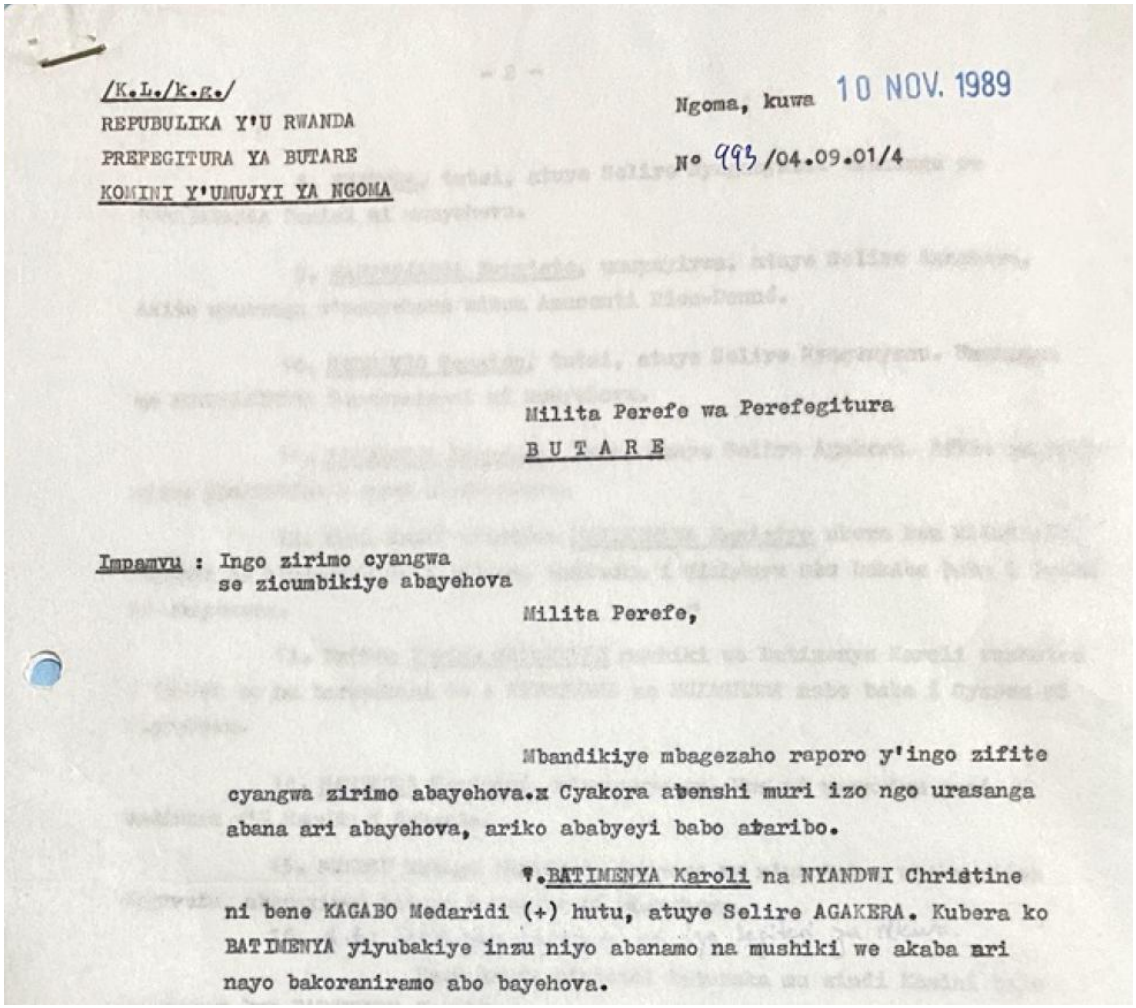
Joseph KANYABASHI to the Prefect of Butare Prefecture, November 10, 1989, No. 993/04.09.01/4.

A 1989 letter from the Burgomaster of Ngoma Urban Commune to military, law enforcement, and intelligence service officials, listing 15 households with Jehovah's Witnesses.



/K.L./k.g./
REPUBULIKA Y'U RWANDA
PREFEGITURA YA BUTARE
KOMINI Y'UMUJYI YA NGOMA

Ngoma, kuwa 10 NOV. 1989
N° 993/04.09.01/4

Milita Perefe wa Perefegitura
B U T A R E

Impamvu : Ingo zirimo cyangwa
se zicumbikiye abayehova

Milita Perefe,

Mbandikiye mbagezaho raporo y'ingo zifite cyangwa zirimo abayehova.z Cyakora abenshi muri izo ngo urasanga abana ari abayehova, ariko ababyeyi babo abaribo.

1.BATIMENYA Karoli na NYANDWI Christine ni bene KAGABO Medaridi (+) hutu, atuye Selire AGAKERA. Kubera ko BATIMENYA yiyubakiye inzu niyo abanamo na mushiki we akaba ari nayo bakoraniramo abo bayehova.

Source. MINUBUMWE Archives.

During these foundational years for the Witness community in Rwanda, the new converts chose to adopt a religion that was persecuted and unpopular. In that hostile climate, the small group of fellow believers and their families would have had multiple opportunities to determine how they would handle new challenges, both as individuals and as a collective group. They could not have known that these years of building congregational relationships, adhering to moral principles despite pressure, and refusing to compromise moral principles would be tried under even more extreme duress. Some types of helping behaviors that proved vital to those targeted to be killed during the Genocide were likely familiar to the group during the ban (e.g., warning of danger, giving food, caring for others' children).

Analyses of responses from survey respondents who were baptized Jehovah's Witnesses or associated with the Witnesses (e.g., Bible students) during the government ban show a consistent pattern of practices in line with their principles. From a list of five political activities, the survey asked respondents to indicate which, if any, they had refused to do. The survey question did not determine if respondents complied with orders to participate in political activities or whether they simply did not encounter such situations at the time. Of the 981 in this subgroup, 773 reported their position during the ban. Almost three fourths refused to make political donations (72.15%). Over half refused to participate in political celebrations (61.46%) and wear political emblems (58.23%); and 42.19% refused to cease evangelizing. Although religious identity could easily be changed or concealed, results suggest this was not the case for the Witnesses, including newly converted ones, during the high-tension era of the government ban.

Adherence to principles of faith had serious consequences during the ban. Nearly half (47.87%) of the Witnesses and their associates recalled being verbally harassed. Over one fourth (27.94%) were forbidden to attend religious meetings. Many were treated as criminals, with 25.23%

being interrogated by officials and 18.89% arrested. Beyond the criminal justice system, the education system added pressure, with 3.88% who were personally expelled from school and another 4.27% whose children were expelled for refusing to participate in religious or patriotic ceremonies.

Two years after the government ban, in 1994, Jehovah's Witnesses remained a small and unpopular minority religion in Rwanda. Trauma events experienced during the ban were compounded during the Genocide. During the ban, 21.98% of Witnesses and their associates fled their home for safety; and during the Genocide, 50.90% of this same group reported that they fled the country for safety. Some experienced physical or sexual violence during the ban (7.72%) and during the Genocide (5.39%). Almost 12% (11.88%) had their homes raided or ransacked during the ban; 15.97% had damaged or loss of homes during the Genocide. Despite patterns similar to the decade-long ban, the months-long Genocide was exponentially more severe and intense, with half (48.90%) of those who lived through both the ban and the Genocide having a close family member who was murdered or died unexpectedly during the span of a few months during the Genocide.

The research findings show that in those early years, the predominantly new converts—who had the option to change or conceal their association with the stigmatized group—chose to identify themselves as Jehovah's Witnesses despite potential ostracism and personal harm. Facing political persecution, the Witnesses individually and collectively determined how they would adhere to the principles of nonviolence, political neutrality, and impartiality, positions that would be put to extreme test during the Genocide.

Jehovah's Witnesses During the Genocide Against the Tutsi

A total of 552 respondents were baptized Jehovah's Witnesses who experienced the Genocide against the Tutsi. The ages of the 552 Witnesses during the Genocide ranged from 18 to 64 years, with a mean age of 29.06 in 1994. Approximately half were females (48.37%) and half were males (51.63%). Jehovah's Witnesses at the time of the Genocide were located in all provinces, with the largest proportion in high Genocide-intensity areas, particularly Kigali and the Eastern Province, with 538 who reported their location during the Genocide: Kigali ($n = 161$, 29.93%), Southern Province ($n = 114$, 21.19%), Eastern Province ($n = 94$, 17.47%), Western Province ($n = 93$, 17.29%), and Northern Province ($n = 76$, 14.13%). In this subgroup, 432 indicated the length of time they were in danger during the Genocide; 60.42% ($n = 261$) reported being in danger for 1 month or more.

Observers of Jehovah's Witnesses' Nonviolent Position

Research findings on the practices of Jehovah's Witnesses during two different time periods and circumstances—the 1982–1992 government ban and the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi—identify patterns of behavior that are consistent with attitudes and beliefs advocated by the faith community. Reports of prosocial helping behavior were based not only on what the Witnesses said about themselves but also on reports of persons who belonged to other religions at the time—how Jehovah's Witnesses helped them, even at the risk of personal harm. In these cases, behavior and beliefs aligned.

A similar litmus test was needed to determine if those in the faith community maintained standards guided by interconnected principles of respect for life, being peaceable toward all persons, and being without ethnic prejudice, as professed by various religions. Perhaps the most convincing evidence that Jehovah's Witnesses as a group adhered to their position of nonviolence

came from observances and reports of those who were not Jehovah's Witnesses at the time of the Genocide against the Tutsi.

The survey asked respondents how they learned about Jehovah's Witnesses position of political neutrality and nonviolence. Included in the response options was the statement *I saw Jehovah's Witnesses refuse to participate in the Genocide*. A total of 776 respondents who were in Rwanda during the Genocide but were not baptized Jehovah's Witnesses at the time selected this response option. The 776 who reported they observed JW's nonparticipation in the Genocide consisted of 351 males and 425 females from all provinces during the Genocide. They came from various religious backgrounds—those whose parents were Catholic (66.37%), Protestant (17.91%), associated with other religions (2.32%), or no religion (4.51%).

These data from respondents who were not then Jehovah's Witnesses provide evidence of individuals who maintained a peaceful, nonpolitical position during the Genocide against the Tutsi. Seeing individuals remain nonviolent in stark contrast to the general population evidently proved to be a leading reason that some of these observers were attracted to the religion. As reported in Section 3, the survey asked respondents what *originally* attracted them to Jehovah's Witnesses and what motivated them to *remain* in the religion. In a list of 12 response items from which respondents could select three was the option *I was/am attracted to Jehovah's Witnesses' position of nonviolence*. From responses from 13,395 in the total sample, 20.04% selected this as one of their top three original attractions to the religion and 22.14% selected this as a main reason they remain in the religion. For the 776 who reported they observed Jehovah's Witnesses refusing to participate in the Genocide, 33.02% were originally attracted to the religion because of their nonviolence—10% more than for the total sample. The impact of their observing Jehovah's Witnesses during the Genocide appears to have remained constant some 30 years later, with a

similar percentage of 32.35% indicating that the nonviolent stance was a main reason they remained in the religion.

The findings show Jehovah's Witnesses helped those targeted to be killed despite dangers. Targeted Jehovah's Witnesses reported that they had support from fellow believers who helped despite the risk of being killed, and the help they received increased for those in danger longer. Though surviving Rwandan Witnesses in 1994 numbered little more than 2,000, their nonviolent stance was observed and reported on by those who were not Jehovah's Witnesses at the time of the Genocide against the Tutsi.

Reactions to Jehovah's Witnesses' Prosocial and Nonviolent Position

Jehovah's Witnesses' nonviolent stance elicited different reactions. The JW-RWA survey asked, *When you first learned about Jehovah's Witnesses being nonviolent and politically neutral, which describes your thoughts and feelings?* Respondents replied as follows: 1.12% reported being angry; 3.05% thought they were wrong; 33.51% were surprised; and 41.48% respected them. For the JW-RWA sample—all of whom became JWs—58.32% reported that the (moral and ethical) position of nonviolence of the Witnesses led them to want to learn more.

Until this study, the only evidence that Jehovah's Witnesses maintained a prosocial, nonviolent position during the Genocide came from anecdotal reports by Witnesses and non-Witnesses. Some genocide researchers in scholarly qualitative studies have documented how individuals of different religious affiliations took the moral high ground to respect human life by not participating in the Genocide, even risking their own lives to save others (e.g., Benda, 2012; Burnet, 2012; Conway, 2011; Fox et al., 2021). However, such individuals were the exception in a religious climate of moral complicity. In the case of Jehovah's Witnesses, the few who participated in the Genocide were the exception.

Conclusion

The violence perpetrated during the Genocide against the Tutsi was not an assault based on religious grounds per se but rather based on socially prescribed labels that marked one ethnic group as superior to another—a belief that was antithetical to the tenets of Jehovah's Witnesses and inconsistent with the diverse makeup of their congregational social networks. The ethnically motivated attacks tested how those in the faith community would define themselves—by their newly-adopted collective religious identity or by their long-standing socially prescribed ethnic identity.

The prevailing propaganda and pressure prior to and during the period of the Genocide resulted in people defining and dividing themselves and others into immutable classifications. The historical record shows that for many religious people during the Genocide, shared membership in a common religion was insufficient to override socially conceived boundaries that pitted individuals against their relatives, neighbors, and fellow worshippers. In the heat of the Genocide, ethnic identities trumped religious ideals.

To varying degrees, the attacks on Jehovah's Witnesses during the Genocide could have been motivated by both ethnic and religious prejudices. Almost one fourth (23.15%) of Jehovah's Witnesses in 1994 identified themselves as being targeted for slaughter. In contrast, other Witnesses would have faced harm, not for genocide, but because of their religiously motivated refusal to participate in genocidal violence or their association with and help given to Tutsi.

The data show how the small group of Jehovah's Witnesses responded individually and collectively to violent threats directed toward those targeted to be killed. Prior to the Genocide, the government ban would have had a unifying effect on the minority faith community, creating a social network of trusted friends committed to shared moral principles. Intrinsic religious

motivations that move individuals to act according to their core principles would foster prosocial, altruistic helping behavior. (See Section 3, under the subheading Intrinsic and Extrinsic Religiosity.) The combination of intrinsic motivations and a trusted social network would enable singular and coordinated initiatives to help fellow believers and other Rwandans.

An important objective of the JW-RWA study was to understand the situations and experiences of those who make up the congregations of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda today—the hardships they endured, obstacles they overcame, and their ongoing struggles from the effects of past traumas. Sections 3 and 4 of this report discussed findings on how shared beliefs, social support, and prosocial behaviors within a religious community bring together people from different generations, geographic regions, and Genocide experiences. The JW-RWA study provides research-based evidence of a pattern of nonviolence and prosocial helping behaviors among Jehovah's Witnesses despite adverse conditions. The study confirmed the human capacity to respond to the needs of others with compassion and moral decency in situations of extreme violence and adversity.

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6. SUBJECTIVE SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WELLBEING

Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda come from diverse social, economic, and religious backgrounds and experiences; and they deal with challenges similar to those of the general population. The Genocide against the Tutsi took an emotional and physical toll with long-lasting effects on the health and wellbeing of those who experienced the Genocide firsthand and those who understand the Genocide through secondhand accounts (Lordos et al., 2021; Rieder & Elbert, 2013). In a deeply religious and predominantly Christian country, many Rwandans turn to religion to cope with physical and emotional suffering (Fox, 2012).

The JW-RWA study investigated the attitudes, beliefs, and circumstances of Jehovah's Witnesses before, during, and after the Genocide. Many of the findings reported in previous sections of this report relate to social-environmental factors (e.g., social support) that are conducive to health, healing, and wellbeing. This section focuses on additional indicators of wellbeing: (a) intergenerational communication, (b) family satisfaction, (c) centrality of the Genocide, (d) temporality and hope, (e) posttraumatic stress, (f) posttraumatic growth, (g) subjective wellbeing, and (h) scriptures for religious coping. A review of relevant academic literature provides an overview of the empirical research and theoretical models that aid in understanding overarching influences on wellbeing in post-Genocide Rwanda and the Jehovah's Witness community.

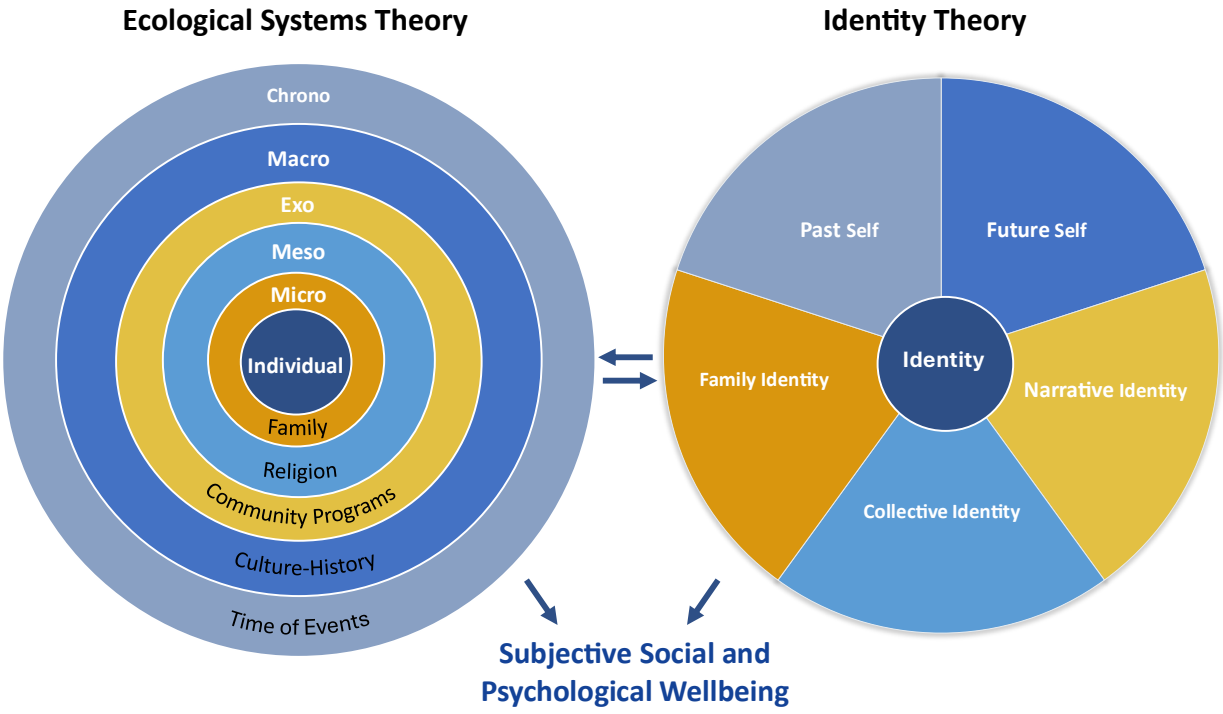
Literature Review

Social and psychological wellbeing happens within the context of multiple, interrelated, and dynamic factors that influence human development and formation of self. As a thematic

framework, the study applied ecological systems theory and identity theory as illustrated in Figure 6.1.

Figure 6.1

Theoretical and Thematic Framework



The ecological systems theory (EST) is a theoretical model of interconnected social or environmental factors that influence human development (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, 2005; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998, 2006). While earlier theorists of human development emphasized individual traits and internal processes (e.g., Allport, 1961; Maslow, 1954; Rogers, 1995), EST shifted the focus to social-environmental influences that individuals navigate and process, thus shaping their identity and behavior. Researchers commonly use EST as a schematic model to organize and interpret findings but not to statistically test the theory's constructs (Tong & An, 2024).

The five EST levels and the corresponding categories that were applied to each level for this study are the following: (a) chronosystem (the influence of time of events), (b) macrosystem (historical and cultural factors), (c) exosystem (organizations and programs), (d) mesosystem (religion), and (e) microsystem (family).

Identity or consciousness of self emerges, develops, and expands over the life course (Nelson, 2008). The developing self is both a cognitive and social construction that changes over time (Harter, 2012; Reicher, 2008) and is influenced by social roles and relationships (Haslam et al., 2009; Hogg & Williams, 2000; Iyer et al., 2008; Vignoles et al., 2011). Although adolescence is a period of exploration for a differentiated identity (Erikson, 1964), individuals also maintain multiple identities that change as circumstances, life priorities, and group membership change. The subjective, multifaceted sense of self depends on various personal, relational, collective, and temporal aspects (cf. Harter, 2012; Sani, 2008; Vignoles et al., 2011). Group membership can become a compass for social interactions and a determinant of self-concept derived from understanding how one usually responds to a given set of circumstances (Gaffney & Hogg, 2023). An inclusive social identity within groups enhances collective action (Tajfel, 1978). Individuals attain a psychological sense of self-continuity through perceived collective continuity of group beliefs and values (Sani et al., 2007; Sani et al., 2008). For the purposes of this section, five aspects of self-identity will be discussed as they relate to the JW-RWA study: the future self, the past self, narrative identity, collective identity, and family identity.

Ecological and identity factors both contribute to subjective wellbeing—to an individual's assessment of different aspects of their lives (i.e., psychological factors such as self-worth and emotional wellbeing). During the social construction of identity, comparisons are used to

subjectively assess if one is better or worse off than others or than they themselves were in the past (National Research Council, 2013; Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 2004).

For this discussion of how different ecological levels and aspects of self are relevant to post-Genocide Rwandans, the focus will be on the following: (a) the chrono-level, time of events, and future self; (b) the macro-level, cultural-historical events, and past self; (c) the exo-level, community organization, and narrative self; (d) the meso-level, religion, and collective identity; and (e) the micro-level, family, and family identity.

The following review of academic literature applies the ecological and identity models relevant to subjective social and psychological wellbeing of Jehovah's Witnesses in post-Genocide Rwanda.

Chronosystem, Influence of Time, and the Future Self

Chrono-level factors encompass the effect of the passage of time and how individuals transition from events over the course of one's life. Cognitive processes involved in identity formation and subjective wellbeing include time elements (D'Argembeau et al., 2012), as when individuals reflect on memories of the past self and images of the possible future self (Viebach, 2019).

Historical events are understood in the context of time and chronological ages. Open persecution and violence against Tutsi spanned decades before 1994, leading up to the ethnic genocide (cf. African Rights, 1995; Carney, 2014; Human Rights Watch, 2006; National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, 2016). The Genocide against the Tutsi was a defining national and generational marker for Rwandans that established a new temporality extending far beyond the massacres (Benda, 2018). By July 1994, in about 100 horrific days, many Rwandans faced an uncertainty that challenged their basic existence, self-concept, relationships, and wellbeing. Any

anticipation about the coming months or years shifted to a temporary aim to get through the day or the moment.

The aftermath of the Genocide required a present-focus orientation to manage the necessary matters of daily life, with little time to reflect on the past or plan for the future (Waintrater, 2024). However, generations of Rwandans born before and after 1994 have gradually turned their attention from past-saturated narratives or the "rear-view mirror" to a "windshield" focus on the future (Benda, 2018). Government initiatives have identified the need for Rwandans to understand the past and envision the future (Rwanda National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, 2020).

As a testimony to humans' capacity for resilience, most people have a positivity bias in which the intensity of unpleasant events fades more than emotions associated with positive events (Walker et al., 2003). Individuals who conceptualize their future self in more detailed imageries are more likely to connect their present behavior with the future, which makes the future self a motivation for setting long-term goals (Markus & Nurius, 1986; Nurra & Oyserman, 2018). Individuals without a clear concept of an achievable future self often struggle to make decisions over the life course, opting for short-term gratification without long-term objectives (Hershfield, 2011; Yang et al., 2024). An optimistic temporal outlook is related to overall wellbeing, such as having a greater sense of agency and less anxiety, depression, or hopelessness (Chang, 2002; Tang et al., 2023; Wu et al., 2015). How individuals juggle negative past memories with positive future ambitions is a barometer of subjective wellbeing.

Hope is a psychological construct of time that is more than positive optimism but provides a motivational state to attain certain personal goals (Snyder, 2000). As a cognitive and emotional resource, hope is related to finding purposeful meaning in life and setting goals that exemplify

values (Feldman et al., 2018; Feldman & Snyder, 2005). Hope is often associated with religiosity (James & Wells, 2003; Koenig, 2012; Xu, 2016), spiritual meaning and social belongingness (Arnau et al., 2010), and beliefs in an ultimate destiny and divine justice (Bennett, 2011). The positive relationship between hope and wellbeing is supported by decades of empirical research encompassing all age groups and in various circumstances and populations (Collazzoni et al., 2020; Laranjeira & Querido, 2022; Murphy, 2023; O'Connor et al., 2004).

Findings from the JW-RWA study identified several important chrono-level factors to help understand those in the faith community. For example, the Witnesses in Rwanda varied widely in ages as did the time spent studying the Bible before becoming Jehovah's Witnesses. Some Witnesses were baptized in or before the 1994 Genocide and others after the COVID-19 pandemic. Some in the sample population had stopped associating for a period and later resumed affiliation as Jehovah's Witnesses. These factors were considered in analyzing psychosocial variables.

Elements of future time also characterize certain core beliefs held by Jehovah's Witnesses. The survey showed almost unanimous agreement with beliefs that contained temporal elements: (a) Mankind is presently living in the "last days" (thus current difficulties will soon end); (b) In the near future, the righteous and unrighteous will be resurrected (thus giving hope for those who have died); (c) In the distant future, redeemed mankind will live forever under God's rulership over the earth (under perfect circumstances as God originally purposed); and (d) Bible prophesies about the future originate with God (and therefore are trustworthy promises).[1] (See Section 3, Figure 3.10; Chu & Peltonen, 2024). While wishful thinking or "unrealistic optimism" can lead to poor decision-making and outcomes (Shepperd et al., 2015), Jehovah's Witnesses who place

[1] Selected scriptural references to these beliefs are the following: (a) 2 Timothy 3:1–5; (b) Acts 24:15; (c) Psalm 37:9–11, 29; Matthew 6:10; Revelation 21:4; and (d) 2 Timothy 3:16; Romans 15:4.

confidence in the future may draw on *the logic of the main teachings* about the future, which motivated them to be Jehovah's Witnesses. (See Section 3, Figures 3.4 and 3.5.)

This study further examines the Witnesses' temporal view from the vantage point of hope; how much individuals think about the past, present, and future, and how positive or negative they feel about these periods in their lives.

Macrosystem, Cultural-Historical Events, and the Past Self

The macrosystem refers to broad cultural influences that characterize society—the customs, values, and norms that shape how people think and act. The prevailing culture evolves over time with the values and attitudes of each generational cohort shaped by similar social, economic, and historical experiences. The past self draws from personal history and/or cultural-historical events. It involves an assessment of attitudes and decisions from the past that can be used to explain one's current self or to mark a significant change in oneself from the past.

Over the last century, individuals and generations were shaped by their coming-of-age experiences growing up in Rwanda during historical periods, such as the colonial and post-colonial era, the Genocide against the Tutsi, and the more recent period of rapid economic developments. Of the decades of culture-shaping historical events, the 3-month long Genocide created the most significant generational division—those born before 1994 who experienced the Genocide and those born after 1994 whose own coming-of-age experiences would be overshadowed by the Genocide. The Genocide was a "cultural trauma and a watershed event that structures historical narratives" (Nyseth Brehm et al., 2021, p. 116). Individual and collective memories of the Genocide against the Tutsi provided a gauge of healing and wellbeing across generations.

Traumas experienced during and after the Genocide against the Tutsi varied for individuals, depending on gender, ethnicity, and geographic location (Burnet, 2012; McDoom, 2021; Miller

et al., 2020). (See Section 5, Figures 5.3, 5.4, 5.5, and 5.6.) Persons who survived being targeted during the Genocide faced economic and emotional hardships decades later (Rieder & Elbert, 2013) and higher rates of PTSD compared with the general Rwandan population (Musanabaganwa et al., 2020). Those who were imprisoned for genocidal crimes experienced high rates of depression and PTSD symptoms (Brounéus, 2008).

Thirty years after the Genocide, the Rwanda Biomedical Centre reported progress in addressing mental health issues but noted that Genocide effects on mental health remain profound, with higher levels of PTSD and other mental health disorders among women (23.2%) than men (16.6%). Elevated rates were found among Genocide survivors, female (53.3%) and male (48.8%) (Nsanzabaganwa et al., 2024; see also Kayiteshonga et al., 2022). The project Intergenerational Epigenomics of Trauma and PTSD in Rwanda is studying evidence for the transmission of PTSD from women who were pregnant during the Genocide to their offspring (H3Africa Collaborative Research Center, n.d.; Mutesa, 2023).

Over time, memories of emotionally impactful traumatic events can take on such saliency that they become integral to a person's life narrative (Berntsen & Rubin, 2006; El Haj & Gallouj, 2019; Smelser, 2004). Posttraumatic stress symptoms depend much on the centrality of traumatic events to one's sense of self, while coping mechanisms and cognitive appraisal of traumatic events can mediate the effects of trauma (George et al., 2016). Traumatic events cause people to re-evaluate the beliefs and values that were a part of who they were or are; and in turn, self-identity is the lens through which past and present traumas are interpreted (Berman et al., 2020; Truskauskaite-Kuneviciene et al., 2020).

In the evaluative process, posttraumatic growth—perceived positive psychological changes following traumatic events—adds another dimension to understanding the effects of

genocide and trauma within a faith community. Posttraumatic growth (PTG) has been described as a positive change in appreciation for life, spiritual outlook, and new relationships. (Tedeschi et al., 2018). It is related to hope, religiosity, and social support (Currier et al., 2013; Lasota et al., 2020), and those who maintain their faith despite traumatic events are more likely to report posttraumatic growth (Proffitt et al., 2007; Tedeschi et al., 2018). PTG is a cognitive reframing of past traumas to provide meaning and perspective leading to personal development. Religiosity and religious coping have been found to be positively related to PTG (Fayaz, 2023; Shaw et al., 2005).

Rwandan Jehovah's Witnesses come from this turbulent background and are affected by the cultural and historical environment that would test the social and psychological wellbeing of those making up the faith community. This report presents findings on the centrality of Genocide, posttraumatic stress symptoms, and posttraumatic growth of the study population.

Exosystem, Community Programs, and the Narrative Identity

The exo-level includes organizations, programs, and forums often established by governments or other social entities to further cultural and institutional goals and foster desired behaviors. In the aftermath of the Genocide against the Tutsi, Rwandans have benefited from such government programs aimed to improve the social and psychological environment by providing stability, public education, healthcare, and restorative justice (cf. Ministry of National Unity and Civic Engagement, 2024). The crisis of the Genocide against the Tutsi became the impetus for organizations to determinedly work to rebuild the fractured culture with new normative ways of behaving and thinking about oneself through the national initiative *Ndi Umunyarwanda* [I am Rwandan] (Rwanda National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, 2020). Government agencies and NGOs (non-governmental organizations) created community outreach programs to promote a national agenda to unify the country. For example, the *Gacaca* trials sought therapeutic outcomes

through restorative justice intended to open dialogue between the community and transgressors (Doak, 2011) and to give "perpetrators opportunities to confess their crimes, show remorse, and ask for and receive forgiveness in front of their community" (Rwanda Ministry of Justice, 2020).

Community-based sociotherapy is established to promote healing and peacebuilding for survivors. Numerous charitable, education, and social service organizations were created to serve important community roles (e.g., IBUKA [https://www.ibuka.rw/], GAERG [https://gaerg.org.rw/], and AERG [https://genocidearchiverwanda.org.rw/]). In addition to the Kigali Genocide Memorial, the Aegis Trust has sponsored genocide education programs and research initiatives with the mission to prevent genocide and mass atrocities. Such programs are deemed necessary in combatting genocide denial (Kaufman, 2019). The annual *Kwibuka* commemorations were organized to promote national unity, remember victims, and promote genocide education and prevention. Some use the *Kwibuka* period to recall their family's history within the private setting of the home.

All levels within the social-ecological system affect how individuals discuss trauma and genocide, but it is at the exo-level where opportunities for dialogue in community settings have created forums to present individual and collective narratives. With the intent to be therapeutic and instructional, such groups set boundaries and define new norms for what are considered appropriate topics, audiences, and decorum for discussions.

The narrative self provides a sense of meaning through selective reconstruction of the past (Barber & Mather, 2014; Conway et al., 2004; Gilbert, 2018; Pasupathi, 2001). This development of self occurs during interactions with others when individuals construct a narrative identity through storytelling, during which memory of the past and view of the future can change with each retelling and audience (McAdams, 2011). For those whose post-Genocide life included personality

transformation through religious conversion, their newfound conviction is reinforced and reproduced by the telling of personal experiences that reflect the collective traditions of the religion that motivated their individual conduct or reformation (Hovi, 2014). Such change narratives provide personalized meaning-construction (Jesus, 2011). Narratives that are consistent with the self are more likely to be told, while self-discrepant narratives are more likely to contain meaning-making statements and suggest less autonomy than self-consistent accounts (Mutlutürk & Tekcan, 2016). Recalling personal memories of the past self affects the view of the current self and motivates goal-pursuit decisions for the future self (Peetz & Wilson, 2009).

The JW-RWA study propounded the question of how much the Witnesses talk about personal or family Genocide experiences. An understanding of both Rwandan and JW culture puts those findings in context.

In post-Genocide Rwanda, individuals would vary widely in what stories they chose to tell and to whom. Although sharing personal narratives generally creates an emotional bond between the teller and listener (Suzuki et al., 2018), in the context of post-genocide, a person's story can be divisive, opening old wounds. In general, people telling self-narratives tend to limit unflattering details or present what is favorable to the audience. However, selective storytelling may also be out of consideration for the needs and feelings of the listener. Timing, setting, occasion, audience, and intention are only some of the factors determining the appropriateness of what might be discussed, with whom, and in what manner. For example, second-generation children may feel silenced by or prefer being disconnected from their family's past (cf. Ingabire, 2022; Irakoze & Sinalo, 2023; Richters, 2015; Williamson-Sinalo et al., 2021). Research using focus groups in Rwanda found that young adults express a need to learn more about the past, but their parents rarely discuss topics related to intergenerational dialogue about the Genocide against the Tutsi

(e.g., Ingabire & Richters, 2019). Individuals' willingness to initiate conversations or respond to inquiries may vary depending on their relationship with the listener and their Genocide circumstance (Bonumwezi, 2022; Buckley-Zistel, 2006; Keating et al., 2013; Krell et al., 2004; Suedfeld, 2002; Voss, 2018; Williamson Sinalo et al., 2021; Wiseman et al., 2002).

Cultural norms and etiquette call for certain gender and generational boundaries about topics of conversations. Some people are more self-disclosing, while others steer clear of drawing attention to themselves. Some see value in sharing experiences as life lessons, and others prefer not to bring up the past. Some choose to avoid a victim narrative that focuses on the actions of others in the past in order not to reinforce pessimism and helplessness. More research is needed to understand how openness to intergenerational dialogue about the Genocide against the Tutsi may vary depending on backgrounds and developmental ages.

In addition to these considerations, as a cohesive group with collectivist values, Jehovah's Witnesses would likely consider the possible effects of their conversations on fellow congregants and the congregation as a whole. Over 95% of survey respondents indicated they believed their congregation *makes efforts to integrate all its members and to make them stronger*. (See Section 4, Figure 4.7.) Witnesses who were individually working along with this perceived community value would seek to find commonality among fellow believers and avoid discussions that make comparisons with others, draw attention to others' shortcomings or past wrongs, or could be viewed as having a political agenda. Considering Jehovah's Witnesses' particular sensitivity to remaining politically neutral, individual Witnesses would be reticent about elaborating on personal narratives with potentially polarizing or politicizing effects for those in and outside the faith community.

Jehovah's Witnesses as a religious community offer outreach and education programs to those interested in learning more about biblical principles useful for everyday life. These include public ministry, personalized individual Bible instruction, prison ministry, and interactive Bible studies at weekly meetings open to the public. Such programs encourage values of unity, social cohesion, and peace-building shared in contemporary Rwanda. The *Watchtower* magazine (titled *Umanara w'Umurinzi* in Kinyarwanda) routinely publishes articles promoting prosocial behaviors. This was also true during the 1990s. For example, an article published on March 1, 1994, just before the Genocide, reminded the Witnesses to help those in and outside the religion. It stated that Jehovah's Witnesses are "among the first to perform relief work" (*Umanara w'Umurinzi*, 1993/1994a, p. 10). An article published on June 1, 1994, during the Genocide, on not showing favoritism admonished: "We can ask ourselves, 'Is my brotherly affection partial?'" (*Umanara w'Umurinzi*, 1993/1994b, p. 18). As published in December of 1994, the scripture that Jehovah's Witnesses worldwide would feature during the year 1995 was Colossians 2:2, "Be harmoniously joined together in love" (*Umanara w'Umurinzi*, 1994c, pp. 18–19).

Jehovah's Witnesses' tradition of "witnessing" focuses on biblical accounts rather than personal experiences. Conversations among fellow Witnesses sometimes include expressions about what attracted them to the religion and what changes they made to become Jehovah's Witnesses. Some make significant attitudinal and behavioral changes before they are baptized as Jehovah's Witnesses, such as those featured in video interviews on the website jw.org under "Truth Transforms Lives," translated in Kinyarwanda, "*Ukuri guhindura imibereho*" (https://www.jw.org/rw/isomero/videwo/#rw/categories/VODIntExpTransformations). Among the experiences possibly relevant to Rwandan Jehovah's Witnesses are videos titled: "*Bahoze ari abanzi none babaye incuti*" [Former Enemies Who Became Friends]; "*Nashyize intwaro hasi*" [I

Put Down My Rifle]; and "*Imfungwa yarahindutse*" [From Prison to Prosperity]. Such dramatic change narratives would resonate with narratives told by those who had formerly adopted *génocidaire* hate rhetoric or had been imprisoned for genocide acts but later adopted the position of impartiality, nonviolence, and political neutrality of Jehovah's Witnesses. Narratives of former prisoners who make positive changes often describe their sense of self pre- and post-prison life (Maier & Ricciardelli, 2022). With their strong identification with their newfound religion, Jehovah's Witnesses who were previously imprisoned would view their faith as a contributing factor to their life transformation.

Regardless of one's personal or family Genocide past, the decision to become one of Jehovah's Witnesses entails alignment with values and practices conducive to peace and unity. The JW-RWA survey explores these topics, investigating attitudes and behaviors related to Genocide education and communication about personal and family traumatic and Genocide-related experiences.

Mesosystem, Religion, and the Collective Self

Religion is typically placed at the meso-level. As a central influence on human development, the mesosystem encompasses the interactions and influences of immediate and central environments, such as school, peer groups, and neighborhoods. In the social-ecological systems theoretical model, the mesosystem is not the group itself, but the interaction of the group with the individual's environment. At the meso-level, religious practices within a congregation or faith community may connect the individual with the broader societal system. Religious culture can shape the norms, beliefs, and behaviors of individuals. For some, religious meaning and practices form the core of selfhood (Jesus, 2011). The significance of religion in an individual's life determines if it would be considered a macro-, exo-, meso-, or micro-level influence. The

religion of those whose sense of self is closely associated with a religious group of fellow "brothers" and "sisters" becomes influential like family at the micro-level. Still, even in close-knit religious groups, religion is generally one level below the family, which typically remains the more dominant influence on self-identity.

The collective self is more than simply being a group member but applies to individuals who share common values, goals, experiences, and sense of belonging (Hogg & Williams, 2000). A religious group has its own collective history, culture, and narrative that can become part of the collective self. Unlike time, culture, country, family, and genetically determined factors, religion can be a matter of choice, as was the case for most Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda who changed their religious affiliation during adulthood. Changing groups can result from a process of investigation, comparisons, and assessment of core beliefs, values, and behaviors leading to an adoption of new group norms (Otten et al., 2024). A change in religion is a change in self-image that incorporates the collective self.

As a source of collective pride, group membership can elicit favorable comparisons with other groups and significantly impact wellbeing as a boost to self-esteem, life satisfaction, and overall mental health (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 2004). Similarly, belonging to a devalued, stigmatized group can negatively affect wellbeing by creating feelings of isolation and low self-worth. Criticism of the group can be internalized, challenging one's personal and collective identity and influencing overall wellbeing (Jetten et al., 2017). As a minority religion, Jehovah's Witnesses are sometimes marginalized in some countries with threats to its legal and social status (Knox, 2018; USCIRF, 2024). The JW-RWA findings show how Witnesses in Rwanda believe their social and psychological wellbeing (e.g., self-worth and emotional wellbeing) changed since becoming

Jehovah's Witnesses, whether respondents thought the religion had a negative or positive effect on their subjective wellbeing.

Empirical research shows a positive relationship between health and religion and spiritual beliefs (Koenig, 2012). Religiosity is associated with physical health, longevity, healthier lifestyle, increased social support, and more positive emotions (Morton et al., 2017). In a large cross-cultural study of subjective wellbeing, Rwandans associated happiness with religious meeting attendance (Ngamaba, 2016). Religious coping has been found to help with posttraumatic stress symptoms by reframing the meaning of trauma, enhancing resilience, and supplying emotional support (Koenig, 2020; Koenig et al., 2020; Pargament, 1997). In contrast, recovery from trauma is compromised for those with doubts about divine justice or punishment and personal worthiness (Grey et al., 2024; Surzykiewicz et al., 2022).

Previous sections of this report presented in detail aspects of the collective religious profile of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda. Those findings reveal the following:

1. The majority of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda are first-generation adult converts (Section 3, Figure 3.2).
2. Witnesses are attracted to the religion by the logic of the teachings, a desire to learn more about the Bible, and to be closer to God (Section 3, Figure 3.4).
3. Jehovah's Witnesses largely agree on fundamental teachings about the nature of God and mankind's hope for the future (Section 3, Figure 3.10).
4. Their religiosity is more intrinsically than extrinsically motivated (Section 3, Figure 3.14).
5. They see themselves as manifesting forgiveness and prosocial attitudes (Section 4, Figure 4.1).

6. They believe genuine repentance is necessary for divine forgiveness (Section 4, Figures 4.2 and 4.3).
7. Their self-image is characterized as having compassionate love for all humanity (Section 4, Figure 4.4).
8. They view their congregation as a source of support and resilience during difficult times (Section 4, Figure 4.7).

This section of the report identifies other characteristics that would contribute to the development of characteristics associated with the faith community, such as temporal orientation. In addition to these, this section reports how the Witnesses in Rwanda understand and apply scriptures as a means of coping with thoughts about the Genocide against the Tutsi.

Microsystem and Family Identity

While historical, cultural, and social influences operate at the macro- and meso-levels, the family operates at the micro-level, which directly affects attitudes, beliefs, behavior, and self-identities (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, 2005). The microsystem is the innermost level that interacts with all other levels and has the most direct and sustaining influence on individual development. Like the ecological systems model, the family systems perspective recognizes that family functioning involves the interaction of influencing factors (e.g., life events, social support, and relationships between and among family members). What happens to one affects other family members, individually and collectively (Kerr & Bowen, 1988; Minuchin, 1974). Although crisis situations expose individuals and their family to increased vulnerabilities and dysfunction, family units are also a source of support, resilience, and recovery (Walsh, 2002). Family wellbeing is a mediator for the intergenerational transmission of trauma (Reese et al., 2022), and family communication

was found to mediate maternal PTSD on children's outcomes (Bonumwezi et al., 2024). Good relationships with mothers strengthen positive subjective wellbeing (Lampropoulou, 2018).

Family identity involves the identity of the family as a group and the individual identity that comes from being a member of a family unit. Family identity encompasses the structural composition and the emotional bonds that influence family functioning (Amato, 2014; Noone, 2015; Olson et al., 1983; Scabini & Manzi, 2011).

Families are an integral part of human development, faith communities, and post-Genocide national recovery. From a social learning perspective, parents and significant adults are the main transmitters of attitudes and behaviors (Bandura, 1969; Oliner & Oliner, 1988). The interrelatedness of psychosocial factors becomes evident in families, where beliefs and prosocial attitudes about oneself in relation to others are first developed. The primary factors of attachment and forgiveness lie with the family unit (Lawler-Row et al., 2006).

The concept of family with dual parents and their children sharing a household was shattered during the Genocide against the Tutsi, which disrupted the normal family life cycle and usual generational patterns of marriage and childbearing. Sexual and physical assaults on individuals were intentionally conducted in the presence of other family members who were forced to watch and prevented from intervening. These were demoralizing assaults, not just against individuals, but against the family as a whole (von Joeden-Forgey, 2010).

Normally it is in families that concepts of trust, hope, justice, and loyalty are developed (Scabini & Manzi, 2011). However, loss, conflict, and violations by family members or trusted adults result in psychological and spiritual costs (Mahoney et al., 2003). At the hands of "ordinary" men and women, the Genocide against the Tutsi decimated families and created a moral and social identity crisis (Moshman, 2011; Straus, 2006).

Genocide changed household composition in Rwanda. The number of men killed or imprisoned outnumbered women, resulting in more women becoming widows at younger ages without remarrying. Children of survivors were apt to be raised by extended family networks and children of perpetrators had one or both parents incarcerated (Lordos et al., 2021). Rape victims and children of rape faced dishonor, ostracism, and abandonment (Nowrojee, 1996). As a demonstration of communal coping, families pooled resources and adopted a flexible organizational structure (Theiss, 2018). In post-Genocide households, cultural roles prescribed according to one's gender and developmental age were dismantled as females, minor children, older adults, and unrelated persons took on roles as caregivers, decision-makers, and breadwinners. Women assumed decisional and instrumental roles as heads of households. Orphaned children restructured a semblance of a family, with older siblings adopting parental roles. As functional roles of family members were lost through death, divorce, imprisonment, and relocation, household composition extended beyond immediate family members or biological relatives.

As a system, how a family functions depends much on its (a) cohesiveness (the emotional connection to one another), (b) adaptability (ability to change roles, rules, and relationships when necessary or appropriate), and (c) communication (verbal and nonverbal messages about thoughts and feelings among members). Family cohesion balances individuals' needs for independence and connectedness. Family adaptability provides stability without rigidity (Olson et al., 1983). Family communication is the facilitating dimension of family functioning, used in coping, emotion regulating, and the transmission of values (Black & Lobo, 2008; Noone, 2015; Olson et al., 1983; Papero, 2015; Szcześniak & Tułecka, 2020).

The JW-RWA study determined the household composition for the Witness sample population that could provide evidence of family recovery in post-Genocide Rwanda. The survey

also assessed individuals' satisfaction with family functioning (Olson & Barnes, 2010; Olson & Gorall, 2003). Both household composition and family satisfaction are related to subjective social and psychological wellbeing.

Results

The key findings in this section are presented on the following variables that are indicators of subjective social and psychological wellbeing: (a) communication about Genocide and trauma events, (b) family satisfaction, (c) the centrality of the Genocide, (d) temporal orientation, (e) posttraumatic stress symptoms, (f) posttraumatic growth, (g) perceived change in wellbeing since becoming Jehovah's Witnesses, and (h) scriptures as coping resource. Statistical analyses under each variable include several subgroup comparisons that are pertinent to the variable under consideration. In addition to the usual gender and age group analyses, other subgroup comparisons are made (e.g., years being one of Jehovah's Witnesses, generations, and Genocide role-situations). The large data set of the JW-RWA study allowed statistical analysis of interconnected variables that is rare in post-genocide or post-conflict research.

Overview of Analysis and Subgroups

The following describes the composition of the generational groups and Genocide role-situational groups that are frequently used in analysis in this section.

Generation Groups Related to Genocide

Four generation categories were created that separated groups with different experiences and understandings relative to the Genocide. In previous sections of this report, adults and minors were combined as representing the Genocide Generation; in this final section on wellbeing, the adults and minors during the Genocide were separated. The four groups are Genocide Generation Adults, Genocide Generation Minors, Returnees, and Post-Genocide Generation. At the time of

the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, the Genocide Generation Adults were aged 18 and over (born in or before 1976) and present in Rwanda at least some of the time during the Genocide against the Tutsi. The Genocide Generation Minors were under age 18 (born after 1976) and present in Rwanda at least some of the time during the 1994 Genocide. In this study, the label Returnees refers to those who were not in Rwanda during the Genocide against the Tutsi but later returned. Those in the Post-Genocide Generation were born after 1994, making them the youngest age cohort, with no firsthand knowledge of the Genocide. Comparisons of these four groups identify differences that might be attributed to individuals who have personal Genocide experiences versus those who know about the Genocide only from secondhand accounts. Table 6.1 gives the breakdown of these four generation groups.

Table 6.1

Generation Groups Based on Genocide Experience

Group	Description	Age at Time of Survey	Age in 1994	*n*
Genocide Generation Adults	In Rwanda during the Genocide; born in or before 1976	Aged 47 and over	Aged 18 and over	3,736
Genocide Generation Minors	In Rwanda during the Genocide; born after 1976	Aged 29 to 46	Birth to under age 18	4,780
Returnees	Outside Rwanda during the 1994 Genocide; born in or before 1994	Aged 29 and over	All ages	1,046
Post-Genocide Generation	Born after 1994	Under 29	Not yet born	3,316

Genocide Role-Situations

As explained in Section 5 on Genocide and Trauma, JW-RWA researchers were keenly aware of problems in categorizing individuals into narrowly defined Genocide roles (e.g., victims, perpetrators, bystanders) when in reality individuals' behaviors varied depending on the situations. However, the large JW-RWA data set allowed the categorization of distinct, nonoverlapping groups that were empirically useful.

The survey asked respondents to select from a list of Genocide role-situations that they personally experienced (asked of Genocide Generation Adults) or their family experienced (asked of Genocide Generation Minors and Post-Genocide Generation). Among the response options were the following: (a) *targeted to be killed*, (b) *helped those who were targeted*, (c) *later imprisoned for participating in the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi*, and (d) *none of the above*. Respondents were allowed to choose multiple items (e.g., *targeted to be killed* and *helped those who were targeted*). (See Section 5, Genocide and Trauma, Figure 5.17, for breakdown of all response options.) From the large data set, four distinct subgroups with no overlapping Genocide role-situations were created: (a) Targeted, (b) Helper, (c) Imprisoned, and (d) None. The Targeted and Imprisoned categories were distinct from each other, but respondents could also indicate that they helped those targeted. The Helper category excluded those who also indicated that they were targeted or imprisoned. The None category consisted of those who only selected the option *none of the above*. The four role-situation subgroups were created for each of three generation groups: the Genocide Generation Adults (self-identified), the Genocide Generation Minors, and the Post-Genocide Generation (reporting about their family's situation). Table 6.2 shows the *n* for each role-situation by generational group from which the statistical analysis was conducted, with the total

differing per measure depending on missing data and *does not apply* (DNA) and *prefer not to answer* (PNA) responses.

