Reconciliation as a Societal Process

A Case Study on the Role of the Pentecostal Movement (ADEPR) as an Actor in the Reconciliation Process in Post-genocide Rwanda

*Josephine Sundqvist*

**Part 1**

**Introduction**

This is an inquiry into the role that the ADEPR played in the Rwandan reconciliation process in the post-genocide period. On a general level, this study attempts to empirically explain what role religious social movements can play in peace building and reconciliation processes and how they might be used as an instrument in peace building on a grassroots level.

**Relevance of the Study**

The importance of social movements in peace building processes is increasing as the state is being transformed in the era of globalization. In the process of globalization, non-governmental actors, in relation to the state, have gained authority as capable performers; working on issues of concern for the people on the local scene, despite the fact that they might operate in authoritarian states (L. Eriksson 2005, 448, 449, 450).

The process of societal change cannot be understood without accounting for the role of religious movements. This is due to the weakening of the nation state as a source of identity and the desecularisation of the world with the reinforcement of religion as a basis of identity that transcends national borders (Reychler 2008, 1, 4). One of the characteristics of the growing evangelical religious movements is that they seek to influence people not only through recruiting members to the movements but also through integrating people into the movement's personal networks (Haar 2004, 172). Despite the fact that religious movements may enable democratic mobilization, the
mobilization of national or ethnic identity on the basis of religion can as well serve as a source of social division. Religion can be interpreted as a source of power that can be used or misused by certain interests. It is therefore important to develop a more profound understanding of the assumptions underlying different religious movements and the ways in which members dedicate themselves to them (Reychler 2008, 3).

There exists a growing awareness among peace workers that religion is a central factor to consider in order for a reconciliation process to lead to sustainable peace (Kaunda 2007, 16). Religious movements are found at every level of the peace building process; from top-level peace negotiations to the grassroots level. They are part of a widespread and constantly growing global network (Sampson 1997, 273, 276). Sampson argues that 'processes associated with reconciliation; confession, regret, forgiveness, mercy, and compassion have emerged from religious and not primarily from secular contexts' (Sampson 1997, 274, 276).

Religious movements have the capacity to mobilize people and encourage attitudes of forgiveness, but policymakers often fail to recognize the role that religious movements can play in building trust and facilitating reconciliation due to their wrong behaviour in the past (Raymond G. Helmick 2001, 82).

**Purpose of the Study**

The case study I am carrying out concerns the role of the ADEPR in the national reconciliation process in post-genocide Rwanda. The overall aim is to contribute to the field of research focusing on the role of social movements in reconciliation processes by ‘filling the gap’ of studies on religious grassroots movements. The case study aims at increasing the knowledge about the role of evangelical churches in reconciliation processes and how they might be used as an instrument in peace building on a grassroots level.

**Structure of the Study**

The case study is triangulated through the use of qualitative methods (semi-structured interviews, participant observation and qualitative text analysis) and conducted on three different levels through strategic sample. The first level concerns representatives from the movement itself and includes semi-structured interviews and participant observations on the grassroots level in
the west and south provinces of Rwanda, with leaders and members of the Pentecostal movement. In addition to these interviews and semi-structured interviews with official representatives from the ADEPR on a national level were also conducted. These interviews aimed at introducing ideas of new areas of investigation; what questions I should be asking, what I needed to know, and where documents or records are to be found (Gillham 2000, 63, 64).

The second level involves other religious representatives from leading congregations in Rwanda. Structurally the ADEPR belongs to a platform of Evangelical Protestant churches in Rwanda. In the post-genocide era there has been an expansion of those movements and the Rwandan religious landscape is changing considerably, though the Catholic Church retains its dominant position. For the sake of mapping the role of the Pentecostal Movement in the religious landscape in Rwanda the researcher cross-examined the interviews ‘inside the movement’ by conducting semi-structured interviews with religious leaders from the Catholic Church, the Anglican Church, as well as the newly established Pentecostal movements like the Zion Temple Celebration Center Rwanda, the Restoration Church, and the Resurrection Church to identify how other religious movements interpret the role that the ADEPR has played in the reconciliation process. Furthermore, the researcher observed sessions in the newly established Pentecostal movements to make comparisons with the ADEPR.

The third level includes non-religious actors. With the aim to identify the role of the ADEPR in the national reconciliation process the researcher cross-examined the ADEPR interviews by conducting additional interviews with governmental representatives from the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC) as well as with representatives from the Rwandese National Civil Society Platform (CSP), researchers from the Penal Reform International (PRI), and the Centre for Conflict Management (CCM) at National University of Rwanda (NUR). Finally, the participatory observations of Gacaca court sessions in the western province were used to study how religious discourse can be integrated in reconciliation processes. Observations of public gatherings during the memorial genocide week in April 2009, in Kigali, were also used for this purpose.