Table 6.2

Distinct Subgroups of Self or Family Genocide Role-Situations as Identified by Genocide Generation Adults, Genocide Generation Minors, and Post-Genocide Generation

Genocide Role-Situation for Self or Family	Genocide Generation Adults—Role-Situation for Self	Genocide Generation Minors—Role-Situation for Family	Post-Genocide Generation—Role-Situation for Family
	n	*n*	*n*
Targeted	445	666	369
Helper	902	899	261
Imprisoned	107	157	54
None	314	235	51

Note. In subsequent comparative analysis using these groups, the *n* will vary slightly depending on missing data.

Due to the large sample size, group comparisons using ANOVAs were followed by Bonferroni post hoc tests, with a meaningfully significant difference of $p < .05$ and $\eta^2 = > .01$. Variations in subgroup sizes resulted from the necessary removal of missing data and *prefer not to answer* (PNA) responses from statistical tests to detect significant group effects. With this background, the following are the key findings related to the subjective social and psychological wellbeing of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda.

Communication About Genocide Across Generations

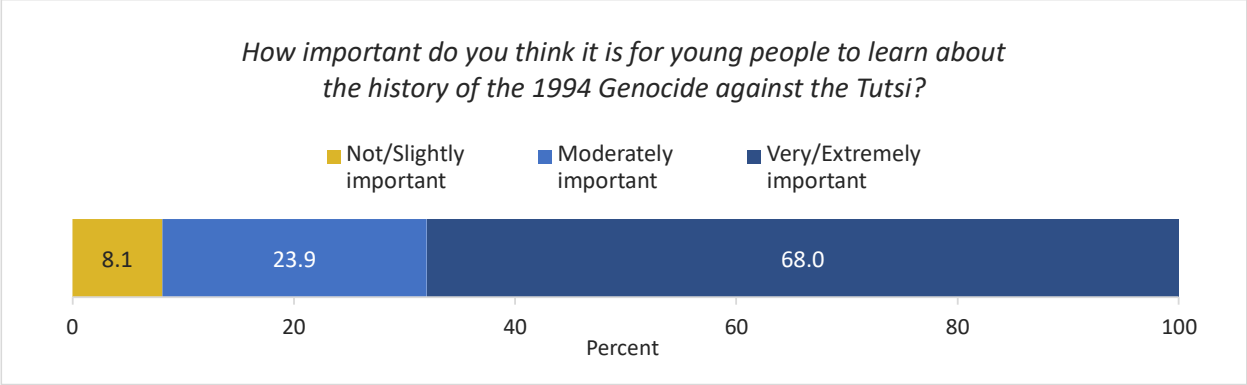
The findings report Jehovah's Witnesses' attitudes and behaviors: (a) their views of Genocide education for young people, (b) their comfort level in talking about traumatic and Genocide experiences, (c) their indication of who they actually talked to about their personal family Genocide experiences, and (d) their view of intergenerational dialogue about such difficult topics.

View of Young People Learning About the History of the Genocide

The survey asked respondents how important they thought it was for young people to learn about the history of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. The measure used a 5-point scale from *not important at all* to *extremely important*. The findings shown in Figure 6.2 combine the response options *not important at all* and *slightly important*, and *very important* and *extremely important*, with the option *moderately important* remaining as a single midpoint. For the total sample, 68.00% thought that learning about the history of the Genocide was *very* or *extremely important*; and a total of 91.89% thought it was *moderately* to *extremely important*. The small percentage who selected either *not important at all* (2.56%) or *slightly important* (5.55%) may have viewed the importance of education about the past Genocide in relative terms compared with Bible instruction. Still, the vast majority of Jehovah's Witnesses viewed Genocide education as important for young people.

Figure 6.2

Attitude About Young People Learning About the History of the Genocide Against the Tutsi



Note. Total sample minus PNA and missing responses: *n* = 11,504.

Table 6.3 gives a breakdown for the question about Genocide education by gender, generation, and self-identified Genocide role-situations. The percentage of males (69.15%) who selected *very* or *extremely important* was only slightly more than that of females (67.06%). Of the

generation groups who selected *very* or *extremely important*, the Genocide Generation Adults had the highest percentage (71.64%), which was over 5% higher than Genocide Generation Minors (65.98%).

The group analysis that revealed the greatest variation in percentages was among the four distinct role-situation subgroups for the Genocide generation (Targeted, Helper, Imprisoned, and None). Although the majority in all the subgroups thought Genocide education was *very* or *extremely important*, the Targeted group—those who were the victims of hate propaganda that targeted them to be killed—had the lowest percentage (64.96%). This compared with 72.73% of the helpers of those targeted during the Genocide and 70.77% of the None group, who did not have any categorized Genocide role-situations. Notably, the highest percentage of those who strongly favored Genocide education for young people was for those who had been imprisoned for genocide crimes (86.87%)—over 20% more than those who had been targeted (64.96%). In other words, in a turnaround, those who self-identified as having been accused as *génocidaires*—those most likely to have previously acted on the hate rhetoric and ethnically motivated violence but now identified as Jehovah's Witnesses, who oppose hate and violence—believed that teaching what happened during the Genocide was *very* or *extremely important*.

Table 6.3

Attitude About Young People Learning About the History of the Genocide Against the Tutsi by Gender, Generation, and Genocide Role-Situation

Group	*How important do you think it is for young people to learn about the history of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi?*		
	Not or Slightly Important	Moderately Important	Very or Extremely Important
	%	%	%
Total (*n* = 11,504)	8.11	23.89	68.00
Gender			
Male (*n* = 5,161)	7.21	23.64	69.15
Female (*n* = 6,343)	8.84	24.09	67.06
Generation			
Genocide Generation Adults (*n* = 3,195)	8.08	20.28	**71.64**
Genocide Generation Minors (*n* = 4,133)	8.20	25.82	65.98
Returnees (*n* = 882)	9.41	23.58	67.01
Post-Genocide Generation (*n* = 2,864)	7.58	25.17	67.25
Genocide Role-Situation of Genocide Generation Adults			
Targeted (*n* = 391)	10.74	24.30	64.96
Helper (*n* = 796)	8.04	19.22	72.73
Imprisoned (*n* = 99)	4.04	9.09	**86.87**
None (*n* = 260)	7.69	21.54	70.77

Note. Bolded numbers highlight noteworthy percentages.

Comfortable Talking to Others About Traumatic Events

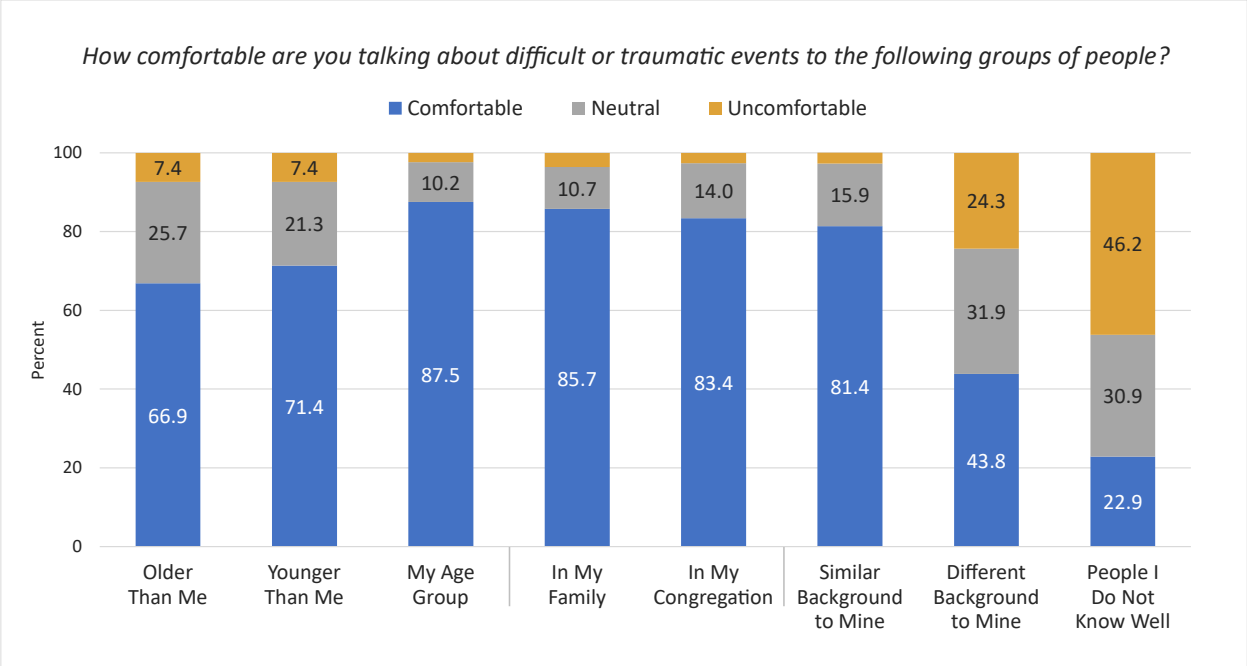
The survey asked respondents, *How comfortable are you talking about difficult or traumatic events to the following eight groups of people?* The response options were those (a) *older than me*, (b) *younger than me*, (c) *in my age group*, (d) *in my family*, (e) *in my congregation*, (f) *with backgrounds similar to mine*, (g) *with backgrounds different from mine*, and (h) *I do not know very well*. The measure used a 5-point scale from *very uncomfortable* to *very comfortable*. Figure 6.3 shows the results with *comfortable* and *very comfortable* combined and *uncomfortable* and *very uncomfortable* combined.

For the total sample, a majority of Jehovah's Witnesses indicated that they were comfortable talking about difficult or traumatic events, especially with those with whom they were

socially connected or shared similar backgrounds. Respondents were most comfortable talking with those of similar ages to theirs (87.48%), in their family (85.74%), or in their congregation (83.42%). Overall, respondents were far more comfortable talking with those who shared similar backgrounds (81.31%) than with persons with different backgrounds (43.83%) or with those whom they did not know well (22.96%).

Figure 6.3

Comfortable Talking to Others About Traumatic Events



Note. *N* = 13,588, total sample minus missing data.

Table 6.4 shows the breakdown of responses by gender, generation, and role-situation. The percentage of males was slightly higher than females in their comfort level in talking with most categories of people. The percentage differences between genders were greater for their comfort talking with those younger (males, 73.73%; females, 69.51%), those with different backgrounds (males, 46.74%; females, 41.52%), and with persons they did not know well (males, 24.44%; females, 21.79%).

For all four generation groups, over 80% indicated being comfortable talking about difficult or traumatic experiences with those in their family and with those in their same age group. Over 75% of all groups were comfortable talking with those in their congregation and with those of similar backgrounds.

The findings suggest developmental patterns more than distinctions between those who experienced the Genocide and those who did not. The Genocide Generation Adults and Returnees (who were the same age cohort, one group in and one group outside Rwanda during the Genocide) were also the most comfortable talking to all groups—more comfortable than the younger Genocide Generation Minors group and the youngest group, the Post-Genocide Generation.

The most notable generational contrast was the nearly 20% difference between the 77.13% of Genocide Generation Adults who were comfortable talking with those younger and the 57.24% of the Post-Genocide Generation who were comfortable talking with those older about life difficulties or traumas. The Post-Genocide Generation was also less likely to be comfortable talking with those younger (64.51%).

The breakdown by Genocide role-situations for the four distinct groups (Targeted, Helper, Imprisoned, and None) showed similar patterns. A high percentage in all role-situation groups felt comfortable talking with those in their congregation, slightly more than talking with those in their family. This was especially true of those formerly imprisoned and now part of the Jehovah's Witness community, with the highest percentage (96.23%) for all role-situations and with all categories of people. Overall, those formerly targeted indicated being comfortable talking about difficult and traumatic experiences with others, but their percentages were lower across all categories compared with those in other Genocide role-situations. For all role-situation groups and

with all categories of people, the lowest percentage was for those in the Targeted group talking with those they did not know well.

Table 6.4

Comfortable Talking About Traumatic Events by Gender, Generation, and Role-Situation

Group	Older	Younger	My Age Group	In My Family	In My Congre-gation	Similar Back-ground	Different Back-ground	Do Not Know Well
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total Sample (*n* = 13,588)	66.90	71.37	**87.48**	**85.73**	**83.42**	**81.40**	43.83	22.90
Gender								
Male (*n* = 5,999)	67.01	**73.73**	87.45	86.26	84.01	81.83	**46.74**	**24.44**
Female (*n* = 7,589)	66.81	69.51	87.51	85.32	82.95	80.91	41.52	21.79
Generation								
Genocide Generation Adults (*n* = 3,734)	**75.01**	**77.13**	**89.90**	**87.63**	**90.17**	**84.31**	**47.05**	22.42
Genocide Generation Minors (*n* = 4,780)	66.72	71.53	85.98	87.18	82.22	81.44	44.60	22.26
Returnees (*n* = 1,046)	70.27	73.23	87.95	87.09	86.81	82.89	45.41	24.95
Post-Genocide Generation (*n* = 3,316)	**57.24**	**64.51**	87.15	81.54	76.45	78.35	38.48	17.73
Genocide Role-Situations for Genocide Generation Adults								
Targeted (*n* = 445)	68.99	66.29	**86.74**	82.70	83.37	78.88	39.78	**19.78**
Helper (*n* = 901)	78.47	**81.58**	90.79	89.23	91.23	**87.01**	50.17	32.74
Imprisoned (*n* = 106)	80.19	80.19	90.57	88.68	**96.23**	83.02	**50.94**	**33.96**
None (*n* = 314)	69.43	78.03	91.40	90.13	93.31	85.67	47.77	27.07

Note. Bolded numbers highlight noteworthy percentages.

Talking About Personal or Family Genocide Experiences

In addition to inquiring about degree of comfort in talking about unspecified difficulties or traumatic events with various categories of people, another survey question asked respondents to identify more specifically those with whom they had actually discussed their personal or family experiences during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. Response options to the question were the following: (a) *immediate family members (spouse, children, parents, siblings)*; (b) *extended family members (grandparents, grandchildren, uncles, aunts, cousins)*; (c) *persons associated with my congregation*; (d) *persons met while in the public ministry*; (e) *persons outside my family or congregation*; (f) *persons connected to counseling or outreach programs*; (g) *no one*; and (h) *prefer not to answer*. Figure 6.4 shows the breakdown of percentages for the total sample and by gender of those who selected each category.

Overall, the percentages of those who felt comfortable talking about difficult and traumatic events with different groups were higher than percentages of those who had personally talked about *what [they] or [their] family experienced during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi*. For example, although 85.73% of the total sample (shown in Table 6.4) indicated they were comfortable talking about traumatic events with family, just over half (53.00%) reported actually having had conversations within the immediate family about Genocide experiences.

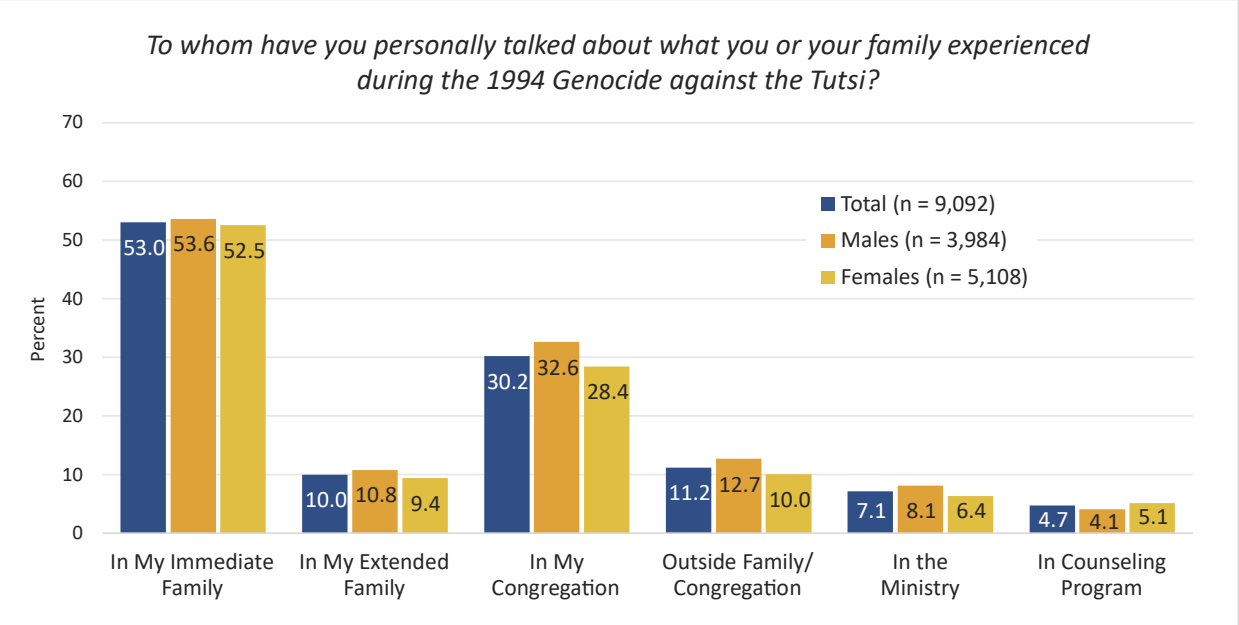
The findings also indicate that conversations about Genocide experiences follow certain relational boundaries, often being reserved for those with the closest interpersonal connections. For example, respondents showed a marked distinction between immediate and extended family, with only 9.99% having discussed Genocide experiences with extended family members. The percentage for extended family was lower than the almost one third (30.19%) who had discussed personal and family Genocide experiences with those in the congregation.

A minority of respondents had discussed Genocide experiences with those outside the family and congregation. Although topics related to justice and human suffering are discussed during Jehovah's Witnesses' ministry outreach and would provide opportunities to relate individual accounts, only 7.12% had discussed their personal or family events with individuals they met in the ministry. This could follow general cultural norms in Rwanda that avoid sharing Genocide experiences outside certain social parameters, as well as normative themes in the Witnesses' ministry, which focus on directing attention to scriptural accounts more than to personal experiences or opinions.

For the total sample, 4.70% of respondents had talked with those *connected to counseling or outreach programs*. In addition to using community mental health provisions, the study found that Jehovah's Witnesses relied on their family and congregation as social resources to communicate and process personal and family Genocide pasts.

Figure 6.4

Dialogue About Genocide, Total Sample and by Gender



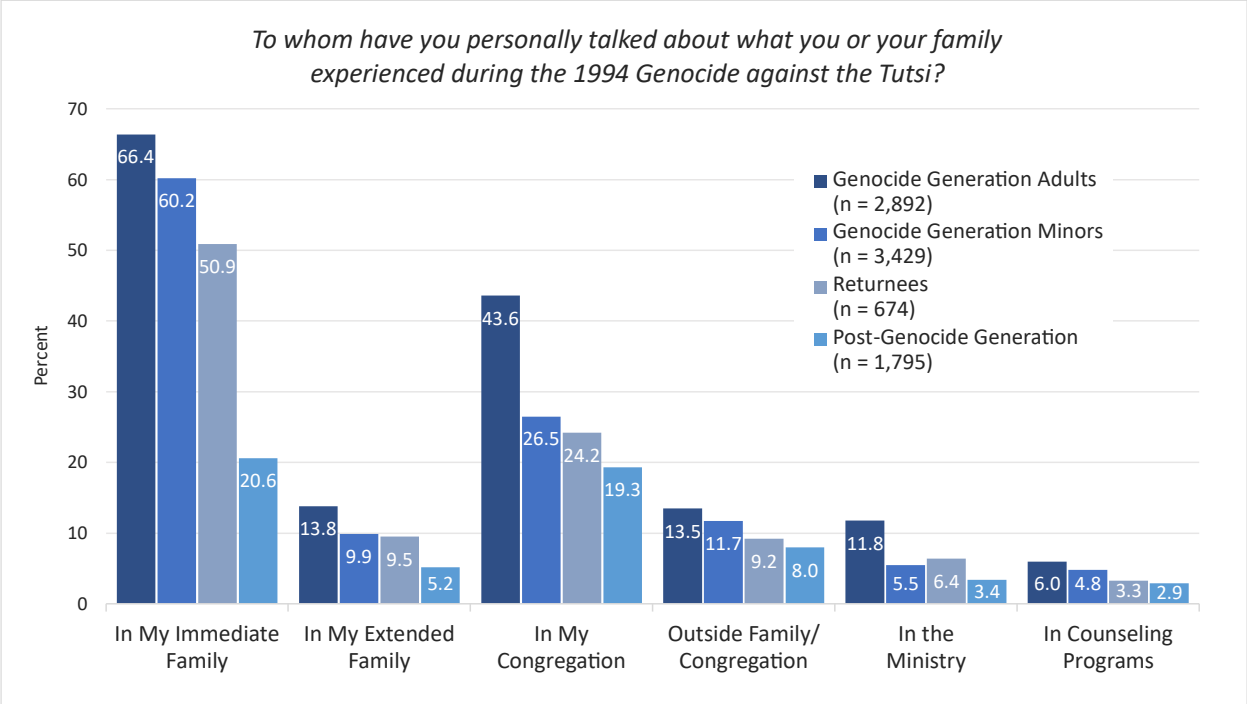
Note. PNA responses and missing data were not included.

To identify generational patterns in communication with others about the Genocide, the data allowed comparisons between Genocide Generation Adults, Genocide Generation Minors, Returnees (those who were the same age cohort as the Genocide Generation Adults but who were not in Rwanda during the Genocide), and the Post-Genocide Generation (those born after 1994 and closer in age to the Genocide Generation Minors but like Returnees had no direct, personal Genocide experiences).

Figure 6.5 shows that the Genocide Generation Adults were far more likely to talk with someone about personal or family Genocide experiences than the younger age cohorts. The greatest generational gap for those who had talked with family members was between Genocide Generation Adults (66.42%) and the Post-Genocide Generation (20.56%). The discrepancies make sense considering possible intergenerational dynamics: The older cohort had actual Genocide experiences to tell, while the younger generation had no personal experiences and would be less likely to relay their secondhand accounts to those with firsthand experiences.

Figure 6.5

Dialogue About Personal or Family Genocide Experiences by Generation Cohort



Note. PNA responses and missing data are not included.

Table 6.5 identifies how firsthand experience versus secondhand knowledge in different Genocide role-situations might affect who talks with whom about personal and family Genocide accounts. Several findings stand out: First, the family was the foremost resource to have conversations about personal and family experiences. This was true of those who survived the Genocide, regardless of personal or family role-situations—as Targeted, Helper, or those later Imprisoned.

Second, despite the centrality of the Genocide against the Tutsi as a pivotal point in the collective memory of Rwandans, the extent that personal and/or family Genocide accounts are topics of conversation varied, especially among certain demographic groups. Those born after 1994 with only secondhand knowledge of the Genocide and those without a Genocide role-

situation as being Targeted, Helper, or Imprisoned were less likely than those who were directly involved in the Genocide to discuss personal or family happenings during the Genocide.

Third, most Jehovah's Witnesses did not use their personal or family Genocide experiences as points of discussion when sharing their beliefs with others in the public ministry. Although their personal experiences and perspectives might be relevant and perhaps compelling, only a few of those who were targeted during the Genocide (5.83%), helpers of those targeted (15.41%), or imprisoned for genocide crimes (16.30%) shared their Genocide experiences with individuals while in the ministry.

Table 6.5

Dialogue About Personal or Family Genocide Experiences by Generational Genocide Role-Situations

Group	In Immediate Family	In My Congregation	In the Ministry	In Counseling Program	With No One
	%	%	%	%	%
Targeted					
Genocide Generation Adults, About Self (*n* = 412)	75.00	50.97	5.83	16.50	3.88
Genocide Generation Minors, About Family (*n* = 600)	76.50	31.33	3.50	10.83	12.17
Post-Genocide Generation, About Family (*n* = 281)	30.25	22.42	3.20	4.27	43.06
Helper					
Genocide Generation Adults, About Self (*n* = 740)	72.30	48.38	15.41	5.95	9.59
Genocide Generation Minors, About Family (*n* = 706)	66.29	28.75	7.93	4.11	23.23
Post-Genocide Generation, About Family (*n* = 169)	20.12	15.38	3.55	2.96	62.72
Imprisoned					
Genocide Generation Adults, About Self (*n* = 92)	78.26	56.52	16.30	5.43	6.52
Genocide Generation Minors, About Family (*n* = 116)	61.21	27.59	6.90	6.90	23.28
Post-Genocide Generation, About Family (*n* = 40)	22.50	30.00	2.50	0.00	45.00

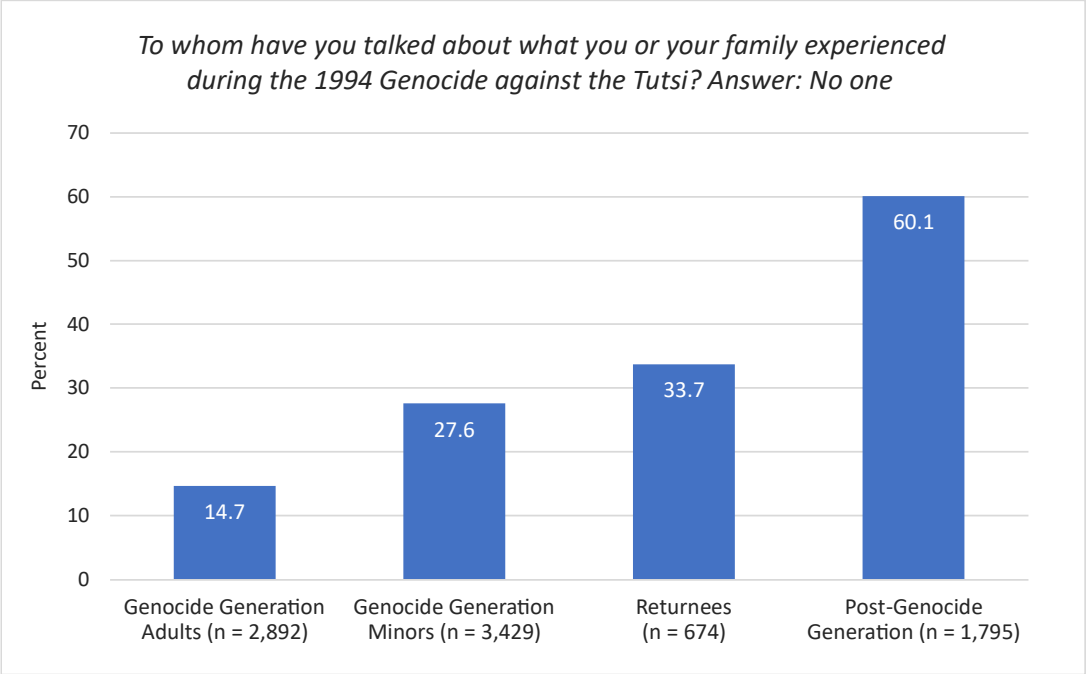
Table 6.5 (continued)

None (No Specific Genocide Role)					
Genocide Generation Adults, About Self (*n* = 216)	40.74	21.76	5.09	0.93	45.37
Genocide Generation Minors, About Family (*n* = 167)	42.51	16.77	2.40	0.60	47.31
Post-Genocide Generation, About Family (*n* = 32)	28.13	18.75	3.13	3.13	65.63

Almost one third of the sample (30.87%, *n* = 9,092) indicated that they had talked with no one about personal or family experiences during the Genocide against the Tutsi. Gender differences were minor, with 29.64% of males (*n* = 3,984) and 31.83% of females (*n* = 5,108) who had not talked about Genocide experiences. In contrast, a 45% difference existed between the oldest and youngest cohorts as shown in Figure 6.6. The generational divide may be related to developmental ages, but the numbers suggest understandable differences between those with the most personal experiences versus those with only family experiences. Based on findings shown in Figures 6.4 and 6.5, the approximately 40% of Post-Genocide Generation who had talked with someone about their family's Genocide experiences were not having these conversations with many different types of people. About 20% of Post-Genocide Generation had talked with other family members and nearly 20% had talked with someone in the congregation, compared with the 66% of Genocide Generation Adults who had talked with family and 44% who had talked with those in the congregation.

Figure 6.6

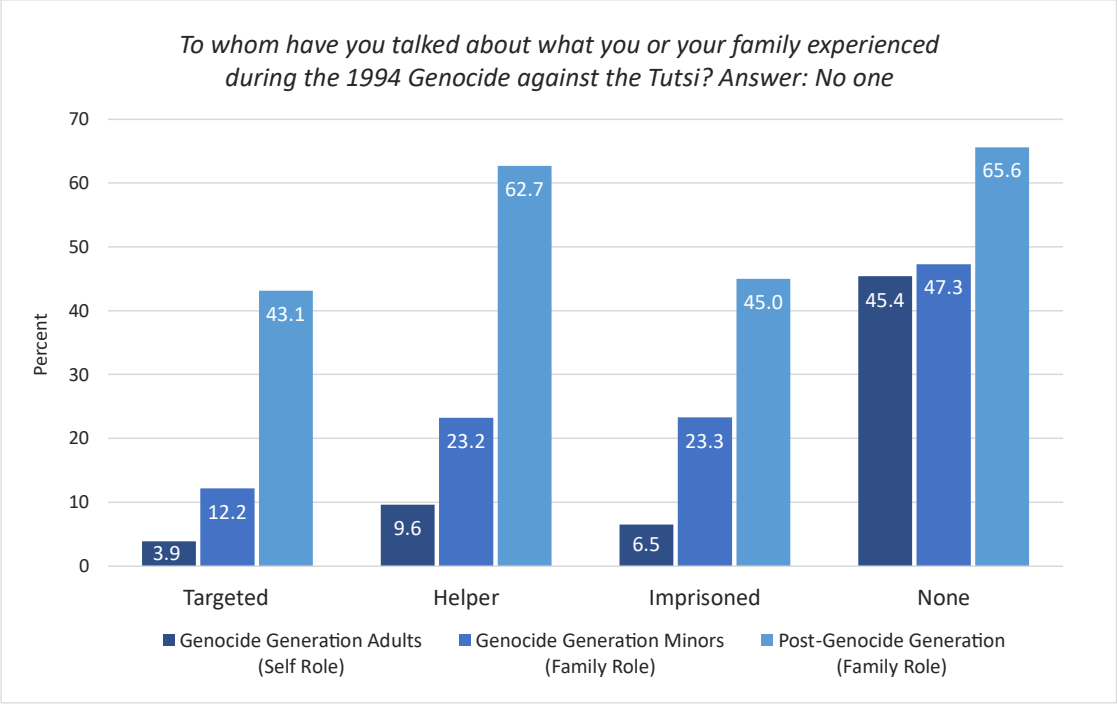
Dialogue With No One About Personal or Family Genocide Experiences by Generation



Percentages of those who had talked with no one about Genocide experiences varied between the distinct Genocide role-situations in the three generation cohorts. (See Figure 6.7.) Those most likely to have talked with no one about Genocide experiences (between 43.06% to 65.63%) were those without personal experiences (Post-Genocide Generation) or specific Genocide role-situations (labeled None). In contrast, less than 10% of the Genocide Generation Adults—whether labeled as Targeted, Helper, or Imprisoned—had not shared their personal experience with someone. Over 60% of Post-Genocide Generation who indicated that they had family who had helped those targeted also indicated that they had talked with no one about their family Genocide experience. Thus, family stories about being victims or perpetrators were more likely to be discussed with someone than were family stories about helping those targeted during the Genocide.

Figure 6.7

Dialogue With No One About Personal or Family Genocide Experiences by Genocide Role-Situations and Generation



Note. The four role-situations by generation are distinct groups with a different number for each. Genocide Generation Adults: Targeted, *n* = 412; Helper, *n* = 740; Imprisoned, *n* = 92; None, *n* = 216. Genocide Generation Minors: Targeted, *n* = 600; Helper, *n* = 706; Imprisoned, *n* = 116; None, *n* = 167. Post-Genocide Generation: Targeted, *n* = 281; Helper, *n* = 169; Imprisoned, *n* = 40; None, *n* = 32.

View of Conversations About Past Traumas and Genocide Experiences

To investigate the willingness on the part of older and younger Jehovah's Witnesses to have conversations about the Genocide and to explore the emotional and cognitive associations with conversations about the Genocide, the survey asked respondents to indicate their level of agreement with 10 statements on a 5-point *agree-disagree* scale. The statements are grouped below under the five categories used for this report:

Learn, Respect

Young people can learn from their family's history—good and bad.

People should respect those who do not want to talk about difficult experiences.

Family Open to Talk

Older ones in my family are open to telling younger ones about their life experiences.

Young ones in my family are open to hearing about life experiences from older ones.

Painful, Moral Lessons

It is painful for me to hear about my family's experiences during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.

My family has talked about moral lessons learned from the Genocide against the Tutsi.

Burden, Harm

Children should not be burdened with learning about others' traumatic experiences.

Talking about past traumas does more harm than good.

Tired, Angry

I am tired of hearing and talking about genocide.[2]

Talking about the Genocide against the Tutsi makes my family angry.

Figure 6.8 shows the results for the total sample for each item, with the percentages of those who selected the response options with the combined *disagree* and *strongly disagree* responses and combined *agree* and *strongly agree* responses. Most respondents believed people should respect those who do not want to talk about their traumatic experiences (86.02%) and that young ones can learn from their family's history, both good and bad (87.55%). Over three fourths thought that younger ones were open to hearing older ones' experiences (78.22%) and that older ones in their families were open to discussing their life experiences (79.33%). However, agreement responses to Genocide-specific statements were divided. Over half (55.01%) reported that it was

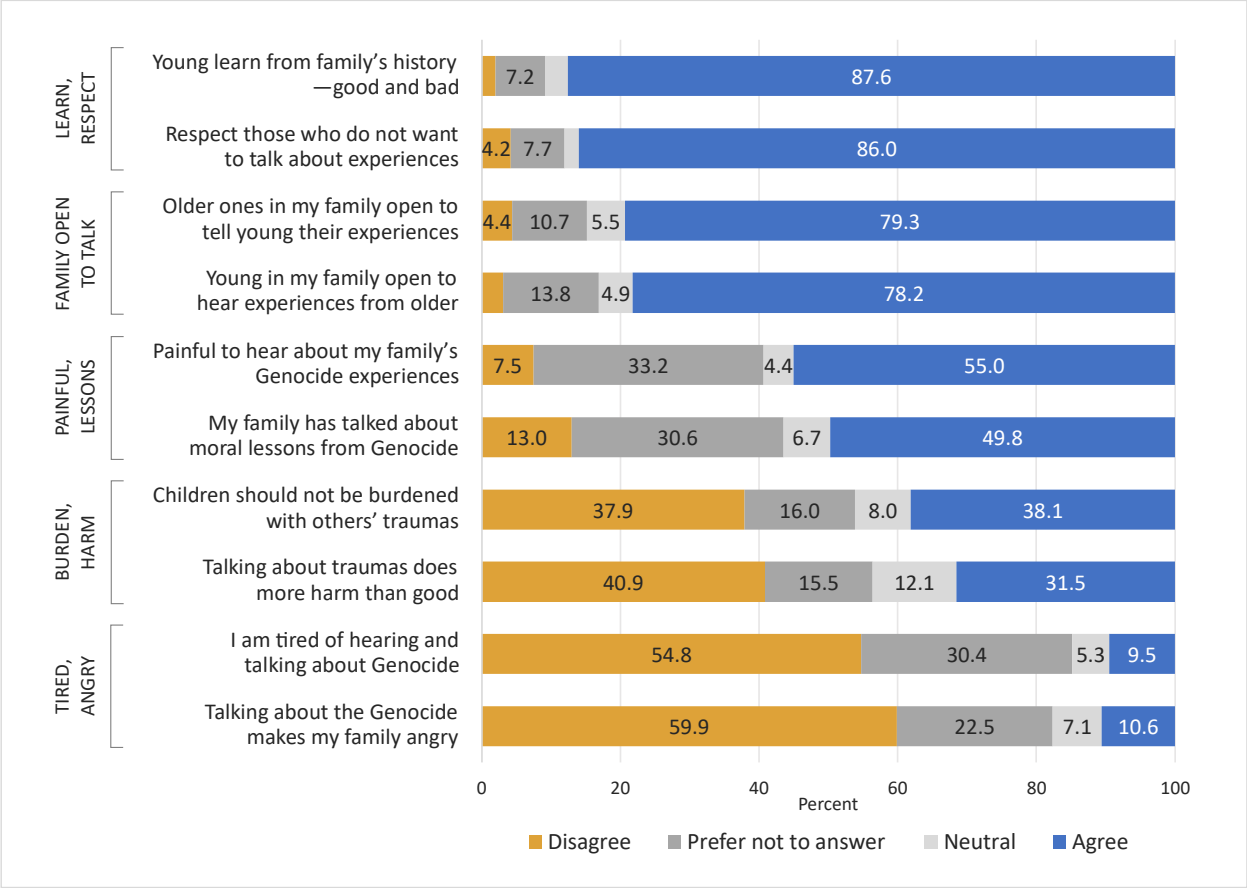
[2] The survey instrument used the word *genocide* in lower case in the statement, *I am tired of hearing and talking about genocide.* The intention was to broaden the meaning to genocides in general; however, given the historical and cultural context, it is likely that respondents in Rwanda would have in mind the Genocide against the Tutsi. Thus, in reporting and interpreting findings related to this survey item, no distinction in meaning is made.

painful to hear about their family's Genocide experiences. Half (49.75%) reported that their families had talked about moral lessons learned from the Genocide.

Findings show complex, nuanced views of respondents about intergenerational conversations regarding past trauma and the Genocide. For example, although the majority in the total sample were open to intergenerational sharing of trauma or Genocide experiences, 38.12% responded that children should not be burdened by others' traumas and 31.52% thought that talking about traumas did more harm than good. Although the majority disagreed with statements about being tired of Genocide talk (54.76%) or that it made their family angry (59.85%), about 10% of respondents agreed that they had these negative associations with talking about Genocide. Statements with high percentages of *prefer not to answer* responses suggested a degree of discomfort, especially for statements related to being painful (33.18%), having moral lessons (30.56%), tired of Genocide talk (30.41%), and making family angry (22.52%).

Figure 6.8

View of Intergenerational Conversations About Past Traumas and Genocide



Note. *N* = 13,587, total sample minus missing data.

Cognitive and Emotional Associations With Conversations About Trauma and Genocide. Further analysis focused on the statements that included an emotional or cognitive appraisal of conversations related to either past traumas or the Genocide. Table 6.6 gives a breakdown of percentages for the total sample and by gender and generation. The table includes the percentages of *agree* and *strongly agree* combined; given the relatively high percentage of *prefer not to answer* responses, these percentages are shown in parentheses. The *prefer not to answer* responses were around 30% for statements related to *painful*, *moral lessons*, and *tired of talking about Genocide* across both gender and generation subgroups.

The percentages of males and females were similar in how they viewed intergenerational conversations about Genocide or other traumatic events. However, a pattern of gender differences occurred on five items related to a negative emotion. In each case, slightly higher percentages of females to males agreed that (a) it was painful to hear family Genocide experiences (57.33% versus 52.05%), (b) talking did more harm than good (34.12% versus 28.24%), (c) children should not be burdened with others' traumas (39.97% versus 35.78%), (d) they were tired of hearing and talking about Genocide (10.94% versus 7.74%), and (e) talking about the Genocide made their family angry (11.90% versus 8.90%).

Responses across the four generational cohorts were similar—within a few percentage points for each item—with some notable exceptions. The percentages of those who reported that it was painful to hear about their family's Genocide experiences were similar for the Post-Genocide Generation (53.11%), Genocide Generation Minors (55.33%), and Returnees (53.35%), but slightly lower than Genocide Generation Adults (61.10%).

Over half (60.97%) of the Genocide Generation Adults, compared with 42.04% of the Post-Genocide Generation, indicated that their family talked about moral lessons from the Genocide. About one third of both the Genocide Generation Adults (39.11%) and Returnees (34.03%) thought that talking about Genocide did young people more harm than good, compared with about one fourth of the younger Genocide Generation Minors (29.39%) and Post-Genocide Generation (26.69%).

Table 6.6

Cognitive and Emotional Associations With Conversations About Trauma and Genocide by Gender and Generation

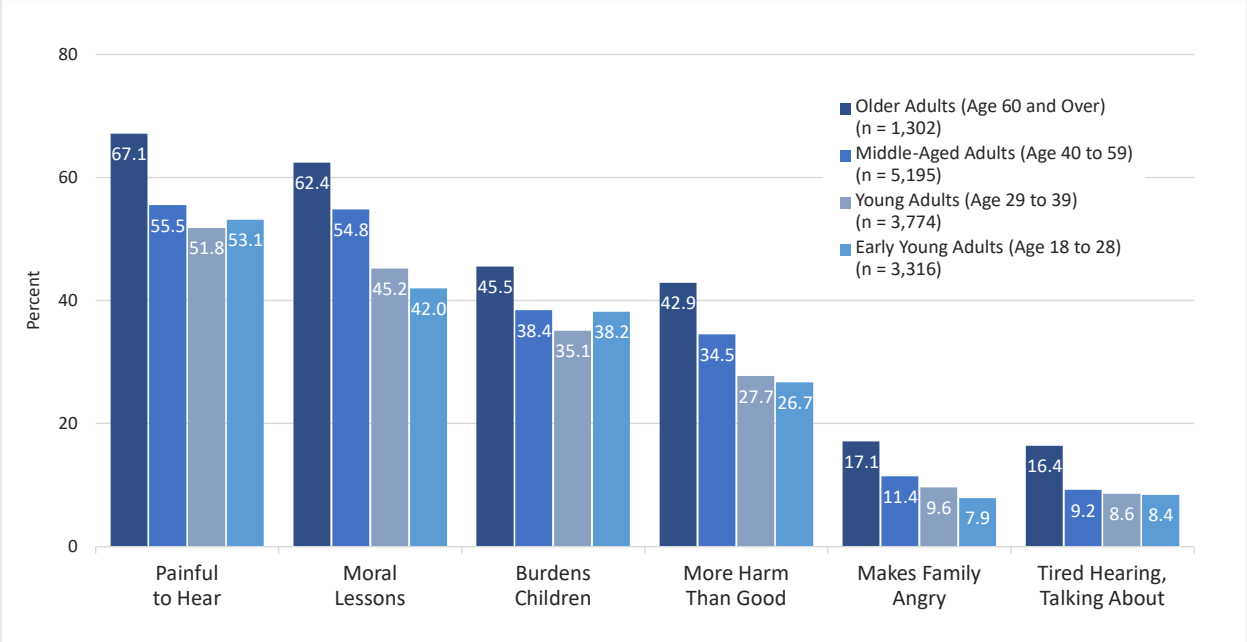
Group	Painful to Hear	Moral Lessons	Burdens Children	More Harm Than Good	Tired of Hearing, Talking	Makes Family Angry
	% Agree (% PNA)	% Agree (% PNA)	% Agree (% PNA)	% Agree (% PNA)	% Agree (% PNA)	% Agree (% PNA)
Total Sample	55.00	49.75	38.12	31.52	9.52	10.58
(*n* = 13,587)	(33.18)	(30.56)	(15.95)	(15.51)	(30.41)	(22.52)
Gender						
Male (*n* = 5,998)	52.05	51.47	35.78	28.24	7.74	8.90
	(35.16)	(28.69)	(15.46)	(14.89)	(27.98)	(20.39)
Female (*n* = 7,589)	57.33	48.39	39.97	34.12	10.94	11.90
	(31.61)	(32.03)	(16.34)	(16.00)	(32.34)	(24.21)
Generation						
Genocide Generation	61.10	60.97	41.66	39.11	12.38	14.06
Adults (*n* = 3,733)	(29.36)	(25.56)	(14.95)	(15.27)	(28.69)	(20.89)
Genocide Generation	55.33	50.48	35.88	29.39	8.45	9.64
Minors (*n* = 4,780)	(33.39)	(29.54)	(14.69)	(14.48)	(29.29)	(20.63)
Returnees (*n* = 1,046)	53.35	45.89	40.82	34.03	9.37	13.67
	(33.37)	(33.08)	(16.54)	(15.39)	(33.08)	(23.52)
Post-Genocide	53.11	42.04	38.18	26.69	8.35	7.90
Generation (*n* = 3,316)	(31.48)	(30.82)	(13.63)	(12.39)	(26.99)	(21.14)

The findings revealed a consistent pattern between development age groups of emotional and cognitive associations with Genocide-related conversations. Figure 6.9 shows the percentage of agreement for each statement by age groups and contrasts the percentages between the oldest group (ages 60 and older) and the youngest group (ages 18 to 28). As previously discussed, for the total sample, over three fourths (79.33%) agreed that older ones in their family were open to telling younger ones about their life experiences. However, the older ones in the sample, aged 60 and older, were more likely to indicate that conversations about their family's Genocide experience were painful for them (67.13%) compared with early young adults, aged 18 to 28 (53.11%). Other differences related to age included much higher percentages for the oldest age group than the youngest age group associating moral lessons with conversations about the Genocide (62.37% and

42.04%, respectively). Older adults were more likely than early young adults to indicate a concern that conversations about the Genocide were a burden for children (45.47% versus 38.18%) and did more harm than good (42.86% versus 26.69%).

Figure 6.9

Cognitive and Emotional Associations With Conversations About Past Traumas and Genocide by Age Group



Data analysis investigated whether the length of time that respondents were baptized as Jehovah's Witnesses made a difference in percentages of emotional or cognitive associations with trauma or Genocide conversations. Overall, the respondents did not vary much in responses depending on how long they had been baptized, but slight percentage differences were noted. (See Table 6.7.) For example, those who were baptized Jehovah's Witnesses at the time of the 1994 Genocide had higher percentages who said it was painful to hear about their family's Genocide experiences (59.91%) and that their family had talked about moral lessons learned from the Genocide (54.77%). The findings suggest the gravity and moral difficulty of their situations during

the Genocide against the Tutsi. Percentage differences narrowed when PNA responses were considered, as in the case of those who indicated they were tired of hearing and talking about Genocide or those who thought that children should not be burdened with learning about others' trauma experiences.

Table 6.7

Cognitive and Emotional Associations With Trauma or Genocide Conversations by Years as Baptized Jehovah's Witnesses

Years as Baptized Jehovah's Witnesses	Painful	Moral Lessons	Burdens Children	More Harm Than Good	Tired of Hearing, Talking	Makes Family Angry
	% Agree (% PNA)	% Agree (% PNA)	% Agree (% PNA)	% Agree (% PNA)	% Agree (% PNA)	% Agree (% PNA)
29 or More Years, Baptized in or Before 1994 (*n* = 661)	**59.91** (31.92)	**54.77** (31.47)	39.18 (18.15)	32.07 (17.55)	8.47 (34.49)	9.23 (24.51)
19 to 28 Years, Baptized From 1995 to 2004 (*n* = 3,239)	55.42 (35.35)	51.25 (32.11)	36.37 (17.66)	31.12 (16.92)	8.92 (32.23)	10.37 (23.28)
9 to 18 Years, Baptized From 2005 to 2014 (*n* = 5,288)	53.48 (33.70)	48.49 (30.98)	37.33 (15.90)	30.81 (15.34)	9.91 (30.52)	10.23 (22.66)
4 to 8 Years, Baptized From 2015 to 2019 (*n* = 3,313)	55.18 (32.57)	49.56 (29.67)	39.09 (14.82)	31.90 (14.79)	9.21 (29.10)	10.78 (22.31)
3 or Fewer Years, Baptized in or After 2020 (*n* = 1,086)	57.64 (26.80)	48.90 (26.06)	43.55 (13.17)	34.71 (13.08)	11.05 (25.97)	13.08 (19.06)

Note. Bolded numbers highlight noteworthy percentages.

Conversations About Genocide and Trauma—Perspective by Generation and Genocide Role-Situations

The large data set allowed the investigation of emotional and cognitive associations with trauma and Genocide-related conversations based on Genocide role-situation for the generation cohorts. As explained above, the four distinct Genocide role-situation groups (Targeted, Helper, Imprisoned, and None) were separated by the three generation cohorts (Genocide Generation Adults, Genocide Generation Minors, and Post-Genocide Generation). For purposes of the analysis below, the group labeled None was composed of those who indicated that they did not have role-situations of the Targeted, Helper, or Imprisoned, and thus served as a useful comparison group.

Percentages tended to be similar within the distinct role-situation categories across generation cohorts. Table 6.8 gives the percentages of *agree* and *prefer not to answer* responses for selected items related to emotional and cognitive associations with conversations about Genocide experiences. The highest percentage for any of the statements was for the targeted Genocide Generation Adults (88.31%) who indicated that hearing about Genocide family experiences was painful. The targeted Genocide Generation Adults also had the highest percentage to say they were *tired of hearing and talking about genocide* (21.12%) or that *talking about the Genocide makes [their] family angry* (19.55%).

Genocide Generation Adults who were previously imprisoned for genocide crimes had the highest percentages of respondents who agreed with the following: that their family had talked about moral lessons learned from the Genocide (75.47%), that children should not be burdened with learning about others' traumatic experiences (45.28%), and that talking about past traumas does more harm than good (43.40%). Targeted Genocide Generation Adults and Post-Genocide Generation with imprisoned family had higher percentages than other groups who reported that

talk about the Genocide made their family angry (19.55% and 18.52%, respectively). Curiously, a lower percentage of the Post-Genocide Generation with family who were imprisoned for genocide crimes (31.48%) thought that learning about the past traumas was a burden for young people.

Table 6.8

Cognitive and Emotional Associations With Trauma or Genocide Conversations by Genocide Role-Situations and Generation

Genocide Role-Situation by Generation	Painful	Moral Lessons	Burdens Children	More Harm Than Good	Tired of Talking, Hearing	Makes Family Angry
	% Agree (% PNA)	% Agree (% PNA)	% Agree (% PNA)	% Agree (% PNA)	% Agree (% PNA)	% Agree (% PNA)
Targeted						
Genocide Generation Adults, About Self (*n* = 445)	**88.31** (7.87)	62.92 (21.80)	42.02 (11.01)	41.12 (10.11)	**21.12** (20.00)	**19.55** (14.61)
Genocide Generation Minors, About Family (*n* = 666)	86.04 (8.41)	57.96 (22.22)	33.93 (10.81)	29.73 (9.31)	11.41 (17.27)	10.96 (13.51)
Post-Genocide Generation, About Family (*n* = 369)	88.08 (3.79)	55.01 (14.63)	37.13 (6.50)	23.58 (4.61)	11.92 (8.94)	11.38 (7.32)
Helper						
Genocide Generation Adults, About Self (*n* = 901)	66.59 (24.20)	66.37 (18.87)	44.06 (12.43)	39.73 (11.54)	13.65 (25.42)	15.21 (16.43)
Genocide Generation Minors, About Family (*n* = 899)	58.62 (29.70)	56.28 (22.91)	36.15 (10.12)	28.92 (10.34)	8.90 (22.58)	9.12 (15.13)
Post-Genocide Generation, About Family (*n* = 261)	62.07 (18.39)	59.00 (13.79)	40.23 (6.51)	24.52 (4.98)	7.66 (14.18)	6.51 (7.66)
Imprisoned						
Genocide Generation Adults, About Self (*n* = 106)	70.75 (19.81)	75.47 (15.09)	45.28 (14.15)	43.40 (15.09)	16.04 (16.98)	12.26 (10.38)
Genocide Generation Minors, About Family (*n* = 157)	66.24 (23.57)	51.59 (21.02)	42.68 (11.46)	35.67 (12.74)	8.92 (21.66)	12.74 (15.29)
Post-Genocide Generation, About Family (*n* = 54)	72.22 (11.11)	42.59 (24.07)	31.48 (11.11)	27.78 (7.41)	3.70 (12.96)	**18.52** (9.26)

Table 6.8 (continued)

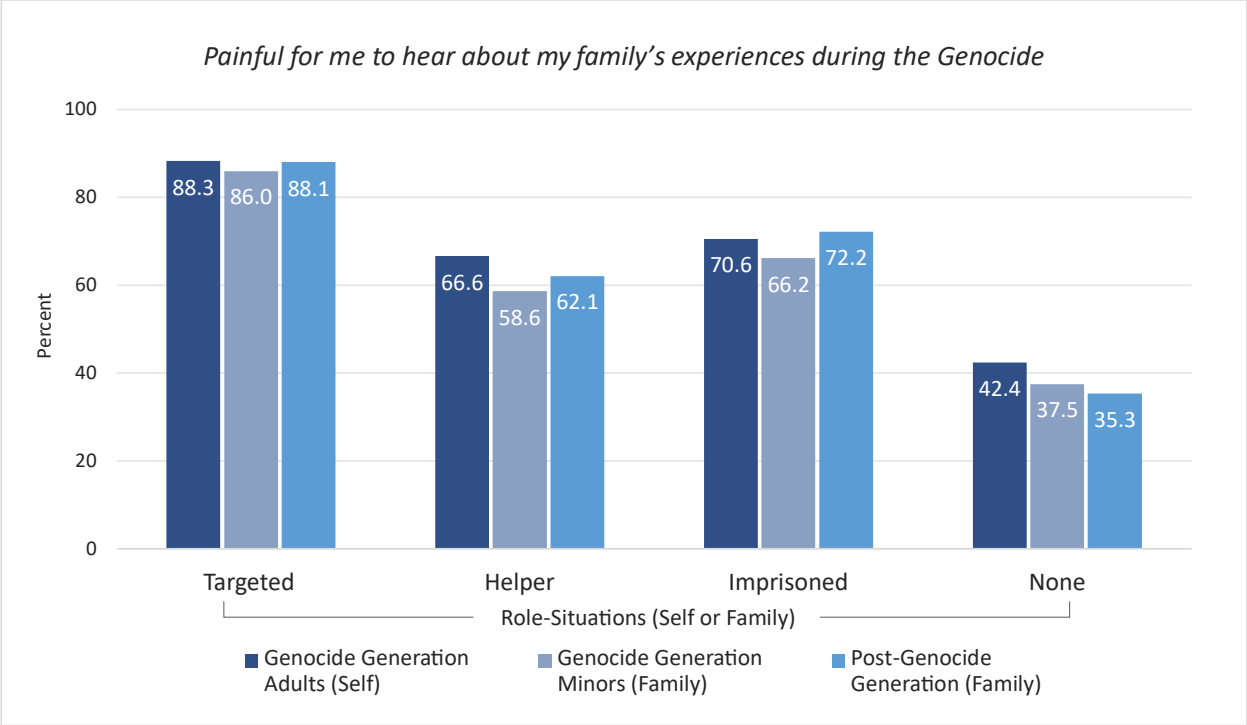
None (With No Specific Genocide Role-Situation)						
Genocide Generation Adults, About Self (*n* = 314)	42.36 (40.45)	47.13 (32.17)	41.72 (14.97)	39.49 (15.61)	8.28 (34.08)	9.87 (24.20)
Genocide Generation Minors, About Family (*n* = 235)	37.45 (39.15)	43.40 (27.23)	38.30 (13.19)	32.77 (15.74)	9.79 (25.96)	8.94 (17.02)
Post-Genocide Generation, About Family (*n* = 51)	35.29 (39.22)	43.14 (25.49)	45.10 (9.80)	21.57 (9.80)	11.76 (19.61)	1.96 (11.76)

Note. Bolded numbers highlight noteworthy percentages.

To better understand the generational patterns, analysis focused on responses to the statement: *It is painful for me to hear about my family's experience during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi*. The survey data could not reveal intergenerational patterns based on dyadic generational relationships within family units but could examine aggregate patterns for the distinct role-situation groups across generations. (See Figure 6.10.) For example, the percentage of those targeted who indicated it was painful to hear about their family's Genocide experiences was similar for the three comparison groups: Genocide Generation Adults (88.31%) who self-identified as being targeted compared with Genocide Generation Minors (86.04%) and Post-Genocide Generation (88.08%) who indicated that their family was targeted. The percentages of those who were in the distinct Helper group across the three generations ranged from 58.62% to 66.59% compared with the Imprisoned group with a range from 66.24% to 72.22%. In contrast, the percentages for the None group—those who did not fall into any of the Genocide role-situations—ranged from 35.29% to 42.36% for those who reported that hearing about their family's Genocide experiences was painful.

Figure 6.10

"Painful to Hear About Family Genocide Experiences" by Distinct Role-Situations Across Generations



Note. Genocide role-situations for each generation were distinct, not overlapping, groups. The *n* value for each of the 12 distinct groups was as follows: (a) Genocide Generation Adults: Targeted, *n* = 445; Helper, *n* = 901; Imprisoned, *n* = 106; None, *n* = 314; (b) Genocide Generation Minors: Targeted, *n* = 666; Helper, *n* = 899; Imprisoned, *n* = 157; None, *n* = 235; and (c) Post-Genocide Generation: Targeted, *n* = 369; Helper, *n* = 261; Imprisoned, *n* = 54; None, *n* = 51. PNA responses were not removed from the calculation of percentages.

Statistical analysis of mean scores was conducted for the single item *painful to hear about family Genocide experiences*. Table 6.9 gives the breakdown of mean scores for the four role-situations within each of the three generations on the *disagree-agree* scale of 1 to 5. Results from ANOVA with post hoc Bonferroni analysis and eta-squared for effect size found meaningfully significant differences in the *painful to hear* mean scores between role-situations within all generations. Results show a consistent pattern for role-situations across generations. The distinct None group of those who reported having no role-situation had the lowest *painful* mean score and was significantly different from all other Genocide-specific role-situations across all generations.

Those who were targeted or had family targeted had the highest *painful* mean scores compared with other role-situations. Although the pattern was similar, the *painful* scores for all distinct role-situations experienced by the Genocide Generation Adults were higher than those reported by Genocide Generation Minors and Post-Genocide Generation based on their family's role-situations, with one exception. Post-Genocide Generation who had family who were imprisoned had slightly higher *painful* scores than did the Genocide Generation Adults who had been imprisoned. However, across all generations, the *painful* scores for the Imprisoned group were not significantly higher than for Helpers.

The results show that (a) role-situations during the Genocide against the Tutsi affected the degree to which individuals felt it was painful to hear about family experiences during the Genocide, and (b) across generations, both percentages and mean scores were similar within each of the role-situation groups, indicating a strong intergenerational pattern.

Table 6.9

"Painful to Hear About Family Genocide Experiences" Mean Scores by Distinct Role-Situation and Generation

Distinct Role-Situation by Generation	*n*	*M*	*SD*	Significance
Genocide Generation Adults (About Self)				
Targeted	264	4.40	0.68	
Helper	471	4.03	0.91	$p < .001$;
Imprisoned	64	4.03	0.99	$\eta^2 = .08$
None	133	3.54	1.22	
Genocide Generation Minors (About Family)				
Targeted	415	4.32	0.74	
Helper	465	3.93	0.94	$p < .001$;
Imprisoned	88	4.10	0.80	$\eta^2 = .09$
None	98	3.36	1.30	
Post-Genocide Generation (About Family)				
Targeted	267	4.38	0.74	
Helper	172	3.87	1.05	$p < .001$;
Imprisoned	30	4.13	0.90	$\eta^2 = .103$
None	29	3.38	1.08	

Note. ANOVAs with post hoc Bonferroni test and eta-squared for effect size were used with a meaningfully significant difference as $p < .05$ and $\eta^2 > .01$. To calculate mean scores, PNA responses were removed.

The findings have implications for families, congregations, and mental health providers making decisions about whether to uniformly encourage discussion about the Genocide. The findings provide insights as to who might be most open to discussions and who might most benefit from discussions within trusted, close relationships.

Family Life

The previous section of this report showed how household types and composition changed between 1 month before and 1 month after the Genocide. (See Section 5, Figures 5.7 to 5.12.) This section looks at the household composition within the Jehovah's Witness community at the time of the survey (2023) and how individuals viewed support and communication within their families.

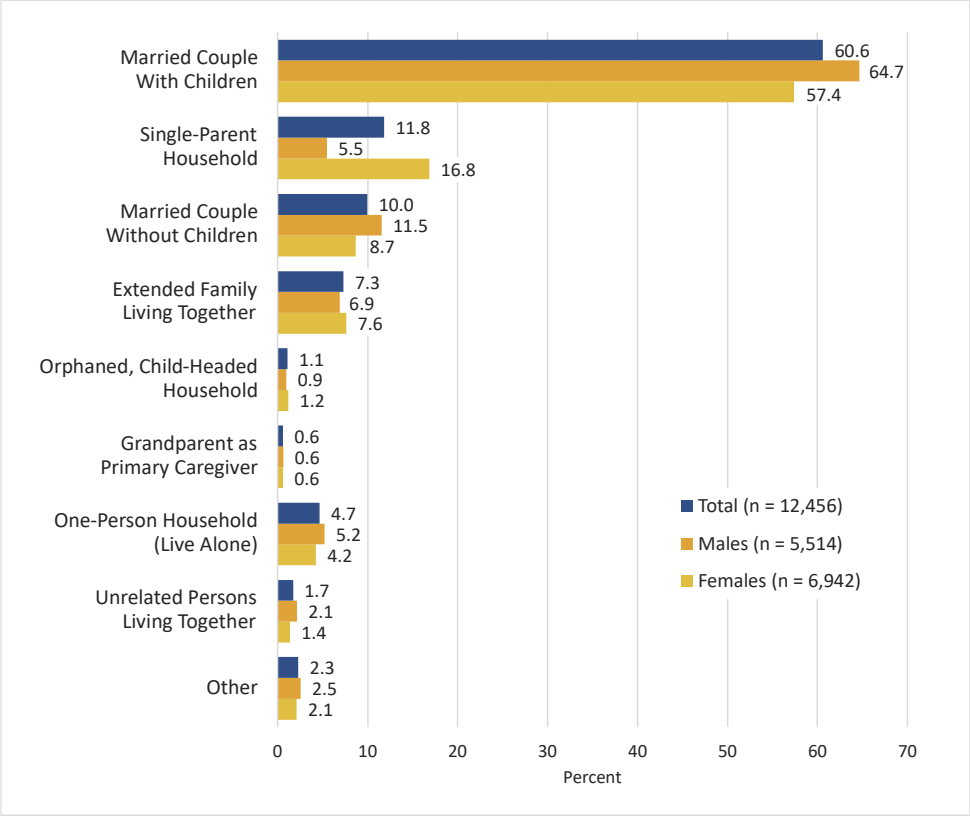
Household composition was only one of several factors used to explore possible effects on family satisfaction of Jehovah's Witnesses in post-Genocide Rwanda. Statistical analysis examined multiple demographic, religious, and genocide factors.

Household Composition

Genocide uprooted family units and required males and females, young and old, to define for themselves new roles in reconfigured units to accomplish daily functioning. Figure 6.11 shows the types of households within the Jehovah's Witness community nearly 30 years after the Genocide. The majority (60.61%) of the sample lived in households with married couples and children, higher for males (64.65%) than for females (57.40%). A little over one tenth (11.81%) were single parents. A sizable proportion were in households without traditional mother-father and husband-wife configurations, particularly for females. For example, females were more likely to be in single-parent households (16.84%) than were males (5.48%). For the total study population, 7.31% of individuals were in households composed of extended family members living together. In total, over one tenth (10.32%) of the Witnesses were in other nonnuclear household types, including households consisting of one person living alone, orphaned or child-headed, grandparents as primary caregivers, unrelated persons living together, or other types of households.

Figure 6.11

Household Type for the Total Sample and by Gender



Note. Percentages were calculated minus PNA responses and missing data.

Figure 6.12 shows household type by generation cohort. The effects of the Genocide and the recovery were seen in the shifts in percentages for the generational groups of Jehovah's Witnesses, particularly evident in the percentages for married couples with children. Under two thirds of the Genocide Generation Adults were in households composed of married couples with children (61.28%) compared with over two thirds (67.90%) of Returnees who were outside Rwanda during the Genocide. The best indicator of the gradual normalizing of family life was the almost three fourths of Genocide Generation Minors (72.56%) in households consisting of married couples with children. Compared with other generation groups, Genocide Generation Minors were the least likely to be in single-parent households (5.80%) or in extended families living together (3.22%) and most likely to be married without children (11.63%).

However, other cultural trends not related to Genocide may be influencing the delay in marriage and childbearing for the Post-Genocide Generation. The below-age-30 Post-Genocide Generation were the least likely to be in married-with-children households (34.29%). Over one fifth of Post-Genocide Generation (22.08%) indicated that their household type was best categorized as extended family living together. Post-Genocide Generation respondents in single-parent households (14.19%) followed Genocide Generation Adults (18.30%), with a proportion of the Genocide Generation Adults and Post-Genocide Generation respondents in single-parent households, possibly being in the same households. Post-Genocide Generation had the highest percentage of persons living alone (6.18%), followed by Genocide Generation Adults (5.86%).

Figure 6.12

Household Type by Generation

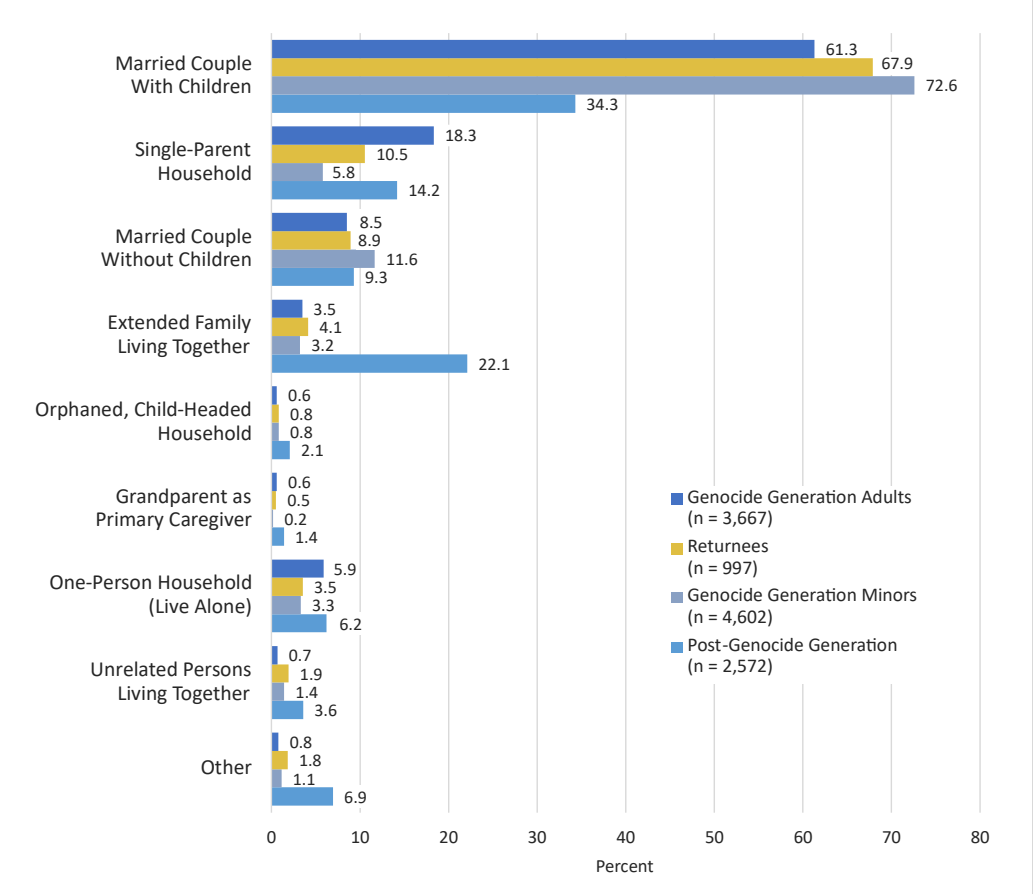
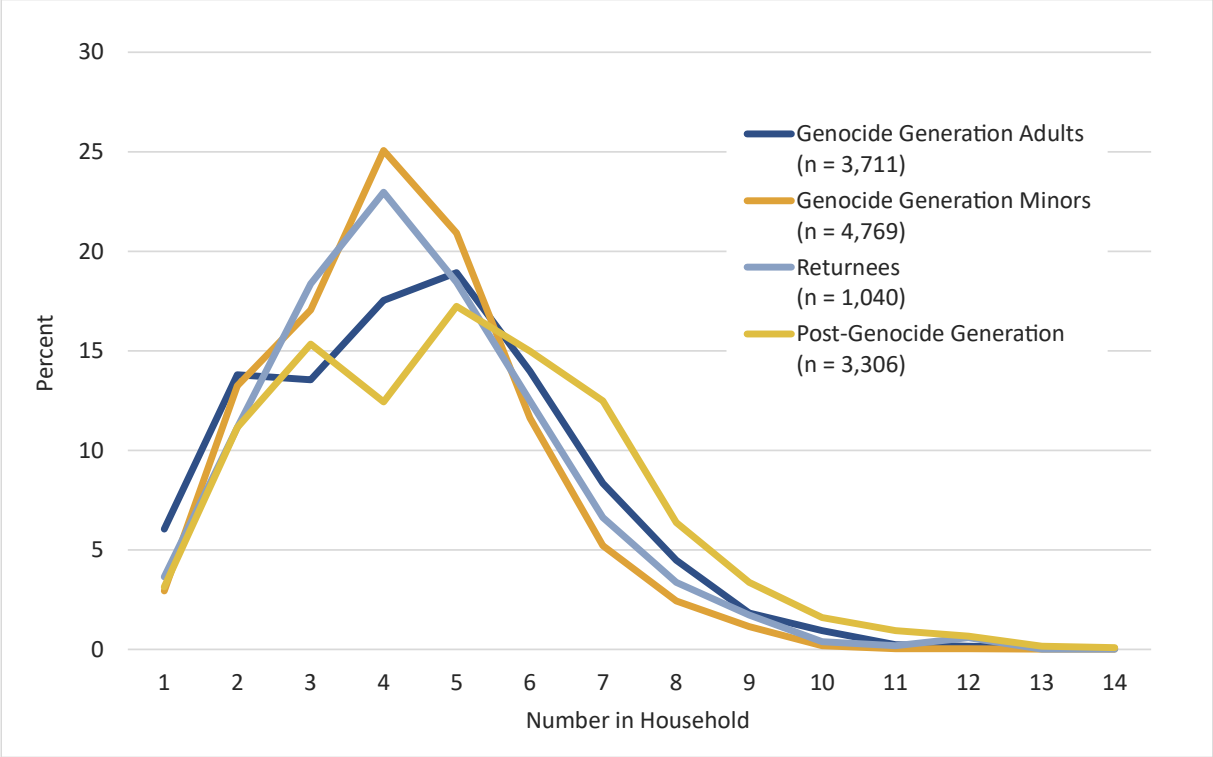


Figure 6.13 graphs household size by generational cohort. The aggregate snapshot of household size does not capture the various reconfigurations of households following the Genocide against the Tutsi. The gradual stabilizing of household structures is suggested by the household size of Genocide Generation Minors who entered young adulthood after 1994 and would have begun forming their own family units over the next 30 years post-Genocide. Compared with the other generation cohorts, their household size was more concentrated in the range of three to five members.

Figure 6.13

Household Size by Generation



Family Satisfaction

The JW-RWA survey included a Family Satisfaction scale that consists of 10 items related to cohesion, flexibility, and communication in the family (Olson & Barnes, 2010). Examples of items are as follows: *the degree of closeness between family members*, *your family's ability to*

resolve conflicts, and *your family's ability to cope with stress*. Respondents rated how satisfied they were with the items, from 1 to 5 for *very dissatisfied*, *somewhat dissatisfied*, *generally satisfied*, *very satisfied*, and *extremely satisfied*. Cumulative scores ranging from 10 to 50 measured overall family satisfaction.

Without comparable measures or study populations, direct comparisons of family satisfaction for the sample population cannot be made with Rwanda's general population or with Western populations unmarred by recent genocide history. However, the large data set from the nationwide sample allowed an investigation of multiple variables associated with family satisfaction within the Jehovah's Witness community.

For each of the 10 items in the family satisfaction measure, the percentage of respondents (n = 13,581) who indicated that they were either *generally*, *very*, or *extremely satisfied* for nine of the 10 items separately ranged from the high of 94.45% to 83.52%, with the exception of one item with a percentage of 68.48% satisfaction for *fairness of criticism*. For individual items in the three family satisfaction dimensions, the total percentages of the three combined *satisfied* response options were as follows: (a) Satisfaction with family cohesion was 94.45% for *degree of closeness* and 89.32% for *concern for each other*, (b) satisfaction with family flexibility was 89.31% for *ability to resolve conflicts* and 83.52% for *ability to cope with stress*, and (c) satisfaction with family communication was 92.01% for *quality of communication* and 68.48% for *fairness of criticism*.

Multiple, independent variables were used to explore group differences in family satisfaction. The findings based on the mean of total family satisfaction scores were organized under four categories: (a) demographic factors (gender, age group, marital status, and health status), (b) household characteristics (household type, size, and age groups of minors), (c) religious

factors (families with JW and non-JW spouses and adult children, and years as JWs), and (d) Genocide factors (Genocide generation cohorts and Genocide role-situations). Findings related to the four categories were separated into four corresponding tables shown below that list the mean, standard deviation, and significance levels based on results from appropriate *t*-tests, ANOVAs, and Bonferroni post hoc tests. Together the analysis offers insights into how multiple factors may influence family life. The mean score (35.27) and standard deviation (7.14) for the total sample serve as a comparison with various subgroups.

Family Satisfaction and Demographic Factors. Table 6.10 shows the breakdown of family satisfaction mean scores for demographic factors. As discussed in the literature review, empirical research suggests gender differences in family satisfaction over the family life cycle. How Rwandan men and women viewed their present family life may be influenced by attitudes and actions during the Genocide against the Tutsi. For the JW sample, both men and women expressed similar satisfaction with family life, with no statistically significant difference in mean scores for males and females (males, $M = 35.94$; females, $M = 34.75$).

Similarly, no significant difference in mean scores was found between age groups. Consistent with generational stake theory and the developmental need for individuation and generational separation during the emerging and young adulthood years, the youngest adult group in the study population had the lowest family satisfaction mean score (34.76) of the four age groups.

One fourth (25.91%) of the JW adults were never married and two thirds (66.24%) were married. (Within the religious community, Jehovah's Witnesses do not recognize polygamous marriages or extramarital, cohabitating relationships.) Of those formerly married, 5.24% were widowed, and only 0.96% were separated and 1.65% were divorced. Married Witnesses had the

highest family satisfaction (M = 36.04) and least variation (SD = 6.80) compared with unmarried groups.

Of the demographic characteristics, family satisfaction varied with self-reported health status. For the total sample, those with better health reported higher family satisfaction. Based on health status, family satisfaction scores for the total sample and for older adults were similar. However, the proportion of older adults reporting poor to fair health (61.59%) was higher than that for the total population (47.48%). Compared with young adults and middle-aged adults, the lower family satisfaction of older adults was likely a factor of their poorer health status.

Table 6.10

Family Satisfaction and Demographic Factors

Demographic Factors	*n*	*M*	*SD*	Significance
Total Sample	13,581	35.27	7.14	-
Gender				
Male	5,992	35.94	6.63	$p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .0069$ (*ns*)
Female	7,589	34.75	7.49	
Age Group				
Early Young Adults (Age 18 to 28)	3,316	34.76	7.29	$p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .0057$ (*ns*)
Young Adults (Age 29 to 39)	3,774	36.11	6.99	
Middle-Aged Adults (Age 40 to 59)	5,191	35.1	7.07	
Older Adults (Age 60 and Over)	1,300	34.83	7.30	
Marital Status				
Single (Never Married) (25.91%)	3,440	33.89	7.50	$p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .022$
Married (66.24%)	8,795	36.04	6.80	
Separated (0.96%)	127	32.63	8.76	
Divorced (1.65%)	219	33.37	8.26	
Widowed (5.24%)	696	33.87	7.28	

Table 6.10 (continued)

Health Status, Total Sample				
Poor	536	29.88	8.99	
Fair	5,801	33.47	7.1	$p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .11$
Good	4,851	36.34	6.14	
Very Good or Excellent	2,160	39.22	6.25	
Health Status, Older Adults (Age 60 and Over)				
Poor	123	30.17	9.27	
Fair	658	33.99	7.22	$p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .077$
Good	364	36.90	5.68	
Very Good or Excellent	123	37.70	6.12	

Family Satisfaction and Household Characteristics. Consistent with findings on marital status showing married individuals having significantly higher family satisfaction, of the eight household types, those consisting of married couples without children had the highest family satisfaction score ($M = 38.45$), followed by married couples with children ($M = 35.57$). (See Table 6.11.) As household size increased, family satisfaction score declined, particularly in households with seven or more persons. Larger households require more interactions to negotiate how space, time, and resources are used to accommodate diverse needs.

The addition of children and their developmental changes can challenge the three components that make up family satisfaction—cohesion, flexibility, and communication. For example, changes in marital relationships come with having a newborn or toddler (e.g., husbands/fathers devoting more time to work, wives/mothers devoting more time to childcare). Additionally, family studies consistently show that marital satisfaction reaches a low point in the family life cycle when children in the household become teenagers (e.g., Cui & Donnellan, 2009; Olson et al., 1983). In the current study, statistical analysis examined differences in family satisfaction for households with and without minor children—toddlers under age 3, young children aged 3 to 12, and teenagers aged 13 to 17.

For the JW sample in Rwanda, family satisfaction was slightly higher for households with toddlers (M = 35.58) and slightly lower with teenagers (M = 34.62). However, differences in mean scores were slight, variation based on standard deviation was consistent, and no significant differences were found in family satisfaction in households with or without children in any of the three age groups. From a family systems perspective, that there were no significant differences in family satisfaction for households with minors would be an indication of the cohesion, flexibility, and communication of interconnected members—both parents and children—contributing to the overall functioning of the family unit.

Table 6.11

Family Satisfaction by Household Characteristics

Household Characteristics	*n*	*M*	*SD*	Significance
Type of Household				
One-Person, Live Alone	580	33.25	8.26	
Married Couple Without Children	1,239	38.45	6.48	
Married Couple With Children	7,547	35.57	6.90	
Single-Parent Household	1,470	33.77	7.17	
Orphaned, Child-Headed Household	134	33.34	7.24	$p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .033$
Grandparent, Primary Caregiver	74	34.00	6.87	
Extended Family Household	909	34.73	7.24	
Unrelated Living Together	211	34.36	6.74	
Other	285	33.35	7.67	
Household Size				
1 to 2 Persons	2,251	36.33	7.48	
3 to 4 Persons	4,833	35.80	6.78	$p < .001$;
5 to 6 Persons	4,347	34.84	7.10	$\eta^2 = .01$
7 or More Persons	2,097	33.86	7.36	

Table 6.11 (continued)

Household With and Without Minor Children by Age Group				
Toddlers Under Age 3 (at Least One)	2,303	35.58	6.89	$p = .025$; $\eta^2 = .00037$
No Toddlers	11,276	35.21	7.19	(*ns*)
Young Children Age 3 to 12 (at Least One)	5,310	35.29	6.91	$p = .81$; $\eta^2 = .0000043$
No Young Children	8,269	35.26	7.29	(*ns*)
Teenagers Age 13 to 17 (at Least One)	4,470	34.62	7.26	$p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .004$
No Teenagers	9,109	35.59	7.06	(*ns*)

Family Satisfaction and Religious Factors. Shared religious beliefs and practices can unite families during difficult times as well as in routine daily living. Conversely, religiously divided households can experience strained relationships, owing to differences in theological viewpoints or departures from long-held religious traditions. To better understand how religion might affect family satisfaction, two religious factors were analyzed: the presence of JW and non-JW relatives in the household and the length of time respondents had been baptized as Jehovah's Witnesses.

Table 6.12 shows the breakdown of family satisfaction and religious factors. Households in which all adults were Jehovah's Witnesses had significantly higher family satisfaction scores ($M = 37.03$) than households where some adult members were not Jehovah's Witnesses ($M = 33.50$). This was consistent with the statistically different scores for those married with JW spouses ($M = 37.09$) and with non-JW spouses ($M = 33.28$). Further breakdown by marital relationships showed that husbands with JW wives had the highest family satisfaction score and the least variation within the group ($M = 37.28$, $SD = 5.84$), while wives with non-JW husbands had the lowest score and most variation within the group ($M = 32.59$, $SD = 8.23$).

Three types of parent-child dyadic relations were considered: (a) respondents whose parents were or were not JWs at birth, (b) respondents whose parents were or were not currently

JWs, and (c) older parents whose adult children were or were not JWs. In all three cases, family satisfaction scores were slightly higher, but not statistically different, if respondents had a parent or adult child who were also JWs. Religious similarities or differences between adult children and parents did not alter family satisfaction scores.

Analysis also tested group differences depending on the length of time as Jehovah's Witnesses. A general trend but no statistical differences were found. Those who were baptized JWs for 3 or less years had slightly lower family satisfaction scores ($M = 34.25$), and those who were JWs for 19 to 28 years had slightly higher scores ($M = 35.79$). Those baptized the longest—in or before 1994—reversed the upward pattern somewhat ($M = 35.21$), with likely confounding effects of health status. The findings showed little difference in family satisfaction for those recently baptized as Jehovah's Witnesses or for those who had remained Jehovah's Witnesses for long periods of time.

Table 6.12

Family Satisfaction and Religious Factors

Religious Factors	*n*	*M*	*SD*	Significance
JW Adults in Household				
All Adults Are JWs	6,754	37.03	6.34	$p < .001$;
Not All Adults Are JWs	6,544	33.50	7.47	$\eta^2 = .061$
JW or Non-JW Spouse				
Married to JW Spouse	6,124	37.09	6.18	$p < .001$;
Married to Non-JW Spouse	2,523	33.28	7.81	$\eta^2 = .063$
Husband With JW Wife	3,295	37.28	5.84	
Husband With Non-JW Wife	832	34.69	6.69	$p < .001$;
Wife With JW Husband	2,829	36.86	6.55	$\eta^2 = .069$
Wife With Non-JW Husband	1,691	32.59	8.23	
With and Without JW Parents at Birth				
With No JW Parent at Birth	11,759	35.21	7.18	$p = .0078$;
With at Least One JW Parent at Birth	1,822	35.69	6.89	$\eta^2 = .00052$ (*ns*)

Table 6.12 (continued)

Adult Child With JW and Non-JW Parent (Currently)				
With JW Parent (Currently at Least One)	4,317	35.49	7.03	p = .03; η^2 = .0003 (*ns*)
With Non-JW Parents	8,967	35.20	7.18	
Older Adult Parents (Age 60 or Over) With JW and Non-JW Adult Child				
Older Adult Parents With JW Adult Child	753	35.38	7.14	p = .011; η^2 = .0051 (*ns*)
Older Adult Parent With Non-JW Adult Child	515	34.33	7.30	
Time as Jehovah's Witnesses (Year of Baptism)				
3 or Less Years (in or After 2020)	1,086	34.25	7.27	p < .001; η^2 = .0037 (*ns*)
4 to 8 Years (2015 to 2019)	3,310	34.90	7.14	
9 to 18 Years (2005 to 2014)	5,285	35.40	7.15	
19 to 28 Years (1995 to 2004)	3,239	35.79	6.98	
29 or More Years (in or Before 1994)	661	35.21	7.48	

Family Satisfaction and Genocide Factors. Findings about painful Genocide memories and family satisfaction initially seemed to contradict one another. Results on attitudes about conversations about personal and family Genocide experiences showed the degree to which respondents agreed that it was painful to hear about their family's Genocide experiences. Statistically significant differences were found between the Genocide role-situations for all generations, with those Targeted having the highest indicators of pain. Findings based on both percentages and mean scores showed that emotional degrees of pain based on Genocide role-situations were consistent across generations. (See Figure 6.10 and Table 6.8.)

However, no statistically significant differences were found between family satisfaction and the generation cohort or Genocide role-situation. (See Table 6.13 below.) The higher standard deviations for some groups indicate greater variation in responses, particularly for Genocide Generation Adults who were targeted (*SD* = 7.70) and for those who were imprisoned for genocide

crimes (*SD* = 8.15). On average though, neither the generation cohort nor the Genocide role-situation had a significant or negative effect on the family satisfaction for the study population.

Table 6.13

Family Satisfaction by Generation and Distinct Role-Situations

Generation	*n*	*M*	*SD*	Significance
Generation (Total)				
Genocide Generation Adults	3,729	34.97	7.23	$p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .0046$ (*ns*)
Genocide Generation Minors	4,780	35.89	6.96	
Returnees	1,046	35.30	7.06	
Post-Genocide Generation	3,316	34.76	7.29	
Genocide Generation Adults—Personal Genocide Situation				
Targeted to Be Killed	445	34.65	7.70	$p = .108$; $\eta^2 = .003$ (*ns*)
Helped Those Targeted	901	35.51	7.29	
Imprisoned for Genocide	105	35.68	8.15	
None	314	34.67	6.95	
Genocide Generation Minors—Family's Genocide Situation				
Targeted to Be Killed	666	36.39	7.53	$p = .276$; $\eta^2 = .002$ (*ns*)
Helped Those Targeted	899	36.17	6.90	
Imprisoned for Genocide	157	35.34	6.97	
None	235	35.67	6.60	
Post-Genocide Generation—Family's Genocide Situation				
Targeted to Be Killed	369	33.99	7.43	$p = .187$; $\eta^2 = .007$ (*ns*)
Helped Those Targeted	261	35.26	6.90	
Imprisoned for Genocide	54	34.52	7.39	
None	51	34.55	6.72	

Though seeming to be contradictions, these findings are consistent with social-ecological and family systems theories of how individuals manage competing cognitive and emotional factors that are common in relationships. The circumstances and feelings of individual family members affect the family unit individually and collectively. Many Rwandan Jehovah's Witnesses acknowledged personal feelings of pain associated with hearing about past Genocide experiences of family members. However, cognitive processes place the emotional pain in the contextual situation—their family lived through the Genocide against the Tutsi. The research findings show

that for many respondents, painful emotions and positive appraisal of family life coexist. Thus, despite past traumas, personal failings, and ongoing challenges, most Jehovah's Witnesses in post-Genocide Rwanda reported being generally satisfied with their family's cohesion, flexibility, and communication.

Centrality of Genocide

The JW-RWA study examined the centrality of the Genocide against the Tutsi and individuals' temporal view of their lives. Centrality of Genocide was assessed in three ways: how often individuals think about the Genocide and the perceived effect of the Genocide on their worldview, family, and self. The study assessed the extent to which Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda think about the Genocide and how they subjectively assess the effects of the historical traumatic event on their personal and family identities.

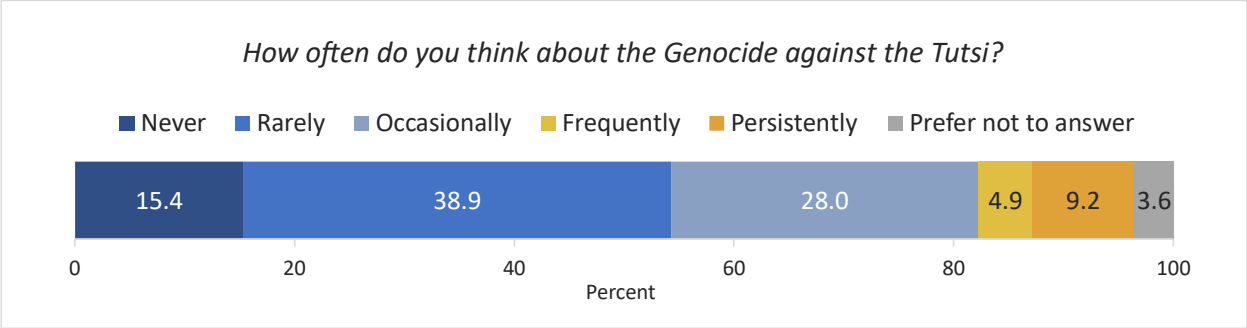
Centrality of Genocide—Frequency Thinking About the Genocide

The survey first asked respondents how often they think about the Genocide against the Tutsi, using a 5-point scale from one to five (*never*, *rarely*, *occasionally*, *frequently*, *persistently*), with the option *prefer not to answer*.

For the total sample, respondents varied in how often they thought about the Genocide as shown in Figure 6.14. For some (14.16%), the Genocide was a frequent or persistent thought, and others (15.36%) indicated they never thought about the Genocide. Most respondents fell in the middle, thinking about the Genocide rarely (38.89%) or occasionally (27.95%).

Figure 6.14

Frequency Thinking About the Genocide, Total Sample



Note. *N* = 13,590.

Mean scores on how often respondents indicated they thought about the Genocide were calculated. Table 6.14 gives an overview of findings by subgroup: gender, age group, generation, Genocide role-situation, and years being Jehovah's Witnesses. Mean scores for the total sample fell just above the occasional range ($M = 3.17$). All subgroups fell between the occasional and frequent range of 3 to 4, with the exception of the Post-Genocide Generation (consisting of early young adults) who thought about the Genocide the least often, that is between occasionally and rarely ($M = 2.70$). Statistical differences were found within all subgroups except gender. The variables in the subgroups had overlapping factors related to chronological age. The older Witnesses (i.e., older adults, the Genocide Generation Adults, and those baptized in or before 1994) thought more often about the Genocide than those who were likely younger in each of the subgroups.

Table 6.14

Frequency Thinking About the Genocide by Subgroups

Group	*n*	*M*	*SD*	Significance
Total	12,334	3.17	0.91	
Gender				
Male	5,530	3.20	0.88	$p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .00135$ (*ns*)
Female	6,804	3.14	0.93	
Age Group				
Early Young Adults	2,977	2.70	0.88	
Young Adults	3,426	3.06	0.86	$p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .1189$
Middle-Aged Adults	4,714	3.43	0.82	
Older Adults	1,217	**3.57**	0.89	
Generation				
Genocide Generation Adults	3,446	**3.53**	0.84	
Genocide Generation Minors	4,429	3.21	0.84	$p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .1141$
Returnees	940	3.16	0.92	
Post-Genocide Generation	2,977	2.70	0.88	
Distinct Role-Situation of Genocide Generation Adults				
Targeted	430	3.70	0.88	
Helper	847	3.49	0.8	$p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .0278$
Imprisoned	103	**3.86**	0.79	
None	279	3.36	0.88	
Years as Baptized Jehovah's Witness				
JW for 29 Years or More (Baptized in or Before 1994)	597	**3.47**	0.78	
JW for 19 to 28 Years (Baptized 1995–2004)	2,940	3.37	0.81	
JW for 9 to 18 Years (Baptized 2005–2014)	4,823	3.13	0.92	$p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .0277$
JW for 4 to 8 Years (Baptized 2015–2019)	2,994	3.02	0.93	
JW for 3 Years or Less (Baptized 2020–2023)	980	3.01	0.99	

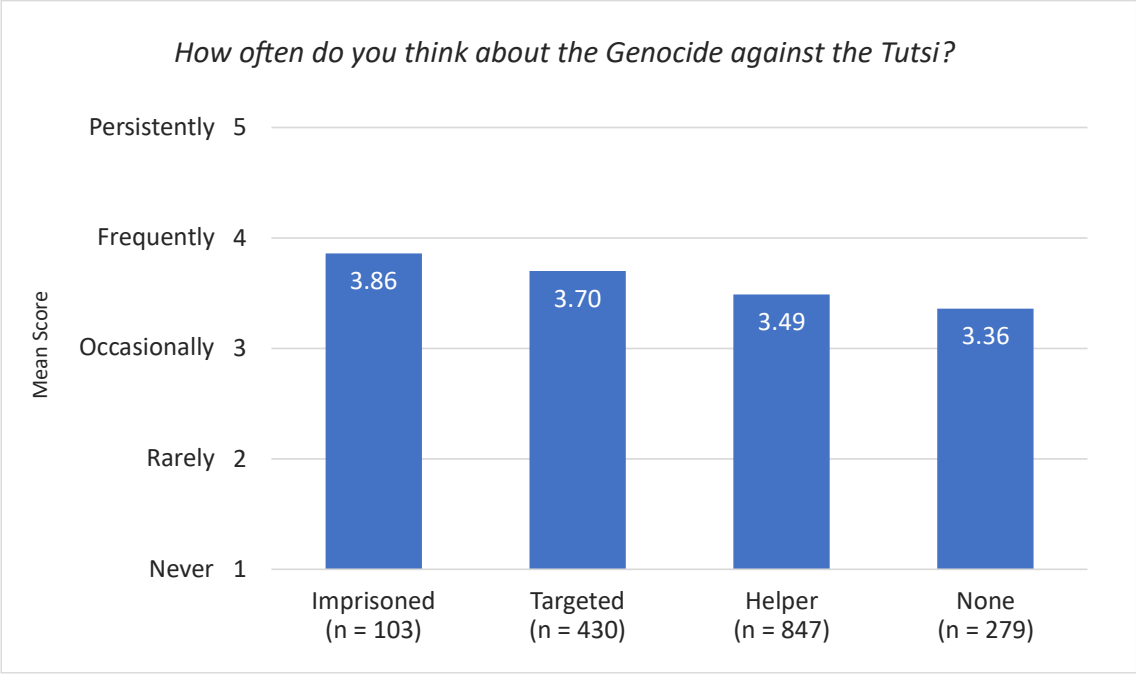
Note. Statistical analysis using ANOVA and Bonferroni post hoc comparisons found significant differences within all groups except gender. Bolded numbers show the highest mean scores within each of the statistically different groups.

Differences were also found depending on role-situations of the Genocide Generation Adults. (See Figure 6.15.) No statistical differences were found between those imprisoned and

those targeted. However, both the Imprisoned and Targeted groups thought about the Genocide significantly more often than either the Helper or None groups.

Figure 6.15

Frequency Thinking About the Genocide by Role-Situation for Genocide Generation Adults



Centrality of Genocide—Effect on Worldview, Self, and Family

To further assess the saliency of the Genocide against the Tutsi for the study population, the survey included three items from Berntsen and Rubin's Centrality of Event Scale (2006) that were applicable to both those with firsthand experience and secondhand knowledge of the Genocide. The survey used a 5-point scale from 1 to 5 for s*trongly disagree*, *disagree*, *neither agree nor disagree*, *agree*, and s*trongly agree*, and with the additional PNA option. The three statements were respondents' subjective assessment of how the Genocide affected their view of the world, their family's collective identity, and their own life:

The Genocide against the Tutsi has affected the way I think and feel about the world.

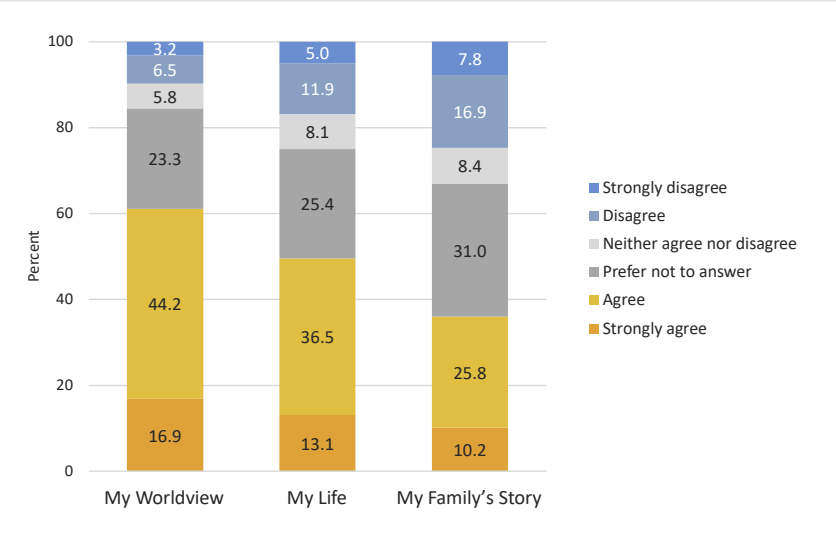
I often think about the effects the Genocide against the Tutsi has on my life.

I feel that the Genocide against the Tutsi is a central part of my family's life story.

Figure 6.16 shows the percentage of responses for the total sample per item. Overall, the Genocide was found to have the strongest effect on worldview, with 61.14% agreeing that it affected how they thought and felt about the world. Half (49.59%) often thought about the Genocide's effect on their own life. A smaller percentage (35.99%) felt that the Genocide was a central part of their family's life story. Considering the nature of the Genocide, a proportion of the sample was neutral or disagreed that the Genocide affected their worldview (15.50%), their own lives (24.99%), or their family's story (33.05%). However, PNA responses were high for each item, particularly related to family (30.96%); therefore, PNA responses needed to be factored in when drawing any conclusions. Subgroup analysis comparing mean scores (in which respondents who selected PNA would be removed from calculations) was not conducted.

Figure 6.16

Centrality of Genocide, Percentages for Total Sample



Note. *N* = 13,590. Genocide centrality was measured using three items from Berntsen and Rubin's Centrality of Event Scale (2006).

The breakdown of each item by gender in Table 6.15 further emphasizes the importance of considering PNA responses. Without considering PNA responses, more males showed higher centrality of the Genocide than females for all items—and with a 10% difference between males and females related to their worldview. However, a higher percentage of females than males had PNA responses. When accounting for PNA responses, no gender differences were found, as shown in the last row of Table 6.15. The same pattern and degree of centrality were found for males and females across the three items, with respondents reporting a greater impact on their overall worldview and a smaller percentage indicating that the Genocide influenced their family's life story.

Table 6.15

Centrality of Genocide by Gender

Response Options	My Worldview		My Life		My Family's Story	
	Males %	Females %	Males %	Females %	Males %	Females %
Disagree/Strongly disagree	9.13	10.24	15.35	8.11	23.06	25.98
Neither agree nor disagree	5.90	5.67	9.62	6.90	10.11	6.97
Agree/Strongly agree	**66.51**	**56.90**	52.01	47.67	37.76	34.59
Prefer not to answer (PNA)	**18.46**	**27.20**	23.03	27.32	29.06	32.45
Strongly agree, Agree, and PNA combined	**84.97**	**84.10**	**75.04**	**74.99**	**66.82**	**67.04**

Note. Females, *n* = 7,589; Males, *n* = 6,001. Bolded numbers highlight noteworthy percentages.

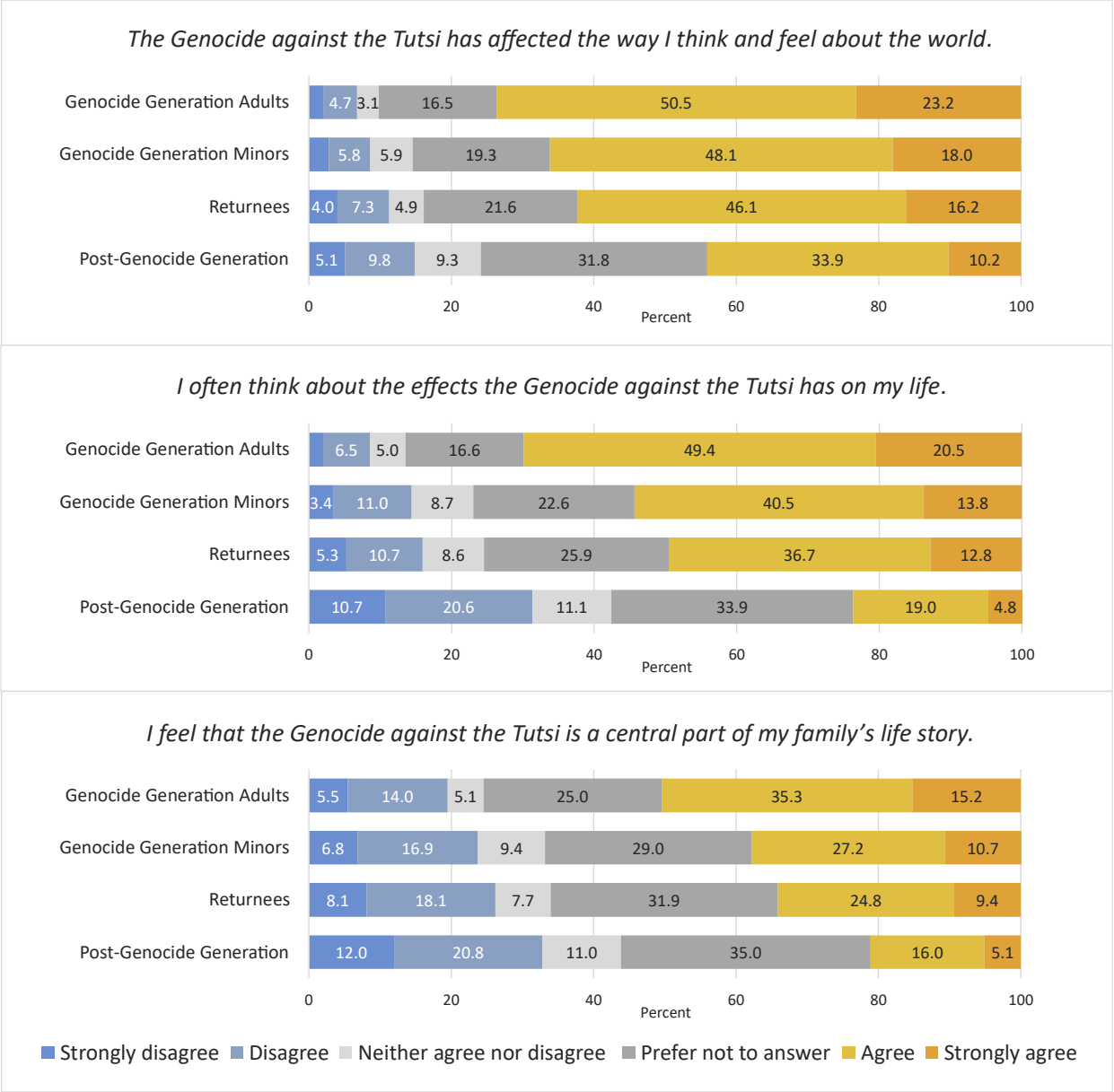
Similar analysis was conducted for each centrality item by generation as shown in Figure 6.17. Across all three items, the pattern was similar, with higher percentages of centrality of the Genocide for Genocide Generation Adults and the least centrality for the Post-Genocide Generation. Genocide was more salient for the Genocide Generation Adults, but with variations in agreement (*agree* and *strongly agree*) per item: about worldview (73.63%), about self (69.89%),

and about family (50.48%). The percentage differences on the Genocide's effect between Genocide Generation Adults and the Post-Genocide Generation for each item were as follows: on worldview, 22.07%; on family's story, 16.71%; and on self, 30.62%, which had the greatest generational gap. In general, a stair-step pattern for the generation groups was found in the subjective assessment of the Genocide's effect. For example, from high to low, the percentages of those who agreed that the Genocide affected their family's life story were as follows: half of the Genocide Generation Adults (50.48%), a little more than one third of the Genocide Generation Minors (37.82%) and Returnees (34.13%), and one fourth of the Post-Genocide Generation (21.11%).

Returnees who were contemporaries of the Genocide Generation but who had lived outside Rwanda during the Genocide indicated the Genocide against the Tutsi was less central to them than either the adults or minors who experienced the Genocide firsthand. However, PNA responses were also higher for Returnees and especially for the Post-Genocide Generation who did not experience the Genocide firsthand. Approximately one third of the Post-Genocide Generation preferred not to answer questions about the centrality of Genocide.

Figure 6.17

Centrality of Genocide by Generations



Note. *N* = 13,590.

The findings show that the Genocide was more integral to the identities of those with the closest temporal and spatial proximity to the Genocide. Some 30 years after the Genocide against the Tutsi, the findings reveal a generational divide in how individuals internalize and identify with Rwanda's past.

Temporality and Hope

Temporality was assessed in three ways: how often individuals think about their past, present, and future; the extent to which they perceive the periods of life as negative or positive; and their level of hopefulness.

First, the study investigated temporal perspectives to determine how Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda think and feel about the past, present, and future. Temporality was assessed in two ways: (a) how often individuals think about periods of their life and (b) the extent to which they perceive the periods of life as negative or positive. The two related sets of questions were prefaced with a primer, followed by the questions:

Some people think about different time periods in their lives.

How often, if at all, do you think about your life during the following time periods?

Please indicate how you feel about the following time periods.

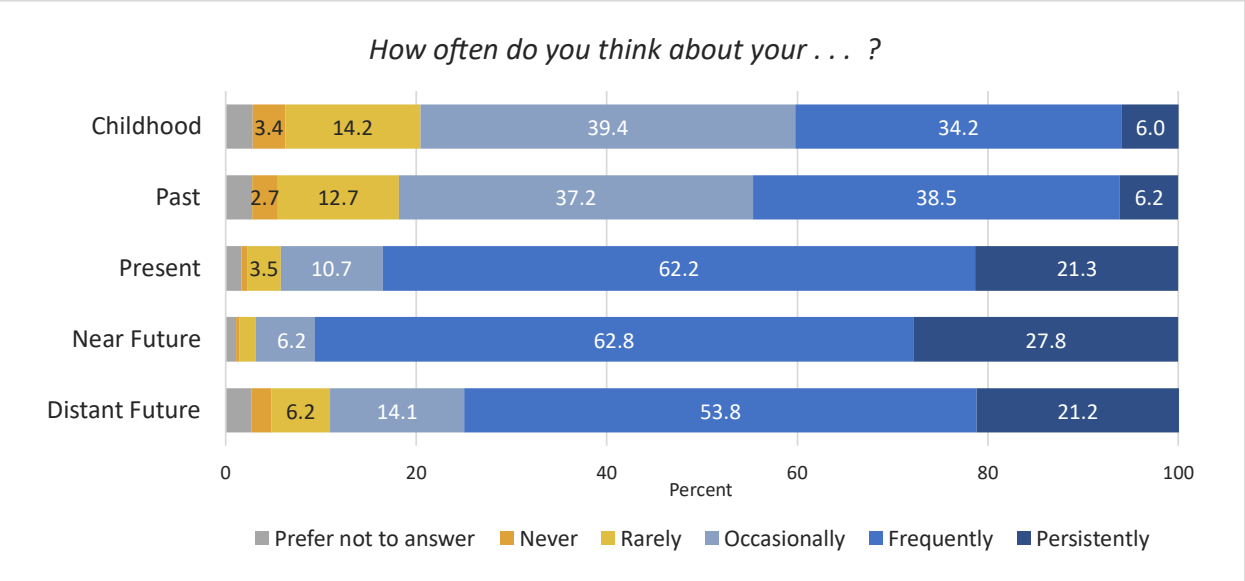
The time periods for both sets of questions were identical: childhood, past (recent past, other than childhood), present, near future, and distant future.

Temporality—Thinking

Figure 6.18 shows the breakdown of responses for each period for the total sample. The periods in life that most respondents thought about persistently or frequently were the near future (90.67%), the present (83.54%), and the distant future (74.97%). However, a sizeable percentage thought about their childhood (40.25%) and their past (44.63%). A small percentage indicated that they rarely or never thought about the present (4.08%), near future (2.05%), or distant future (8.25%). The temporal orientation that encompassed both present and future thinking would be conducive to decision-making for short- and long-term goals.

Figure 6.18

Temporality, Frequency Thinking About Different Periods of Life, Total Sample



Note. *N* = 13,586, total sample minus missing data.

Statistical analysis was conducted to determine if temporal orientation varied by demographic or situational factors. Table 6.16 shows a breakdown of the temporal orientation for the following groups: gender, age, generation, Genocide role-situation, years baptized, and interrupted or continuous association with Jehovah's Witnesses. There were no statistical differences within any of the groups. Regardless of the group, Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda had a temporal orientation of the present and into the future.

Table 6.16

Temporality, Frequency Thinking About Different Periods of Life by Subgroups

Group	Childhood	Past	Present	Near Future	Distant Future
	M (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)
Total (*n* = 12,705)	3.27 (0.90)	3.35 (0.88)	4.03 (0.71)	4.18 (0.64)	3.88 (0.89)
Gender					
Male (*n* = 5,692)	3.23 (0.87)	3.32 (0.85)	4.05 (0.70)	4.20 (0.64)	3.92 (0.87)
Female (*n* = 7,013)	3.30 (0.92)	3.36 (0.90)	4.01 (0.72)	4.15 (0.64)	3.85 (0.91)

Table 6.16 (continued)

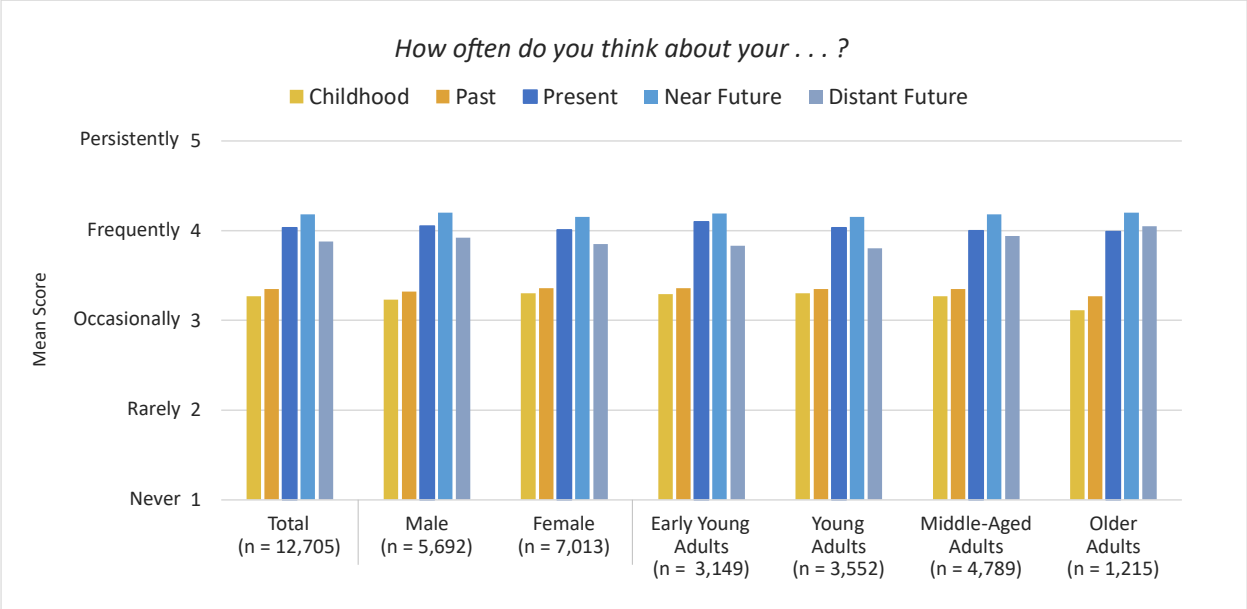
Age Group					
Early Young Adults (*n* = 3,149)	3.29 (0.88)	3.36 (0.87)	4.10 (0.68)	4.19 (0.65)	3.83 (0.94)
Young Adults (*n* = 3,552)	3.30 (0.86)	3.35 (0.84)	4.03 (0.69)	4.15 (0.63)	3.80 (0.90)
Middle-Aged Adults (*n* = 4,789)	3.27 (0.90)	3.35 (0.88)	4.00 (0.74)	4.18 (0.64)	3.94 (0.85)
Older Adults (*n* = 1,215)	3.11 (1.02)	3.27 (0.98)	3.99 (0.76)	4.20 (0.66)	4.05 (0.85)
Generation					
Genocide Generation Adults (*n* = 3,463)	3.19 (0.96)	3.30 (0.93)	4.00 (0.76)	4.20 (0.64)	3.99 (0.86)
Genocide Generation Minors (*n* = 4,533)	3.32 (0.85)	3.38 (0.84)	4.04 (0.68)	4.16 (0.63)	3.86 (0.88)
Returnees (*n* = 971)	3.26 (0.90)	3.34 (0.86)	3.95 (0.78)	4.15 (0.67)	3.83 (0.88)
Post-Genocide Generation (*n* = 3,149)	3.29 (0.88)	3.36 (0.87)	4.10 (0.68)	4.19 (0.65)	3.83 (0.94)
Genocide Generation Role-Situation					
Targeted (*n* = 412)	3.24 (1.01)	3.42 (0.93)	4.00 (0.75)	4.21 (0.67)	3.98 (0.89)
Helper (*n* = 859)	3.18 (0.97)	3.29 (0.94)	3.99 (0.76)	4.23 (0.63)	3.99 (0.90)
Imprisoned (*n* = 99)	3.30 (0.86)	3.41 (0.88)	4.11 (0.73)	4.31 (0.53)	4.13 (0.88)
None (*n* = 290)	3.08 (0.96)	3.19 (0.96)	3.95 (0.78)	4.19 (0.60)	3.90 (0.85)
Years as Baptized Jehovah's Witness					
JW for 29 Years or More, Baptized in or Before 1994 (*n* = 611)	3.22 (0.92)	3.34 (0.81)	3.98 (0.73)	4.22 (0.64)	3.94 (0.86)
JW for 19 to 28 Years, Baptized 1995–2004 (*n* = 2,999)	3.29 (0.88)	3.39 (0.87)	4.01 (0.71)	4.19 (0.63)	3.94 (0.84)
JW for 9 to 18 Years, Baptized 2005–2014 (*n* = 4,943)	3.27 (0.90)	3.33 (0.87)	4.02 (0.71)	4.16 (0.64)	3.84 (0.90)
JW for 4 to 8 Years, Baptized 2015–2019 (*n* = 3,124)	3.25 (0.91)	3.34 (0.88)	4.06 (0.71)	4.17 (0.65)	3.86 (0.91)
JW for 3 Years or Less, Baptized 2020–2023 (*n* = 1,028)	3.28 (0.91)	3.30 (0.93)	4.06 (0.75)	4.19 (0.68)	3.94 (0.93)
Interrupted or Continuous JW Association					
Interrupted JW Association (*n* = 1,203)	3.39 (0.91)	3.44 (0.91)	4.06 (0.72)	4.18 (0.66)	3.91 (0.89)
Continuous JW Association (*n* = 11,415)	3.26 (0.90)	3.34 (0.87)	4.03 (0.71)	4.18 (0.64)	3.88 (0.89)

The mean scores for the total sample and by gender and age group were charted to visually show the differences in how often Jehovah's Witnesses thought about periods in their life.

Although development age differences were expected, a similar pattern was found across both gender and age groups. (See Figure 6.19.) The common assumption was that older adults would think more often about their past and young adults would think more about their future. However, regardless of age group, thinking about the present, near future, and distant future was more frequent.

Figure 6.19

Thinking About Different Periods of Life by Gender and Age Group



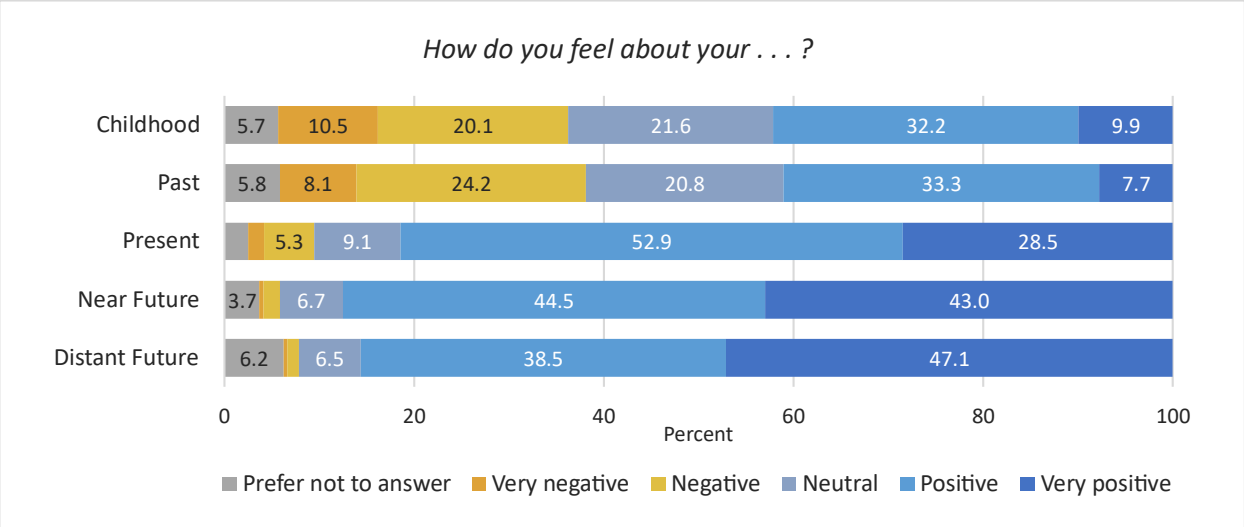
Temporality—Feeling

A temporal orientation toward the future can be negative (e.g., anxiety or dread of what might happen) or positive (e.g., optimism or anticipation of desirable events). The degree of positive and negative feelings about the past and future is an indicator of psychological wellbeing. In the context of post-Genocide, negative thoughts could readily occur in thinking about the past (e.g., intrusive thoughts related to past traumas) and what the future might hold (e.g., due to the realities of poverty or other challenges).

As shown in Figure 6.20, approximately 40% felt positive about their childhood (42.14%) and past (41.05%); and slightly under one third felt negative about their childhood (30.59%) and past (32.27%). Twice the number of those positive about their childhood or past were positive about their present lives (81.42%), and even more were positive about their near future (87.52%) and distant future (85.66%).

Figure 6.20

Temporality, Feeling About Different Periods of Life, Total Sample



Note. *N* = 13,590.

Table 6.17 gives a breakdown by gender, age group, generation, and Genocide role-situation. No statistical differences were found in mean scores for gender, age, generation, or interrupted association for any of the time periods. Those who were Jehovah's Witnesses for the longer period (baptized in or before 1994, and from 1995 to 2004) were significantly more satisfied with their past than those baptized after 2004 ($p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .0117$). Those baptized the longest had the most positive rating of their childhood and their past. However, depending on how long the person had been a baptized Jehovah's Witness, no differences were found for their view of the present, near future, or distant future.

The other statistical significance was between those who had been imprisoned for genocide acts compared with those with other role-situations for how they felt about their childhood ($p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .014$) and past ($p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .023$). Of all the groups shown in Table 6.17, those who had been imprisoned were most negative about their childhood and past.

Table 6.17

Temporality, Feelings About Different Periods of Life by Subgroups

Group	Childhood	Past	Present	Near Future	Distant Future
	M (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)
Total (*n* = 11,643)	3.11 (1.19)	3.10 (1.13)	4.05 (0.86)	4.33 (0.72)	4.40 (0.72)
Gender					
Male (*n* = 5,252)	3.08 (1.15)	3.13 (1.10)	4.11 (0.80)	4.32 (0.73)	4.41 (0.72)
Female (*n* = 6,391)	3.14 (1.22)	3.08 (1.16)	4.01 (0.91)	4.34 (0.72)	4.39 (0.71)
Age Group					
Early Young Adults (*n* = 2,965)	3.21 (1.14)	3.20 (1.09)	4.06 (0.85)	4.30 (0.77)	4.38 (0.75)
Young Adults (*n* = 3,228)	3.03 (1.20)	3.11 (1.12)	4.06 (0.85)	4.28 (0.75)	4.36 (0.74)
Middle-Aged Adults (*n* = 4,347)	3.09 (1.21)	3.04 (1.16)	4.06 (0.86)	4.39 (0.67)	4.42 (0.68)
Older Adults (*n* = 1,103)	3.19 (1.20)	3.06 (1.15)	4.02 (0.93)	4.36 (0.71)	4.46 (0.67)
Generation					
Genocide Generation Adults (*n* = 3,141)	3.13 (1.21)	3.01 (1.17)	4.06 (0.90)	4.40 (0.68)	4.45 (0.68)
Genocide Generation Minors (*n* = 4,129)	3.05 (1.19)	3.10 (1.13)	4.05 (0.84)	4.31 (0.72)	4.39 (0.72)
Returnees (*n* = 900)	3.13 (1.21)	3.12 (1.14)	4.06 (0.85)	4.34 (0.70)	4.37 (0.72)
Post-Genocide Generation (*n* = 2,965)	3.21 (1.14)	3.20 (1.09)	4.06 (0.85)	4.30 (0.77)	4.38 (0.75)
Distinct Role-Situation, Genocide Generation Adults					
Targeted (*n* = 370)	3.07 (1.27)	2.89 (1.17)	3.88 (1.10)	4.39 (0.70)	4.44 (0.69)
Helper (*n* = 781)	3.15 (1.20)	3.13 (1.15)	4.09 (0.88)	4.41 (0.67)	4.45 (0.70)
Imprisoned (*n* = 100)	2.59 (1.26)	**2.48 (1.20)**	4.09 (0.94)	**4.48 (0.64)**	**4.55 (0.61)**
None (*n* = 266)	3.20 (1.16)	3.13 (1.15)	4.07 (0.89)	4.35 (0.66)	4.44 (0.64)

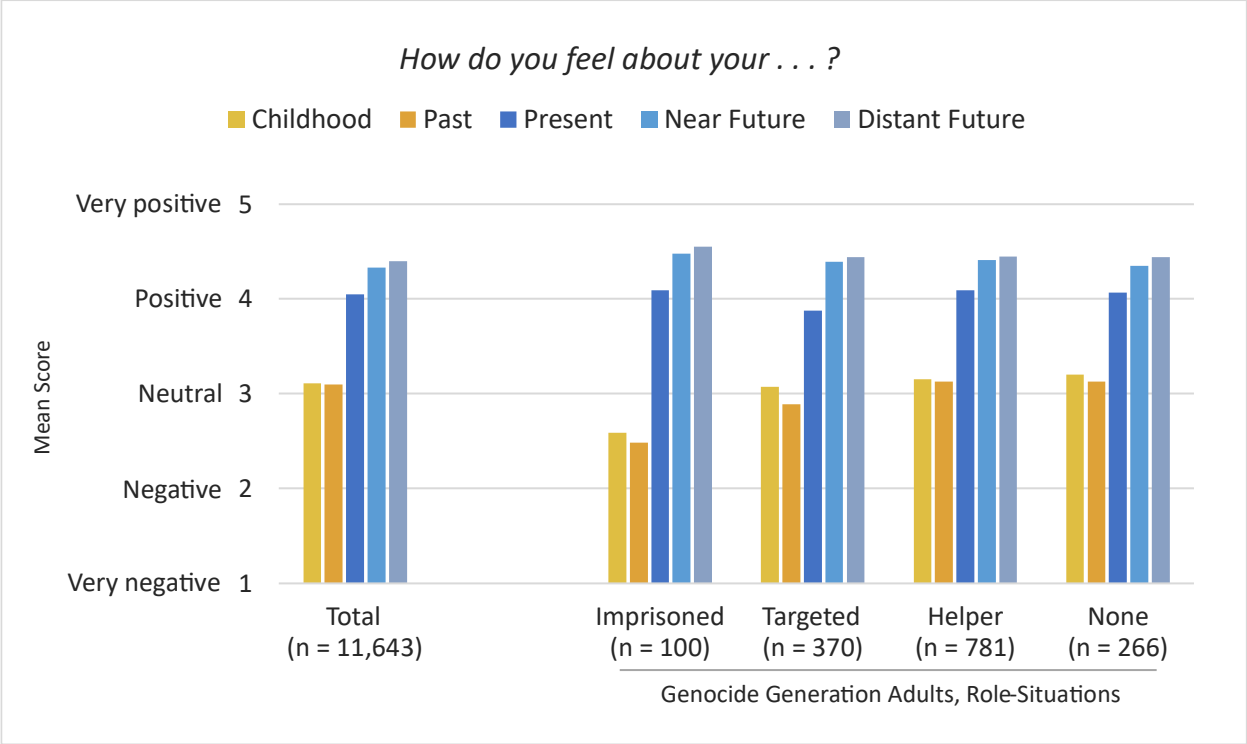
Table 6.17 (continued)

Years as Baptized Jehovah's Witness					
JW for 29 Years or More, Baptized in or Before 1994 (*n* = 545)	3.52 (1.13)	**3.52 (1.06)**	4.09 (0.82)	4.40 (0.70)	4.46 (0.68)
JW for 19 to 28 Years, Baptized 1995–2004 (*n* = 2,707)	3.19 (1.18)	3.20 (1.12)	4.03 (0.90)	4.37 (0.70)	4.43 (0.69)
JW for 9 to 18 Years, Baptized 2005–2014 (*n* = 4,530)	3.07 (1.18)	3.09 (1.13)	4.04 (0.85)	4.29 (0.73)	4.36 (0.73)
JW for 4 to 8 Years, Baptized 2015–2019 (*n* = 2,884)	3.09 (1.18)	3.02 (1.13)	4.05 (0.87)	4.32 (0.74	4.39 (0.73)
JW for 3 Years or Less, Baptized 2020–2023 (*n* = 977)	2.97 (1.22)	2.91 (1.16)	4.16 (0.82)	4.41 (0.71)	4.44 (0.71)
Interrupted or Continuous JW Association					
Interrupted JW Association (*n* = 1,084)	2.95 (1.26)	2.77 (1.16)	3.94 (0.93)	4.31 (0.73)	4.35 (0.74)
Continuous JW Association (*n* = 10,490)	3.13 (1.18)	3.14 (1.12)	4.07 (0.85)	4.34 (0.72)	4.40 (0.71)

As noted above, statistical differences were found in mean scores depending on the Genocide role-situations, with lower scores for those who had been Imprisoned for genocide acts compared with those in the Targeted, Helper, and None groups. Figure 6.21 shows the differences in more negative feelings about the past and the positive feelings about the future across all groups.

Figure 6.21

Temporality, Feelings About Different Time Periods, Total Sample and Genocide Generation Adults, Role-Situations



No statistical differences were found for any group's outlook for the future. In fact, all 21 subgroups listed in Table 6.17 rated the near future and distant future between positive to very positive feelings. The uniformity in outlook was evidenced by a difference of only 0.20 between the lowest and highest mean scores for feelings about the near future and the distant future. Even more remarkable than the invariability within the study population was that those who had been imprisoned for genocide acts had the highest mean score (most positive) and least variation in scores for their view of the near future ($M = 4.48$, $SD = 0.64$) and distant future ($M = 4.55$, $SD = 0.61$). Such consistent and positive future orientation—despite the diverse demographics and Genocide experiences—would logically have to be attributed to the one commonality of the 21 subgroups, their being Jehovah's Witnesses. The data show that Jehovah's Witnesses believe and

personalize the religion's belief in anticipating the impending end of evil by divine intervention and the prospect of living forever on a paradise earth. (See Section 3, Figure 3.10.)

Hope

Hope relates to future temporal orientation as a gauge of how positive and achievable one believes their future goals and outcomes are. More than optimism, hope is a motivational state in dealing with life's adversities. The survey used the Herth Hope Index (HHI), which has been widely used cross-culturally as a research tool (Herth, 1992). The validated measure consists of 12 items related to positive readiness and expectancy, interconnectedness, and temporality and future. The validated instrument uses a 4-point *agree-disagree* scale with a range from 12 to 48. The higher score corresponds to a higher level of hope.

In the first level of statistical analysis, data frequencies identified a translation issue for one item that resulted in high numbers of PNA responses and lower mean scores than other items. Rather than deleting the single item from analysis or adjust the data based on other responses, the decision was made to use the existing data. The consequence was that the mean scores would have been about 2 points higher without the compromised item.

Table 6.18 shows the breakdown of mean scores by groups: gender, age group, generation, Genocide role-situation, year baptized, and interrupted or continuous association. Like the findings on the positive view of the future, total mean scores for the HHI across all groups are consistent. The mean score for the total sample was 41.03. Mean scores and standard deviation were consistent across all 21 subgroups, with a range of scores from 40.50 to 42.44. There were no statistical differences within any groups.

Table 6.18

Hope by Group Comparisons

Group	*n*	*M*	*SD*
Total	9,933	41.03	4.46
Gender			
Male	4,618	41.21	4.41
Female	5,315	40.87	4.51
Age Group			
Early Young Adults	2,443	40.74	4.44
Young Adults	2,794	40.80	4.56
Middle-Aged Adults	3,672	41.22	4.40
Older Adults	1,024	41.66	4.39
Generation			
Genocide Generation Adults	2,750	41.45	4.38
Genocide Generation Minors	3,553	40.99	4.49
Returnees	810	40.77	4.56
Post-Genocide Generation	2,443	40.74	4.44
Genocide Role-Situation of Genocide Generation Adults			
Targeted	324	41.32	4.38
Helper	696	41.79	4.29
Imprisoned	79	42.44	4.13
None	232	41.05	4.56
Years as Baptized Jehovah's Witness			
JW for 29 Years or More (Baptized in or Before 1994)	464	41.50	4.38
JW for 19 to 28 Years (Baptized 1995–2004)	2,276	41.28	4.39
JW for 9 to 18 Years (Baptized 2005–2014)	3,896	40.85	4.46
JW for 4 to 8 Years (Baptized 2015–2019)	2,465	40.95	4.53
JW for 3 Years or Less (Baptized 2020–2023)	832	41.15	4.50
Interrupted or Continuous JW Association			
Interrupted JW Association	942	40.50	4.29
Continuous JW Association	8,947	41.09	4.47

Note. Hope was measured using the Herth Hope Index, total score ranging from 12 to 48.

The findings show moderate to high levels of hope even with the effect of the item that respondents did not clearly understand. The findings are consistent with the empirical literature that shows a positive relationship between hope and religion. For the sampled Jehovah's Witnesses

in Rwanda, hope and faith appeared integral, as reflected in the uniformity of positive hope responses among the various socio-demographic groups.

Posttraumatic Stress Symptoms

To measure the extent to which respondents experienced posttraumatic stress symptoms (PTSS), the survey instrument included the PTSD-8, derived from the Harvard Trauma Questionnaire (Hansen et al., 2010). The measure focused on the three core symptom criteria for PTSD used in the DSM-IV and ICD-11 (intrusion, avoidance, and hyperarousal) and positively correlated with the SCID-I interviews and Hospital Anxiety and Depression Scale (Anderson et al., 2018). As an abbreviated measure, items in the DSM-V related to dysphoria were not included in the PTSD-8 (Andersen et al., 2018; Hansen et al., 2010). The short inventory of eight items was appropriate for nonclinical purposes in an online, self-reported questionnaire.

The survey question for PTSS was broadly framed: *Traumatic events sometimes cause symptoms long after people experience or witness some traumatic or troubling event. Please read the next 8 statements and indicate how much each has bothered you, if at all, in the last month*. Items were scaled from 1 to 4 (*not at all*, *rarely*, *sometimes*, and *most of the time*), with a total score ranging from 8 to 32. The eight items had three subscales: Intrusion with four items (score ranging from 4 to 16); Avoidance with two items (score ranging from 2 to 8); and Hypervigilance with two items (score ranging from 2 to 8). A total score of 21 or higher indicates a possibility of PTSD.

The scale is not intended to diagnose PTSD with a fixed cut-off score and is used here as a research tool to measure PTSD symptoms. Importantly, because the measure was not Genocide-specific, it allowed analysis of cohort differences in posttraumatic symptomatology experienced by both those born before and after the Genocide. Additionally, analysis could explore possible

generational trauma effects (e.g., comparison of personal Genocide role-situations of Genocide Generation respondents with family's Genocide role-situations of Post-Genocide Generation respondents).

For all respondents, of the three subscales, the two Avoidance items had the highest frequency of occurrence: *avoiding activities that remind one of the event* ($M = 2.62$, $SD = 1.18$) and *avoiding thoughts or feelings associated with the event* ($M = 2.71$, $SD = 1.16$). Hypervigilance items occurred the least often: *feeling jumpy, easily startled* ($M = 1.85$, $SD = 1.04$), and *feeling on guard* ($M = 1.95$, $SD = 1.04$). Of the four items in the Intrusive subscale, the most common single item was *recurrent thoughts or memories of the event* ($M = 2.61$, $SD = 0.98$).

Table 6.19 shows the cumulative mean score and standard deviation for the total sample and subgroups: gender, age group, generation, targeted or not targeted, Genocide role-situation, year of baptism, and interrupted or continuous association. Statistically significant differences in PTSS cumulative mean scores were found for all groups with the exceptions of group differences for Post-Genocide Generation who reported distinct family role-situations and those depending on the respondent's year of baptism or if the respondent had interrupted their association with Jehovah's Witnesses at any time.

Table 6.19 lists two targeted subgroups. The first targeted subgroup included all Genocide Generation Adults who self-identified as targeted but may have also selected other possible role-situations (e.g., helper). The distinct, single targeted subgroup included those who only self-identified as *targeted to be killed* in the list of role-situations. In both cases, the two targeted groups had similar PTSS scores and the highest PTSS scores compared with all subgroups analyzed.

Table 6.19

Posttraumatic Stress Symptoms, Group Comparisons

Group	*n*	*M*	*SD*	Significance
Total Sample, PTSS Cumulative Score (Range 8 to 32)	8,785	17.41	5.95	
Gender				
Male	3,937	16.40	5.65	$p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .023$
Female	4,848	**18.23**	6.05	
Age Group				
Early Young Adults	2,194	16.05	5.77	
Young Adults	2,472	16.83	5.93	$p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .031$
Middle-Aged Adults	3,232	**18.53**	5.80	
Older Adults	887	**18.27**	6.03	
Generation				
Genocide Generation Adults	2,404	**18.56**	5.93	
Genocide Generation Minors	3,257	17.49	5.81	$p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .024$
Returnees	672	17.39	6.10	
Post-Genocide Generation	2,194	16.05	5.77	
Targeted, Not Targeted (Total Genocide Generation Adults)				
Targeted	386	**21.05**	5.70	$p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .035$
Not Targeted	1,948	18.06	5.87	
Distinct Genocide Role-Situation, Genocide Generation Adults (for Self)				
Targeted	325	**21.12**	5.73	
Helper	628	18.47	5.62	$p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .085$
Imprisoned	66	18.32	5.81	
None	200	15.68	6.28	
Distinct Genocide Role-Situation, Genocide Generation Minors (for Family)				
Targeted	524	19.31	5.49	
Helper	673	17.33	5.58	$p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .054$
Imprisoned	117	16.66	6.07	
None	170	15.16	5.86	
Distinct Genocide Role-Situation, Post-Genocide Generation (for Family)				
Targeted	301	16.35	6.22	
Helper	208	16.41	5.36	$p = .102$; $\eta^2 = .011$ (*ns*)
Imprisoned	44	15.75	5.56	
None	35	13.89	5.57	

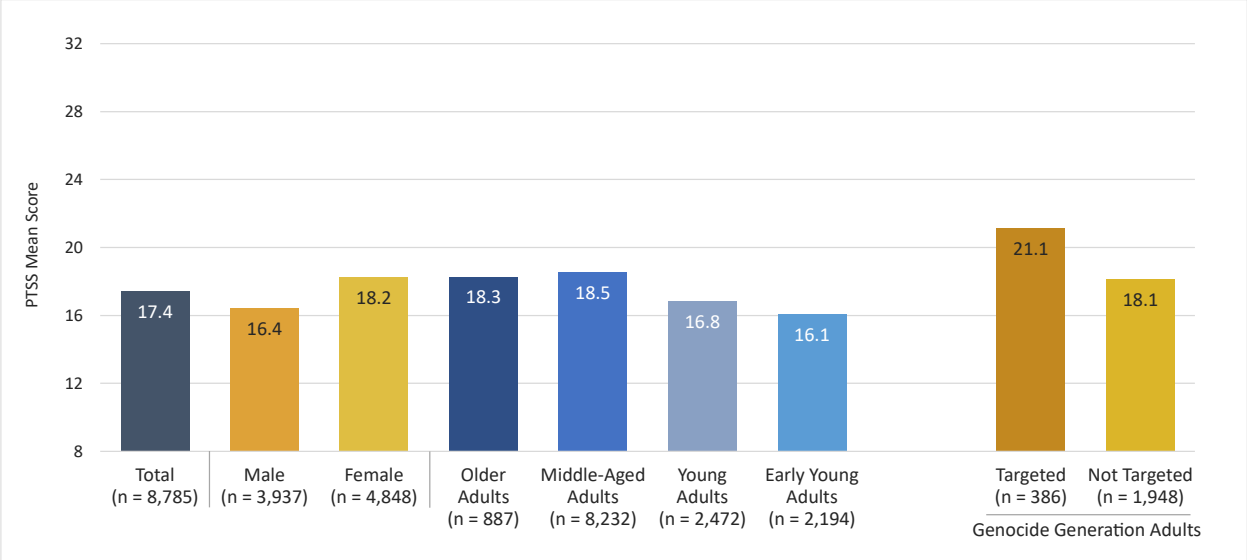
Table 6.19 (continued)

Years as Baptized Jehovah's Witness				
JW for 29 Years or More (Baptized in or Before 1994)	399	18.43	5.75	
JW for 19 to 28 Years (Baptized 1995–2004)	2,003	18.18	5.90	
JW for 9 to 18 Years (Baptized 2005–2014)	3,477	17.25	5.97	$p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .008$ (*ns*)
JW for 4 to 8 Years (Baptized 2015–2019)	2,169	16.90	5.92	
JW for 3 Years or Less (Baptized 2020–2023)	737	16.99	5.88	
Interrupted or Continuous JW Association				
Interrupted JW Association	822	18.39	5.97	$p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .008$ (*ns*)
Continuous JW Association	7,919	17.31	5.93	

Figure 6.22 shows the mean scores for gender and age groups for the total sample that included the Genocide Generation and Post-Genocide Generation, and the mean scores for those targeted or not targeted for the Genocide Generation. The PTSS mean scores were statistically significantly higher for females than males. Likewise, middle-aged adults and older adults had higher PTSS scores than young adults and early young adults. The most notable differences were the mean scores for those who made up the Genocide Generation, which were higher than other subgroups. The mean scores for all groups fell below 21 except for those targeted. Although the PTSS measure was not Genocide-specific, the findings show higher PTSS patterns not just for those who experienced the Genocide but for those who were targeted to be killed during the Genocide against the Tutsi.

Figure 6.22

Posttraumatic Stress Symptoms by Gender, Age Group, and Genocide Generation Targeted and Not Targeted

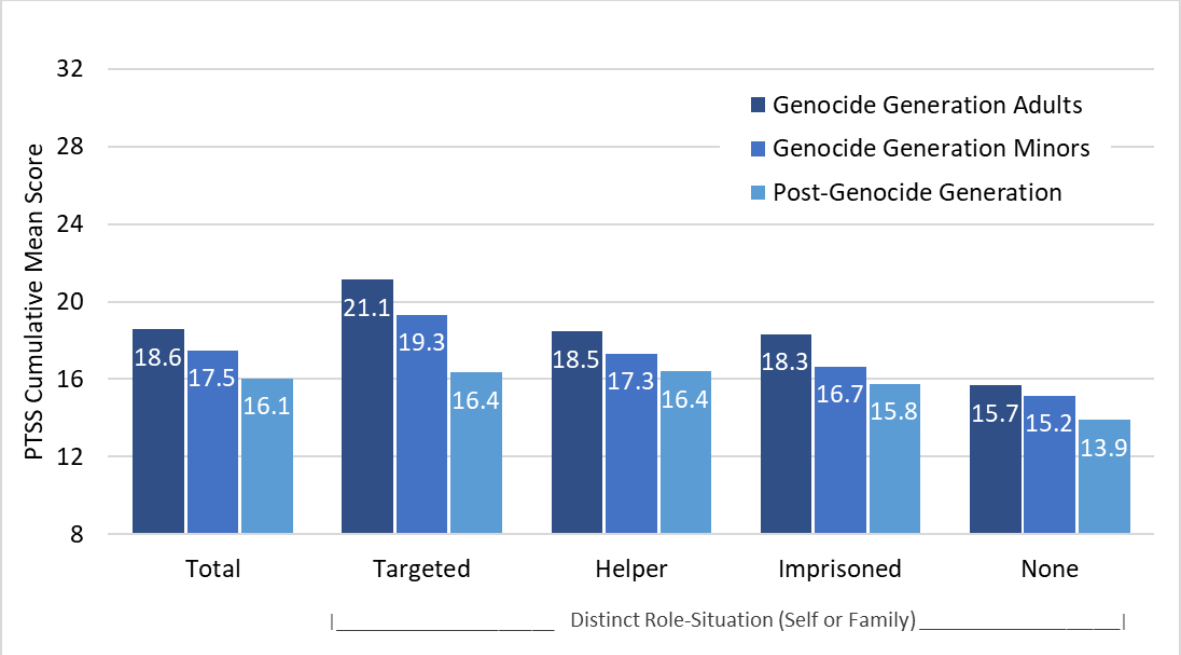


Note. The brief measure of PTSS provided a nonclinical assessment of factors related to PTSD, namely intrusion, avoidance, and hypervigilance. Total scores range from 8 to 32.

Figure 6.23 shows similar results. As described earlier, from a list of role-situations, respondents could select more than one option (e.g., targeted, refused to betray targeted, helped those targeted). In order to eliminate multiple role-situations, analysis of PTSS scores was based on those who self-identified with only a single role-situation (Targeted, Helper, Imprisoned, or None). PTSS mean scores by generation and by distinct role-situations (which were listed in Table 6.19) are shown in Figure 6.23.

Figure 6.23

Posttraumatic Stress Symptoms by Distinct Role-Situation



Note. For the total sample, the *n* value for each generation was as follows: Genocide Generation Adults, *n* = 2,404; Genocide Generation Minors, *n* = 3,257; Post-Genocide Generation, *n* = 2,194. Genocide role-situations for each generation were distinct, not overlapping, groups with a different *n*. The *n* value for each of the 12 distinct groups by generation was as follows: (a) Genocide Generation Adults: Targeted, *n* = 325; Helper, *n* = 628; Imprisoned, *n* = 66; None, *n* = 200; (b) Genocide Generation Minors: Targeted, *n* = 524; Helper, *n* = 673; Imprisoned, *n* = 117; None, *n* = 170; and (c) Post-Genocide Generation: Targeted, *n* = 301; Helper, *n* = 208; Imprisoned, *n* = 44; None, *n* = 35.

Analysis showed several key findings related to PTSS: (a) Generational differences exist between the older and younger cohorts—highest for the Genocide Generation Adults, lowest for the Post-Genocide Generation, with the Genocide Generation Minors in between; (b) Post-traumatic stress symptoms vary by Genocide role-situation, with those targeted to be killed during the Genocide most likely to have posttraumatic stress symptoms; (c) PTSS involves multiple interrelated factors, as evidenced by the lower PTSS scores across generations for those in the None group who were in Rwanda during the Genocide but were not targeted, later imprisoned, or involved in helping others during the Genocide; (d) For the study population, the mean scores for PTSS across all groups were relatively low, at or below 21 on a scale of 8 to 32; and

(e) Congregations of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda include those who suffer with posttraumatic stress symptoms. The findings provide a general assessment of how individuals may be affected by past traumatic experiences—not just from the Genocide, but also from other possible hardships.

Posttraumatic Growth

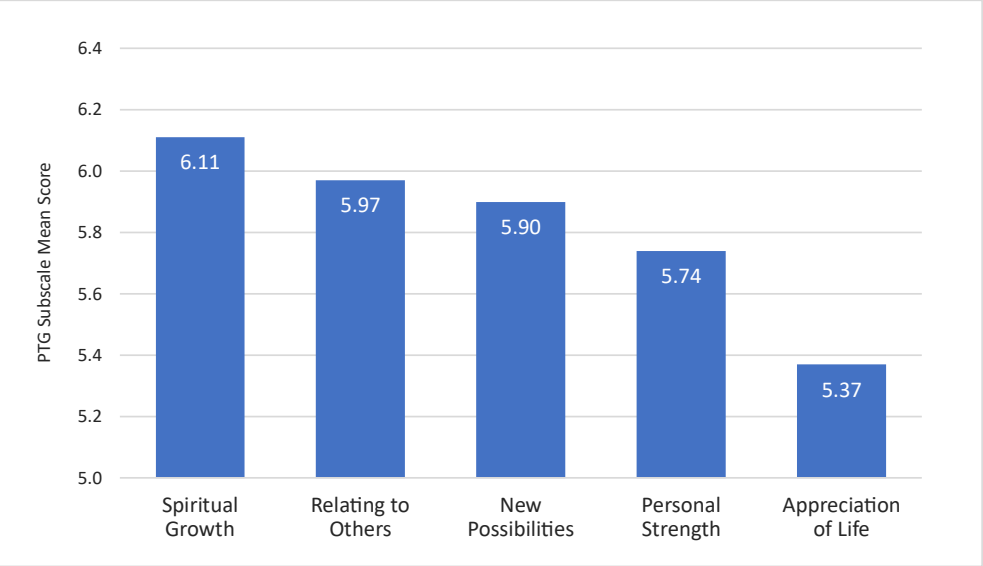
The Posttraumatic Growth Inventory–Short Form was used to measure the level of positive changes that individuals experienced following a traumatic event (Cann et al., 2010). As with the PTSS measure, the posttraumatic growth (PTG) measure was not Genocide-specific but was broadly framed in the survey: *Next are changes people might experience after a traumatic or stressful event. Please indicate the extent to which you have experienced any of the following 10 changes after a traumatic or stressful event in your life*.

The scaled choices for the 10-item measure were reduced from the original 6 to 5: 0 = *no change*, 1 = *small change*, 2 = *moderate change*, 3 = *great change*, and 4 = *very great change*, with a total cumulative score ranging from 0 to 40. The measure consists of five factors of two items each. The five subscales were as follows: Appreciation of Life, New Possibilities, Relating to Others, Personal Strength, and Spiritual Change.

Figure 6.24 shows the mean scores for each subscale for the total sample. For the JW sample population, Spiritual Change (i.e., having stronger faith and better understanding of spiritual matters) had the highest PTG rating. Relating to Others (i.e., closeness to others and compassion for others) was the second-highest-rated subscale. For context, the lower-scored subscale Appreciation of Life did not mean respondents did not appreciate life, only that they did not experience as much of a change in this dimension.

Figure 6.24

Posttraumatic Growth Subscale Mean Scores



Note. *N* = 8,717. PTG was measured using the Posttraumatic Growth Inventory—Short Form (Cann et al., 2010), consisting of five subscales.

Table 6.20 compares the mean scores within subgroups (i.e., gender, age group, generation, Genocide role-situation, years as a Witness, and interruption of association). Within the JW sample population, PTG scores were consistently high regardless of demographic groups with different ages and Genocide experiences. No significant differences were found for any of the groups, suggesting that how those in the faith community perceive posttraumatic growth is similar regardless of demographic characteristics or situational differences.

As found in responses to other measures in this study, differences in PTG between males and females were negligible. Although the differences were not statistically significant, it is noteworthy which groups had the highest PTG scores within group categories: older adults, Genocide Generation Adults, Imprisoned, those baptized most recently, and those whose association with Jehovah's Witnesses was never interrupted. In the case of older adults and Genocide Generation Adults, these groups had significantly higher PTSS scores than younger cohorts; these older Witnesses also had higher PTG scores.

Table 6.20

Posttraumatic Growth, Group Comparisons

Group	*n*	*M*	*SD*	Significance
Total Sample, Cumulative Score (Range 0 to 40)	8,717	29.09	9.15	-
Gender				
Male	3,807	29.12	9.31	$p = .800$; $\eta^2 = .000$ (*ns*)
Female	4,910	29.07	9.02	
Age Group				
Early Young Adults	1,948	28.24	9.49	$p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .004$ (*ns*)
Young Adults	2,307	28.76	9.42	
Middle-Aged Adults	3,486	29.54	8.80	
Older Adults	976	**29.92**	8.83	
Generation				
Genocide Generation Adults	2,677	**29.88**	8.75	$p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .005$ (*ns*)
Genocide Generation Minors	3,117	29.09	9.17	
Returnees	672	28.62	9.55	
Post-Genocide Generation	1,948	28.24	9.49	
Genocide Role-Situation, Genocide Generation Adults				
Targeted	337	30.45	8.71	$p = .069$; $\eta^2 = .005$ (*ns*)
Helper	679	29.46	9.41	
Imprisoned	77	**31.87**	7.33	
None	211	29.40	8.85	
Years as Baptized Jehovah's Witness				
JW for 29 Years or More (Baptized in or Before 1994)	392	27.80	10.77	$p = .003$; $\eta^2 = .002$ (*ns*)
JW for 19 to 28 Years (Baptized 1995–2004)	2,061	29.29	9.25	
JW for 9 to 18 Years (Baptized 2005–2014)	3,381	28.92	9.24	
JW for 4 to 8 Years (Baptized 2015–2019)	2,110	29.10	8.71	
JW for 3 Years or Less (Baptized 2020–2023)	773	**29.91**	8.66	
Interrupted or Continuous Association				
Interrupted JW Association	876	28.88	8.98	$p = .512$; $\eta^2 = .000$ (*ns*)
Continuous JW Association	7,792	**29.10**	9.18	

Note. Bolded numbers highlight groups with the highest mean scores.

Subjective Wellbeing Since Becoming Jehovah's Witnesses

As previously discussed about the influence of the exosystem on subjective psychological and social wellbeing, in the aftermath of the Genocide against the Tutsi, Rwandans have benefited from numerous government and community programs (cf. Ministry of National Unity and Civic Engagement, 2024). The research objectives of this study focused on the perceived influence of the religion on the study population. To determine Jehovah's Witnesses' subjective assessment of religious affiliation on their wellbeing, the survey asked respondents to rate how they compared themselves to the time before they became Jehovah's Witnesses on the following five items related to psychological wellbeing: *my emotional and mental well-being*, *my hope for the future*, *my life in general*, *my opinion of myself*, and *my self-worth*. The response options and coding used for calculating a sum score were *significantly worse* (−2), *slightly worse* (−1), *same/neutral* (0), *slightly better* (+1), and *significantly better* (+2). Respondents were also given the option to select *prefer not to answer*.

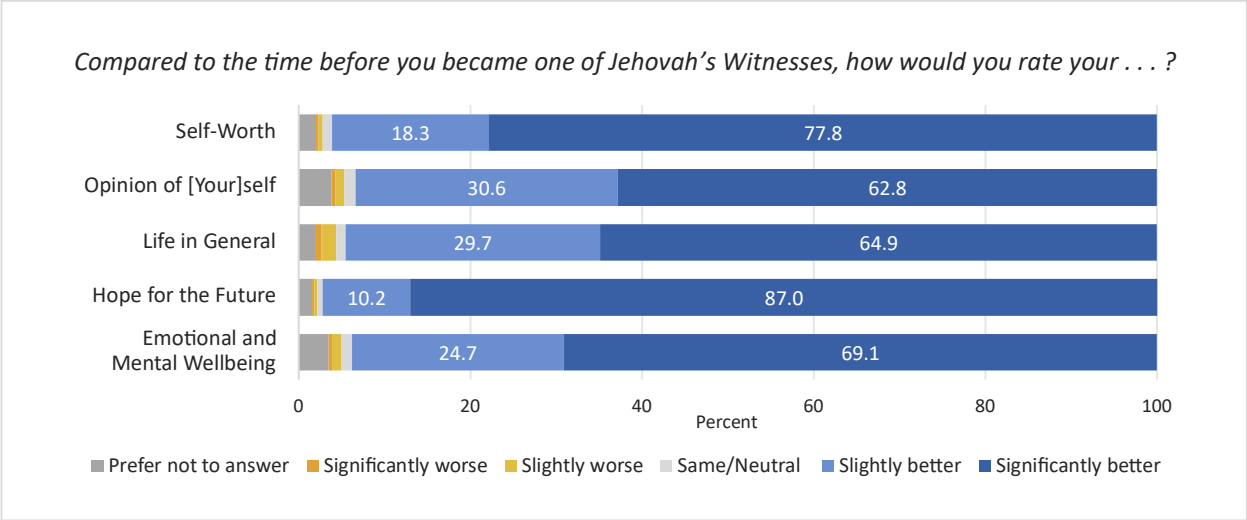
The question set corresponded with a similar question set on perceived changes in interpersonal and conflict relations since becoming one of Jehovah's Witnesses that was reported in Section 4 on Forgiveness and Prosocial Behaviors. The findings on relationship changes found that 85% or more indicated they had better relationships since becoming Jehovah's Witnesses. A similar high percentage was found for subjective wellbeing.

As shown in Figure 6.25, a high percentage of the sample population indicated that their wellbeing had improved since becoming Jehovah's Witnesses. With the percentages of those selecting *slightly better* and *significantly better* combined, the percentages who viewed their wellbeing as better for each item were as follows: *my self-worth*, 96.11%; *my opinion of myself*,

93.36%; *my life in general*, 94.55%; *my hope for the future*, 97.19%; and *my emotional and mental well-being*, 93.80%.

Figure 6.25

Perceived Change in Subjective Wellbeing Since Becoming One of Jehovah's Witnesses



Note. *N* = 13,586, total sample minus missing data.

Table 6.21 gives a breakdown of the mean for the total score of changes in the subjective wellbeing measure. Across all subgroups, total mean scores were over +8 on a scale of −10 to +10. No statistical differences were found within any group.

Table 6.21

Change in Subjective Wellbeing, Group Comparisons

Group	*n*	*M*	*SD*
Total Sample, Cumulative Score (Range: −10 to +10)	12,611	+8.53	2.21
Gender			
Male	5,657	+8.57	2.16
Female	6,954	+8.50	2.25
Age Group			
Early Young Adults	3,057	+8.62	2.19
Young Adults	3,501	+8.62	2.14
Middle-Aged Adults	4,805	+8.45	2.24
Older Adults	1,248	+8.43	2.31
Generation			
Genocide Generation Adults	3,508	+8.43	2.23
Genocide Generation Minors	4,481	+8.60	2.14
Returnees	965	+8.45	2.42
Post-Genocide Generation	3,057	+8.62	2.19
Genocide Role-Situation, Genocide Generation Adults			
Targeted	412	+8.13	2.89
Helper	865	+8.66	1.99
Imprisoned	102	+8.63	1.95
None	294	+8.37	2.12
Interrupted or Continuous Association			
Interrupted JW Association	1,182	+8.21	2.52
Continuous JW Association	11,347	+8.57	2.17

Scriptures to Cope With Thoughts of Genocide

The JW-RWA study identified several ways in which Jehovah's Witnesses might cope with stressful events and life challenges. Section 3 reported on the Witnesses' strong religious identity that involved an integrated sense of belonging, bonding, believing, and behaving, and that contributed to feelings of support and resilience. Section 4 reported on forgiveness and other prosocial attitudes that are conducive to social and psychological wellbeing, benefiting not only the self but the larger community. Section 5 reported ways in which Witnesses were affected by Genocide and trauma events and how they demonstrated emotion regulation and proactive helping

behaviors under adverse situations. For the surveyed Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda, the Bible is logical and provides a hope for the future.

Given that the sample population are known to rely on the Bible as a moral guide—as is the case for many religious Rwandans—the survey asked respondents: *When you think about the Genocide against the Tutsi, what scriptural thoughts help you?* The response options included biblical verses that are familiar to most Witnesses and would have salience in many contexts. However, the question asked respondents to choose three scriptures that specifically aid them in coping with thoughts related to the Genocide.

From the list of selected scriptures below, respondents could select up to three paraphrased scriptures (as well as the option *none of the above*).

Return evil to no one. Vengeance belongs to God. (Romans 12:17, 19)

Pray; the peace of God guards your heart. (Philippians 4:6)

The meek will possess the earth. (Psalm 37:11)

Forgive us as we forgive others. (Matthew 6:12)

Love your enemy. (Matthew 5:44)

Death, pain, and sorrow will be no more. (Revelation 21:4)

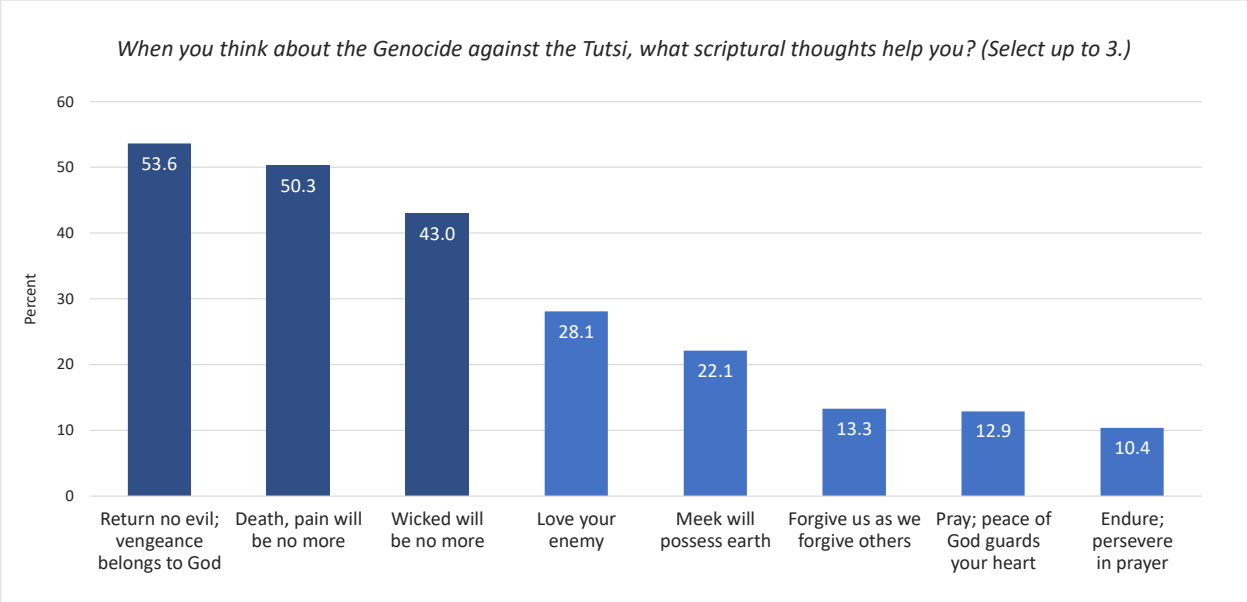
Endure under tribulation. Persevere in prayer. (Romans 12:12)

The wicked will be no more. (Psalm 37:10)

Figure 6.26 shows the percentages of those who selected each scripture as one of their top three choices, with these being the overall top three choices: *Return evil to no one. Vengeance belongs to God* (53.62%); *Death, pain, and sorrow will be no more* (50.26%); and *The wicked will be no more* (42.99%).

Figure 6.26

Scriptures to Cope With Thoughts of Genocide

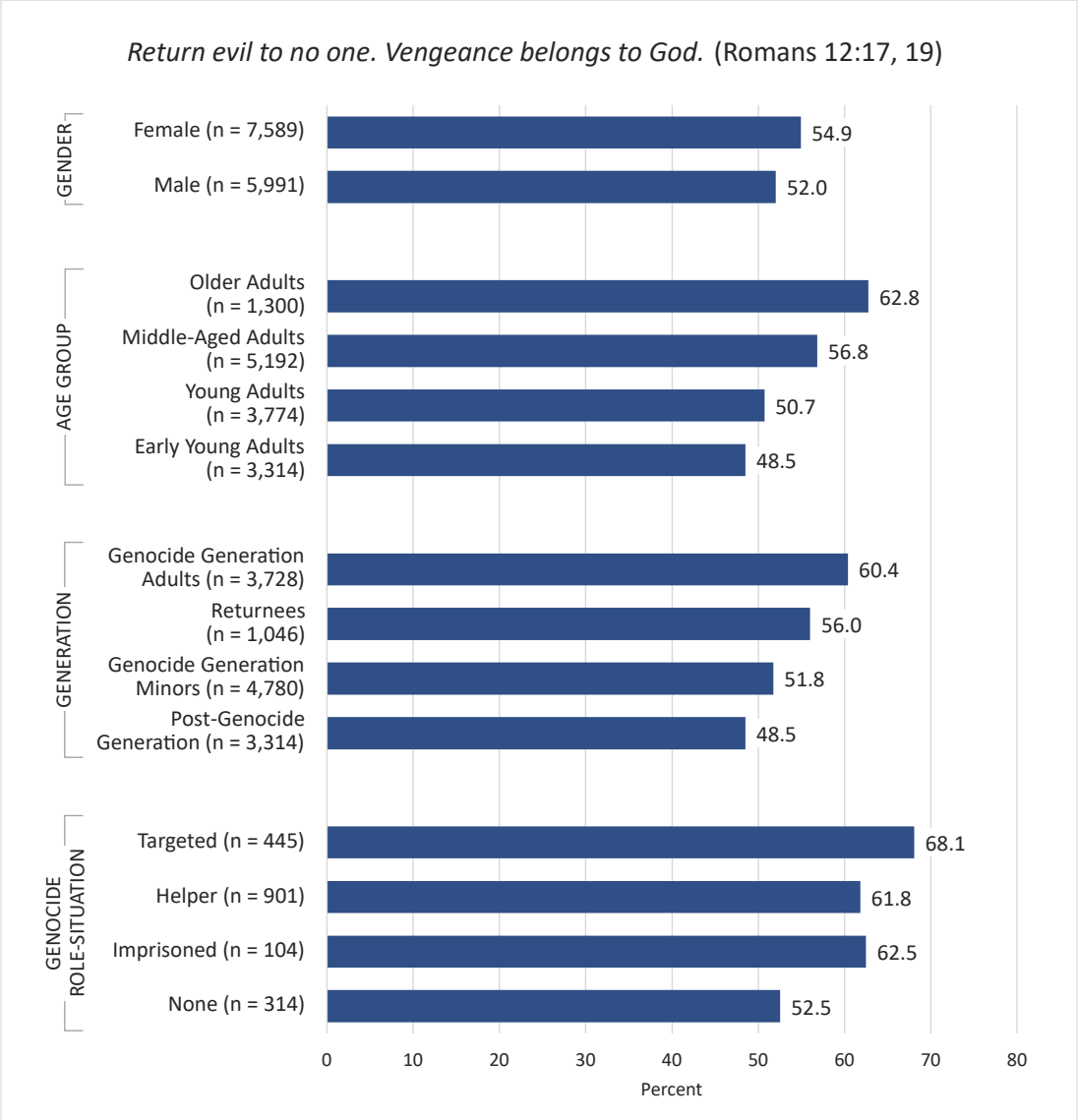


Note. *N* = 13,580, total sample minus missing data.

The most frequently chosen scripture has two distinct but related concepts: behavioral and emotional self-constraint (*Return evil to no one*) and a cognitive rationale related to divine justice (*Vengeance belongs to God*). Group comparisons found that this scripture was favored by a higher percentage of some subgroups than others, as shown in Figure 6.27. For example, over 14% more older adults than early young adults selected this scripture as one of their top three coping scriptures. Out of all the groups, those targeted to be killed had the highest percentage (68.09%) who coped with thoughts of the Genocide against the Tutsi with this scripture.

Figure 6.27

Scripture to Cope With Thoughts of Genocide, Return No Evil; Vengeance Belongs to God

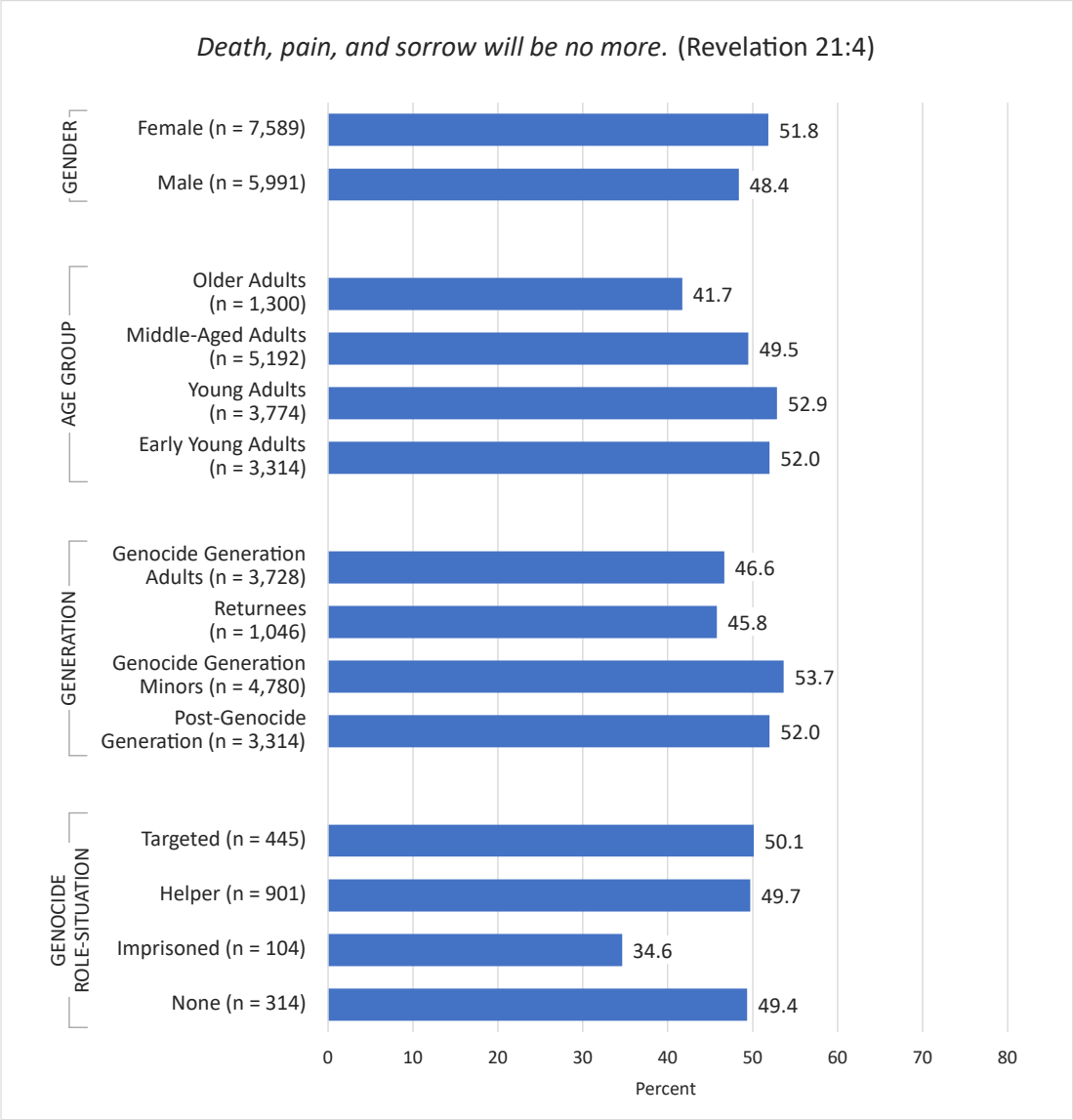


The scripture ranked second in the list was *Death and pain will be no more*, taken from Revelation 21:4. It encompasses two related beliefs of Jehovah's Witnesses: the future resurrection of the dead to life on earth and the reward of everlasting life for the righteous. For the sample population, the scriptural thought about the end of death was more helpful in dealing with thoughts about Genocide than were other scriptures related to core Christian concepts such as love, forgiveness, and prayer.

The percentages of those who selected this scripture varied somewhat by demographics and background, as shown in Figure 6.28. Curiously, a higher percentage of young adults (52.86%) selected this scripture compared with older adults (41.69%). Returnees who were outside Rwanda during the Genocide were less likely to select this scripture than were Genocide Generation Minors (45.79% compared with 53.66%). Consistently, across all groups, Revelation 21:4 made the top two choices except for one group. In contrast to all others, the second most frequently selected scripture to cope with thoughts of the Genocide against the Tutsi for those who had been imprisoned for genocide crimes (41.35%) was *The wicked will be no more* taken from Psalm 37:10.

Figure 6.28

Scripture to Cope With Thoughts of Genocide, Death and Pain No More

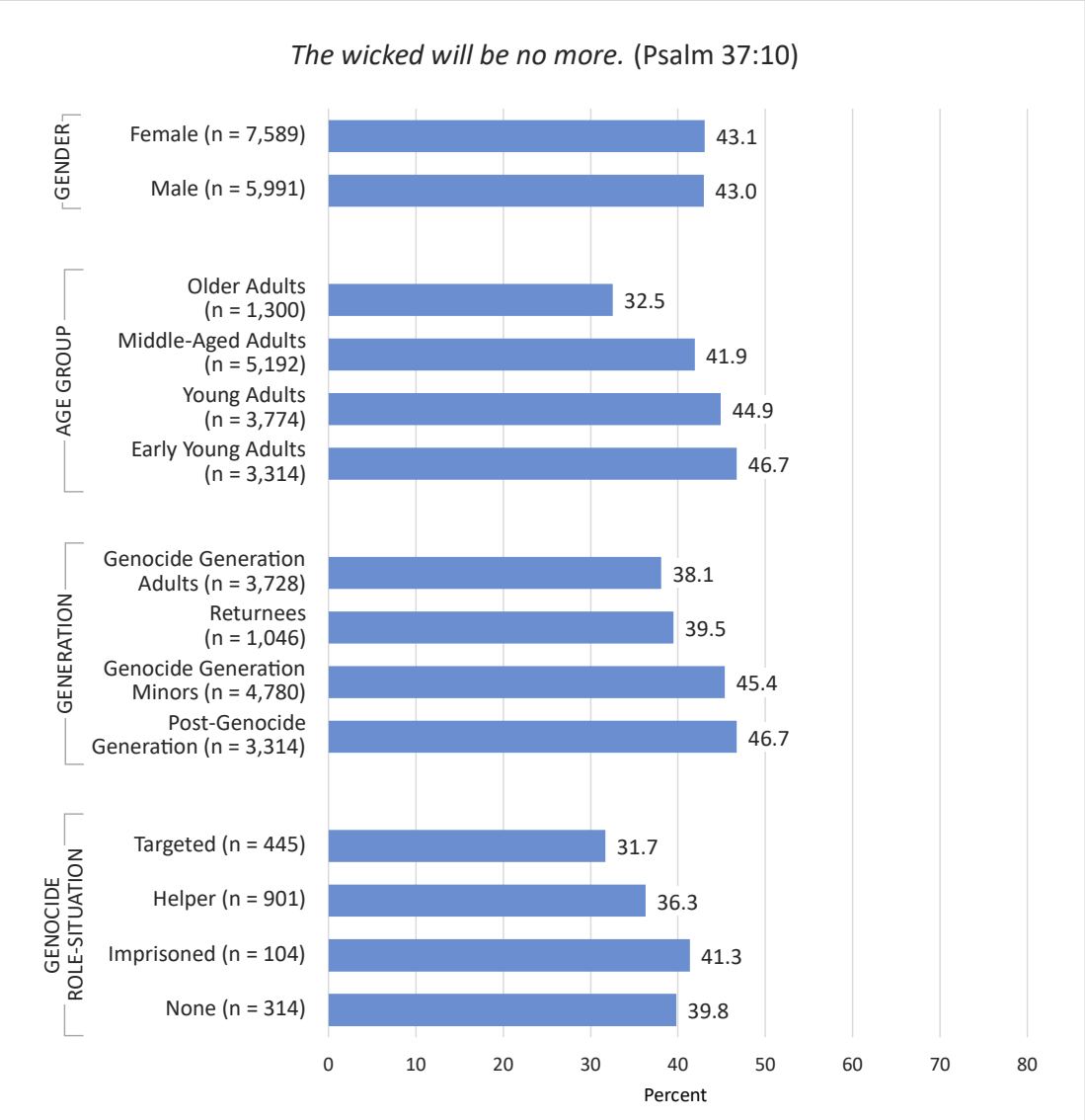


Finally, the scripture chosen as their third choice was *The wicked will be no more*, taken from Psalm 37:10. (See Figure 6.29.) The scriptures in the survey from which respondents could choose included the adjoining verse at Psalm 37:11, *The meek will possess the earth*. For the total sample, 22.10% chose Psalm 37:11 as one of their three coping scriptures. Almost twice as many (42.99%) found help with thoughts about the Genocide in the Bible prophesy at Psalm 37:10 regarding divine justice—there would no longer be wicked people on the earth. A contrast with the

two scriptures was found for early young adults with 18.82% choosing Psalm 37:11 and 46.71% choosing Psalm 37:10.

Figure 6.29

Scripture to Cope With Thoughts of Genocide, Wicked Will Be No More



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Conclusion

The JW-RWA study investigated factors related to the view of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda toward their (a) past self—the centrality of the Genocide and posttraumatic stress symptoms (PTSS); (b) future self—temporal orientation and view of the future; (c) narrative self—conversations about Genocide and trauma events; (d) family identity—satisfaction with family functioning; and (e) collective identity—perceived psychological changes since becoming Jehovah's Witnesses and scriptures as religious coping. Together these present a collective image of the subjective social and psychological wellbeing of those within the faith community. The large data set allowed multiple group comparisons to assess the effect of gender, age group, generation, Genocide role-situation, and the number of years someone was one of Jehovah's Witnesses, either continuously or with interruption. The following are highlights from the findings.

Past Self

The Genocide against the Tutsi affected Jehovah's Witnesses to varying degrees, as evidenced by how often they thought about the Genocide and how they thought it affected them. The frequency of posttraumatic stress symptoms was another indicator of how much the Witnesses were affected not only by the Genocide but also by other possible traumatic events.

Centrality of Genocide

The extent to which the Genocide was central to the thoughts and lives of Jehovah's Witnesses varied widely for different age groups, generations, and Genocide role-situations. For over half of Jehovah's Witnesses, the Genocide is an occasional or rare thought, but for about 15% of the Witnesses, even 30 years after the event, the historical event is a frequent or persistent thought. There were age and generational differences, but not gender differences, in the frequency

of Genocide-related thoughts, with older ones thinking more frequently about the Genocide than younger ones, particularly if the older ones had been targeted or later imprisoned.

The question about how the Genocide affected them appeared difficult for many to answer, with about one fourth responding that they preferred not to answer. Most recognized that the Genocide affected how they viewed the world and their lives, and one third thought that the Genocide was central to their family identity.

PTSS

The PTSS measure allowed analysis of cohort differences in posttraumatic symptomatology and possible generational trauma effects (e.g., comparison of personal Genocide role-situations of Genocide Generation respondents with family's Genocide role-situations of Post-Genocide Generation respondents). Although the measure was not limited to Genocide traumas; it was those who had lived through the Genocide, particularly those targeted, who reported the highest frequency of symptoms of all the subgroups. The highest-scored single item in the PTSS measure was having *recurrent thoughts or memories of the event*. Hypervigilant symptoms (i.e., feeling jumpy or on guard) were the lowest-scored items. Avoidance items had the highest PTSS scores, suggesting that avoiding thoughts and activities associated with the trauma event is a common coping strategy for those with posttraumatic stress symptoms.

The challenges of PTSS that some Jehovah's Witnesses face add further meaning to their view of the congregation as a community able to provide comfort and support when needed.

Importance of Education About the Genocide

The majority of Jehovah's Witnesses believe that education about the Genocide is important and that young people need to learn the history of the Genocide against the Tutsi. Awareness of this part of Rwandan history serves as a bridge between generations. The Post-

Genocide Generation of Witnesses believed Genocide education was important but to a lesser extent than those who experienced the Genocide, either as adults or minors. Education about the Genocide would include how genocides happen and what can be done to prevent them. Of all the subgroups analyzed, those who were formerly imprisoned for genocide crimes and who later became Jehovah's Witnesses felt most strongly about teaching young people about this history.

Future Self

Overall, Jehovah's Witnesses think less about their childhood or past and are more focused on the present and the future. A forward-thinking orientation has therapeutic benefits that can minimize the time and mental space given to unproductive ruminations about the past. Having both a present and future orientation is conducive to setting goals that have short- and long-term objectives. Contrary to expectations that older adults might think more about the past and young adults more about the future, no age differences were found. In fact, across all groups—gender, age group, generation, Genocide role-situation, years as a Witness, or continuous or interrupted religious affiliation—Jehovah's Witnesses had a remarkably uniform pattern of how much they thought about the past and the future.

The same was true about how they viewed their past and future. Hardships during childhood and the past were reflected in the one third who had negative feelings about their past. Yet, the past did not dictate how most felt about their present or future lives, with well over three fourths feeling positive about their current lives in post-Genocide Rwanda and also how they imagine their future self. Although the pattern was identical across all groups, the contrast between view of the past and future was most stark for those who were previously imprisoned for genocide crimes and later became Jehovah's Witnesses. Of all the groups analyzed, the Imprisoned group

had the most negative effect score for their childhood and past, and the most positive effect score about the near and distant future.

The one common denominator for the various demographic and situational groups is their chosen religion. Jehovah's Witnesses' hope is rooted in a belief system that they believe logically explains why suffering exists and what the future holds. The temporal orientation of Witnesses in Rwanda indicates that such beliefs are personalized, influencing their self-identity and subjective wellbeing.

Narrative Identity

The study reveals how much the Genocide or other past traumas make up the narrative identity of Jehovah's Witnesses. Talking about the Genocide and past traumatic events is difficult. Over half of Jehovah's Witnesses indicated that it was painful to hear about their family's experiences during the Genocide. Most were more comfortable talking with those in similar age groups. Developmental and generational differences were seen in that three fourths of the Genocide Generation Adults were comfortable talking with someone younger; and while over half of the Post-Genocide Generation were comfortable talking with someone older, the gap in percentages for the two generation age groups was noticeable, but not surprising.

Over 80% of Jehovah's Witnesses indicated that they were comfortable talking with those in their family and congregation about traumatic experiences. About personal or family Genocide experiences, approximately half had talked with someone in their family and one third had talked with someone in their congregation. In addition to the social and emotional support from families and congregations, the study shows that Jehovah's Witnesses also use outside counseling support, as did some 6% of the Genocide Generation Adults and 16% of those who had been targeted to be killed during the Genocide.

Those who lived through the Genocide either as adults or minors were more likely to talk about Genocide experiences than those who were either outside Rwanda during the Genocide, were born after the Genocide, or did not experience the Genocide as being targeted, helping others, or later imprisoned. In general, Jehovah's Witnesses do not use their public ministry as a forum to share their personal narratives, but a few have shared personal or family experiences with others while in the ministry.

Posttraumatic growth changes the self-narrative with a reframing of past hardships into successful life changes. Jehovah's Witnesses recognize changes especially in their spiritual growth and relationships with others. Despite the diverse backgrounds and experiences, those in the faith community generally view past traumas from the vantage point of positive, personal change.

Family Identity

The composition of the family affects social roles, interactions, and identity. The Genocide devastated family life, forcing merging and reconfigurations of what constituted a family. Three decades later, family life is more normative. Still, family functioning and satisfaction can be challenging for years after the Genocide. Males and females report similar satisfaction with how their family functions. Married couples with children report the highest family satisfaction compared with other household types. Households in which all adult members are Jehovah's Witnesses are more satisfied with their family life than those in divided households. However, the most significant finding was that there were no differences in family satisfaction depending on gender, age group, generations, or Genocide role-situation. Despite past traumas, personal failings, and life stressors, the family identity of Jehovah's Witnesses is generally characterized as having cohesion, flexibility, and good communication.

Collective Identity

Jehovah's Witnesses strongly identify with their religion (reported in Section 3) and perceive positive changes in their interpersonal relationships since becoming Jehovah's Witnesses (reported in Section 4). Most Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda adopted the religion as adults. Over 90% of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda perceive that their social and psychological wellbeing improved ***after*** they changed their religious affiliation. This was their subjective assessment of their self-worth, opinion of self, life in general, hope for the future, and emotional and mental wellbeing.

As a religious people, Jehovah's Witnesses find comfort in scriptures relating to divine justice and promises for a restored earth without wickedness. The study presents a composite portrayal of how Jehovah's Witnesses see themselves—a people who face challenges, have the support of family and fellow believers, and view their future with optimism.

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7. CONCLUSION

The JW-RWA study produced quantitative research findings on faith, forgiveness, and family within the community of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda. A nationwide online survey conducted in the spring of 2023 resulted in a sample population of 13,590 respondents across all 30 districts in Rwanda—half of the baptized adult Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda aged 18 and over. Bias mitigation included respondent anonymity, objective questions and response options, and use of validated measures for psychosocial variables and socially desirable responses. The research was conducted in consultation with an academic advisory committee of scholars from multidisciplinary fields outside the religious community. By synthesizing data on the historical, religious, and relational experience of respondents, the cross-sectional study renders a portrait of the self-reported demographic, experiential, belief-based, and psychosocial characteristics of the study population.

The study aligns with the call of Rwanda's National Dialogue Council for religious communities to document their Genocide-era histories (National Dialogue Council, 2015). The study design and survey questionnaire were approved by the Rwanda National Ethics Committee, and the findings were reviewed by the Ministry of National Unity and Civic Engagement (MINUBUMWE).

This research fills a void in the historical record and empirical literature about Jehovah's Witnesses during the Genocide against the Tutsi, providing insights about individual and collective aspects of the faith community: their faith (motivations, beliefs, and practices); family (functioning, satisfaction, and relationship changes); and forgiveness (prosocial attitudes, social support, and subjective wellbeing). The large dataset allowed statistical comparisons of Jehovah's

Witnesses and non-JWs at the time of the Genocide, along with subgroup analysis by gender, age, and generational cohort.

This concluding section of the report first discusses the circumstances Jehovah's Witnesses experienced before, during, and after the Genocide based on research findings. Then key research findings are presented under the research themes of faith, forgiveness, and family.

Before, During, and After the Genocide Against the Tutsi

Empirical research on the period of the Holocaust has documented the experiences of Jehovah's Witnesses, showing that the Nazi regime targeted and persecuted them for acting in accord with their ethical values (as described in the introduction of this report). The JW-RWA study sought to identify and document the experiences and behaviors of Jehovah's Witnesses half a century later and on a different continent. The Holocaust and the Genocide against the Tutsi differed in duration, intensity, and execution but posed similar moral challenges. In both cases, beliefs and prosocial behaviors adopted prior to genocide were evident in individuals' conscientious helping responses to coercion and genocidal violence. For some who were not targeted for their ethnicity or political position, persecution and even death resulted for strictly adhering to the principles of their faith.

Respondents in the JW-RWA study reported experiences and observations that point to a consistent pattern of nonviolence, impartiality, and political neutrality. Early adopters of the religion in Rwanda faced two critical historical periods for the minority group: the government ban on the religion from 1982 to 1992 and the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.

During the 1970s and 1980s, only a few hundred Jehovah's Witness converts were in Rwanda, and only in 1990 did the number of baptized Witnesses reach 1,000. Despite the group's small, proportionately insignificant number, political forces in the government used legal means

to ban them for a decade—from 1982 to 1992. Government pressure on individuals varied, with more serious consequences for males in responsible positions in the congregation. Based on historical records, the decade-long ban resulted in the imprisonment of about one third of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda at the time.

Research findings corroborate the types of government restrictions imposed, with respondents' reports of Witnesses who refused to disavow their religious identity and beliefs. Some were interrogated, arrested, and imprisoned as criminals for their faith. Some were expelled from school, or their children were expelled, for refusal to participate in political acts. During these formative years for the religious community in Rwanda, this ethnically mixed group demonstrated their principled position to remain nonviolent, impartial, and politically neutral despite persecution.

The way Jehovah's Witnesses functioned individually and collectively during the period of the government ban appears to have set a pattern for how they might function during the Genocide. Unlike the period under ban, during the Genocide against the Tutsi, the religious group itself was not targeted by the *génocidaires*, only Witnesses who were Tutsi. What put other Witnesses at risk was their choice to adhere to the group's values of nonviolence and solidarity across ethnic lines. The data findings suggest that mutual trust forged during the ban period was subsequently evident during the greater test to come.

According to records of the national office of Jehovah's Witnesses, an estimated 400 out of approximately 2,500 Jehovah's Witnesses and their associates (family and Bible students) died during the Genocide. The proportion of this number who were Tutsi victims of Genocide is not known. Also unknown is the number of targeted Jehovah's Witnesses who survived the Genocide with the help of those within their faith community who apparently were willing to cross ethnic

lines to save fellow Witnesses. (For examples, see Seminega, 2019; Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society of Pennsylvania, 2012.)

According to all historical indications, rescue helping behavior during genocide is a rarity among the general population (Fujii, 2014). During this critical time in Rwandan history, trust of friends and neighbors was broken as hateful rhetoric and sweeping massacres negated religious ties and moral prohibitions against harm and murder. Individual rescuers of those targeted during the Genocide against the Tutsi often acted without the support of their religious leaders or faith community, which research has consistently shown was closely tied to the leaderships' political connections. By contrast, the Witnesses' apolitical and inclusive doctrine underpinned their collective rejection of ethnopolitical divisions, as demonstrated first during the period of government ban and subsequently during the Genocide.

The research findings provide insights into the extent and nature of help that those targeted received during the Genocide. Of the 3,620 Genocide Generation Adults who provided data on their role-situations during the Genocide, 15% were baptized Jehovah's Witnesses in or before 1994 and 85% were non-JWs who adopted the religion after 1994. Based on these survey results, respondents who were already Jehovah's Witnesses in 1994 had a higher proportion who were targeted to be killed (Tutsi) than non-JWs at the time (23% compared with 13%).

Respondents who had been targeted to be killed reported the extent and nature of help they received during the Genocide. These findings provide insights into interethnic relationships among Jehovah's Witnesses—those targeted and their helpers. Notable differences in help received were found between those targeted who were non-JWs in 1994 and targeted Jehovah's Witnesses in 1994.

For example, the data revealed that the religious classifications of those who helped were disproportionate to the religious distribution of the general population in Rwanda at the time of the Genocide. Jehovah's Witnesses comprised only 0.03% of the population, yet 20% of targeted non-JWs and 80% of targeted Jehovah's Witnesses reported receiving help from Witnesses or their associates. This proportion is notable, given that rescue behavior is extremely uncommon in genocidal contexts. By comparison, although Catholics represented approximately 60% of the population in 1994, 31% of targeted non-JWs and 16% of targeted Jehovah's Witnesses reported receiving help from Catholics.

Additionally, among all those targeted and in danger for 1 month or more, most reported receiving the same or fewer types of help compared with those who were in danger for shorter periods. In contrast, for targeted Jehovah's Witnesses, those who were in danger for 1 month or more reported receiving more types of help than other JWs who were in danger for shorter periods. Compared with targeted non-JWs, a higher percentage of targeted Jehovah's Witnesses not only received help but were also more likely to receive help coordinated with others, help from more than 15 persons, and help that could have resulted in their helper(s) being killed. Considering the complex factors involved in successful coordinated rescue, these findings suggest the existence of a preexisting social network that facilitated individual or collective help for targeted Jehovah's Witnesses. These insights into group-level helping contribute to the scant evidence in research literature to date.

As corroborating evidence of the nonviolent and politically neutral position of Jehovah's Witnesses, 776 respondents who belonged to other religions at the time of the Genocide reported, *I saw Jehovah's Witnesses refuse to participate in the Genocide*. Such firsthand observations of Jehovah's Witnesses' nonviolence apparently influenced many of the 776 respondents to later

become Jehovah's Witnesses. One third of this group indicated that one of the main reasons they were originally attracted to the religion was the faith group's position of nonviolence.

Following the Genocide, the faith community grew rapidly. The research data confirmed the organization's own records of an almost 100% increase from 1994 to 1996 and an increase of over 200% from 1994 to 1999. (See results about growth over time reported in Section 3, Faith.) The growth of adult converts was steady over the next 2 decades until the year 2020 when meetings and the ministry were curtailed due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Almost 90% of the total sample were first-generation Witnesses. Comparable to the demographic composition of religions in Rwanda, half of Jehovah's Witnesses had parents who were Catholic and smaller percentages had parents with other religious backgrounds (i.e., Anglican, Pentecostal, Seventh-day Adventist, Muslim, Animist, Baptist, and other smaller denominations).

Faith—Motivations and Beliefs

The study provided research-based evidence of Jehovah's Witnesses' religious motivations, beliefs, identity, and coping.

Given the historical context of post-Genocide Rwanda, it is understandable that some JW converts were attracted to the religion originally because of the Witnesses' position of nonviolence (20%), a desire for clear moral guidelines (16%), and wanting to make better life choices (13%). For most respondents, however, the main motivation to adopt a new religion related to religious teachings. The decision to adopt the religion was driven by cognitive, not emotional, processes, with most studying the Bible for over 1 year before becoming baptized Jehovah's Witnesses. This result is supported by the largely intrinsic religious orientation observed among respondents (see below).

What originally attracted most Rwandan Witnesses to the religion was the logic of the main teachings (49%) and wanting to learn more about the Bible (45%). Although these are also reasons Jehovah's Witnesses report that they remained in the religion, the leading motivations to remain in the faith were to be closer to God and to have a hope for the future. The emphasis placed on a relationship with God combined with a hope for the future may plausibly be associated with behaviors in their everyday life, including their relational conduct within the family and congregation and with those outside the faith community.

These findings were corroborated by a measure that assessed intrinsic and extrinsic religiosity—that is, a deeply internalized religious belief guiding one's life compared with faith used for social and personal benefits. The majority of Jehovah's Witnesses have a predominantly intrinsic religious orientation, with nearly 95% indicating that their religious beliefs influence every aspect of their life. According to the findings, they *enjoy learning about [their] religion* and have a *sense of God's presence*. Their religion *answers many questions about the meaning of life*. They desire to *live all [their] life by [their] religious beliefs*, and *[their] whole approach to life is based on [their] religion*.

Religions offer different doctrinal and philosophical explanations about the nature of a divine being, the value of sacred texts, the reason for suffering, and what the future holds. Opinions can vary widely even within religious groups. However, Jehovah's Witnesses are in almost unanimous agreement with core beliefs that could shape their thinking and decisions. For example, they believe the Bible is inspired by God (thus, is viewed as a reliable guide for daily living). They believe Jehovah God created the first couple who became the parents of all humans (which negates ethnic divisions). Mankind is living in the "last days" (so current difficult conditions will soon end). Those who have died do not suffer in eternal hellfire (which removes morbid fear of a

vengeful God). God promises to resurrect the righteous and unrighteous (which provides comfort for those grieving the loss of loved ones). God's Kingdom government will end all human problems on earth (which is a main message that the Witnesses share in their ministry). And finally, as reflected in the survey responses, Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda believe that Jesus taught his disciples not to be involved in political affairs (which explains why they respect governmental authorities but remain politically neutral).

According to the research findings, Rwandans who became Jehovah's Witnesses view these teachings as logical and motivational. With near unanimity, respondents identify with their chosen religious community, are glad to be Jehovah's Witnesses, feel committed to the religion, and think the religion is an important part of how they see themselves.

The Genocide against the Tutsi affected how individuals view the world, their family's story, and their own lives. Almost 15% of respondents think about the Genocide *frequently* or *persistently*, while just over half report that they think about the Genocide *rarely* or *never*. The differences in experiences are most evident between those who experienced the Genocide as adults and those born after the Genocide.

The research indicates that religious beliefs and religious coping may help Witnesses cognitively process past traumas and provide them hope for the future. Over 90% viewed their congregation as a source of comfort and support in times of trouble. Almost 45% of respondents reported that having a hope for the future was one of the top three reasons they remained Jehovah's Witnesses. Based on results from the measure of posttraumatic growth (PTG), Jehovah's Witnesses commonly reframe negative thoughts and interpretations about traumatic experiences as more positive ones, especially in terms of spiritual growth and improved relationships with others. After experiencing traumatic events, survey respondents identified positive changes in their

understanding of themselves and the world. This was a dominant characteristic of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda, whose PTG scores were consistent regardless of gender, age group, generation, Genocide role-situation, years baptized, or interruption in their religious affiliation.

The study inquired which scriptures the Witnesses used to cope with thoughts of the Genocide. Again, some variations existed, but the responses were largely consistent. Out of eight scriptures, the top two scriptures for coping with thoughts of the Genocide, chosen by half of respondents, were as follows: *Return evil to no one. Vengeance belongs to God* (Romans 12:17, 19); and *Death, pain, and sorrow will be no more* (Revelation 21:4). The third leading choice of approximately 40% was *The wicked will be no more* (Psalm 37:10). *Love your enemy* (Matthew 5:44) was chosen by almost 30% of the Witnesses. Together, these scriptures reflect core beliefs in divine justice, the hope of resurrection, the restoration of a cleansed earth without wickedness, and the need for self-restraint and genuine love for others. These beliefs could provide a cognitive rationale for the Witnesses' response to adversity before, during, and after the Genocide, no matter their personal Genocide role-situation.

Forgiveness, Prosocial Behavior, and Social Support

Forgiveness is generally recognized as central to the process of reconciliation in strained relationships and in post-conflict societies. The complexity of forgiveness was evidenced from the results of measures of trait forgiveness, divine forgiveness, and self-forgiveness. Trait forgiveness—the self-appraised disposition to forgive interpersonal transgressions—had the most consistent and positive pattern among Jehovah's Witnesses across gender, age group, and generation. Overall, they view themselves as forgiving, not harboring grudges, and not retaliating. Jehovah's Witnesses are in almost complete agreement that God forgives those who are truly repentant; still, some believe that their sins were too serious for God to forgive. The vast majority

indicated they had taken responsibility for their action(s). Half had expressed remorse, and over half found it difficult to accept and love self in the context of doing wrong. The forgiveness measures in the survey were not Genocide-specific but presented a general assessment. Additional analysis and research are needed to understand how Jehovah's Witnesses understand and apply the three types of forgiveness to themselves and others.

The findings show that religious tenets of forgiveness and compassionate love for humanity—values extolled by most religions—characterize the faith community of Jehovah's Witnesses. As would be expected in a religious community in which love for others is considered a foundational principle, it was not surprising that compassionate love for humanity, such as having *tender feelings toward people*, was viewed as a consistent and positive characteristic.

Survey respondents reported that their congregations serve as a source of emotional and social support. Over half of Jehovah's Witnesses indicated that they make friends and spend time with friends at their religious meetings. On a measure of community resilience, some 90% of Jehovah's Witnesses favorably rated the degree of congregation support they experienced. They viewed the congregation as a source of support during difficult times. They felt *attached to [the] congregation and to its values* and thought they could *count on* their congregation if anything happened. The overwhelming majority perceived that their congregation *enables its different members to build strong bonds* and helps individuals *cope with problems*. This assessment of their congregation life was consistent regardless of gender, age group, generation, or years as Jehovah's Witnesses.

Jehovah's Witnesses report that they receive emotional and spiritual support, material and financial support, and instrumental support (e.g., cleaning, shopping) from those in their congregation. However, despite the level of support offered by fellow congregants, such extrinsic

factors are not a main motivation for individuals to be Jehovah's Witnesses. Less than 1% indicated they remained in the religion to receive material support.

In post-Genocide Rwanda, the challenge for all social groups is in creating an environment that assimilates those from different backgrounds and experiences, such as those who were targeted and those who were later imprisoned. Over 95% of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda reported that their congregation *makes efforts to integrate all its members and to make them stronger*. Evidence of this could be seen in the degree of giving and receiving within the congregation. Perhaps the strongest evidence of forgiveness, impartiality, and integration within the congregations is from the viewpoint of those who were imprisoned for genocide crimes and later became Jehovah's Witnesses, as well as the eight respondents who were baptized Witnesses in 1994 and indicated that they were imprisoned for participating in the Genocide.

The survey asked if relationships with those who had hurt them or whom they had hurt were better or worse since they became Jehovah's Witnesses. Approximately 80% of the sample population felt that their relationships in conflict situations were better. The perceived improvements could not be attributed directly to aspects of the religion; whatever the factors, the findings provide a subjective assessment of interpersonal relationships that would likely require a degree of prosociality to accomplish the significant improvements in what would have previously been strained relationships.

Since the Genocide against the Tutsi, the Rwandan government has instituted numerous programs to accomplish the goals of rehabilitation, reconciliation, and restoration of those who were imprisoned for genocide crimes. Thousands of inmates or former inmates have demonstrated personal changes, expressed remorse, and asked for forgiveness in order to return to community life. Religious organizations are in a position to contribute to these efforts by framing reconciliation

and restoration in spiritual terms but with real-world application in daily life. In particular, the tradition of mutual support within the Witness community provides the opportunity for those who were imprisoned for genocide acts and their family members to be fully integrated as contributors to cohesive congregation life. Several variables provide evidence of this dynamic among the distinct subgroup in the sample who self-identified as having been imprisoned for genocide crimes and who later became Jehovah's Witnesses.

Of all the subgroups analyzed (i.e., gender, age group, generation, distinct Genocide role-situation), those who were imprisoned thought more frequently about the Genocide. They were the most negative about their childhood and past but the most positive about their near future and distant future. They reported the most posttraumatic growth and had the highest (most positive) hope score of all groups. They reported similar satisfaction with their family life compared with other groups.

Those who were imprisoned had the highest percentage (87%) to strongly favor young people learning about the Genocide—over 20% more than those who had been targeted during the Genocide (65%). These individuals, who were imprisoned for complicity in ethnically motivated violence, have affiliated with a religion that practices nonviolence and impartiality; and they now believe that teaching about the Genocide was *very* or *extremely important*. Over three fourths of those who were imprisoned had talked with their family specifically about their personal Genocide experiences, and over half had talked with those in their congregation. The congregation could offer fellow believers an environment to demonstrate genuine remorse, change, and self-forgiveness, along with opportunities to express the changes they had personally made and that were consistent with the teachings of their new faith.

The benefits of prosocial behaviors and the religious beliefs of Jehovah's Witnesses may contribute to their subjective wellbeing. Although the data cannot demonstrate direct causation and many factors may be at work, over 90% perceived positive psychosocial changes since becoming Jehovah's Witnesses in connection with their self-worth, self-opinion, hope for the future, life in general, and emotional and mental wellbeing.

Family Life

The study provided insights into the family life of Jehovah's Witnesses. Overall, Jehovah's Witnesses are satisfied with the closeness, communication, and ability to resolve conflicts in their family. No significant differences in family satisfaction were found based on gender, generation, or Genocide role-situation, as might have been expected in a general population study. The subjective assessment of family satisfaction did not vary significantly between the Genocide Generation and Post-Genocide Generation, or across the role-situations they or their family experienced during the Genocide.

Although religious differences in marriages and families can lead to a higher degree of conflict, respondents gave a predominantly positive, not negative, rating of family relations after their conversion to the faith. Overall, almost 90% of Witnesses in Rwanda believed that their relationships with family were better since they became Jehovah's Witnesses, with 60% reporting that their family relationships were *significantly better*. The number of years a person was one of Jehovah's Witnesses was positively associated with perceived relationship improvements and satisfaction with the cohesion, flexibility, and communication in their families. The perceived improvement in relationships over time would likely reflect positive changes in attitudes and behaviors of both Witnesses and their non-Witness family members. Further analysis is needed to test the extent and ways in which religion has a moderating effect on Witnesses' family life.

In the last 2 decades, an increasing number of those being baptized as Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda are second-generation JWs who had at least one JW parent at birth. However, almost 90% of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda are first-generation and a little over 10% are second-generation Witnesses. For less than 20% of the total sample, having family members who were Jehovah's Witnesses attracted them to the religion originally; however, less than 5% indicated that having JW relatives was a main reason for them to remain in the religion. Second-generation JWs are more likely to have other JW family members, half of whom have JW fathers and about three fourths of whom have JW mothers. About one tenth have JW grandmothers, and over half have JW siblings.

As might be expected of family members who share the same faith, family satisfaction was significantly more favorable if all adult members were Jehovah's Witnesses. Similarly, married respondents with JW spouses reported higher family satisfaction than those with non-JW spouses. However, whether parents and adult children shared the same Witness faith did not significantly affect their family satisfaction. That is, family satisfaction was similar for first- and second-generation JWs, for Witness parents with JW or non-JW adult children, and for Witness adult children with JW or non-JW parents.

Although statistical differences were not found in family satisfaction based on age, gender, generation, religious profile, or Genocide role-situations, the findings did identify other factors that do significantly influence family satisfaction. Those who were married were more satisfied with their family life than those who were never married or who were separated, divorced, or widowed. Those who were married without children had the highest family satisfaction. Family satisfaction was lowest for those who lived alone and those who were in orphaned, child-headed households. Larger household size was associated with lower family satisfaction. Poor health also

negatively affected family satisfaction. In other words, such factors as marital status, household composition, and health status were more likely to negatively influence family satisfaction than were age, religious profile, Genocide experience, and other variables.

The family unit can provide a supportive and safe environment for conversations that increase mutual understanding and strengthen family bonds. That individuals confide in their family can reflect a degree of trust and openness in those relationships. Regardless of gender, age group, generation, or Genocide role-situation, over 80% of Jehovah's Witnesses reported that they were comfortable talking with their family about traumatic experiences. Conversations about Genocide experiences occurred more often with those most closely related and likely in closer proximity, that is, immediate family (spouse, children, parents, siblings), and less often with extended family (grandparents, grandchildren, aunts, uncles, cousins). Two thirds of respondents who were adults in Rwanda during the Genocide had talked with their immediate family members about their personal Genocide experiences.

The study found a general awareness of certain boundaries in conversations about difficult topics. Over 85% of the total sample thought that people should respect the wishes of those who do not want to talk about past traumas. Over 75% showed a generational openness to conversations between younger and older ones in their families, despite over half indicating that it was *painful to hear about [their] family's Genocide experiences*. Although receptive to dialogue about trauma or Genocide experiences, almost 40% indicated concern over burdening children with the traumas of others, and 30% thought that talking about traumas could do *more harm than good*. The Post-Genocide Generation, those born after 1994, not having personally experienced the Genocide, were less likely to have conversations based on their family's Genocide experiences. Over 85% of the total sample agreed that young ones can learn from their family's experiences—good and bad.

About half of Jehovah's Witnesses had family discussions about *moral lessons learned from the Genocide against the Tutsi*. In comparison, about 60% of those who were targeted to be killed during the Genocide and 75% of those who were imprisoned during the Genocide had discussed moral lessons learned from the Genocide with their family.

The complexities of family dynamics are compounded by individual experiences, religious conversions, generational perspectives, and post-Genocide environment. Overall, the research found that Jehovah's Witnesses in post-Genocide Rwanda view their families as successful in their flexibility, communication, and cohesiveness as they navigate life challenges.

Limitations and Recommendations

The study has limitations typical of survey research. The cross-sectional design of this study cannot establish causal links. All self-reported data are susceptible to social desirability bias. While long-term retrospective recall may generally degrade memory, emotionally intense events may enhance memory. Respondents may retroactively use religious interpretive frameworks to process life events. Quantitative survey research based on individual self-reports cannot capture the complex and dynamic functioning of congregations and families. The findings can only be applied to the sample population of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda and cannot be generalized to the larger population.

The JW-RWA study contributes to the empirical literature, providing research-based evidence of Jehovah's Witnesses' historical record of nonviolence and political neutrality before and during the Genocide against the Tutsi, consistent with their position during the Holocaust. The quantitative study gives a composite profile of the faith community—particularly how beliefs may influence self-identities, overall outlook, social interactions, family life, and psychological wellbeing.

More quantitative and qualitatitve research is needed. For example, future research could investigate family systems, congregational networks, and subjective wellbeing with other religious and nonreligious populations in Rwanda. In-depth interviews could explore the lived experiences of individual Witnesses from diverse backgrounds and varied circumstances. Other scholarly investigations would benefit from samples that include Jehovah's Witnesses along with other religious groups.

The study indicates that overall, Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda report progress in post-Genocide healing. Open communication within families and shared experiences among fellow congregants may help individuals learn from the past and at the same time look toward the future with hope and optimism. Finally, the study identifies some of the struggles, motivations, and dominant characteristics of those in the faith community who, alongside their neighbors, pursue reconciliation and unity in post-Genocide Rwanda.

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APPENDIX A
Survey Instrument in English

D01 **What is your gender?**

☐ Male
☐ Female

D02 **In what year were you born?** (Insert the year below.)

D03 **Which of the following languages do you speak?** (Select ALL that apply.)

☐ Kinyarwanda
☐ English
☐ French
☐ Rwandan Sign Language
☐ Swahili
☐ Other

D04 **Where do you currently live?**

☐ Kigali
☐ Northern Province
☐ Southern Province
☐ Eastern Province
☐ Western Province

For each province in D04, go to the corresponding districts in D05.

D05 **District**

☐ Gasabo
☐ Kicukiro
☐ Nyarugenge
☐ Burera
☐ Gakenke
☐ Gicumbi
☐ Musanze
☐ Rulindo
☐ Gisagara
☐ Huye
☐ Kamonyi
☐ Muhanga
☐ Nyamagabe
☐ Nyanza
☐ Nyaruguru
☐ Ruhango
☐ Bugesera

☐ Gatsibo
☐ Kayonza
☐ Kirehe
☐ Ngoma
☐ Nyagatare
☐ Rwamagana
☐ Karongi
☐ Ngororero
☐ Nyabihu
☐ Nyamasheke
☐ Rubavu
☐ Rutsiro
☐ Rusizi

D06 **Which best describes where you currently live in Rwanda?**
☐ Urban
☐ Rural
☐ Refugee camp

SECTION 1. RELIGIOUS BELIEFS. As a reminder, your answers are anonymous. Please answer sincerely and openly.

R01 **In what year were you baptized as one of Jehovah's Witnesses?** (Insert the year below.)

R02 **In what country were you baptized as one of Jehovah's Witnesses?**
☐ Rwanda
☐ Burundi
☐ Tanzania
☐ Uganda
☐ Zaire/Democratic Republic of Congo
☐ Other

R03 **What was your FATHER'S religion at the time of your birth?** (Scroll down the entire list, then select one.)
☐ Anglican
☐ Baha'i
☐ Baptist
☐ Catholic
☐ Evangelical
☐ Jehovah's Witness
☐ Latter-day Saint
☐ Methodist
☐ Muslim
☐ Pentecostal
☐ Presbyterian
☐ Seventh-day Adventist
☐ Traditional/Animist

☐ Other religion
☐ No religion
☐ Do not know

R04 **What was your MOTHER'S religion at the time of your birth?** (Scroll down the entire list, then select one.)
☐ Anglican
☐ Baha'i
☐ Baptist
☐ Catholic
☐ Evangelical
☐ Jehovah's Witness
☐ Latter-day Saint
☐ Methodist
☐ Muslim
☐ Pentecostal
☐ Presbyterian
☐ Seventh-day Adventist
☐ Traditional/Animist
☐ Other religion
☐ No religion
☐ Do not know

R05 **Individuals are attracted to a religion for different reasons. What ORIGINALLY attracted you to Jehovah's Witnesses?** (Scroll down and select up to 3 choices.)
☐ I wanted to learn more about the Bible.
☐ I was attracted to the logic of the main teachings.
☐ I was attracted to the clear moral guidelines.
☐ I wanted to make better life choices.
☐ I had family members who were Jehovah's Witnesses.
☐ I was attracted to Jehovah's Witnesses' position of nonviolence.
☐ I wanted to receive material support from Jehovah's Witnesses.
☐ I wanted to be closer to God.
☐ I wanted a hope for the future.
☐ I felt accepted by the Jehovah's Witnesses.
☐ I was attracted to the religious rituals.
☐ None of the above
☐ Prefer not to answer

R06 **About how long did you study the Bible with Jehovah's Witnesses before you were baptized?**
☐ Studied less than 1 year
☐ Studied 1 year up to 2 years
☐ Studied 2 years or more, without interruption
☐ Studied 2 years or more, off-and-on
☐ Grew up learning the Bible as a child from a parent/guardian who was one of Jehovah's Witnesses
☐ Prefer not to answer

R07 **Individuals decide to remain in a religion for different reasons. What attracts you NOW to Jehovah's Witnesses?** (Scroll down and select up to 3 choices.)

☐ I want to learn more about the Bible.
☐ I am attracted to the logic of the main teachings.
☐ I am attracted to the clear moral guidelines.
☐ I want to make better life choices.
☐ I have family members who are Jehovah's Witnesses.
☐ I am attracted to Jehovah's Witnesses' position of nonviolence.
☐ I want to receive material support from Jehovah's Witnesses.
☐ I want to be closer to God.
☐ I want a hope for the future.
☐ I am accepted by Jehovah's Witnesses.
☐ I am attracted to the religious rituals.
☐ None of the above
☐ Prefer not to answer

R08a **Since your baptism, did you ever stop your association as one of Jehovah's Witnesses?**

☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Prefer not to answer

If yes to R08a, go to R08b–R08c, then R09. If no or PNA, go to R09.

R08b **About how long did you stop your association as one of Jehovah's Witnesses?**

☐ Less than one year
☐ 1-2 years
☐ 3-4 years
☐ 5-6 years
☐ 7-8 years
☐ 9-10 years
☐ Over 10 years
☐ Prefer not to answer

R08c **To the best of your recollection, in what year did you resume activity as one of Jehovah's Witnesses?** (If you prefer not to answer, press "Next.")

R09 **Please think about the next 12 statements. How much do you agree or disagree that the attitude or behavior in each statement describes you?**

◯ 1 Strongly disagree
◯ 2 Disagree
◯ 3 Uncertain/Neutral
◯ 4 Agree
◯ 5 Strongly agree
◯ Prefer not to answer

1. I enjoy learning about my religion.
2. I attend religious meetings because it helps me make friends.
3. It is important to me to spend time in private thought and prayer.
4. I have often had a strong sense of God's presence.

5. I pray mainly to gain relief and protection.
6. I try hard to live all my life according to my religious beliefs.
7. What religion offers me most is comfort in times of trouble and sorrow.
8. My religion is important because it answers many questions about the meaning of life.
9. Prayer is for peace and happiness.
10. I attend religious meetings mostly to spend time with my friends.
11. My whole approach to life is based on my religion.
12. I attend religious meetings mainly because I enjoy seeing people I know there.

R10 **Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the next 4 statements.**

◯ 1 Strongly disagree
◯ 2 Disagree
◯ 3 Somewhat disagree
◯ 4 Uncertain/Neutral
◯ 5 Somewhat agree
◯ 6 Agree
◯ 7 Strongly agree
◯ Prefer not to answer

1. I identify with Jehovah's Witnesses.
2. I feel committed to Jehovah's Witnesses.
3. I am glad to be one of Jehovah's Witnesses.
4. Being one of Jehovah's Witnesses is an important part of how I see myself.

R11 **Compared to the time before you became one of Jehovah's Witnesses, how would you rate your CURRENT relationships and habits described in the next 11 items?**

◯ 1 Significantly worse
◯ 2 Slightly worse
◯ 3 Same/Neutral
◯ 4 Slightly better
◯ 5 Significantly better
◯ Prefer not to answer

1. Relationship with family members
2. Relationship with friends
3. Relationship with neighbors, people at work, or school
4. Relationship with those I have hurt or offended
5. Relationship with those who hurt or offended me
6. My use of alcohol, tobacco, or illegal drugs
7. My emotional and mental well-being
8. My hope for the future
9. My life in general
10. My opinion of myself
11. My self-worth

R12 **The next 8 statements are about forgiveness by God. To what extent do you agree or disagree with each statement?**

◯ 1 Strongly disagree
◯ 2 Disagree
◯ 3 Neither agree nor disagree
◯ 4 Agree
◯ 5 Strongly agree
◯ Prefer not to answer

1. I ask God to forgive me for my sins.

2. I know God forgives.
3. I find it hard to believe that God forgives me.
4. I feel my sins are too serious for God to forgive.
5. I can be forgiven by God if I truly repent.
6. Knowing that God forgives me helps me forgive others.
7. Knowing that God forgives me helps me to do better.
8. No matter what I do, God forgives me.

R13 **Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the next 8 statements about religious beliefs.**

◯ 1 Strongly disagree
◯ 2 Disagree
◯ 3 Uncertain
◯ 4 Agree
◯ 5 Strongly agree
◯ Prefer not to answer

1. God used his holy spirit to direct men to write the Bible.
2. The dead do not suffer and cannot harm the living.
3. God will resurrect both righteous and unrighteous people.
4. After death, all good people go to heaven, and bad people spend eternity in hellfire.
5. Jehovah God created Adam and Eve, the parents of all humans.
6. Jesus taught his disciples not to be involved in political affairs.
7. God's Kingdom government will end all human problems on earth.
8. Mankind is living in the "last days" according to Bible prophecy.

R14a **Jehovah's Witnesses were legally banned nationwide in Rwanda between 1982 and 1992. During the ban, were you one of Jehovah's Witnesses or associated with Jehovah's Witnesses (family member, Bible student, or unbaptized publisher)?**

☐ Yes
☐ No, not one of Jehovah's Witnesses or associated with them
☐ No, not yet born or too young

If yes to R14a, go to R14b–R14c, then Section 2. If no, go to Section 2.

R14b **During the ban, please indicate which of the following, if any, did you personally do?** (Select ALL that apply.)

☐ I refused to make political donations.
☐ I refused to join or participate in the military.
☐ I refused to participate in political observances or celebrations.
☐ I refused to wear a political emblem.
☐ I refused to cease evangelizing.
☐ None of the above
☐ Prefer not to answer

R14c **Which of the following, if any, happened to you because of your religious affiliation with Jehovah's Witnesses during the ban?** (Scroll down and select ALL that apply.)

☐ Was eyewitness to Jehovah's Witnesses being persecuted
☐ Officially interrogated
☐ Arrested
☐ Imprisoned
☐ Verbal harassment

☐ Physical/Sexual violence
☐ Fired from job
☐ Expelled from school (personally)
☐ Your children expelled from school
☐ Fled home for safety
☐ House raided or ransacked
☐ Forbidden to attend religious meetings
☐ None of the above
☐ Prefer not to answer

SECTION 2. GENERAL ATTITUDES. Please read carefully. Answer as sincerely and openly as you can.

A01 **The next 5 statements are about your relationships with others. How much is each statement true or false for you?**

◯ 1 Definitely true
◯ 2 Mostly true
◯ 3 Do not know
◯ 4 Mostly false
◯ 5 Definitely false
◯ Prefer not to answer

1. I am always courteous even to people who are disagreeable.
2. There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone.
3. I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget.
4. I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way.
5. No matter who I am talking to, I am always a good listener.

A02 **How true or not true are each of the following 9 statements about how you feel or act?**

◯ 1 Not at all true of me
◯ 2 Not true of me
◯ 3 Somewhat not true of me
◯ 4 Neither true nor not true
◯ 5 Somewhat true of me
◯ 6 True of me
◯ 7 Very true of me
◯ Prefer not to answer

1. When I hear about someone (a stranger) going through a difficult time, I feel a great deal of compassion for him or her.
2. It is easy for me to feel the pain (and joy) experienced by others, even though I do not know them.
3. If I encounter a stranger who needs help, I would do almost anything I could to help him or her.
4. I feel considerable compassionate love for people from everywhere.
5. I tend to feel compassion for people even though I do not know them.
6. One of the activities that provides me with the most meaning to my life is helping others in the world who need help.
7. I often have tender feelings toward people (strangers) when they seem to be in need.
8. I feel a selfless caring for most of mankind.
9. If a person (a stranger) is troubled, I usually feel extreme tenderness and caring.

A03 **How strongly do you agree or disagree with each of the following 10 statements?**

◯ 1 Strongly disagree

◯ 2 Mildly disagree
◯ 3 Neither agree nor disagree
◯ 4 Mildly agree
◯ 5 Strongly agree
◯ Prefer not to answer

1. People close to me probably think I hold a grudge too long.
2. I can forgive a friend for almost anything.
3. If someone treats me badly, I treat him or her the same.
4. I try to forgive others even when they don't feel guilty for what they did.
5. I can usually forgive and forget an insult.
6. I feel bitter about many of my relationships with people.
7. Even after I forgive someone, things often come back to me that I resent.
8. There are some things for which I could never forgive even someone close to me.
9. I have always forgiven those who have hurt me.
10. I am a forgiving person.

A04 **Sometimes we think back on situations when we did wrong or failed to do right. When that happens to you, how true or not true are the following 10 statements?**

◯ 1 Not at all true of me
◯ 2 Not true of me
◯ 3 Somewhat not true of me
◯ 4 Neither true nor not true
◯ 5 Somewhat true of me
◯ 6 True of me
◯ 7 Very true of me
◯ Prefer not to answer

1. I will try not to repeat my offense in the future.
2. I acknowledge that I am to blame for my actions.
3. I would take back what I've done if I could.
4. I regret that my past actions violated my values.
5. My actions violated something that is important to me.
6. Even though I did something wrong, I feel a sense of self-acceptance.
7. I feel like a valuable person despite my wrongdoing.
8. I still love myself even though I did wrong.
9. I respect myself even though I did wrong.
10. I feel compassion toward myself.

A05 **How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following 12 statements?**

◯ 1 Strongly disagree
◯ 2 Disagree
◯ 3 Agree
◯ 4 Strongly agree
◯ Prefer not to answer

1. I have a positive outlook toward life.
2. I have short and/or long-range goals.
3. I feel all alone.
4. I can see possibilities in the midst of difficulties.
5. I have a faith that gives me comfort.
6. I feel scared about my future.
7. I can recall happy/joyful times.
8. I have deep inner strength.
9. I am able to give and receive caring/love.

10. I have a sense of direction.
11. I believe that each day has potential.
12. I feel my life has value and worth.

A06 **When you think about your congregation, how strongly do you agree or disagree with each of the following 10 statements?**

◯ 1 Strongly disagree
◯ 2 Disagree
◯ 3 Uncertain/Neutral
◯ 4 Agree
◯ 5 Strongly agree
◯ Prefer not to answer

1. If anything was to happen to me, I know I could count on my congregation.
2. In the event of an extreme situation (natural disaster, war, etc.), I know that I can count on my congregation to face the event and move forward.
3. When I go through hard times, there are people in my congregation I can talk with.
4. The relationships I maintain in my congregation help me cope with problems that happen to me or that may happen.
5. In my congregation, there are important traditions of mutual support.
6. My congregation makes efforts to integrate all its members and to make them stronger.
7. My congregation enables its different members to build strong bonds.
8. Mutual support is one of the values in my congregation.
9. In my congregation, sharing is a very important value.
10. I am attached to my congregation and to its values.

A07 **In the past year, did you or your family RECEIVE HELP from any of Jehovah's Witnesses in the following ways?** (Scroll down and **select** ALL that apply.)

☐ Disaster relief
☐ Material assistance (food, clothing)
☐ Housing assistance
☐ Financial assistance (monetary)
☐ Physical assistance (shopping, house chores)
☐ Hospital or home visitation
☐ Emotional support (interchange of encouragement)
☐ Spiritual encouragement (prayer, commendation, shepherding, scriptural thought)
☐ Personal gift or favor
☐ None of the above
☐ Prefer not to answer

A08 **In the past year, did you or your family GIVE HELP to any of Jehovah's Witnesses in the following ways?** (Scroll down and select ALL that apply.)

☐ Disaster relief
☐ Material assistance (food, clothing)
☐ Housing assistance
☐ Financial assistance (monetary)
☐ Physical assistance (shopping, house chores)
☐ Hospital or home visitation
☐ Emotional support (interchange of encouragement)
☐ Spiritual encouragement (prayer, commendation, shepherding, scriptural thought)
☐ Personal gift or favor
☐ None of the above

☐ Prefer not to answer

A09 **Some people think about different time periods in their lives. HOW OFTEN, if at all, do you think about your life during the following time periods?**

◯ 1 Never
◯ 2 Rarely
◯ 3 Occasionally
◯ 4 Frequently
◯ 5 Persistently
◯ Prefer not to answer

1. How often do you think about your CHILDHOOD?
2. How often do you think about your RECENT PAST (other than childhood)?
3. How often do you think about your PRESENT situation?
4. How often do you think about your NEAR FUTURE?
5. How often do you think about your DISTANT FUTURE?

A10 **Please indicate how you feel about the following time periods in your life.**

◯ 1 Very negative
◯ 2 Negative
◯ 3 Neutral
◯ 4 Positive
◯ 5 Very positive
◯ Prefer not to answer

1. In general, how do you feel about your CHILDHOOD?
2. In general, how do you feel about your RECENT PAST (other than childhood)?
3. In general, how do you feel about your PRESENT situation?
4. In general, how do you feel about your NEAR FUTURE?
5. In general, how do you feel about your DISTANT FUTURE?

A11 **How often do you think about the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi?**

☐ 1 Never
☐ 2 Rarely
☐ 3 Occasionally
☐ 4 Frequently
☐ 5 Persistently
☐ Prefer not to answer

A12 **Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each of the following 3 statements about the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.**

◯ 1 Strongly disagree
◯ 2 Disagree
◯ 3 Neither agree nor disagree
◯ 4 Agree
◯ 5 Strongly agree
◯ Prefer not to answer

1. The Genocide against the Tutsi has affected the way I think and feel about the world.
2. I often think about the effects the Genocide against the Tutsi has on my life.
3. I feel that the Genocide against the Tutsi is a central part of my family's life story.

You are halfway finished.

SECTION 3. SITUATIONS DURING THE GENOCIDE AGAINST THE TUTSI. As a reminder, your responses are anonymous and confidential. You do not have to answer questions that are uncomfortable for you. You have the option to select "Prefer not to answer."

Note: In Section 3, some questions are presented to all respondents. Other questions are selectively presented and looped based on the time period of respondent's birth (in or before 1976 [A]; after 1976 and before or in 1994 [C]; or after 1994 [c]) and the location of respondent or respondent's family in 1994 (i.e., in Rwanda [I] or outside Rwanda [O]. Additional looping was based on other responses, namely, Yes, No, Prefer not to answer, Do not know, and Does not apply.

G01 (All) **In which time period were you born?**
☐ I was born in or before 1976.
☐ I was born after 1976 and in or before 1994.
☐ I was born after 1994.

If born in or before 1976, go to G02. If born after 1976/before 1994 or after 1994, go to G03.

G02 (A) **Did you ever live outside Rwanda at any time?**
☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Prefer not to answer

If yes to G02, go to G02a–G02c, then G04. If no or PNA, go to G04.

G02a (A-O) **To the best of your recollection, when did you LEAVE Rwanda?** (If you left and returned more than once, what was the year closest to the time of the 1994 Genocide that you left? If you do not know or prefer not to answer, press "Next.")

G02b (A-O) **In which country outside Rwanda did you live?** (Select ALL that apply.)
☐ Burundi
☐ Kenya
☐ Tanzania
☐ Uganda
☐ Zaire/Democratic Republic of Congo
☐ Other
☐ Prefer not to answer

G02c (A-O) **When did you RETURN to Rwanda?** (If you left and returned more than once, what was the most recent year that you returned? If you do not know or prefer not to answer, press "Next.")

G03 (C/c) **Did your immediate family ever live outside Rwanda?**
☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Do not know
☐ Does not apply

☐ Prefer not to answer

If yes to G03, go to G03a–G03c, then G05. If no, DNK, DNA, or PNA, go to G05.

G03a (C/c-O) **To your knowledge, when did your immediate family leave Rwanda?** (If your family left Rwanda more than once, what was the year closest to the time of the 1994 Genocide that your family left Rwanda? If you do not know or prefer not to answer, press "Next.")

G03b (C/c-O) **In which country outside Rwanda did your family live?** (Select ALL that apply.)
☐ Burundi
☐ Kenya
☐ Tanzania
☐ Uganda
☐ Zaire/Democratic Republic of Congo
☐ Other
☐ Do not know
☐ Prefer not to answer

G03c (C/c-O) **To your knowledge, when did your family RETURN to Rwanda?** (If your family left more than once, what was the most recent year that your family returned? If you do not know or prefer not to answer, press "Next.")

G04 (A) **Were you in Rwanda at least some of the time during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi?**
☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Prefer not to answer

If yes to G04, go to G06. If no or PNA, go to G23a.

G05 (C/c) **Was your immediate family in Rwanda at least some of the time during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi?**
☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Do not know
☐ Prefer not to answer

If yes to G05, go to G08. If no, DNK, or PNA, go to G23a.

G06 (A-I) **Where in Rwanda did you live at the time of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi (using today's geographic divisions)?**
☐ Kigali
☐ Northern Province
☐ Southern Province
☐ Eastern Province
☐ Western Province
☐ Prefer not to answer

If a province is selected in G06, go to the corresponding districts in G07. If PNA, go to G10.

G07 (A-I) **District**

☐ Gasabo
☐ Kicukiro
☐ Nyarugenge
☐ Burera
☐ Gakenke
☐ Gicumbi
☐ Musanze
☐ Rulindo
☐ Gisagara
☐ Huye
☐ Kamonyi
☐ Muhanga
☐ Nyamagabe
☐ Nyanza
☐ Nyaruguru
☐ Ruhango
☐ Bugesera
☐ Gatsibo
☐ Kayonza
☐ Kirehe
☐ Ngoma
☐ Nyagatare
☐ Rwamagana
☐ Karongi
☐ Ngororero
☐ Nyabihu
☐ Nyamasheke
☐ Rubavu
☐ Rutsiro
☐ Rusizi

G08 (C/c-I) **Where in Rwanda did your immediate family live at the time of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi (using today's geographic divisions)?**

☐ Kigali
☐ Northern Province
☐ Southern Province
☐ Eastern Province
☐ Western Province
☐ Do not know
☐ Prefer not to answer

If a province is selected in G08, go to the corresponding districts in G09. If DNK or PNA, go to G12.

G09 (C/c-I) **District**

☐ Gasabo

☐ Kicukiro
☐ Nyarugenge
☐ Burera
☐ Gakenke
☐ Gicumbi
☐ Musanze
☐ Rulindo
☐ Gisagara
☐ Huye
☐ Kamonyi
☐ Muhanga
☐ Nyamagabe
☐ Nyanza
☐ Nyaruguru
☐ Ruhango
☐ Bugesera
☐ Gatsibo
☐ Kayonza
☐ Kirehe
☐ Ngoma
☐ Nyagatare
☐ Rwamagana
☐ Karongi
☐ Ngororero
☐ Nyabihu
☐ Nyamasheke
☐ Rubavu
☐ Rutsiro
☐ Rusizi
☐ Do not know

G10 (A-I) **Which best describes your household the month BEFORE the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi?** (Scroll down and select one.)

☐ One-person household (lived alone)
☐ Married couple without children
☐ Married couple with children
☐ Single-parent household
☐ Orphaned, child-headed household
☐ Grandparent as primary caregiver household
☐ Extended family living together
☐ Unrelated persons living together
☐ Other
☐ Prefer not to answer

G11 (A-I) **Including yourself, how many were in your household one month BEFORE the Genocide against the Tutsi?** (Please insert the number below. If you do not know or prefer not to answer, press "Next.")

G12 (C-I) **Including yourself, how many were in your household one month BEFORE the Genocide against the Tutsi?** (Please insert the number below. If you do not know or prefer not to answer, press "Next.")

G13 (A-I) **Which best describes your household one month AFTER the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi?** (Scroll down and select one.)

☐ One-person household (lived alone)
☐ Married couple without children
☐ Married couple with children
☐ Single-parent household
☐ Orphaned, child-headed household
☐ Grandparent as primary caregiver household
☐ Extended family living together
☐ Unrelated persons living together
☐ Other
☐ Prefer not to answer

G14 (A-I) **Including yourself, how many were in your household one month AFTER the Genocide against the Tutsi?** (Please insert the number below. If you do not know or prefer not to answer, press "Next.")

G15 (C-I) **Including yourself, how many were in your household one month AFTER the Genocide against the Tutsi?** (Please insert the number below. If you do not know or prefer not to answer, press "Next.")

G16 (A-I) **Which of the following describes situations you experienced during the time of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi?** (Scroll down and select ALL that apply.)

☐ Targeted to be killed
☐ Faced harm, but not targeted
☐ Refused to harm those who were targeted
☐ Refused to betray those who were targeted
☐ Helped those who were targeted
☐ Helped those who were in danger for reasons other than being targeted group
☐ Later imprisoned for participating in the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi
☐ Fled the country for safety
☐ None of the above
☐ Do not know
☐ Prefer not to answer

G17 (C/c-I) **Which of the following describes the situation of members of your immediate family during the time of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi?** (Scroll down and select ALL that apply.)

☐ Targeted to be killed
☐ Faced harm, but not targeted
☐ Refused to harm those who were targeted
☐ Refused to betray those who were targeted

☐ Helped those who were targeted
☐ Helped those who were in danger for reasons other than being in targeted group
☐ Later imprisoned for participating in the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi
☐ Fled the country for safety
☐ None of the above
☐ Do not know
☐ Prefer not to answer

G18 (A-I) **Approximately how long were you in danger, if at all, during the time of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi?** (Scroll down and select one.)
☐ Never in any danger
☐ Several days
☐ 1 week
☐ 2-3 weeks
☐ 1 month
☐ Between 1 and 2 months
☐ Over 2 months
☐ Do not know
☐ Prefer not to answer

G19 (A-I) **At any time during the Genocide against the Tutsi, did OTHERS HELP you?**
☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Prefer not to answer

If yes to G19, go to G19a–G20f, then G20. If no or PNA, go to G20.

G19a (A-I) **In what ways did others help you?** (Scroll down and select ALL that apply.)
☐ Warned of dangers
☐ Tried to stop an attack
☐ Gave gift or money to bribe attackers
☐ Gave me food, clothing, or supplies
☐ Hid me on their property
☐ Helped me to get to a hiding place
☐ Helped me to flee the country
☐ Took care of children in my family
☐ Coordinated with others to help me
☐ Could have been killed for helping me
☐ Helped in other ways
☐ Prefer not to answer

G19b (A-I) **Approximately how many individuals helped you?**
☐ A few (1–5)
☐ Several (6–10)
☐ Many (11–15)
☐ Very many (over 15)
☐ Do not know
☐ Prefer not to answer

G19c **Who helped you during the Genocide against the Tutsi?** (Select ALL that apply.)

(A-I)
☐ Extended family
☐ Neighbor
☐ Schoolmate, workmate
☐ Teacher, supervisor
☐ Stranger
☐ Other
☐ Do not know
☐ Prefer not to answer

G19d (A-I) **What was the religious affiliation of those who helped you?** (Scroll down and select ALL that apply.)
☐ Jehovah's Witnesses (baptized or unbaptized publisher)
☐ Those associated with Jehovah's Witnesses (family member, Bible student)
☐ Catholic
☐ Protestant
☐ Muslim
☐ Traditional/Animist
☐ Other
☐ Do not know
☐ Prefer not to answer

G19e (A-I) **In the past year, have you communicated with any who helped you or your family during the Genocide against the Tutsi?**
☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Do not know
☐ Prefer not to answer

G19f (A-I) **Are any of those with whom you have communicated Jehovah's Witnesses?**
☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Do not know
☐ Prefer not to answer

G20 (A-I) **At any time during the Genocide against the Tutsi, did you help others?**
☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Prefer not to answer

If yes to G20, go to G20a–G20f, then G21. If no or PNA, go to G21.

G20a (A-I) **In what ways did you help others?** (Scroll down and select ALL that apply.)
☐ Warned of dangers
☐ Tried to stop an attack
☐ Gave gift or money to bribe attackers
☐ Gave others food, clothing, or supplies
☐ Hid others on my property
☐ Helped others get to a hiding place
☐ Helped others flee the country
☐ Took care of other people's children

☐ Coordinated help for others
☐ Could have been killed for helping others
☐ Helped in other ways
☐ Prefer not to answer

G20b (A-I) **Approximately how many individuals did you help?**
☐ A few (1–5)
☐ Several (6–10)
☐ Many (11–15)
☐ Very many (over 15)
☐ Prefer not to answer

G20c (A-I) **Whom did you help during the Genocide against the Tutsi?** (Select ALL that apply.)
☐ Extended family
☐ Neighbor
☐ Schoolmate, workmate
☐ Teacher, supervisor
☐ Stranger
☐ Other
☐ Do not know
☐ Prefer not to answer

G20d (A-I) **What was the religious affiliation of those you helped?** (Select ALL that apply.)
☐ Jehovah's Witnesses (baptized or unbaptized publisher)
☐ Those associated with Jehovah's Witnesses (family member, Bible student)
☐ Catholic
☐ Protestant
☐ Muslim
☐ Traditional/Animist
☐ Other
☐ Do not know
☐ Prefer not to answer

G20e (A-I) **In the past year, have you communicated with any whom you helped during the Genocide against the Tutsi?**
☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Do not know
☐ Prefer not to answer

G20f (A-I) **Are any of those with whom you have communicated Jehovah's Witnesses?**
☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Do not know
☐ Prefer not to answer

G21 (A-I) **During the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, were you a parent or a guardian of children?**
☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Prefer not to answer

If yes to G21, go to G21a–G21c, then G23a. If no or PNA, go to G23a.

G21a (A-I) **How many children did you have during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi?** (Please insert the number below.)

G21b (A-I) **In which age group were your children during the Genocide against the Tutsi?** (Select ALL that apply.)

☐ Under 3 years old
☐ 3 to 6 years old
☐ 7 to 10 years old
☐ 11 to 14 years old
☐ 15 to 18 years old
☐ 19 years or older
☐ Prefer not to answer

G21c (A-I) **Which of the following, if any, did you observe any of your children doing during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi?** (Scroll down and select ALL that apply.)

☐ Fetched water, food, or supplies
☐ Made difficult decisions without adult direction
☐ Cooperated with me in difficult situations
☐ Took care of other children
☐ Helped those who were hiding
☐ Remained quiet so as not to be detected
☐ Stayed with others when the family was separated
☐ Motivated me not to give up
☐ Made it difficult for others at times
☐ None of the above
☐ Prefer not to answer

G22 (C-I) **Were you under age 18 during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi?**

☐ Yes
☐ No

If yes to G22, go to G22a–G22b, then G23a. If no, go to G23a.

G22a (C-I) **How old were you during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi?** (Please insert the age below.)

G22b (C-I) **Which of the following, if any, do you remember doing during the time of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi?** (Scroll down and select ALL that apply.)

☐ Fetched water, food, or supplies
☐ Made difficult decisions without adult direction
☐ Cooperated with adults in difficult situations
☐ Took care of other children
☐ Helped those who were hiding
☐ Remained quiet so as not to be detected
☐ Stayed with others when the family was separated

☐ Motivated my mother or father not to give up
☐ Made it difficult for others at times
☐ None of the above
☐ Prefer not to answer

The next 4 questions are about Jehovah's Witnesses' position of neutrality and nonviolence.

G23a (All) **When did you first learn about Jehovah's Witnesses' position of neutrality and nonviolence?**
☐ Before the Genocide against the Tutsi
☐ During the Genocide against the Tutsi
☐ After the Genocide against the Tutsi
☐ Do not remember

G23b (All) **Before you started associating or studying with Jehovah's Witnesses, did you already know about Jehovah's Witnesses' position of neutrality and nonviolence?**
☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Do not remember

G23c (All) **How did you learn about Jehovah's Witnesses' position of neutrality and nonviolence?** (Scroll down and select ALL that apply.)
☐ A relative who was one of Jehovah's Witness told me.
☐ One of Jehovah's Witnesses other than a relative told me.
☐ I read about it in literature of Jehovah's Witnesses.
☐ I heard about it at meeting(s) of Jehovah's Witnesses.
☐ I heard about it at my job, school, or neighborhood.
☐ I heard about it at church.
☐ I heard about it in prison.
☐ A radio or television program talked about Jehovah's Witnesses.
☐ I saw Jehovah's Witnesses refuse to participate in the Genocide.
☐ Do not remember
☐ Other

G23d (All) **When you first learned about Jehovah's Witnesses being nonviolent and politically neutral, which describes your thoughts and feelings?** (Select ALL that apply.)
☐ I was angry at them.
☐ I was surprised at their position.
☐ I thought they were wrong.
☐ I wanted to learn more about them.
☐ I respected them.
☐ Do not remember
☐ Other
☐ Prefer not to answer

G24 (All) **When you think about the Genocide against the Tutsi, what scriptural thoughts help you?** (Scroll down and select up to 3 choices.)
☐ Return evil to no one. Vengeance belongs to God. (Romans 12:17, 19)
☐ Pray; the peace of God guards your heart. (Philippians 4:6)
☐ The meek will possess the earth. (Psalm 37:11)

☐ Forgive us as we forgive others. (Matthew 6:12)
☐ Love your enemy. (Matthew 5:44)
☐ Death, pain, and sorrow will be no more. (Revelation 21:4)
☐ Endure under tribulation. Persevere in prayer. (Romans 12:12)
☐ The wicked will be no more. (Psalm 37: 10)
☐ None of these help me.

SECTION 4. DEALING WITH TRAUMATIC EVENTS. As a reminder, your responses are anonymous and confidential. You do not have to answer questions that are uncomfortable for you. You have the option to select "Prefer not to answer."

T01 **In which of these 2 time periods were you born?**
☐ In or before 1994
☐ After 1994

T02 **In your lifetime, which of the following have you experienced?** (Scroll down and select ALL that apply.)
☐ Murder or unexpected death of a close family member
☐ Serious illness or injury
☐ Malnutrition
☐ Physical/Sexual violence
☐ Damage or loss of home
☐ Witness someone being badly injured or killed
☐ Imprisoned
☐ Forced to flee to safety as a refugee
☐ Loss from natural disaster (fire, flood, landslide, earthquake)
☐ Other traumatic or life-threatening experience
☐ None of the above
☐ Prefer not to answer

T03 **During the period of the Genocide against the Tutsi, which of the following did you experience?** (Scroll down and select ALL that apply.)
☐ Murder or unexpected death of a close family member
☐ Serious illness or injury
☐ Malnutrition
☐ Physical/Sexual violence
☐ Damage or loss of home
☐ Witness someone being badly injured or killed
☐ Imprisoned
☐ Forced to flee to safety as a refugee
☐ Loss from natural disaster (fire, flood, landslide, earthquake)
☐ Other traumatic or life-threatening experience
☐ None of the above
☐ Prefer not to answer

T04 **During the period of the Genocide against the Tutsi, which of the following do you know members of your immediate family experienced?** (Scroll down and select ALL that apply.)
☐ Murder or unexpected death of a close family member
☐ Serious illness or injury

☐ Malnutrition
☐ Physical/Sexual violence
☐ Damage or loss of home
☐ Witness someone being badly injured or killed
☐ Imprisoned
☐ Forced to flee to safety as a refugee
☐ Loss from natural disaster (fire, flood, landslide, earthquake)
☐ Other traumatic or life-threatening experience
☐ None of the above
☐ Do not know
☐ Prefer not to answer

T05 **During the period of COVID-19 (2020 to present), which of the following have you experienced?** (Scroll down and select ALL that apply.)
☐ Unexpected death of one or more close family member
☐ Serious illness or injury
☐ Malnutrition
☐ Physical violence
☐ Damage or loss of home
☐ Witness someone being badly injured or killed
☐ Imprisoned
☐ Loss from natural disaster (fire, flood, landslide, earthquake)
☐ Other traumatic or life-threatening experience
☐ None of the above
☐ Prefer not to answer

T06 **Traumatic events sometimes cause symptoms long after people experience or witness some traumatic or troubling event. Please read the next 8 statements and indicate how much each has bothered you, if at all, IN THE LAST MONTH.**

◯ 1 Not at all
◯ 2 Rarely
◯ 3 Sometimes
◯ 4 Most of the time
◯ Prefer not to answer

1. Recurrent thoughts or memories of the event
2. Feeling as though the event is happening again
3. Recurrent nightmares about the event
4. Sudden emotional or physical reactions when reminded of the event
5. Avoiding activities that remind you of the event
6. Avoiding thoughts or feelings associated with the event
7. Feeling jumpy, easily startled
8. Feeling on guard

T07 **Next are changes people might experience AFTER a traumatic or stressful event. Please indicate the extent to which you have experienced any of the following 10 CHANGES after a traumatic or stressful event in your life.**

◯ 0 No change
◯ 1 Small change
◯ 2 Moderate change
◯ 3 Great change

◯ 4 Very great change
◯ Does not apply
◯ Prefer not to answer

1. I changed my priorities about what is important in life.
2. I have a greater appreciation for the value of my own life.
3. I am able to do better things with my life.
4. I have a better understanding of spiritual matters.
5. I have a greater sense of closeness with others.
6. I established a new path for my life.
7. I know better that I can handle difficulties.
8. I have a stronger religious faith.
9. I discovered that I am stronger than I thought I was.
10. I have greater compassion for others.

SECTION 5. INTERGENERATIONAL COMMUNICATION. This section is about family attitudes and communication.

C01a **Which best describes your current household?** (Scroll down and select one.)
☐ One-person household (live alone)
☐ Married couple without children
☐ Married couple with children
☐ Single-parent household
☐ Orphaned, child-headed household
☐ Grandparent as primary caregiver household
☐ Extended family living together
☐ Unrelated persons living together
☐ Other
☐ Prefer not to answer

C01b **Including yourself, how many are in your household?** (Please insert the number below.)

C01c **Which age groups are in your household?** (Select ALL that apply.)
☐ Under 3 years old
☐ 3 to 11 years old
☐ 12 to 17 years old
☐ 18 to 40 years old
☐ 41 to 64 years old
☐ 65 or over

C02 **When you think about your family, how satisfied are you with the following 10 items?**
◯ 1 Very dissatisfied
◯ 2 Somewhat dissatisfied
◯ 3 Generally satisfied
◯ 4 Very satisfied
◯ 5 Extremely satisfied

1. The degree of closeness between family members
2. Your family's ability to cope with stress
3. Your family's ability to be flexible
4. Your family's ability to share positive experiences

5. The quality of communication between family members
6. Your family's ability to resolve conflicts
7. The amount of time you spend together as a family
8. The way problems are discussed
9. The fairness of criticism in your family
10. Family members' concern for each other

C03 **Are all the adults in your family Jehovah's Witnesses?**

☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Prefer not to answer

C03a **Who in your family are Jehovah's Witnesses?** (Select ALL that apply.)

☐ One or more grandfather
☐ One or more grandmother
☐ Your father
☐ Your mother
☐ Your spouse
☐ One or more of your adult children
☐ One or more of your siblings
☐ Other

C04 **How important do you think it is for young people to learn about the history of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi?**

☐ 1 Not important at all
☐ 2 Slightly important
☐ 3 Moderately important
☐ 4 Very important
☐ 5 Extremely important
☐ Prefer not to answer

C05 **To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following 10 statements?**

◯ 1 Strongly disagree
◯ 2 Disagree
◯ 3 Neutral
◯ 4 Agree
◯ 5 Strongly agree
◯ Prefer not to answer

1. Talking about past traumas does more harm than good.
2. Young people can learn from their family's history—good and bad.
3. Children should not be burdened with learning about others' traumatic experiences.
4. People should respect those who do not want to talk about difficult experiences.
5. Young ones in my family are open to hearing about life experiences from older ones.
6. Older ones in my family are open to telling younger ones about their life experiences.
7. Talking about the Genocide against the Tutsi makes my family angry.
8. My family has talked about moral lessons learned from the Genocide against the Tutsi.
9. It is painful for me to hear about my family's experiences during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.
10. I am tired of hearing and talking about genocide.

C06 **How comfortable are you talking about difficult or traumatic events to the following 8 groups of people?**

◯ 1 Very Uncomfortable
◯ 2 Uncomfortable
◯ 3 Neutral
◯ 4 Comfortable
◯ 5 Very Comfortable

1. People older than me
2. People younger than me
3. People in my age group
4. People in my family
5. People in my congregation
6. People with backgrounds similar to mine
7. People with backgrounds different from mine
8. People I do not know very well

C07 **Whom have you personally talked to about what you or your family experienced during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi?** (Select ALL that apply.)

☐ Immediate family members (spouse, children, parents, siblings)
☐ Extended family members (grandparents, grandchildren, uncles, aunts, cousins)
☐ Persons associated with my congregation
☐ Persons met while in the public ministry
☐ Persons outside my family or congregation
☐ Persons connected to counseling or outreach programs
☐ No one
☐ Prefer not to answer

Next are demographic questions about you and your family.

D07 **What is your current marital status?**

☐ Never married
☐ Currently married
☐ Separated
☐ Divorced
☐ Widowed
☐ Prefer not to answer

D08 **Would you say, in general, your health is:**

☐ Poor
☐ Fair
☐ Good
☐ Very good
☐ Excellent
☐ Prefer not to answer

D09 **Where do you or your family have access to the internet?** (Select ALL that apply.)

☐ On a phone with mobile data
☐ At home
☐ At work or school
☐ At a Kingdom Hall

☐ At a friend's home
☐ At a public place or internet café
☐ Do not have access to internet service
☐ Prefer not to answer

D10 **What is the highest level of education you attended?**
☐ No formal education
☐ Primary school
☐ Craftsmanship school
☐ Secondary school
☐ Technical school
☐ University
☐ Prefer not to answer

D11 **During the last month, which best describes your work situation?** (Scroll down and select the one that best applies.)
☐ Farming, rearing animals, fishing
☐ Houseworker at someone's house
☐ Plant and machine operator, assembler
☐ Craft and trade worker
☐ Services, clerical, and sales worker
☐ Manager
☐ Professional
☐ Homeworker at own house
☐ Student
☐ Retired
☐ Unemployed
☐ Prefer not to answer

D12 **Which describes your current responsibility in the organization of Jehovah's Witnesses?** (Select ALL that apply.)
☐ Publisher
☐ Regular auxiliary pioneer or other part-time service
☐ Regular pioneer or other full-time service
☐ Special full-time servant
☐ Ministerial servant
☐ Elder
☐ Prefer not to answer

D13 **I completed this survey to the best of my ability under the following circumstance.** (Select one.)
☐ Without assistance from anyone
☐ With someone helping me to use an electronic device
☐ With someone helping me to read the questions
☐ With someone helping me to both read the questions and use the electronic device

D14 **Whose electronic device did you use to complete the survey?** (Select one.)
☐ My personal device
☐ A relative's device
☐ A friend's device
☐ A tablet from the congregation

OPTIONAL. These last questions are not part of the main survey. This information will be saved separately for possible future projects.

O01a **The Organisation Réligieuse des Temoins de Jéhovah du Rwanda would like to use items to document historical experiences. Do you have any of the following objects from the 1970's, 1980's, or 1990's?** (Select ALL that apply.)
☐ Personal objects or mementos
☐ Legal documents or identification papers
☐ Bibles or Bible literature
☐ Diaries, maps
☐ Letters, personal notes
☐ Business papers
☐ Photographs, drawings
☐ None of the above

O01b **Would you be willing to temporarily loan any items to the Organisation Réligieuse des Temoins de Jéhovah in Rwanda?**
☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Do not have anything to loan

O01c **In order to contact you about historical items, please provide your full name.** (If you prefer not, press "Next.")

O01d **Please provide a phone number to contact you.** (If not, press "Next.")

O01e **Please provide an email address if you have one.** (If you have no email address, insert "none.")

O02a **If we conduct future interviews or research projects, may we contact you?** (If yes, we would provide detailed information so you can decide if you want to participate.)
☐ Yes
☐ No

O02b **In order to contact you about future projects, please provide your full name.** (If you prefer not, press "Next.")

O02c **Please provide a phone number to contact you.** (If not, press “Next.”)

O02d **Please provide an email address if you have one.** (If you have no email address, insert “none.”)

O03 **This is the end of the survey. Please use the space below if you would like to add a comment or thought.** If not, press “Next.”

We greatly appreciate the time and thought you took to complete this survey. Thank you very much. If you have any questions, please contact Valens NKURIKIYINKA (+250 781 177118; JWSurveyRwanda@jw.org).

APPENDIX B
Survey Instrument in Kinyarwanda

Ubushakashatsi

D01 **Igitsina**
☐ Gabo
☐ Gore

D02 **Wavutse mu wuhe mwaka?** (Usabwe gushyiramo umwaka aho hepfo.)

D03 **Muri izi ndimi zikurikira ni uruhe uvuga?** (Hitamo ibisubizo bikureba BYOSE.)
☐ Ikinyarwanda
☐ Icyongereza
☐ Igifaransa
☐ Amarenga
☐ Igiswahili
☐ Urundi

D04 **Aho utuye ubu**
☐ Umugi wa Kigali
☐ Intara y'Amajyaruguru
☐ Intara y'Amagepfo
☐ Intara y'Uburasirazuba
☐ Intara y'Uburengerazuba

For each province in D04, go to the corresponding district in D05.

D05 **Akarere**
☐ Gasabo
☐ Kicukiro
☐ Nyarugenge
☐ Burera
☐ Gakenke
☐ Gicumbi
☐ Musanze
☐ Rulindo
☐ Gisagara
☐ Huye
☐ Kamonyi
☐ Muhanga
☐ Nyamagabe
☐ Nyanza
☐ Nyaruguru
☐ Ruhango

☐ Bugesera
☐ Gatsibo
☐ Kayonza
☐ Kirehe
☐ Ngoma
☐ Nyagatare
☐ Rwamagana
☐ Karongi
☐ Ngororero
☐ Nyabihu
☐ Nyamasheke
☐ Rubavu
☐ Rutsiro
☐ Rusizi

D06 **Aha hakurikira ni hehe hasobanura neza aho utuye mu Rwanda?**
☐ Umugi
☐ Icyaro
☐ Inkambi y'impunzi

ICYICIRO 1. IMYEMERERE YO MU RWEGO RW'IDINI. Turakwibutsa ko ibisubizo byawe bitazahuzwa n'izina ryawe. Bityo rero, turagusaba gusubiza ibikuvuye ku mutima kandi wisanzuye.

R01 **Wabatijwe mu wuhe mwaka maze uba umwe mu Bahamya ba Yehova?** (Usabwe gushyiramo umwaka aho hepfo.)

R02 **Ubaye Umuhamya wa Yehova wabatirijwe mu kihe gihugu?**
☐ U Rwanda
☐ U Burundi
☐ Tanzaniya
☐ U Bugande
☐ Zayire/Repubulika Iharanira Demokarasi ya Kongo
☐ Ikindi gihugu

R03 **Igihe wavukaga PAPA wawe yari mu rihe dini?** (Manuka hepfo uhitemo kimwe.)
☐ Abangirikani
☐ Ababahayi
☐ Ababatisita
☐ Abagatolika
☐ Abevanjerike (Evangelical)
☐ Abahamya ba Yehova
☐ Abamorumo
☐ Abametodisiti
☐ Abayisilamu
☐ Abapantekote
☐ Abaperisebuteriyeni
☐ Abadivantisiti b'Umunsi wa karindwi

☐ Idini rya gakondo
☐ Irindi dini
☐ Nta dini
☐ Simbizi

R04 **Igihe wavukaga MAMA wawe yari mu rihe dini?** (Manuka hepfo uhitemo kimwe.)
☐ Abangirikani
☐ Ababahayi
☐ Ababatisita
☐ Abagatolika
☐ Abevanjerike (Evangelical)
☐ Abahamya ba Yehova
☐ Abamorumo
☐ Abametodisiti
☐ Abayisilamu
☐ Abapantekote
☐ Abaperisebuteriyeni
☐ Abadivantisiti b'Umunsi wa karindwi
☐ Idini rya gakondo
☐ Irindi dini
☐ Nta dini
☐ Simbizi

R05 **Hari impamvu zitandukanye z'ibanze zituma abantu bajya mu idini. Ni iki cyagukuruye MBERE NA MBERE mu Bahamya ba Yehova?** (Manuka hepfo uhitemo ibintu bigeze kuri 3.)
☐ Nashakaga kwiga Bibiliya kurushaho.
☐ Nakuruwe n'inyigisho z'ibanze zihuje n'ubwenge.
☐ Nakuruwe n'amabwiriza asobanutse agenga umuco.
☐ Nashakaga guhitamo ibyambera byiza kurusha ibindi mu buzima.
☐ Hari abagize umuryango wange bari Abahamya ba Yehova.
☐ Nakuruwe no kuba Abahamya ba Yehova badashyigikira urugomo.
☐ Nashakaga ko Abahamya ba Yehova bampa imfashanyo.
☐ Nashakaga kwegera Imana kurushaho.
☐ Nashakaga ibyiringiro by'igihe kizaza.
☐ Numvise Abahamya ba Yehova banyakiriye uko ndi.
☐ Nakuruwe n'imihango y'idini.
☐ Nta na kimwe muri ibyo
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

R06 **Ugereranyije mbere y'uko ubatizwa wamaze igihe kingana iki wigana Bibiliya n'Abahamya ba Yehova?**
☐ Nize igihe kiri munsi y'umwaka 1
☐ Nize igihe kiri hagati y'umwaka 1 n'imyaka 2
☐ Nize igihe k'imyaka 2 cyangwa irenga kandi ntaguhagarara
☐ Nize igihe k'imyaka 2 cyangwa irenga, nkajya mpagarika ubundi ngasubukura
☐ Nakuze nigishwa Bibiliya n'umubyeyi wange/umuntu wanderaga
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

R07 **Abantu bafata umwanzuro wo KUGUMA mu idini kubera impamvu zitandukanye. UBU ni iki gituma wishimira kuba mu Bahamya ba Yehova?** (Manuka hepfo uhitemo ibintu bigeze kuri 3.)

☐ Nshaka kwiga Bibiliya kurushaho.
☐ Nkururwa n'inyigisho z'ibanze zihuje n'ubwenge.
☐ Nkururwa n'amabwiriza agenga umuco asobanutse.
☐ Nashakaga guhitamo ibyambera byiza kurusha ibindi mu buzima.
☐ Hari abagize umuryango wange b'Abahamya ba Yehova.
☐ Nkururwa no kuba Abahamya ba Yehova badashyigikira urugomo.
☐ Nshaka ko Abahamya ba Yehova bampa imfashanyo.
☐ Nshaka kwegera Imana kurushaho.
☐ Nshaka ibyiringiro by'igihe kizaza.
☐ Abahamya banyakiriye uko ndi.
☐ Nkururwa n'imihango y'idini.
☐ Nta na kimwe muri ibyo
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

R08a **Kuva wabatizwa, ese wigeze ureka kwifatanya n'Abahamya ba Yehova?**

☐ Yego
☐ Oya
☐ Mpisemo kutagisubiza

If yes to R08a, go to R08b–R08c, then R09. If no or PNA, go to R09.

R08b **Ugereranyije wamaze igihe kingana iki utakifatanya n'Abahamya ba Yehova?**

☐ Igihe kiri munsi y'umwaka umwe
☐ Umwaka 1 kugera kuri 2
☐ Imyaka 3 kugera kuri 4
☐ Imyaka 5 kugera kuri 6
☐ Imyaka 7 kugera ku 8
☐ Imyaka 9 kugera ku 10
☐ Hejuru y'imyaka 10
☐ Mpisemo kutagisubiza

R08c **Niba wibuka neza, ni mu wuhe mwaka wongeye kwifatanya mu bikorwa by'Abahamya ba Yehova?** (Niba uhisemo kudasubiza, kanda "Next.")

R09 **Tekereza ku nteruro 12 zikurikira maze uziyerekezeho. Ni mu rugero rungana iki wemeranya cyangwa utemeranya n'ibikubiye muri buri nteruro?**

◯ 1 Simbyemera na busa
◯ 2 Simbyemera
◯ 3 Simbizi neza/Simbyemera kandi simbihakana
◯ 4 Ndabyemera
◯ 5 Ndabyemera cyane
◯ Mpisemo kudasubiza

1. Nishimira kwiga ibijyanye n'idini ryanjye.
2. Njya mu materaniro kubera ko bimfasha kubona inshuti nshya.
3. Ni iby'ingenzi kuri njye gufata umwanya wo gusenga no gutekereza ku byiyumvo byange.

4. Njya niyumvisha kenshi ko ndi kumwe n'Imana.
5. Ikintera gusenga ahanini ni ukugira ngo mbone ihumure n'uburinzi.
6. Mu buzima bwange bwose, ngerageza kubaho mu buryo buhuje n'ibyo nizera.
7. Icyo imyizerere yange impa k'ingenzi cyane ni uko ituma ntuza mu gihe k'ibibazo n'agahinda.
8. Idini ryange ni ingenzi kuko risubiza ibibazo byinshi nibaza birebana n'icyo ubuzima ari cyo.
9. Akamaro k'isengesho ni uko rituma umuntu agira amahoro n'ibyishimo.
10. Njya mu materaniro ahanini kugira ngo marane igihe n'inshuti zanjye.
11. Ubuzima bwange bwose n'uburyo mbaho bishingiye ku myizerere yange.
12. Impamvu ya mbere ituma njya mu materaniro ni uko nishimira kuhabona abantu nzi.

R10 **Garagaza uburyo wemeranya cyangwa utemeranya n'interuro 4 zikurikira.**

◯ 1 Simbyemera na busa
◯ 2 Simbyemera
◯ 3 Mu rugero runaka simbyemera
◯ 4 Simbizi neza/Simbyemera kandi simbihakana
◯ 5 Mu rugero runaka ndabyemera
◯ 6 Ndabyemera
◯ 7 Ndabyemera cyane
◯ Mpisemo kudasubiza

1. Niyumva ko ndi umwe mu Bahamya ba Yehova.
2. Niyemeje kuba umwe mu Bahamya ba Yehova.
3. Nishimira ko ndi umwe mu Bahamya ba Yehova.
4. Kuba umwe mu Bahamya ba Yehova ni kimwe mu by'ingenzi bigaragaza uwo ndi we.

R11 **Gereranya n'igihe wari utaraba Umuhamya wa Yehova, maze wihe amanota MURI IKI GIHE ku bintu 11 bikurikira bihereranye n'uko ubaho n'imibanire yawe n'abandi.**

◯ 1 Byabaye bibi cyane
◯ 2 Byabaye bibi mu rugero
◯ 3 Nta cyahindutse/Nta cyo nabivugaho
◯ 4 Byabaye byiza mu rugero
◯ 5 Byabaye byiza cyane
◯ Mpisemo kudasubiza

1. Imibanire yange n'abagize umuryango
2. Imibanire yange n'inshuti
3. Imibanire yange n'abaturanyi, abantu bo ku kazi cyangwa abo ku ishuri
4. Imibanire yange n'abo nababaje cyangwa abo nakoshereje
5. Imibanire yange n'abambabaje cyangwa abankoshereje
6. Uburyo nywa ibinyobwa bisindisha, itabi, cyangwa ibiyobyabwenge
7. Uko meze mu byiyumvo no mu mitekerereze
8. Ikizere cyange k'igihe kizaza
9. Ubuzima bwange muri rusange
10. Uko nitekereza ubwange
11. Kumva mfite agaciro

R12 **Interuro 8 zikurikira zivuga ku bihereranye n'imbabazi z'Imana. Ni mu rugero rungana iki wemeranya cyangwa utemeranya na buri nteruro?**

◯ 1 Simbyemera na busa
◯ 2 Simbyemera
◯ 3 Simbyemera kandi simbihakana
◯ 4 Ndabyemera

◯ 5 Ndabyemera cyane
◯ Mpisemo kudasubiza

1. Nsaba Imana kumbabarira ibyaha byange.
2. Nzi ko Imana ibabarira.
3. Birangora kwizera ko Imana imbabarira.
4. Numva ko ibyaha byange bikomeye cyane ku buryo Imana itambabarira.
5. Imana yambabarira nihannye by'ukuri.
6. Kumenya ko Imana imbabarira bimfasha kubabarira abandi.
7. Kumenya ko Imana imbabarira bituma nkora neza kurushaho.
8. Icyo nakomeza gukora cyose, Imana yambabarira.

R13 **Garagaza uregero wemeranya cyangwa utemeranya n'interuro 8 zikurikira zihereranye n'imyemerere.**

◯ 1 Simbyemera na busa
◯ 2 Simbyemera
◯ 3 Simbizi neza
◯ 4 Ndabyemera
◯ 5 Ndabyemera cyane
◯ Mpisemo kudasubiza

1. Imana yakoresheje umwuka wera wayo iyobora abantu ngo bandike Bibiliya.
2. Abapfuye ntibababara kandi ntibashobora kugirira nabi abazima.
3. Imana izazura abakiranutsi n'abakiranirwa.
4. Nyuma y'urupfu, abantu beza bose bajya mu ijuru, kandi abantu babi baba mu muriro utazima iteka ryose.
5. Yehova Imana yaremye Adamu na Eva, ari na bo abantu bose bakomokaho.
6. Yesu yigishije intumwa kutivanga mu bikorwa bya poritiki.
7. Ubwami bw'Imana ni bwo buzakemura ibibazo byose by'abantu ku isi.
8. Dukurikije ubuhanuzi bwa Bibiliya, abantu bari mu "minsi y'imperuka."

R14a **Ibikorwa by'Abahamya ba Yehova mu Rwanda hose byabuzanyijwe n'amategeko hagati y'umwaka 1982 na 1992. Muri icyo igihe k'ibitotezo, ese wari umwe mu Bahamya ba Yehova cyangwa wifatanyaga n'Abahamya ba Yehova (umuntu wo mu muryango, Umwigishwa wa Bibiliya, cyangwa umubwiriza utarabatizwa)?**

☐ Yego
☐ Oya, sinari Umuhamya wa Yehova cyangwa sinifatanyaga na bo
☐ Oya, nari ntaravuka cyangwa nari nkiri muto

If yes to R14a, go to R14b–R14c, then Section 2. If no, go to Section 2.

R14b **Muri icyo igihe k'ibitotezo, garagaza ibyo wowe ku giti cyawe wakoze mu bintu bikurikira?** (Manuka hepfo uhitemo ibisubizo bikureba BYOSE.)

☐ Nanze gutanga imisanzu yasabwaga n'ishyaka rya poritiki.
☐ Nanze kujya mu gisirikare cyangwa kwifatanya mu bikorwa bya gisirikare.
☐ Nanze kwifatanya mu minsi mikuru ya poritiki n'ibirori bijyanye na yo.
☐ Nanze kwambara ikirango k'ishyaka rya poritiki.
☐ Nanze kureka kubwiriza ubutumwa bwiza.
☐ Nta na kimwe muri ibyo
☐ Mpisemo kutagisubiza

R14c **Muri icyo gihe k'ibitotezo, mu bintu bikurikira ni ibihe byakubayeho kubera ko wifatanyaga n'Abahamya ba Yehova?** (Manuka hepfo uhitemo ibisubizo bikureba BYOSE.)

☐ Niboneye Abahamya ba Yehova batotezwa
☐ Narahamagawe mpatwa ibibazo
☐ Narafashwe ndafungwa
☐ Nakatiwe igifungo
☐ Nabwiwe amagambo antesha agaciro
☐ Ihohoterwa ryo ku mubiri/irishingiye ku gitsina
☐ Nirukanywe ku kazi
☐ Nirukanywe mu ishuri (njyewe ubwanjye)
☐ Abana bange birukanywe mu ishuri
☐ Nahunze mu rugo ngo mbone umutekano
☐ Urugo rwacu rwaratewe cyangwa rurasahurwa
☐ Nabujijwe kujya mu materaniro
☐ Nta na kimwe muri ibyo
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

ICYICIRO CYA 2. UKO UMUNTU ABONA IBINTU MURI RUSANGE. Turagusaba gusoma witonze. Kora uko ushoboye usubize ibikuvuye ku mutima kandi wisanzuye.

A01 **Interuro 5 zikurikira zivuga ibihereranye n'imishyikirano yawe n'abandi. Kuri wowe ubona ari mu rugero rungana iki buri nteruro ari ukuri cyangwa atari ukuri?**

◯ 1 Ni ukuri
◯ 2 Ni ukuri cyane
◯ 3 Simbizi
◯ 4 Si ukuri na busa
◯ 5 Si ukuri
◯ Mpisemo kudasubiza

1. Buri gihe ngaragaza imyitwarire myiza ndetse no ku bantu bagoye.
2. Hari igihe nagiye nkura inyungu ku bandi.
3. Rimwe na rimwe ngerageza kwitura inabi uwayingiriye aho kubabarira ngo nibagirwe.
4. Rimwe na rimwe numva mbabaye iyo ntabonye icyo nshaka.
5. Mpora niteguye gutega amatwi neza uwo naba mvugisha wese.

A02 **Interuro 9 zikurikira, zirebana n'uko wiyumva cyangwa ibyo ukora. Ni mu rugero rungana iki buri nteruro muri zo ari ukuri cyangwa atari ukuri?**

◯ 1 Si uko meze na gato
◯ 2 Si uko meze
◯ 3 Mu rugero runaka simeze ntyo
◯ 4 Sinemera ko ari ko meze kandi simbihakana
◯ 5 Mu rugero runaka hari aho meze ntyo
◯ 6 Meze ntyo
◯ 7 Meze ntyo rwose
◯ Mpisemo kudasubiza

1. Iyo numvise hari umuntu (ntazi) uri mu bibazo, numva mugiriye impuhwe cyane.
2. Biranyorohera kwiyumvisha umubabaro (n'ibyishimo) abandi bafite nubwo naba ntabazi.
3. Ndamutse mpuye n'umuntu ntazi ukeneye ubufasha, nakora icyo nshoboye cyose kugira ngo mufashe.
4. Mba numva mfitiye urukundo rurangwa n'impuhwe abantu aho baba baturuka hose.
5. Njya numva ngiriye impuhwe abantu nubwo naba ntabazi.
6. Kimwe mu bikorwa bituma numva nishimiye cyane ubuzima ni ugufasha abantu bakeneye ubufasha.

7. Nkunda kugaragariza ubwuzu abantu (ntazi) bagaragara ko hari icyo bakeneye.
8. Numva ndi umuntu wita ku bantu hafi ya bose mbigiranye ukwigomwa.
9. Iyo hari umuntu (ntazi) uri mu bibazo, ubusanzwe numva mugiriye impuhwe nyinshi kandi nshaka kumwitaho.

A03 **Ni mu rugero rungana iki wemeranya cyangwa utemeranya na buri nteruro muri izi 10 zikurikira?**

◯ 1 Simbyemera na busa
◯ 2 Mu rugero runaka simbyemera
◯ 3 Simbyemera kandi simbihakana
◯ 4 Mu rugero runaka ndabyemera
◯ 5 Ndabyemera cyane
◯ Mpisemo kudasubiza

1. Nkeka ko bagenzi banjye batekereza ko mbika inzika igihe kirekire.
2. Nshobora kubabarira inshuti yange hafi buri kintu icyo ari cyo cyose.
3. Iyo hari umuntu umfashe nabi, nange ndamwishyura.
4. Ngerageza kubabarira abandi no mu gihe baba baticira urubanza rw'ibyo bakoze.
5. Muri rusange mbabarira untutse kandi nkabyibagirwa.
6. Numva ntishimiye imishyikirano ngirana n'abantu benshi.
7. Na nyuma yo kubabarira umuntu, akenshi mpora nibuka icyo yankoreye kandi bigahora bimbabaje.
8. Hari ibintu bimwe na bimwe ntashobora kubabarira kabone niyo byaba byakozwe n'umuntu wa bugufi.
9. Mpora mbabarira abantu bankoreye ibintu bimbabaza.
10. Ndi umuntu ubabarira.

A04 **Hari igihe dutekereza ku mimerere y'igihe twakoze nabi cyangwa twananiwe gukora ibikwiriye. Garagaza uko witwara ukurikije interuro 10 zikurikira iyo ibyo bikubayeho?**

◯ 1 Si uko meze na gato
◯ 2 Si uko meze
◯ 3 Mu rugero runaka simeze ntyo
◯ 4 Sinemera ko ari ko meze kandi simbihakana
◯ 5 Mu rugero runaka hari aho meze ntyo
◯ 6 Meze ntyo
◯ 7 Meze ntyo rwose
◯ Mpisemo kudasubiza

1. Ngerageza kutongera gusubiramo iryo kosa ubutaha.
2. Mba nzi ko ngomba kwirengera ibikorwa byanjye.
3. Mba numva mbishoboye nabisubiza inyuma.
4. Mbabazwa no kuba ibikorwa byange bitarubahirije amahame mbwirizamuco ngenderaho.
5. Hari igihe nakoze ibintu bihabanye n'ibyo mbona ko ari ingenzi mu buzima bwange.
6. Nubwo mba nakoze ikintu kibi, numva niyakiriye.
7. Numva ndi umuntu ufite agaciro nubwo mba nakoze ikintu kibi.
8. Nkomeza kwikunda nubwo mba nakoze ikintu kibi.
9. Ndiyubaha nubwo mba nakoze ikibi.
10. Nigirira imbabazi.

A05 **Ni mu rugero rungana iki wemeranya cyangwa utemeranya n'interuro 12 zikurikira?**

◯ 1 Simbyemera na busa
◯ 2 Simbyemera
◯ 3 Ndabyemera

◯ 4 Ndabyemera cyane
◯ Mpisemo kudasubiza

1. Ndangwa n'ikizere mu buzima.
2. Mfite intego z'igihe gito n'iz'igihe kirekire.
3. Numva ndi njyenyine.
4. Nshobora kuvumbura amahirwe mu ngorane.
5. Mfite ukwizera kunkomeza.
6. Numva mfite ubwoba bw'ejo hazaza.
7. Nibuka ibihe by'ibyishimo/umunezero.
8. Mfite imbaraga imbere muri njye.
9. Nshoboye kugaragaza urukundo kandi nkarugaragarizwa.
10. Mfite ikerekezo.
11. Nemera ko buri munsi uba ufite ibyo ushobora kungenzaho.
12. Numva ubuzima bwange bufite agaciro.

A06 **Iyo utekereje ku itorero ryawe, ni mu rugero rungana iki wemeranya cyangwa utemeranya n'interuro 10 zikurikira?**

◯ 1 Simbyemera na busa
◯ 2 Simbyemera
◯ 3 Simbizi neza/Simbyemera kandi simbihakana
◯ 4 Ndabyemera
◯ 5 Ndabyemera cyane
◯ Mpisemo kudasubiza

1. Haramutse hari ikintu kimbayeho, mba nzi ko itorero ryange ryamba hafi.
2. Mu gihe habaye ikintu gikomeye cyane (ibiza, intambara, n'ibindi.), nzi ko itorero ryange ryamba hafi rikamfasha ngahangana na cyo maze ubuzima bugakomeza.
3. Iyo ndimo kunyura mu bihe bigoranye, hari abantu mu itorero ryange mba nshobora kubiganiriza.
4. Ubucuti ngirana n'abagize itorero ryange bumfasha guhangana n'ibibazo mpura na byo cyangwa ibishobora kuvuka.
5. Mu itorero ryange, hari umuco wo gufashanya.
6. Itorero ryange rishyiraho imihati yo gutuma abarigize bunga ubumwe no gutuma bakomera.
7. Itorero ryange rifasha abarigize bose gutuma imishyikirano ibahuza ikomera.
8. Gufashanya ni umwe mu mico iranga itorero ryange.
9. Gusangira n'abandi ni umuco w'ingenzi cyane uranga itorero ryange.
10. Nizirika ku itorero ryange no ku mahame mbwirizamuco yaryo.

A07 **Ese mu mwaka ushize, wowe cyangwa umuryango wawe MWAHAWE UBUFASHA butanzwe n'umwe mu Bahamya ba Yehova mu buryo bukurikira?** (Manuka hepfo uhitemo ibisubizo BYOSE bikureba.)

☐ Ubufasha mu gihe k'ibiza
☐ Ubufasha bw'ibintu (ibiryo, imyambaro)
☐ Ubufasha bw'aho gutura
☐ Ubufasha bw'amafaranga
☐ Ubufasha bw'umubiri (guhaha, imirimo yo mu rugo)
☐ Gusurwa kwa muganga cyangwa mu rugo
☐ Ubufasha bwo mu byiyumvo (guterana inkunga)
☐ Kuntera inkunga mu buryo bw'umwuka (isengesho, kunshimira, kunsura mu rwego rwo kuragira umukumbi, igitekerezo cyo muri Bibiliya)
☐ Kumpa impano

☐ Nta na kimwe muri ibyo
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

A08 **Ese mu mwaka ushize, wowe cyangwa umuryango wawe hari Umuhamya uwo ari we wese MWAHAYE UBUFASHA mu buryo bukurikira?** (Manuka hepfo uhitemo ibisubizo bikureba BYOSE.)

☐ Ubufasha mu gihe k'ibiza
☐ Ubufasha bw'ibintu (ibiryo, imyambaro)
☐ Ubufasha bw'aho gutura
☐ Ubufasha bw'amafaranga
☐ Ubufasha bw'umubiri (guhaha, imirimo yo mu rugo)
☐ Gusurwa kwa muganga cyangwa mu rugo
☐ Ubufasha bwo mu byiyumvo (guterana inkunga)
☐ Gutera umuntu inkunga mu buryo bw'umwuka (isengesho, kumushimira, kumusura mu rwego rwo kuragira umukumbi, igitekerezo cyo muri Bibiliya)
☐ Kumuha impano
☐ Nta na kimwe muri ibyo
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

A09 **Hari abantu batekereza ku bihe bitandukanye byaranze ubuzima bwabo. NI KANGAHE, niba bijya bikubaho, utekereza ku buzima bwawe muri ibi bihe bikurikira?**

◯ 1 Nta rimwe
◯ 2 Ni gake cyane
◯ 3 Ni rimwe na rimwe
◯ 4 Ni kenshi
◯ 5 Ni mu buryo buhoraho
◯ Mpisemo kudasubiza

1. Ni kangahe utekereza ku byaranze UBUTO BWAWE?
2. Ni kangahe utekereza ku BUZIMA BWAWE BW'IGIHE CYASHIZE (atari ubuto bwawe)?
3. Ni kangahe utekereza ku buzima bwawe bwa NONE?
4. Ni kangahe utekereza ku buzima bwawe bw'IGIHE KIRI IMBERE KEGEREJE?
5. Ni kangahe utekereza ku buzima bwawe bw'IGIHE KIZAZA KERA?

A10 **Garagaza uko wiyumva iyo utekereje ku bihe bikurikira mu buzima bwawe.**

◯ 1 Birambabaza cyane
◯ 2 Birambabaza
◯ 3 Ntibimbabaza kandi ntibishimisha
◯ 4 Biranshimisha
◯ 5 Biranshimisha cyane
◯ Mpisemo kudasubiza

1. Muri rusange wiyumva ute iyo utekereje KU BUTO BWAWE?
2. Muri rusange wiyumva ute iyo utekereje ku BUZIMA BWAWE BW'IGIHE CYASHIZE (atari ubuto bwawe)?
3. Muri rusange wiyumva ute iyo utekereje ku buzima bwawe bwa NONE?
4. Muri rusange wiyumva ute iyo utekereje ku buzima bwawe bw'IGIHE KIRI IMBERE CYEGEREJE?
5. Muri rusange wiyumva ute iyo utekereje ku buzima bwawe bw'IGIHE KIZAZA KERA?

A11 **Ni kangahe utekereza kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu mwaka wa 1994?**

☐ 1 Nta rimwe
☐ 2 Ni gake cyane

☐ 3 Ni rimwe na rimwe
☐ 4 Ni kenshi
☐ 5 Ni mu buryo buhoraho
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

A12 **Garagaza niba wemeranya cyangwa utemeranya na buri nteruro muri izi eshatu zikurikira zivuga kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994.**

◯ 1 Simbyemera na busa
◯ 2 Simbyemera
◯ 3 Simbyemera kandi simbihakana
◯ 4 Ndabyemera
◯ 5 Ndabyemera cyane
◯ Mpisemo kudasubiza

1. Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yahinduye uburyo ntekereza n'uko mbona iyi isi.
2. Nkunze gutekereza ku ngaruka Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yagize ku buzima bwange.
3. Numva Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi ari igice k'igenzi cy'amateka y'umuryango wange.

Ugeze muri kimwe cya kabiri.

ICYICIRO CYA 3. IMIBEREHO YO MURI JENOSIDE YAKOREWE ABATUTSI. Turakwibutsa ko ibisubizo byawe bitazahuzwa n'izina ryawe kandi bizagirwa ibanga. Bityo rero, ntusabwa gusubiza ibibazo byatuma wumva utisanzuye. Nanone, ushobora guhitamo ahanditse ngo "Mpisemo kudasubiza."

Note: In Section 3, some questions are presented to all respondents. Other questions are selectively presented and looped based on the time period of respondent's birth (in or before 1976 [A]; after 1976 and before or in 1994 [C]; or after 1994 [c]) and the location of respondent or respondent's family in 1994 (i.e., in Rwanda [I] or outside Rwanda [O]. Additional looping was based on other responses: Yes, No, Prefer not to answer, Do not know, and Does not apply.

G01 (All) **Wavutse mu kihe gihe?**
☐ Navutse mu mwaka 1976 cyangwa mbere yahoo.
☐ Navutse nyuma y'umwaka wa 1976 ariko bitarenze mu wa 1994 (1994 ubariwemo).
☐ Navutse nyuma y'umwaka wa 1994.

If born in or before 1976, go to G02. If born after 1976/before 1994 or after 1994, go to G03.

G02 (A) **Ese hari igihe wigeze uba mu kindi gihugu kitari Urwanda?**
☐ Yego
☐ Oya
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

If yes to G02, go to G02a–G02c, then G04. If no or PNA, go to G04.

G02a (A-O) **Ukurikije uko waba ubyibuka, ni ryari WAVUYE mu Rwanda?** (Niba waragiye ugenda ugaruka inshuro zirenze imwe, wagiye mu wuhe mwaka wegereye Jenoside yo mu 1994? Niba utabizi cyangwa uhisemo kudasubiza, kanda "Next.")

G02b **Ni ikihe gihugu wabayemo kitari u Rwanda?** (Hitamo ibisubizo bikureba BYOSE.)

(A-O)
☐ U Burundi
☐ Kenya
☐ Tanzaniya
☐ U Bugande
☐ Zayire/Repubulika Iharanira Demokarasi ya Kongo
☐ Ikindi
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

G02c
(A-O)
WAGARUTSE mu Rwanda ryari? (Niba waragiye ugenda ukagaruka inshuro zirenze imwe, umwaka wa vuba wagarutsemo ni uwuhe? Niba utabizi cyangwa uhisemo kudasubiza, kanda "Next.")

G03
(C/c)
Ese umuryango wawe wa hafi wigeze uba mu mahanga?
☐ Yego
☐ Oya
☐ Simbizi
☐ Ntibindeba
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

If yes to G03, go to G03a–G03c, then G05. If no, DNK, DNA, or PNA, go to G05.

G03a
(C/c-O)
Niba ubizi, ni ryari umuryango wawe wa hafi WAVUYE mu Rwanda? (Niba umuryango wawe waragiye ugenda ukagaruka inshuro zirenze imwe, ni mu wuhe mwaka umuryango wawe wagiye wegereye Jenoside yo mu 1994? Niba utabizi cyangwa uhisemo kudasubiza, kanda "Next.")

G03b
(C/c-O)
Umuryango wawe wabaye mu kihe gihugu kitari u Rwanda? (Hitamo ibisubizo bikureba BYOSE.)
☐ U Burundi
☐ Kenya
☐ Tanzaniya
☐ U Bugande
☐ Zayire/Repubulika Iharanira Demokarasi ya Kongo
☐ Ikindi
☐ Simbizi
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

G03c
(C/c-O)
Niba ubizi, umuryango wawe WAGARUTSE ryari mu Rwanda? (Niba umuryango wawe waragiye ugenda ukagaruka inshuro zirenze imwe, umwaka wa vuba wagarutsemo ni uwuhe? Niba utabizi cyangwa uhisemo kudasubiza, kanda "Next.")

G04
(A)
Ese wari uri mu Rwanda nibura igihe gito muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994?
☐ Yego
☐ Oya
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

If yes to G04, go to G06. If no or PNA, go to G23a.

G05 (C/c) **Ese umuryango wawe wa bugufi wabaye nibura igihe gito mu Rwanda mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994?**

☐ Yego
☐ Oya
☐ Simbizi
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

If yes to G05, go to G08. If no, DNK, or PNA, go to G23a.

G06 (A-I) **Mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994 wabaga hehe mu Rwanda (ukoresheje uturere tw'iki gihe)?**

☐ Umugi wa Kigali
☐ Intara y'Amajyaruguru
☐ Intara y'Amagepfo
☐ Intara y'Uburasirazuba
☐ Intara y'Uburengerazuba
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

If a province is selected in G06, go to the corresponding districts in G07. If PNA, go to G10.

G07 (A-I) **Akarere**

☐ Gasabo
☐ Kicukiro
☐ Nyarugenge
☐ Burera
☐ Gakenke
☐ Gicumbi
☐ Musanze
☐ Rulindo
☐ Gisagara
☐ Huye
☐ Kamonyi
☐ Muhanga
☐ Nyamagabe
☐ Nyanza
☐ Nyaruguru
☐ Ruhango
☐ Bugesera
☐ Gatsibo
☐ Kayonza
☐ Kirehe
☐ Ngoma
☐ Nyagatare
☐ Rwamagana
☐ Karongi
☐ Ngororero
☐ Nyabihu

☐ Nyamasheke
☐ Rubavu
☐ Rutsiro
☐ Rusizi

G08 (C/c-I) **Mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994, umuryango wawe wa bugufi wabaga hehe mu Rwanda (ukoresheje uturere tw'iki gihe)?**

☐ Umugi wa Kigali
☐ Intara y'Amajyaruguru
☐ Intara y'Amagepfo
☐ Intara y'Uburasirazuba
☐ Intara y'Uburengerazuba
☐ Simbizi
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

If a province is selected in G08, go to the corresponding districts in G09. If DNK or PNA, go to G12.

G09 (C/c-I) **Akarere**

☐ Gasabo
☐ Kicukiro
☐ Nyarugenge
☐ Burera
☐ Gakenke
☐ Gicumbi
☐ Musanze
☐ Rulindo
☐ Gisagara
☐ Huye
☐ Kamonyi
☐ Muhanga
☐ Nyamagabe
☐ Nyanza
☐ Nyaruguru
☐ Ruhango
☐ Bugesera
☐ Gatsibo
☐ Kayonza
☐ Kirehe
☐ Ngoma
☐ Nyagatare
☐ Rwamagana
☐ Karongi
☐ Ngororero
☐ Nyabihu
☐ Nyamasheke
☐ Rubavu
☐ Rutsiro
☐ Rusizi

☐ Simbizi

G10 (A-I) **Ni iki kigaragaza neza cyane imiterere y'urugo wabagamo ukwezi kumwe MBERE ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994?** (Manuka hepfo uhitemo kimwe.)
☐ Urugo rw'umuntu umwe (nabaga ngenyine)
☐ Umugabo n'umugore batagira umwana
☐ Umugabo n'umugore bafite abana
☐ Urugo rw'umubyeyi umwe
☐ Imfubyi, urugo ruyobowe n'umwana
☐ Urugo rwa Sogukuru cyangwa Nyogokuru
☐ Umuryango mugari uba hamwe
☐ Abantu badafite icyo bapfana baba hamwe
☐ Abandi
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

G11 (A-I) **Nawe wibariyemo, mwabanaga mu rugo rwanyu muri bangahe ukwezi kumwe MBERE ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi?** (Usabwe gushyiramo umubare aho hepfo. Niba utabizi cyangwa uhisemo kudasubiza, kanda "Next.")

G12 (C-I) **Nawe wibariyemo, mwabanaga mu rugo rwanyu muri bangahe ukwezi kumwe MBERE ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi?** (Usabwe gushyiramo umubare aho hepfo. Niba utabizi cyangwa uhisemo kudasubiza, kanda "Next.")

G13 (A-I) **Ni iki kigaragaza neza cyane imiterere y'urugo wabagamo ukwezi kumwe NYUMA ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994?** (Manuka hepfo uhitemo kimwe.)
☐ Urugo rw'umuntu umwe (nabaga njyenyine)
☐ Umugabo n'umugore batagira umwana
☐ Umugabo n'umugore bafite abana
☐ Urugo rw'umubyeyi umwe
☐ Imfubyi, urugo ruyobowe n'umwana
☐ Urugo rwa Sogukuru cyangwa Nyogokuru
☐ Umuryango mugari uba hamwe
☐ Abantu badafite icyo bapfana baba hamwe
☐ Abandi
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

G14 (A-I) **Nawe wibariyemo, mwabanaga mu rugo rwanyu muri bangahe NYUMA y'ukwezi Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi irangiye?** (Usabwe gushyiramo umubare aho hepfo. Niba utabizi cyangwa uhisemo kudasubiza, kanda "Next.")

G15 (C-I) **Nawe wibariyemo, mwabanaga mu rugo rwanyu muri bangahe ukwezi kumwe NYUMA ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi irangiye?** (Usabwe gushyiramo umubare aho hepfo. Niba utabizi cyangwa uhisemo kudasubiza, kanda "Next.")

G16 (A-I) **Mu bintu byabaye bikurikira, ni ikihe kigaragaza imimerere y'ubuzima bwawe mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994?** (Manuka hepfo uhitemo ibisubizo bikureba BYOSE.)

☐ Narahigwaga ngo nicwe
☐ Nagiriwe nabi ariko sinari mu bahigwaga
☐ Nanze kugirira nabi abahigwaga
☐ Nanze kugambanira abahigwaga
☐ Nafashije abahigwaga
☐ Nafashije abari bugarijwe n'akandi kaga gatewe n'izindi mpamvu zitari uguhigwa
☐ Nyuma naje gufungwa nzira kugira uruhare muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi
☐ Nahunze igihugu nshaka ahari umutekano
☐ Nta na kimwe muri ibyo
☐ Simbizi
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

G17 (C/c-I) **Mu bintu bikurikira, ni ikihe kigaragaza imimerere y'abagize umuryango wawe wa bugufi mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994?** (Manuka hepfo uhitemo ibisubizo bikureba BYOSE.)

☐ Barahigwaga ngo bicwe
☐ Bagiriwe nabi ariko ntibari mu bahigwaga
☐ Banze kugirira nabi abahigwaga
☐ Banze kugambanira abahigwaga
☐ Bafashije abahigwaga
☐ Bafashije abari bugarijwe n'akandi kaga gatewe n'izindi mpamvu zitari uguhigwa
☐ Nyuma baje gufungwa bazira kugira uruhare muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi
☐ Bahunze igihugu bashaka ahari umutekano
☐ Nta na kimwe muri ibyo
☐ Simbizi
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

G18 (A-I) **Niba byarakubayeho, ugereranyije wamaze igihe kingana iki hari akaga kakugarije mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994?** (Hitamo kimwe.)

☐ Sinigeze mpura n'akaga
☐ Iminsi myinshi
☐ Icyumweru 1
☐ Ibyumweru 2 kugera kuri 3
☐ Ukwezi 1
☐ Hagati y'ukwezi 1 n'amezi abiri
☐ Hejuru y'amezi 2
☐ Simbizi
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

G19 (A-I) **Ese hari ABANDI BIGEZE BAGUFASHA mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi?**

☐ Yego
☐ Oya
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

If yes to G19, go to G19a–G20f, then G20. If no or PNA, go to G20.

G19a **Ni mu buhe buryo abandi bagufashije?** (Manuka hepfo uhitemo ibisubizo bikureba BYOSE.)

☐ Baramburiye

(A-I)
☐ Bagerageje guhagarika abari bagiye kungirira nabi
☐ Bahaye impano cyangwa amafaranga abicanyi ngo bandeke
☐ Bampaye ibyo kurya, imyambaro cyangwa ibindi bikoresho
☐ Barampishe ubwabo
☐ Bamfashije kubona ahandi nihisha
☐ Bamfashije guhunga Igihugu
☐ Bitaye ku bana bo mu muryango wange
☐ Bafatanyije n'abandi baramfasha
☐ Bashoboraga kwicwa kuko bamfashaga
☐ Bamfashije mu bundi buryo
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

G19b **Ugeraranyije ni abantu bangahe bagufashije?**

(A-I)
☐ Bake (hagari y'umwe na 5)
☐ Baragereranyije (hagati ya 6 na 10)
☐ Benshi (hagati ya 11 na 15)
☐ Benshi cyane (hejuru ya 15)
☐ Simbizi
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

G19c **Ni ba nde bagufashije muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi?** (Hitamo ibisubizo bikureba BYOSE.)

(A-I)
☐ Umuryango mugari
☐ Abaturanyi
☐ Umuntu twiganye, uwo twakoranye
☐ Umwarimu, umukoresha
☐ Umuntu ntari nzi
☐ Abandi
☐ Simbizi
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

G19d **Abagufashije bari mu rihe dini?** (Manuka hepfo uhitemo ibisubizo bikureba BYOSE.)

(A-I)
☐ Abahamya ba Yehova (Uwabatijwe cyangwa umubwiriza utarabatizwa)
☐ Abantu bifatanyaga n'Abahamya ba Yehova (umwe mu bagize umuryango, uwiga Bibiliya)
☐ Abagatolika
☐ Abaporotesitanti
☐ Abayisilamu
☐ Idini rya gakondo
☐ Irindi
☐ Simbizi
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

G19e **Ese mu mwaka ushize, waba waravuganye n'umwe mu bagufashije cyangwa wafashije umuryango wawe mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi?**

(A-I)
☐ Yego
☐ Oya
☐ Simbizi
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

G19f **Ese muri abo mwavuganye harimo Abahamya ba Yehova?**

(A-I)
☐ Yego
☐ Oya
☐ Simbizi
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

G20 **Mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, ese hari igihe WAFASHIJE ABANDI?**
(A-I)
☐ Yego
☐ Oya
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

If yes to G20, go to G20a–G20f, then G21. If no or PNA, go to G21.

G20a **Ni mu buhe buryo wafashije abandi?** (Manuka hepfo uhitemo ibisubizo bikureba BYOSE.)
(A-I)
☐ Narababuriye
☐ Nagerageje guhagarika abari bagiye kubagirira nabi
☐ Nahaye impano cyangwa amafaranga abicanyi ngo babareke
☐ Nabahaye ibyo kurya, imyambaro cyangwa ibindi bikoresho
☐ Narabahishe ubwange
☐ Nabafashije kubona ahandi bihisha
☐ Nabafashije guhunga igihugu
☐ Nitaye ku bana b'abandi bantu
☐ Nafatanyije n'abandi turabafasha
☐ Nashoboraga kwicwa kuko nafashaga abandi
☐ Nabafashije mu bundi buryo
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

G20b **Ugeraranyije ni abantu bangahe wafashije?**
(A-I)
☐ Bake (hagati y'umwe na 5)
☐ Baragereranyije (hagati ya 6 na 10)
☐ Benshi (hagati ya 11 na 15)
☐ Benshi cyane (hejuru ya 15)
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

G20c **Ni ba nde wafashije mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi?** (Hitamo ibisubizo bikureba BYOSE.)
(A-I)
☐ Umuryango mugari
☐ Abaturanyi
☐ Umuntu twiganye, uwo twakoranye
☐ Umwarimu, umukoresha
☐ Umuntu ntari nzi
☐ Abandi
☐ Simbizi
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

G20d **Abo wafashije bari mu rihe dini?** (Manuka hepfo uhitemo ibisubizo bikureba BYOSE.)
(A-I)
☐ Abahamya ba Yehova (Uwabatijwe cyangwa umubwiriza utarabatizwa)
☐ Abantu bifatanyaga n'Abahamya ba Yehova (umwe mu bagize umuryango, uwiga Bibiliya)
☐ Abagatolika
☐ Abaporotesitanti
☐ Abayisilamu

☐ Idini rya gakondo
☐ Irindi
☐ Simbizi
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

G20e (A-I) **Ese mu mwaka ushize, waba waravuganye n'umwe mu bo wafashije muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi?**
☐ Yego
☐ Oya
☐ Simbizi
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

G20f (A-I) **Ese muri abo mwavuganye harimo Abahamya ba Yehova?**
☐ Yego
☐ Oya
☐ Simbizi
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

G21 (A-I) **Ese muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994, wari ufite umwana (abana) cyangwa hari umwana (abana) wareraga?**
☐ Yego
☐ Oya
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

If yes to G21, go to G21a–G21c, then G23a. If no or PNA, go to G23a.

G21a (A-I) **Mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994, wari ufite abana bangahe?** (Usabwe gushyiramo umubare aho hepfo.)

G21b (A-I) **Abana bawe bari mu kihe kigero k'imyaka mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi?** (Hitamo ibisubizo bikureba BYOSE.)
☐ Munsi y'imyaka 3
☐ Kuva ku myaka 3 kugera kuri 6
☐ Kuva ku myaka 7 kugera kuri 10
☐ Kuva ku myaka 11 kugera kuri 14
☐ Kuva ku myaka 15 kugera kuri 18
☐ Kuva ku myaka 19 cyangwa kuzamura
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

G21c (A-I) **Mu bintu bikurikira, niba byarabaye, ni ibihe wabonye abana bawe bakora mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994?** (Manuka hepfo uhitemo ibisubizo bikureba BYOSE.)
☐ Bagiye gushaka amazi, ibyokurya n'ibindi bikenerwa
☐ Bafashe umwanzuro ukomeye batayobowe n'umuntu mukuru
☐ Bifatanyije nanjye mu gihe bitari byoroshye
☐ Bitaye ku bandi bana
☐ Bafashije abantu bari bihishe
☐ Bakomeje guceceka ngo batabavumbura
☐ Babanye n'abandi bantu igihe umuryango wari umaze gutatana

☐ Barankomeje batuma ntaterera iyo
☐ Hari igihe bagoraga abandi
☐ Nta na kimwe muri ibyo
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

G22 (C-I) **Ese wari munsi y'imyaka 18 mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994?**
☐ Yego
☐ Oya

If yes to G22, go to G22a–G22b, then G23a. If no, go to G23a.

G22a (C-I) **Wari ufite imyaka ingahe muri Jenoside yakorewe abatutsi mu 1994?** (Usabwe kwandikamo imyaka aho hepfo.)

G22b (C-I) **Mu bintu bikurikira, ni ibihe wibuka wakoze mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi 1994?** (Manuka hepfo uhitemo ibisubizo bikureba BYOSE.)
☐ Nagiye gushaka amazi, ibyokurya n'ibindi bikenerwa
☐ Nafashe umwanzuro ukomeye ntayobowe n'umuntu mukuru
☐ Nafatanyije n'abantu bakuru mu bihe bitari byoroshye
☐ Nitaga ku bandi bana
☐ Nafashije abantu bari bihishe
☐ Nakomeje guceceka ngo batamvumbura
☐ Nabanye n'abandi bantu igihe umuryango wari umaze gutatana
☐ Nafashije mama cyangwa papa gukomera ngo badaterera iyo
☐ Hari igihe nagoraga abandi
☐ Nta na kimwe muri ibyo
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

Ibibazo 4 bikurikira birabaza ibijyanye no kuba Abahamya ba Yehova bativanga muri poritiki n'urugomo.

G23a (All) **Ni ryari ku nshuro ya mbere wamenye ko Abahamya ba Yehova bativanga muri poritiki n'urugomo?**
☐ Mbere ya Jenoside
☐ Mu gihe cya Jenoside
☐ Nyuma ya Jenoside
☐ Simbyibuka

G23b (All) **Mbere y'uko utangira kwifatanya n'Abahamya ba Yehova cyangwa kwigana na bo, ese wari uzi ko bativanga muri poritiki n'urugomo?**
☐ Yego
☐ Oya
☐ Simbyibuka

G23c (All) **Wamenye ute ko Abahamya bativanga muri poritiki n'urugomo?** (Manuka hepfo uhitemo ibisubizo bikureba BYOSE.)
☐ Mwene wacu w'Umuhamya yarabimbwiye.
☐ Umuhamya wa Yehova utari mwene wacu yarabimbwiye.

☐ Nabisomye mu gitabo cy'Abahamya ba Yehova.
☐ Nabyumviye mu materaniro y'Abahamya ba Yehova.
☐ Nabyumviye ku kazi, ku ishuri, cyangwa mu baturanyi.
☐ Nabyumviye mu rusengero.
☐ Nabyumviye muri gereza.
☐ Hari ikiganiro cyo kuri radiyo cyangwa tereviziyo cyavuze ku Bahamya ba Yehova.
☐ Nabonye Abahamya ba Yehova banga gukora Jenoside.
☐ Simbyibuka
☐ Irindi

G23d (All) **Igihe wamenyaga bwa mbere ko Abahamya ba Yehova bativanga muri poritiki n'urugomo, watekereje iki kandi wumvise umeze ute?** (Hitamo ibisubizo bikureba BYOSE.)
☐ Narabarakariye.
☐ Natangajwe n'iyo myizerereyabo.
☐ Natekereje ko bibeshya.
☐ Nashatse kubamenyaho byinshi.
☐ Narabubashye.
☐ Simbyibuka
☐ Ikindi
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

G24 (All) **Iyo utekereje kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, ni iyihe mirongo ya Bibiliya igufasha?** (Manuka hepfo utoranyemo agera kuri 3.)
☐ Ntimukiture umuntu wese inabi yabagiriye. Guhora ni ukw'Imana. (Abaroma 12:17, 19)
☐ Musenge. Amahoro y'Imana arinda imitima yanyu. (Abafilipi 4:6)
☐ Abicisha bugufi bazaragwa isi. (Zaburi 37:11)
☐ Utubabarire nk'uko natwe tubabarira abandi. (Matayo 6:12)
☐ Mukunde abanzi banyu. (Matayo 5:44)
☐ Urupfu, kubabara n'agahinda ntibizabaho ukundi. (Ibyahishuwe 21:4)
☐ Mwihanganire imibabaro. Musenge ubudacogora. (Abaroma 12:12)
☐ Umuntu mubi ntazongera kubaho. (Zaburi 37:10)
☐ Nta n'umwe umfasha muri iyo

ICYICIRO CYA 4. GUHANGANA N'IBIBAZO BY'IHUNGABANA. Turakwibutsa ko ibisubizo utanga bitazahuzwa n'izina ryawe kandi bizagirwa ibanga. Ntusabwa gusubiza ibibazo byatuma wumva utisanzuye. Ushobora no guhitamo ahanditse ngo "Mpisemo kudasubiza."

T01 **Muri ibi bihe 2 ni ikihe wavutsemo?**
☐ Mu mwaka wa 1994 cyangwa mbere yaho
☐ Nyuma ya 1994

T02 **Mu buzima bwawe, mu bintu bikurikira ni ibihe wahuye na byo?** (Manuka hepfo uhitemo ibisubizo bikureba BYOSE.)
☐ Umuntu wa hafi mu bagize umuryango yarishwe cyangwa yapfuye mu buryo butunguranye
☐ Uburwayi bukomeye cyangwa igikomere
☐ Imirire mibi
☐ Ihohoterwa ryo ku mubiri/irishingiye ku gitsina
☐ Inzu yarangiritse cyangwa irasenyuka
☐ Kubona umuntu ahondagurwa cyangwa yicwa

☐ Gufungwa
☐ Guhunga kubera gushaka ahari umutekano
☐ Gutakaza ibintu bitewe n'ibiza (umuriro, umwuzure, inkangu, umutingito)
☐ Ibindi bintu bitera ihungabana cyangwa bishyira ubuzima mu kaga
☐ Nta na kimwe muri ibyo
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

T03 **Mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, mu bintu bikurikira ni ibihe wahuye na byo?** (Manuka hepfo uhitemo ibisubizo bikureba BYOSE.)
☐ Umuntu wa hafi mu bagize umuryango yarishwe cyangwa yapfuye mu buryo butunguranye
☐ Uburwayi bukomeye cyangwa igikomere
☐ Imirire mibi
☐ Ihohoterwa ryo ku mubiri/irishingiye ku gitsina
☐ Inzu yarangiritse cyangwa irasenyuka
☐ Kubona umuntu ahondagurwa cyangwa yicwa
☐ Gufungwa
☐ Guhunga kubera gushaka ahari umutekano
☐ Gutakaza ibintu bitewe n'ibiza (umuriro, umwuzure, inkangu, umutingito)
☐ Ibindi bintu bitera ihungabana cyangwa bishyira ubuzima mu kaga
☐ Nta na kimwe muri ibyo
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

T04 **Mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, mu bintu bikurikira ni ibihe abagize umuryango wawe ba hafi bahuye na byo?** (Manuka hepfo uhitemo ibisubizo bikureba BYOSE.)
☐ Umuntu wa hafi mu bagize umuryango yarishwe cyangwa yapfuye mu buryo butunguranye
☐ Uburwayi bukomeye cyangwa igikomere
☐ Imirire mibi
☐ Ihohoterwa ryo ku mubiri/irishingiye ku gitsina
☐ Inzu yarangiritse cyangwa irasenyuka
☐ Kubona umuntu ahondagurwa cyangwa yicwa
☐ Gufungwa
☐ Guhunga kubera gushaka ahari umutekano
☐ Gutakaza ibintu bitewe n'ibiza (umuriro, umwuzure, inkangu, umutingito)
☐ Ibindi bintu bitera ihungabana cyangwa bishyira ubuzima mu kaga
☐ Nta na kimwe muri ibyo
☐ Simbizi
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

T05 **Muri iki gihe cya Covid-19 (kuva 2020 kugeza ubu), mu bintu bikurikira ni ibihe wahuye na byo?** (Manuka hepfo uhitemo ibisubizo bikureba BYOSE.)
☐ Umuntu wa hafi mu bagize umuryango yapfuye mu buryo butunguranye
☐ Uburwayi bukomeye cyangwa igikomere
☐ Imirire mibi
☐ Ihohoterwa ryo ku mubiri
☐ Inzu yarangiritse cyangwa irasenyuka
☐ Kubona umuntu ahondagurwa cyangwa yicwa
☐ Gufungwa
☐ Gutakaza ibintu bitewe n'ibiza (umuriro, umwuzure, inkangu, umutingito)
☐ Ibindi bintu bitera ibikomere cyangwa bishyira ubuzima mu kaga

☐ Nta na kimwe muri ibyo
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

T06 **Ibintu bitera ihungabana rimwe na rimwe bigaragaza ibimenyetso hashize igihe abantu bahuye na byo. Turagusaba gusoma interuro 8 zikurikira maze ukagaragaza niba ibivugwamo byarakubayeho MU KWEZI GUSHIZE.**

◯ 1 Nta na rimwe
◯ 2 Ni gake cyane
◯ 3 Rimwe na rimwe
◯ 4 Ni kenshi
◯ Mpisemo kudasubiza

1. Ibitekerezo by'ibintu byabaye biragaruka cyangwa kwibuka ibyabaye
2. Kumva ko ibyabaye birimo kongera kuba
3. Guhora umuntu arotaguzwa mu nzozi ibyabaye
4. Hari ibyiyumvo bihita biza cyangwa se umubiri ukabigaragaza mu bundi buryo iyo hari ikikwibukije ibyabaye
5. Kwirinda ibikorwa bikwibutsa ibyabaye
6. Kwirinda ibitekerezo cyangwa ibyiyumvo bifitanye isano n'ibyabaye
7. Kumva ufite igihunga kandi ugakangwa n'ubusa
8. Kumva witeguye ko hari icyakugirira nabi

T07 **Ibintu bikurikira ni impinduka abantu bashobora kugira NYUMA yo guhura n'ibintu bitera ihungabana cyangwa bitera guhangayika. Turagusaba kugaragaza urugero wagizemo IMPINDUKA 10 zikurikira nyuma yo guhura n'ibintu bitera ihungabana cyangwa ibitera guhangayika byabaye mu buzima bwawe.**

◯ 0 Nta cyahindutse
◯ 1 Byahindutse gake
◯ 2 Byahindutse mu rugero
◯ 3 Byarahindutse cyane
◯ 4 Byarahindutse cyane kurushaho
◯ Ntibindeba
◯ Mpisemo kudasubiza

1. Nahinduye ibyo nshyira mu mwanya wa mbere birebana n'ibintu by'ingenzi mu buzima.
2. Biranshimisha kurushaho ko ubuzima bwange bufite agaciro.
3. Ubuzima bwange nshobora kubukoresha, nkora ibyiza kurushaho.
4. Nsobanukiwe neza kurushaho ibintu byo mu buryo bw'umwuka.
5. Niyumvisha neza kurushaho icyo kuba hafi y'abandi bisobanura.
6. Nahinduye icyerekezo cy'ubuzima.
7. Nsobanukiwe neza ko nshobora guhangana n'ibintu bikomeye.
8. Mfite ukwizera gukomeye cyane mu bijyanye n'idini ryange.
9. Naje kuvumbura ko burya nkomeye kurusha uko nabitekerezaga.
10. Numva ndushijeho kugirira abandi impuhwe.

ICYICIRO CYA 5. GUSHYIKIRANA HAGATI Y'IBYICIRO BY'ABANTU BAFITE IMYAKA ITANDUKANYE. Iki cyiciro kivuga ku myifatire y'umuryango n'uburyo abawugize bashyikirana.

C01a **Ni iki kigaragaza neza cyane imiterere y'urugo rwawe ubu?** (Manuka hepfo uhitemo kimwe.)

☐ Urugo rw'umuntu umwe (nabaga ngenyine)
☐ Umugabo n'umugore batagira umwana
☐ Umugabo n'umugore bafite abana
☐ Urugo rw'umubyeyi umwe

☐ Imfubyi, urugo ruyobowe n'umwana
☐ Urugo rwa Sogukuru cyangwa Nyogokuru
☐ Umuryango mugari uba hamwe
☐ Abantu badafite icyo bapfana baba hamwe
☐ Abandi
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

C01b **Nawe wibariyemo, muri bangahe mu rugo rwanyu?** (Usabwe gushyiramo umubare aho hepfo.)

C01c **Abantu bo mu rugo rwanyu bari mu kihe kigero k'imyaka?** (Hitamo ibisubizo bikureba BYOSE.)
☐ Munsi y'imyaka 3
☐ Kuva ku myaka 3 kugeza kuri 11
☐ Kuva ku myaka 12 kugeza kuri 17
☐ Kuva ku myaka 18 kugeza kuri 40
☐ Kuva ku myaka 41 kugeza kuri 64
☐ Imyaka 65 cyangwa kuzamura

C02 **Iyo utekereje ku muryango, muri rusange ni mu rugero rungana iki wumva ushimishijwe n'ibintu 10 bikurikira?**
◯ 1 Ntibinshimisha na gato
◯ 2 Mu rugero runaka ntibinshimisha
◯ 3 Muri rusange biranshimisha
◯ 4 Biranshimisha cyane
◯ 5 Biranshimisha cyane kurushaho

1. Urugero abagize umuryango bumva umwe ari hafi y'undi
2. Ubushobozi bw'umuryango wawe bwo guhangana n'imihangayiko
3. Ubushobozi bw'umuryango wawe bwo guhuza n'imimerere iyo ari yo yose
4. Ubushobozi bw'umuryango wawe bwo kubwira abandi ibyiza byawubayeho
5. Imishyikirano myiza y'abagize umuryango
6. Ubushobozi bw'umuryango wawe bwo gukemura amakimbirane
7. Igihe mumarana n'abagize umuryango wawe
8. Uko muganira ku bibazo
9. Uburyo kunenga bishyize mu gaciro bikorwa mu muryango wawe
10. Uko abagize umuryango bahangayikirana hagati yabo

C03 **Ese abantu bose bafite imyaka y'ubukure mu muryango wawe ni Abahamya ba Yehova?**
☐ Yego
☐ Oya
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

If yes to C03, go to C03a. If no or PNA, go to C04.

C03a **Ni bande b'Abahamya ba Yehova mu muryango wawe?** (Hitamo ibisubizo bikureba BYOSE.)
☐ Umwe muri ba sogokuru cyangwa bose
☐ Umwe muri ba nyogokuru cyangwa bose
☐ Papa
☐ Mama

☐ Uwo twashakanye
☐ Umwana wawe mukuru umwe, cyangwa abarenze umwe
☐ Umwana muvukana umwe, cyangwa abarenze umwe
☐ Abandi

C04 **Ni mu rugero rungana iki kumenya amateka ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994 ari ingenzi ku bakiri bato?**

☐ 1 Ntabwo ari ingenzi na gato
☐ 2 Ni ingenzi gake
☐ 3 Mu rugero runaka ni ingenzi
☐ 4 Ni ingenzi cyane
☐ 5 Ni ingenzi birenze
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

C05 **Ni mu rugero rungana iki wemeranya cyangwa utemeranya na buri nteruro muri 10 zikurikira?**

◯ 1 Simbyemera na busa
◯ 2 Simbyemera
◯ 3 Simbyemera kandi simbihakana
◯ 4 Ndabyemera
◯ 5 Ndabyemera cyane
◯ Mpisemo kudasubiza

1. Kuvuga ku bintu bibabaje byo mu gihe cyashize, nta cyo bifasha umuntu ahubwo bituma ahungabana kurushaho.
2. Abakiri bato bashobora kuvana amasomo ku mateka (amabi n'ameza) y'umuryango wabo.
3. Abana ntibagomba gushyirwaho imitwaro yo kwigishwa ibintu biteye agahinda byabaye mu buzima bw'abandi.
4. Abantu bagomba kubaha ababa badashaka kuvuga imibereho igoranye banyuzemo.
5. Abakiri bato bo mu muryango wanjye baba biteguye gutega amatwi ibyaranze ubuzima bw'abakuze.
6. Abakuze bo mu muryango wanjye baba biteguye kubwira abakiri bato ibyaranze ubuzima bwabo.
7. Kuganira kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi birakaza umuryango wange.
8. Umuryango wanjye waganiriye ibijyanye n'amasomo wakuye kuri Jenoside.
9. Ndababara iyo numvise ibyabaye ku muryango wanjye mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994.
10. Ndambiwe kumva ibya Jenoside ndetse no kuyivugaho.

C06 **Ni mu rugero rungana iki wumva wisanzuye ku byiciro by'abantu 8 bikurikira iyo uvuga ku bintu bitoroshye cyangwa biteye ubwoba?**

◯ 1 Sinisanzura na gato
◯ 2 Sinisanzura
◯ 3 Ndi hagati na hagati
◯ 4 Ndisanzura
◯ 5 Ndisanzura cyane

1. Abantu banduta
2. Abantu nduta
3. Abantu turi mu kigero kimwe
4. Abantu mu muryango wanjye
5. Abantu bo mu itorero ryanjye

6. Abantu duhuje amateka
7. Abantu tudahuje amateka
8. Abantu ntazi neza

C07 **Ni ba nde wabwiye ibyakubayeho wowe ubwawe cyangwa ibyabaye ku muryango wawe mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi?** (Hitamo ibisubizo bikureba BYOSE.)

☐ Abagize umuryango ba bugufi (uwo twashakanye, abana, ababyeyi, abo tuvukana)
☐ Abagize umuryango mugari (sogokuru/nyogokuru, abuzukuru, ba so wanyu na ba nyokorome, ba nyogosenge na ba nyokowanyu, babyara bawe na bene sowanyu)
☐ Abantu bifatanya n'itorero ryanjye
☐ Abantu twahuye ndimo kubwiriza mu ruhame
☐ Abantu batari abo mu muryango wanjye cyangwa mu itorero ryanjye
☐ Abantu bafite aho bahuriye na gahunda z'iby'ubujyanama mu by'ihungabana cyangwa izifasha abantu
☐ Nta n'umwe
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

Ibibazo bikurikira birebana n'amakuru akwerekeye wowe n'umuryango wawe.

D07 **Vuga irangamimerere ryawe rya none?**

☐ Sinigeze nshaka
☐ Narashatse
☐ Narahukanye
☐ Natandukanye n'uwo twashakanye
☐ Narapfakaye
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

D08 **Ese muri rusange wavuga ko ubuzima bwawe buhagaze bute:**

☐ Nabi
☐ Ni mu rugero
☐ Bwiza
☐ Bwiza cyane
☐ Bwiza birenze
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

D09 **Ni hehe umuryango wawe cyangwa wowe ubwawe mubonera interineti?** (Hitamo ibisubizo bikureba BYOSE.)

☐ Kuri terefoni irimo interineti
☐ Mu rugo
☐ Ku kazi cyangwa ku ishuri
☐ Ku Nzu y'Ubwami
☐ Mu rugo rw'inshuti
☐ Ahantu haba hari nterineti mu ruhame cyangwa café internet
☐ Simfite aho nkura interineti
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

D10 **Ni uruhe rwego rw'amashuri wagarukiyemo?**

☐ Nta mashuri asanzwe nize
☐ Amashuri abanza
☐ Amashuri y'ubukorikori

☐ Amashuri yisumbuye
☐ Amashuri y'imyuga yemewe
☐ Kaminuza
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

D11 **Mu kwezi gushize, ni iki kigaragaza neza umurimo wakoraga?** (Manuka hepfo uhitemo kimwe gihuje nicyo wakoraga kurusha ibindi.)
☐ Ubuhinzi, ubworozi, uburobyi
☐ Akazi ko mu rugo rw'undi muntu
☐ Gukoresha imashini runaka cyangwa kuziteranya
☐ Ubukorikori cyangwa gucuruza iby'ubukorikori
☐ Gutanga serivisi, gukora mu bucuruzi cyangwa mu biro
☐ Umuyobozi w'imirimo runaka
☐ Umuporofesiyoneli
☐ Akazi ko mu rugo rwange
☐ Umunyeshuri
☐ Ndi mu kiruhuko k'iza bukuru
☐ Nta kazi mfite
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

D12 **Ni izihe nshingano ufite mu muryango w'Abahamya ba Yehova?** (Hitamo ibisubizo bikureba BYOSE.)
☐ Umubwiriza
☐ Umupayiniya w'umufasha udahagarara cyangwa undi murimo uhoraho
☐ Umupayiniya w'igihe cyose cyangwa undi murimo w'igihe cyose
☐ Umurimo w'igihe cyose wihariye
☐ Umukozi w'itorero
☐ Umusaza
☐ Mpisemo kudasubiza

D13 **Nujuje ubushakashatsi mu bushobozi bwanjye kandi nabwujuje mu mimere ikurikira.** (Hitamo kimwe.)
☐ Nta muntu wamfashije
☐ Hari umuntu wamfashaga gukoresha igikoresho cya eregitoroniki
☐ Hari umuntu wamfashaga gusoma ibibazo
☐ Hari umuntu wamfashaga gusoma ibibazo kandi akanamfasha gukoresha igikoresho cya eregitoroniki

D14 **Wujuje ubu bushakashatsi ukoreheje icyuma cya elegitoronike cya nde?** (Hitamo igisubizo kimwe.)
☐ Icyuma cyanjye cya bwite
☐ Icyuma cy'umuntu tugira icyo dupfana
☐ Icyuma cy'inshuti
☐ Tabulete y'itorero

USHOBORA KUBISUBIZA CYANGWA NTUBISUBIZE. Ibi bibazo bya nyuma ntibiri mu bigize ibibazo by'ubushakashatsi. Amakuru uza kubitangaho azabikwa ukwayo kugira ngo azabe ashobora gukoreshwa mu mishinga y'ubushakashatsi yo mu gihe kizaza.

O01a **Umuryango wo mu Rwego rw'Idini w'Abahamya ba Yehova mu Rwanda wifuza gukoresha ibimenyetso bifatika byerekana amateka y'ibyabaye. Ese hari ibintu muri ibi bikurikira waba ufite byo mu myaka y'i 1970, 1980, cyangwa 1990?** (Hitamo ibisubizo bikureba BYOSE.)

☐ Ibintu byawe byihariye cyangwa by'urwibutso
☐ Inyandiko z'iby'amategeko cyangwa z'ibiranga umuntu
☐ Bibiliya cyangwa imfashanyigisho ya Bibiliya
☐ Udukayi twanditsemo ibyabaye, amakarita
☐ Amabaruwa, inyandiko za bwite
☐ Impapuro z'ubucuruzi
☐ Amafoto, ibishushanyo
☐ Ntacyo mfite

O01b **Ese waba ushaka gutiza Umuryango w'Abahamya ba Yehova bo mu Rwanda bimwe muri byo bintu igihe gito?**

☐ Yego
☐ Oya
☐ Ntacyo mfite

O01c **Kugira ngo tuvugane nawe ku birebana n'ibyo bintu bigaragaza amateka, usabwe gutanga amazina yawe yose.** (Niba uhisemo kutazahamagarwa, kanda "Next.")

O01d **Shyiraho inomero ya terefone wahamagarwaho.** (Niba ari ntacyo, kanda "Next.")

O01e **Niba ufite imeri yishyireho.** (Niba nta imeri ufite, andika ngo "Ntayo.")

O02a **Mu gihe twagira ubushakashatsi dukora mu gihe kiri imbere, ese twazaguhamagara ngo tugire icyo tukubaza?** (Niwemera ko twaguhamagara, icyo gihe twazaguha amakuru arambuye maze ukaba wakwifatira umwanzuro wo kuba wabwifatanyamo cyangwa ntubwifatanyemo?)

☐ Yego
☐ Oya

O02b **Kugira ngo tuvugane nawe ku birebana n'imishinga izaza, usabwe gutanga amazina yawe yose.** (Niba uhisemo kutazahamagarwa, kanda "Next.")

O02c **Shyiraho inomero ya terefone wahamagarwaho.** (Niba ari ntacyo, kanda "Next.")

O02d **Niba ufite imeri yishyireho.** (Niba nta imeri ufite, andika ngo "Ntayo.")

O03 **Aha niho ubushakashatsi burangiriye. Koresha umwanya uri hasi aha niba hari ibisobanuro cyangwa ikindi gitekerezo wifuzaga gutanga.** Niba ari ntacyo, kanda “Next.”

Turagushimira cyane ku mwanya wamaze kandi ugatanga ibitekerezo muri ubu bushakashatsi. Wakoze cyane. Niba hari ikibazo ufite, ushobora kubaza NKURIKIYINKA Valens (+250 781 177118; JWSurveyRwanda@jw.org).

APPENDIX C
Informed Consent

Survey

This survey was prepared by the Organisation Réligieuse des Temoins de Jéhovah in Rwanda with the support of the World Headquarters of Jehovah's Witnesses.

PURPOSE: The survey will gather information about the experiences of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda to help researchers, educators, and government officials understand their history and diversity. It will also be informative for Jehovah's Witnesses worldwide.

VOLUNTARY: You are not obligated to participate in or complete this survey. There are no right or wrong answers.

PRIVACY: Your responses will be kept anonymous and confidential. Survey data will be stored in a secure electronic system used only by the research team.

BENEFITS AND RISKS: You will receive no direct benefit from participating in this study. The survey includes questions related to traumatic events, including genocide, which could risk causing distress. You are not obligated to answer questions that make you feel uncomfortable.

TIMING: It will take about 60 or more minutes to complete the survey. The questions are in 5 sections: 1) Religious Beliefs, 2) General Attitudes, 3) Situations During the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, 4) Dealing with Traumatic Events, and 5) Intergenerational Communication.

ASSISTANCE: If you need help to read or use the online survey, or if you lack access to an electronic device, please contact your congregation elders. You may ask a trusted relative or friend to help; but your answers should be based on your own thoughts, without influence from others.

VOLUNTEER OPTION: At the end of the survey, you have the option to provide your name if you are willing to be contacted for possible follow-up projects. If you do provide your name for the research volunteer list, your name will be kept strictly confidential and will not be connected to this survey research.

SURVEY CONTACT PERSONS: If you have any questions about the survey, please contact Valens NKURIKIYINKA (+250 781177118; JWSurveyRwanda@jw.org).

The research protocol has been approved by the Rwanda National Ethics Committee (RNEC). For further information about your rights, you may contact the RNEC Chair, Dr. Jean-Baptiste MAZARATI (+250 788 309 807) or the RNEC Secretary, Professor David TUMUSIIME (+250 788 749 398).

I am at least 18 years of age. ☐ Yes ☐ No

I am baptized as one of Jehovah's Witnesses. ☐ Yes ☐ No

I currently attend a congregation in Rwanda. ☐ Yes ☐ No

I understand the previous information and agree to participate in this study. ☐ Yes ☐ No

(Yes) Ready to begin? OK
(No) Thank you. We regret that you do not qualify to take the survey.

APPENDIX D
Survey Procedures for Those in Correctional Facilities

During the data collection phase of the "Faith, Forgiveness, and Family" study of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda, procedures were implemented to allow baptized Jehovah's Witnesses who were imprisoned to participate in the survey. The following information describes the comprehensive procedures that complied with research ethical standards and requirements of the Rwanda Correctional Service (RCS). These included: training facilitators for the prison data collection, guidelines for distributing and completing surveys, collecting and handling completed surveys, and managing and entering the collected data. These measures ensured the voluntary participation of the prisoners, maintained the confidentiality and integrity of their responses, and upheld the scientific rigor required for the study.

Selecting and Training Facilitators

Jehovah's Witnesses have a well-established program for preaching in correctional facilities, with trained ministers who conduct this religious outreach in Rwanda. Through Christian meetings held within the prison, Bible teachings are introduced to incarcerated individuals. This existing organizational arrangement was used to facilitate the distribution and collection of the paper survey for Jehovah's Witnesses in these settings. Two prison ministers were selected at each of the 13 prisons in the country to act as facilitators of prison data collection.

Individuals assigned to facilitate the participation of imprisoned, baptized Jehovah's Witnesses were already trained and experienced in prison protocol and respectful communication practices with prison inmates. The principal investigator for the research project conducted a one-hour training on the importance of voluntary participation, detailed procedures for distributing and

collecting the surveys, and the need for maintaining confidentiality and integrity throughout the process.

Distribution and Completion of Surveys

Facilitators delivered printed copies of the survey, along with related instructions and writing instruments, to individuals in prisons who were baptized Jehovah's Witnesses, aged 18 or over, and who spoke or read Kinyarwanda. Surveys were delivered in large, unsealed envelopes containing the survey, an invitation to participate, instructions, helpful reminders, and a writing instrument.

Facilitators encouraged voluntary participation by explaining the importance of the survey and assuring the prisoners that their input was valued. They emphasized that participation was entirely voluntary and that prisoners should not feel pressured to complete the survey. Facilitators either waited at the prison while the survey was completed or arranged to return at a later time to collect the completed surveys, depending on the prison circumstances. Similar to provisions made for those completing the electronic version of the survey, if requested, a trusted individual could read the survey aloud to participants, but the answers were to be based on the participant's thoughts without influence from others. Prisoners were given sufficient time to complete the survey in a confidential setting.

Collection and Handling of Completed Surveys

Upon completion, participants placed the survey in the provided envelope and sealed it to maintain anonymity. Facilitators ensured that the sealed envelopes were safeguarded and that the date of receipt and return was indicated on the back of the envelope. Facilitators maintained a record of when surveys were distributed and collected. Any issues encountered in maintaining the integrity and anonymity of the responses were reported to the principal investigator.

Data Management and Entry Protocol

All collected surveys were taken to a secure room at Jehovah's Witnesses Branch Office in Kigali, accessible only to the principal investigator and two designated transcribers.

Each survey was labeled with an anonymized ID number. Surveys that were returned blank were shredded after being counted for internal records. The last section of each paper survey which gave participants the option to provide contact information for possible follow-up studies was removed, scanned, and stored separately from the main survey.

Both designated transcribers entered survey data into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet for all submitted surveys. To ensure accuracy, discrepancies between the two transcribers' data input were checked against the original survey and corrected in the spreadsheet.

These procedures ensured that the data collection process for imprisoned Jehovah's Witnesses was conducted with the utmost respect for their privacy and integrity, while also maintaining the scientific rigor required for the study. The following documents titled "Directions to Survey Prison Facilitators" and "Survey Invitation Announcement for Those in Correctional Facilities" provide documentation of the research protocol followed.

Directions to Survey Prison Facilitators

To those assigned to facilitate participation of imprisoned baptized Witnesses in the nationwide survey of Jehovah's Witnesses:

The recent approval to resume our religious ministry to prisoners came at an opportune time. With your support, our brothers and sisters in prison will have the option to be included in the nationwide survey of Jehovah's Witnesses.

You have been asked to provide a printed copy of the survey questionnaire and related instructions to one or more specific individuals who are baptized Witnesses in prison, age 18 or over, and who speak or read Kinyarwanda. You will also pick up the completed survey from the individual(s) and transfer it to the survey project research team. Individual prison circumstances vary, so you will need to discern how best to handle different situations that may arise. The following are intended as general guidelines:

Encourage voluntary participation. Having the opportunity to participate in the survey of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda can assure brothers and sisters in prisons that they are valued as part of our brotherhood. Those in prison have not had the benefit of seeing congregation activities related to the survey, so your warm expressions about the project can be encouraging. However, participation is voluntary and individuals should not feel pressured to participate in the survey.

Deliver the survey. In most situations, you will be asked to deliver the paper copy of the survey to the prison. All surveys must be completed by Sunday, May 21, when the survey period ends, so it is important to arrange your time to drop off and pick up the survey as soon as possible. (Note: The final date was changed to June 15.)

Allow time for completion. The paper version of the survey will likely take longer to complete than the electronic version did. Depending on your circumstances, you may be able to wait at the prison while individuals complete the survey; or you may need to leave the blank survey(s) and return to pick up the completed survey(s) later or on another day.

Help reading the survey. An individual may ask you or a trusted friend to read the survey to them. Those providing reading assistance must avoid influencing the answers. The questions should not be explained or interpreted. Reading the survey aloud will require more time and may need to be done during more than one session.

Prepared envelopes for the survey. The paper copy of the survey together with an invitation to participate in the survey, instructions and helpful reminders, and a writing instrument will be provided in a large, unsealed envelope. Whether the brothers or sisters have chosen to complete the survey or not, please tell them to place the entire survey in the envelope and seal it. Their participation is anonymous, and they do not need to inform anyone whether they chose to participate or not in the survey. The sealed envelope can be opened only by a person designated by the research team.

Safeguard and track the survey. To help ensure that the survey has not been altered and to ensure anonymity, those who handle the survey are asked to indicate on the back of the envelope the date they received and returned the survey. Preferably, you will be able to drop off and pick up the survey directly to and from the individual, but in some cases, you may need to rely on prison officials. Difficulties encountered in maintaining the integrity and anonymity of the responses provided on the survey questionnaire should be reported to the research team.

Survey Invitation Announcement for Those in Correctional Facilities

INFORMATION PROVIDED TO ALL CONGREGATIONS IN THE RWANDA BRANCH TERRITORY

The Organisation Réligieuse des Temoins de Jéhovah, with the world headquarters of Jehovah's Witnesses, has prepared a nationwide survey. Your participation would be highly appreciated. To reach publishers in all circumstances and locations, special efforts and arrangements have been made to include those in prison. Each participant's contribution is valuable and important. The survey will gather information about the history and diverse experiences of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda for researchers, educators, and government officials, as well as our international brotherhood.

Who can take the survey? All baptized publishers—brothers and sisters—who are age 18 or over, currently attend congregation meetings (including in isolated settings), and read or speak Kinyarwanda or English. Participation is voluntary and answers are anonymous (subject to prison regulations).

What are the questions about? Most questions ask about your general beliefs and attitudes. Many parts of the survey give a statement and then ask if you strongly disagree, disagree, agree, or strongly agree. Some questions are about the Genocide and what has helped ones deal with challenges. If you feel uncomfortable with questions about the Genocide, you can choose the option: "Prefer not to answer."

How long will the survey take to complete? You need to allow an hour or more to complete the survey.

How do I take the survey? You will receive a paper copy of the survey questionnaire. If you need help reading the survey, a trusted friend can help. If you need further help, please see one of the brothers who provided the survey. When you finish the survey, place it in the envelope provided and seal it. You will receive direction on who will be collecting the surveys.

When do I start? The survey started nationwide on April 14, 2023. You may begin as soon as you receive your copy of the survey. Please do not show your survey to others, unless they are helping you to read it. The survey needs to be returned no later than Sunday, May 21, 2023, when the survey period ends. Please

do not discuss the survey questions with those who have not yet completed a survey. (Note: The final date was changed to June 15, 2023.)

The brothers who provide the survey will also have a copy of these instructions and will be happy to review them with you. We greatly appreciate your interest in this special and important project.

APPENDIX E
Provision for Technical Support

To increase participation, particularly in rural areas with limited internet accessibility, congregations received donated data hubs and electronic tablets. These devices were provided to individuals who wished to participate in the survey.

Procedures to Provide Electronic Devices to Congregations

The process involved the following:

1. *Evaluation of Digital Needs*: In 2022, the national office of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda conducted an evaluation of its congregations to assess the digital literacy and access to digital devices and the internet among baptized publishers aged 18 and older. This assessment revealed significant digital illiteracy in rural areas and a substantial need for digital devices. The findings were consistent with the 2022 national census data, which showed that only 14% of the population had used the internet in the past year. Additionally, among individuals aged 16 and older, 59% owned a personal device, with smartphone ownership being four times higher in urban areas compared to rural areas.
2. *Device Allocation*: Based on the evaluation, 500 data hubs and 500 tablets were distributed to ensure equitable access to the survey.
3. *Survey Platform Selection*: The KoboToolbox digital survey platform was chosen for its ability to operate both online and offline, accommodating various devices and browsers. This was crucial given the electricity shortages and internet accessibility issues in rural areas. KoboToolbox, in collaboration with Enketo, enabled confidential and encrypted data collection with online and offline submission modes.

Recruiting and Training Technical Support Personnel

Effective participation in the survey required technical support personnel to assist participants with digital literacy challenges and device usage. To maintain the scientific integrity of the research during data collection, the following procedures were taken to recruit and train these personnel:

1. *Formation of the Technical Support Team*: The Computer Department of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda oversees the JW Box team, with about 570 members located across all geographic regions of Rwanda. These team members, familiar with internet shortages and adept with various devices, volunteered to provide technical support during the survey period.
2. *Training Program*: The JW Box team underwent comprehensive training on the use of the survey platform, maintaining scientific integrity, and adhering to professional research practices. The training emphasized:
    - Providing only technical support without influencing survey responses.
    - Ethical conduct, including neutral assistance and avoiding nonverbal reactions.
    - Professionalism in communication to prevent any bias in survey responses.
3. *Consent and Ethical Standards*: All JW Box team members electronically consented to abide by ethical research procedures, ensuring impartiality and confidentiality during their assistance.

Digital Illiteracy Mitigation

To mitigate digital illiteracy and facilitate participation in the survey, several measures were implemented:

1. *Accessibility Enhancement*: The survey platform was designed to be user-friendly and accessible on various devices and browsers. This was critical in accommodating participants with limited digital literacy.
2. *Technical Assistance Protocol*: Support personnel were instructed to assist participants in a neutral manner, providing only technical help and refraining from influencing survey responses. Specific guidelines included:
    - Offering technical support for the survey without giving feedback on questions.
    - Maintaining neutral facial expressions and tone of voice to avoid suggesting answers.
3. *Post-Survey Reporting*: After the survey, support personnel completed a Post-Survey Form detailing the assistance provided. This included the total number of participants helped, specific types of assistance provided, such as reading the survey, navigating the survey, using the loaned tablet, connecting to the internet, etc.

By implementing these procedures and training protocols, the research team aimed to increase participation in the survey, particularly in rural areas, while maintaining the scientific integrity and ethical standards of the research.

Technical Support Instructions/Training

TO ALL TIER-2 AND TIER-3 TECHNICAL SUPPORT PERSONNEL

Thank you for making yourself available to offer technical support for the upcoming survey project. This training is designed to assist you in understanding your role, how to implement technical support, and how you can play a ***vital part*** in assuring the scientific integrity of the survey. This training focuses on five key areas, each supported by a Bible principle:

1. The Role of Technical Support
2. Why Technical Support is Necessary
3. How Technical Support is Offered
4. The Technical Support Team
5. Communication Between the Technical Support Tiers

1. The Role of Technical Support

What is our objective as we offer technical support? In our branch territory, many brothers and sisters do not know how to use electronic devices or participate in a digital survey. The primary goal of providing technical support is to help everyone who wishes to take the survey.

Our assignment is to offer timely technical support to help respondents answer and submit the digital survey. At the same time, you ensure the scientific credibility of the data by not influencing answers of the survey participants.

2. Why Technical Support is Necessary

Data Hub. Many congregations will receive a data hub to provide free wi-fi access for the survey project. The Tier-3 persons will receive password information from the branch to assist publishers to connect to the Internet. This will be done using the data hub to download the survey form and to upload completed surveys.

Branch-Owned Lenovo Tablets. Many congregations will receive one or more branch-owned Lenovo Tablets to lend to brothers and sisters who do not have access to electronic devices. To assist with these tablets, please familiarize yourself with the accompanying document **"Using the Lenovo Tablet."** (NOTE: These tablets have the Digital Survey already set up). Everyone should handle the branch-owned tablets with care.

Survey takers will have access to the survey from their own devices or from borrowed equipment. Each device, whether owned by the branch or by a person, may be used by many brothers and sisters. The following questions are important points to consider:

- How can someone set up the survey on a personal device?
- How to navigate the survey once installed in the device?
- How to submit and upload a survey?
- What are some of the issues that may arise and need troubleshooting?

All these questions and more are answered in the document **"Survey Navigation Instructions"** (RWA-DOC-14). Please review this document.

Note: When opening the survey platform (Kobo) on a device, Kobo may request a browser update (e.g., Chrome). If needed, please assist the device user to perform the update.

3. How Technical Support is Offered

Make yourself available. ***Make time for your brothers and sisters***. The patient and loving support of those who need technical assistance is evidence of the love that exists among Jehovah's people today. While providing technical assistance, we may occasionally see some survey responses from our brothers and sisters. Those needing technical assistance should be able to take the survey with confidence, knowing that you will respect their privacy and keep their answers confidential.

The congregation has been informed that those who need technical help or wish to borrow a device may ask a friend or they may contact the elders. Please work closely with your body of elders to provide technical assistance to those who need it. If it is not possible to assist all who need help, please give priority to older brothers and sisters who want to complete the survey.

We may offer only technical assistance, keeping in mind that:

- The survey is voluntary.
- Technical assistance should be pleasant and ***neutral***.
- Suggestions, feedback, or explanations related to survey questions are not part of technical assistance.
- Do not react verbally or nonverbally to responses from the survey.
- You may assist those needing help to read the survey questions, maintaining an even tone of voice.

By your kind assistance, you "go on carrying the burdens" of those who might not otherwise take the survey. (Gal. 6:2) Taking care not to suggest answers to others allows 'each one to carry his own load.' (Gal. 6:5) By following these principles, you will contribute to the scientific integrity of the survey and enable many more to participate in it.

4. The Technical Support Team

The branch has organized the technical support teams into three tiers: Tier 1, Tier 2, and Tier 3. All three teams are responsible for providing technical assistance to survey takers throughout Rwanda.

The team assigned to Tier 1 works as a Help Desk and is available to support and assist persons assigned to Tier 2 and Tier 3 with issues or questions that cannot be easily resolved.
The team assigned to Tier 2 oversees and communicates with assigned Tier-3 persons. Tier 2 regularly communicates with Tier-3 persons to help them provide appropriate and timely technical support within their local congregations. Tier-2 communicates directly with the Tier-1 Help Desk as required.

The team assigned to Tier 3 works closely with the body of elders and publishers in their respective congregations to provide necessary technical support. When they encounter technical issues or questions they cannot resolve locally, they immediately contact Tier 2.

5. Communication Between the Technical Support Tiers

Good communication, following the established arrangement, is the key to resolving problems that may be encountered.

The Tier-1 Help Desk team has a dedicated WhatsApp group chat channel to send communications to all Tier-2 persons. Tier-2 persons may use this channel to report technical issues or raise questions to the Tier-1 Help Desk.

Each Tier-2 person has a WhatsApp group chat with all Tier 3 persons assigned to his group. At least one Tier 1 technical support person should also be part of this group. In this way, communications can be quickly transmitted between the three Tiers.

Please check your WhatsApp group chat often to receive the latest updates from your contact person.

You should notify your contact person immediately if:

- You receive an unknown error. Please send a screenshot of the error to your assigned Tier 2 contact.
- A branch-owned tablet or data hub is lost or stolen.

APPENDIX F
Congregation Announcements to Recruit Survey Participants

Survey Instructions for Coordinators of the Bodies of Elders

1. Please arrange for the body of elders to meet **after the Memorial and before the midweek congregation meeting during the week of April 10, 2023,** to discuss the instructions for elders along with the congregation announcements. If a congregation has the visit of the circuit overseer this week, then procedures for the survey can be discussed during his meeting with the elders.
2. Please ensure that the congregation announcements are read at the designated meetings and items are cared for, as follows:

MEETING	ANNOUNCEMENT
Weekend meeting, **April 8/9, 2023**	**Announcement No. 1: Pre-Survey Announcement**
Midweek meeting, **week of April 10, 2023**	**Announcement No. 2: Survey Invitation Announcement** After the invitation announcement is read, post the "Questions Answered" and "Survey Navigation Information" sheets on the information board.
Friday, April 14, 2023	**Survey Start Date** Text or email **message and survey link** from Rwanda branch to all baptized publishers 18 and over.
Midweek meeting, **week of April 17, 2023**	**Announcement No. 2 (repeat): Survey Invitation Announcement**
Midweek meeting, **week of April 24, 2023**	**Announcement No. 3: Survey Reminder Announcement**
Friday, May 12, 2023	(If no extension, Survey Period Closes)
IF SURVEY IS EXTENDED (as determined by Rwanda branch)	
Midweek meeting, **week of May 1, 2023**	**Announcement No. 4: Survey Extension Announcement**
Midweek meeting, **week of May 8, 2023**	**Announcement No. 5: Extended Survey Reminder Announcement**
Midweek meeting, **week of May 15, 2023**	**Announcement No. 5 (repeat): Extended Survey Reminder Announcement**
***Sunday, May 21, 2023*	**Extended Survey Period Closes**

Survey Introduction Letter to Body of Elders

To be sent Monday, April 3, 2023

FOR ELDERS IN RWANDA BRANCH TERRITORY

The Organisation Réligieuse des Temoins de Jéhovah and the world headquarters of Jehovah's Witnesses are pleased to inform the bodies of elders of an important survey to gather information about the experiences of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda.

The survey will help our organization "know well the appearance of [the] flock" and "take good care of [the] sheep." (Prov. 27:23) Additionally, the information gathered in this survey will allow us to provide accurate information about our history and organization to researchers, government officials, and educators.—Eccl. 12:10.

For example, the various situations that Jehovah's Witnesses faced during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi have not been documented by any scientific research study. We hope that this survey will shed more light on the diverse backgrounds and experiences of not only our brothers and sisters who were Jehovah's Witnesses at the time of the Genocide but also those who became Jehovah's Witnesses or were born after the Genocide.

All baptized publishers who are 18 years old or over, currently attend a congregation, and read or speak Kinyarwanda or English will be invited to complete the online survey.

Our congregations are composed of individuals of different backgrounds, and all will be invited to give their personal and sincere responses. You can encourage brothers and sisters by letting them know that their participation in the survey is very much valued but no one should feel pressured to participate. Please make it clear that the survey is voluntary and anonymous.

Although the survey avoids raising detailed questions about past traumas, some brothers and sisters may have concerns about covering the sensitive topic of genocide. For those who fear that the survey might trigger unwanted memories or ask personally difficult questions, please assure them that they do not have to respond to questions that make them feel uncomfortable in any way. We have assured the Rwanda National Ethics Committee that congregation elders are in a position to provide spiritual and emotional support to any who express distress as a result of participating in the survey. If it seems appropriate, family members and elders may want to encourage a brother or sister to consider seeking help from trained mental-health professionals. (*g*12/14 p. 5-6; *w*9/18 p. 14-15)[1]

The survey will be accessible on an electronic device. The survey is designed to gather much information from a large number of people in a short amount of time. The survey does not contain open-ended questions that require long answers. Some questions, for example, give lists of possible answers from which to choose. Many questions give a statement and then ask for a reaction—such as, strongly disagree, disagree, agree, or strongly agree. There are no exact, right or wrong answers. Individuals should select what most closely matches *their* thoughts. This allows them to go through the survey more quickly.

We want as many publishers as possible—both brothers and sisters—to have the opportunity to take the survey if they wish to do so. This will be challenging for those who cannot read or do not have access to an electronic device. Elders can also encourage publishers who have access to electronic devices to share

[1] References are to the December 2014 *Awake!* magazine article titled, "What You Should Know About Mental Disorders" and September 2018 *Watchtower* article with the subheadings, "Our Brothers Need Our Love" and "How to Build Up Others in Love." (This footnote was not in the original document.)

their devices with those who do not have a device. A single device can be used by more than one publisher to take the survey. For example, a family may have one device that is shared among members of the household. Each family member can use the device in turn to complete the survey. Or, publishers who own a device might be willing to share their device with others in the congregation who do not have a device. The survey can be taken while offline and the data consumption for submitting a single survey is minimal.

Elders can remind publishers that close family members, trusted friends, and responsible publishers may help others read the questions or enter their answers, but without influencing the individual's answer. For instance, a sister might be asked to assist other sisters who would be comfortable with their help. In some areas, it may not be feasible to help everyone who needs assistance. In such cases, if possible, priority should be given to older brothers and sisters who want to complete the survey.

Three provisions have been made for those needing help to access the Internet or an electronic device (2 Cor. 8:14):

(1) Congregations with the greatest need will receive a **data hub** with wi-fi connections so publishers can download and upload the survey at the Kingdom Hall without cost. They can complete the survey offline and submit it when the device is reconnected to the Internet. The data hubs should be used only for the survey project.

(2) For congregations in which few publishers have electronic devices, the branch will distribute **tablets on loan** during the survey period. Several people may use the same device to take the survey. These tablets should be used only for the survey project.

(3) The branch has assigned one person per congregation to provide **technical support.** These assigned persons, who are trained to use JW Box, may ask other brothers or sisters in the congregation to assist in providing help. All those who will provide technical support will be given information about their roles and how to navigate the survey. All technical support persons—both those assigned by the branch and those added—will be asked to complete a short form confirming that they have reviewed the information and are available to help in this way.

If you have questions of a technical nature, please consult with the assigned technical support person. Other questions about the survey can be referred to the Public Information Department at the Branch Office at InboxPID.RW@bethel.jw.org.

We greatly appreciate the willing spirit of all those supporting this project.

Announcements for Survey of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda

ANNOUNCEMENT NO. 1: Pre-Survey Announcement

*To be read at the **weekend meeting of April 8/9***

TO ALL CONGREGATIONS IN THE RWANDA BRANCH TERRITORY

We are pleased to inform you that the Organisation Réligieuse des Temoins de Jéhovah, with the support of the world headquarters of Jehovah's Witnesses, has prepared an anonymous nationwide survey of baptized Jehovah's Witnesses who are 18 years old or over and currently attend a congregation in Rwanda. Your participation will help provide information about the history and diverse experiences of

Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda. At our next midweek meeting, we will provide further details about this important project.

ANNOUNCEMENT NO. 2: Survey Invitation Announcement

*To be read at the **two midweek meetings during the weeks of April 10 and 17.** See instructions below regarding items to post to the information board.*

TO ALL CONGREGATIONS IN THE RWANDA BRANCH TERRITORY

The Organisation Réligieuse des Temoins de Jéhovah, with the world headquarters of Jehovah's Witnesses, has prepared a digital survey. Your participation would be highly appreciated. The survey will gather information about the experiences of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda for researchers, educators, and government officials, as well as our international brotherhood.

Who can take the survey? All baptized publishers—brothers and sisters—who are age 18 or over, currently attend a congregation, and read or speak Kinyarwanda or English. Participation is voluntary and answers are anonymous.

What are the questions about? Most questions ask about your general beliefs and attitudes. Many parts of the survey give a statement and then ask if you strongly disagree, disagree, agree, or strongly agree. Some questions are about the Genocide and what has helped ones deal with challenges. If you feel uncomfortable with questions about the Genocide, you can choose the option: "Prefer not to answer."

How long will the survey take to complete? You need to allow an hour or more to complete the survey.

How do I take the survey? The survey is digital. The elders will send you a link to download the survey from the Internet. We encourage those who have electronic devices to share with those who do not have electronic devices. If you need access to a device, please inform the elders. If you need help reading the survey or using a device to fill it out, a family member or trusted friend can help. If you need further technical help, please see [NAME of assigned technical support person].

An Internet connection is not needed while you fill out the survey. When you finish the survey, you will need an Internet connection to upload it. [***Elders, if the branch has loaned your congregation a data hub for the survey, please add:*** A provision is available at our Kingdom Hall to provide free Internet access to download the survey and to upload your completed survey.]

When do we start? The survey starts officially on Friday, **April 14, 2023**. You may begin any time after receiving the survey link. If possible, please complete the survey early, during the first weeks of the survey period, which ends on **May 12, 2023.** After completing the survey, please do not discuss the survey questions with those who have not yet completed a survey.

Additional details will be posted on the information board. The congregation secretary and your field service group overseer will also have a copy of these details and will be happy to review them with you after the meeting. We greatly appreciate your interest in this special project.

Instructions:

*After the first midweek meeting announcement, elders should **post** the **"Survey Navigation Instructions"** and **"Survey of Jehovah's Witnesses: Questions Answered"** (printed copies sent by the branch) to the information board.*

*You will receive an email with the link to the survey on **April 12, 2023.** After this announcement is read, **the link to the online survey should be sent** by text or email to all baptized publishers age 18 or over **on Friday, April 14**.*

ANNOUNCEMENT NO. 3: Survey Reminder Announcement

*To be read at the **midweek meeting during the week of April 24**.*

This is to remind all who wish to participate in the survey of Jehovah's Witnesses to arrange about an hour in your schedule to do so. Some in the congregation have been assigned to assist anyone needing help to connect to the internet or use an electronic device. If you have any questions or want someone to show you how to begin the survey, please let the elders know.

ANNOUNCEMENT NO. 4: Survey Extension Announcement

*To be read at the **midweek meeting during the week of May 1,** if so notified by Rwanda branch.*

We are pleased to inform you that the survey of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda has been extended to **Sunday, May 21.** This will allow more time for those who want to take the survey. If you have any questions or want help to begin the survey, please let the elders know.

ANNOUNCEMENT NO. 5: Extended Survey Reminder Announcement

*To be read at the **midweek meeting during the weeks of May 8 and 15,** if so notified by Rwanda branch.*

TO ALL CONGREGATIONS IN THE RWANDA BRANCH TERRITORY

As a reminder, if you have not already completed the survey of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda and wish to do so, you have until **Sunday, May 21.** If you have any questions or want someone to show you how to begin the survey, please let the elders know.

To be posted on the information board:

Survey of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda
Questions Answered

Who can take the survey? All baptized publishers—brothers and sisters—who are age 18 or over, currently attend a congregation, and read or speak Kinyarwanda or English.

Do I have to take the survey? No, your participation is voluntary.

Will people know how I answer? No, your responses are anonymous.

When do we start? The survey starts on Friday, April 14, 2023. Please try to complete the survey early, during the first weeks of the survey period.

What if I need help? If you need help reading the survey or using a device to fill it out, a family member or trusted friend can help, or you can ask our congregation technical support person or your group overseer for assistance. If you need access to a device, please inform the elders. Whoever helps you should not influence your answers. Please do not discuss the survey with those who have not yet completed one.

What are the questions about? Most questions are about our beliefs and attitudes. Some questions are about the Genocide and what has helped ones deal with challenges. If you feel uncomfortable with questions about the Genocide, the survey provides an option to choose "Prefer not to answer."

How long will it take? You need at least one hour to complete the survey in a single session. (It is not easy to stop and restart the survey. **If you think you may not finish in a single session,** please see our congregation technical support person for instructions on how to save your answers until you can complete the survey.)

How do I take the survey? The elders will email or text you a link. Click on the link while connected to the internet to download the survey to your device. Do not share the link with non-Jehovah's Witnesses. Once the survey is downloaded, an Internet connection is not needed while you fill out the survey. When you finish, you will need to connect the device to the Internet to upload it.

What kinds of questions will be asked? There are no open-ended questions that require long answers. Nor are there true or false questions with right or wrong answers. Instead, many questions give a statement and then ask how much you agree or disagree. You can *choose the response closest to how you feel and think*. This allows you to express yourself on different topics more quickly.

Should my answers reflect how I really think and feel? Yes. This survey will help to show the various backgrounds and situations of our brothers and sisters.

Will I have a chance to tell more of my story? Yes. We want to learn more from our brothers and sisters, young and old, who have different experiences. At the end of the online survey, you have the option to provide your name for possible interviews later on. Your name will ***not*** be connected to your responses in the anonymous online survey.

What if I don't have Internet access or an electronic device? As a temporary arrangement, free Internet access will be available at many Kingdom Halls with the greatest need to download the survey form and then upload completed surveys. Also, some congregations needing electronic devices have tablets on loan for the survey project. You may ask if a loaned tablet is available or you may borrow someone's device. A single device can be used by multiple people. Please see our congregation technical support person.

APPENDIX G
Sample Population and 2022 Census Comparison

Comparison of the Sample Population of Jehovah's Witnesses in Rwanda with the 2022 Rwanda Census of Jehovah's Witnesses and General Population

Demographic Characteristic	Jehovah's Witnesses, Sample Population (Ages 18 and over)	Jehovah's Witnesses, 2022 Census[1]	Rwanda General Population, 2022 Census
Gender	13,590	93,131	13,246,394
Male	44.2%	48.3%	48.5%
Female	55.8%	51.7%	51.5%
Age	13,590	55,544** (Ages 18 and over)	6,780,241**[2] (Ages 20 and over)
18–28 (Born 1995–2005)	24.4%	Ages 18–49: 79.0%	Ages 20–29: 32.2%
29–39 (Born 1984–1994)	27.8%		Ages 30–39: 26.9%
40–59 (Born 1964–1983)	38.2%	Ages over 49: 21.0%	Ages 40–59: 28.2%
Over 59 (Born Before 1964)	9.6%		Ages over 59: 12.7%
Area of Residence	13,511*	93,131	13,246,394
Rural	70.9%	60.7%	72.1%
Urban	29.1%	39.3%	27.9%
Province (Ages 18 and over)[1]	13,588*	55,274**	7,349,793**
Kigali	19.4%	21.7%	14.7%
Southern Province	15.7%	14.7%	22.7%
Western Province	22.7%	21.0%	21.0%
Northern Province	15.0%	13.1%	15.6%
Eastern Province	27.2%	29.5%	25.9%
Level of Education***	13,590*	85,843** (Ages 5 and over)	7,349,793[3] (Ages 18 and over)
No Formal Education	6.03%	10.1%	17.3%
Preschool and Primary	48.0%	58.9%	54.2%
Vocational/Craftsman	9.6%	1.4%	1.2%
Lower and Upper Secondary	25.7%	25.2%	21.3%
University	8.0%	4.4%	5.9%

* Total JW sample *n* = 13,590; not all respondents reported area, province, or level of education.
** Calculated numbers from Fifth Rwanda Population and Housing Census data.
*** Education categories in the census separated preschool and primary, and lower secondary and upper secondary; the categories in the JW study were primary and secondary.

Source.
[1] National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda. (2023). *Thematic report: Socio-cultural characteristics of the population*. Fifth Rwanda Population and Housing Census. https://statistics.gov.rw/publication/rphc5-thematic-report-social-cultural-characteristics
Table 3.1. Distribution of the resident population by nationality, area of residence and sex
Table 4.1. Distribution (number and percentage) of the resident population by religious affiliation by sex and area of residence

Table 4.2. Distribution of the resident population by religious affiliation by age group and Province
Table 4.4. Distribution (%) of the affiliated members of the different religious groups aged five and above by sex and level of education

[2] National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda. (2023). *Main indicators report*. Fifth Rwanda Population and Housing Census. https://statistics.gov.rw/publication/main_indicators_2022
Table 5. Five-years age group by sex distribution (Counts) by Area of residence

[3] National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda. (2023). *Thematic report: Educational characteristics of the population*. Fifth Rwanda Population and Housing Census.
https://statistics.gov.rw/sites/default/files/documents/2025-02/Education.pdf
Table 3.5. Distribution (count and percentage) of the residents by the highest level of the school attended by area of residence and selected age groups

Note. The 2022 Rwanda census data reports 93,131 of Jehovah's Witnesses, which includes minor children and those who may associate with or self-identify as Jehovah's Witnesses. The 2023 Service Year Report of Jehovah's Witnesses reported that for the annual observance of the Memorial of Jesus Christ's death, a total of 105,966 attended, which included attendees of all ages. It also reported the peak number of "publishers" in Rwanda was 33,664, which includes only baptized and unbaptized persons who reported participating in the ministry. For the JW-RWA study, in Fall 2022, Jehovah's Witness congregations in Rwanda reported 26,727 baptized publishers who were 18 years or older (excluding unbaptized publishers and those baptized under age 18).

ABOUT THE ACADEMIC ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Munyurangabo Benda, PhD, is a Lecturer in Political Theology with the Centre for Black Theology at the Queen's Theological Foundation in Birmingham, UK. He is a survivor of and researcher on the Genocide against the Tutsi. His postdoctoral genocide research explores transgenerational guilt, transitional temporalities, and rescue narratives.

Raffaella Di Marzio, PhD, is Professor of Psychology and the founding Director of the Center for Studies on Freedom of Religion, Belief and Conscience (LIREC). She is editorial board member of the *Psicologia della Religione e-journal* [Psychology of Religion e-journal]. Her academic interests include new religious movements, human rights, and psychology of religion.

Laetitia Nyirazinyoye, PhD, is Professor in Public Health at the University of Rwanda. Her research and professional interests include health education, mental health, and women's and children's health. As a member of the Rwanda National Ethics Committee, she examines research projects carried out in Rwanda.

John Roth, PhD, is Professor Emeritus of Philosophy at Claremont McKenna College and was the founding Director of the Center for the Study of the Holocaust, Genocide, and Human Rights (now the Mgrublian Center for Human Rights). His published works encompass ethics, philosophy, religious studies, and Holocaust and genocide studies.

Peter Suedfeld, PhD, is Professor Emeritus of Psychology at the University of British Columbia and child survivor of the Holocaust. His publications cover the effects of extreme or traumatic experiences, including aversive consequences and positive responses (e.g., coping, resilience, and posttraumatic growth).

ABOUT THE PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATORS

Valens Nkurikiyinka, Principal Investigator, is a child development and social research consultant with a focus on psychosocial wellbeing, child protection, and post-conflict recovery. As a survivor of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, his research interests focus on factors that promote healing, dignity, and social cohesion. Nkurikiyinka has presented preliminary findings from the JW-RWA study at several academic conferences, including "Building Peace Across Generations," held at Yale University in 2024. He is co-author of the chapter "'Political Neutrality' During the 1994 Genocide Against the Tutsi in Rwanda: A Case Study of Jehovah's Witnesses" in *Minority Religions and Religious Tolerance: The Jehovah's Witness Test* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2025).

Jolene Chu, Co-Principal Investigator, holds an MA in Humanities and Social Thought (New York University) and advanced to candidacy in Modern European History (Graduate Center of the City University of New York). She is Senior Researcher with the Office of Public Information at the World Headquarters of Jehovah's Witnesses in New York, U.S.A. Her primary research, academic and educational presentations, and publications have been in the field of Holocaust and genocide studies, focusing on the experience of Jehovah's Witnesses in Nazi Germany and Rwanda. Her recent publications include the co-authored book *Jehovah's Witnesses*, published in 2024 by Cambridge University Press.

CORRIGENDUM

Jehovah's Witnesses During and After the Genocide Against the Tutsi in Rwanda: Psychosocial Factors Related to Faith, Forgiveness, and Family — V. Nkurikiyinka and J. Chu

In Figure 4.3, p. 125 / Section 4, one item was miscategorized. "My actions violated something that is important to me" was listed under "SELF-ACCEPTANCE"; it now appears under "REMORSE." A corrected version of the chart has been updated in the online report. The written analysis and study conclusions are not affected by this correction.

Corrected: April 8, 2026