Research Questions

The framing research question aims at assessing what possible impact the ADEPR has had in the national reconciliation process in post-genocide Rwanda. This issue is divided into three sub-questions representing three different stages of the research process. The first part concerns the concept of reconciliation from a faith-based point of view in the Rwandan post-genocide context. In order for the researcher to measure processes and their outcome, one needs to be aware of how the concept of reconciliation has been interpreted in the ADEPR. The second stage of the case study is to map the series of reconciliation processes that the ADEPR has taken part in. Qualitative data drawn from semi-structured interviews and participant observations, along with organizational documents, aim at assessing what possible impact the ADEPR has had in the national reconciliation process and which factors have influenced the reconciliation process as it has been executed by the movement.

What possible impact has the ADEPR had in the reconciliation process in post-genocide Rwanda?

1. How is the concept of reconciliation interpreted by members and leaders of ADEPR in post-genocide Rwanda? What strategies and methods are being used?
2. What series of reconciliation processes has the ADEPR in post-genocide Rwanda initiated and which external processes has the Rwandan Pentecostal Movement (ADEPR) taken part in?
3. Which factors have influenced the reconciliation process as it has been executed by the movement?

Problem Formulation

During the Rwandan genocide the Christian identities were turned upside down and inside out. Places of worship became sites where human lives were violated and sites that should have been characterized by words of harmony became places where killing reigned instead (Roth 2004, 82). Not only were members from every denomination in Rwanda responsible for the most terrible of slaughters, but most remarkably, many of these massacres took place in the church buildings where many victims of the genocide sought shelter (Rucyahana 2007, 77, 104). In many cases the church was a
death trap. Occasionally religious leaders pledged for the lives of the people and in some cases they were killed for it. However, in most churches, the Interahamwe simply came and killed masses of Tutsi (Rucyahana 2007, 78). In Rwanda, people traditionally have taken refuge in the churches in times of trouble (Bizimana 2001, 137) (Mukarwego 2004, 121). There is also evidence that there were Christian leaders who were killed because they tried to stop militiamen from killing others or because they protected victims. Many of these were Christians who believed in their religion and whose courage made up for the compromises of their church hierarchies (Prunier 1994, 231, 259). Likewise, there are stories of individual Pentecostal Christian Hutus refusing violence and instead seeking refuge in the forests (Hatzfeld 2003, 116).

The best hope for peace in Rwanda lies in the passing of time because to heal the wounds and to rebuild trust is a long-term process. The Tutsi survivors need to begin to trust their Hutu neighbours again and the returnees need to overcome their fear of the return of majority Hutu rule, while the Hutus need to dissociate themselves from the guilt of being linked with the genocide and to trust that the Tutsis will not take a bloody revenge (Lambourne 2001, 328) (Vandeginste 1998, 23). Some scholars argue that the room for critical thoughts and open discussion is missing in Rwanda. There exists no official debate concerning the revenge that some Tutsis carried out against the Hutu population outside the right to self defence. No one is debating the accusations against innocent Hutus resulting in imprisonment. The church must continuously be active in upholding justice in defence of the truth and the freedom of speech in Rwanda (Kaunda 2007, 17).

Whereas a national reconciliation process often equals a political project of establishing state institutions like Truth Commissions, who work to ensure a respect for the rule of law and Human Rights, the local reconciliation process is more likely to represent a perpetrator’s willingness to confess and an individual’s ability to forgive (Schirch 2001, 152). The transformation of human relationships can only be brought about by actors outside the government and, therefore, a multilevel peace process must always include social movements on the local scene. There is a difference between official versus unofficial reconciliation initiatives, for example, a public apology by a political leader differs from a small, private meeting of religious believers in an exchange of apologies and forgiveness, which in turn differs from a
public statement of contrition made by a military leader found guilty of war crimes (Fisher 2001, 27).

The in-house church reconciliation programs have been affected by the lack of repentance among church leaders. General distrust still lingers between the groups and affects the interpersonal relationships and community interactions. This makes it hard to see the results that many have been looking for. The lack of visible results also contributes to some people’s criticism of the process of reconciliation and to the feeling that justice has not been done. These are people who are still in great pain. The level of trauma for those who were in the country, and even for those who came from outside and saw the slaughter, cannot be understated. Healing is definitely going to take time (Mbanda 1997, 123).

There are many Hutus who did not participate in the killing of Tutsis or Hutu moderates. Still, survivors cannot help but wonder what part a Hutu might have had in the genocide (Mbanda 1997, 102). Whereas the Tutsis who lived in Rwanda had very painful experiences, others returned from exile and had very harsh experiences since they or their parents left Rwanda after earlier massacres and also found it extremely difficult to forgive and reconcile. However, many of them realize that the only way to rebuild a functioning society is reconciliation (Pearlman 2001, 212). The memorial services for genocide victims, arranged immediately after the genocide, were characterized by survivors recognizing God’s protection, praising, and giving thanks for the end of the killings, although some finger pointing and looks of suspicion could also be observed (Mbanda 1997, 112, 113).

Religious movements failed to prevent the genocide and therefore stand accused of participation in the killing at the same time as they face the enormous challenge of contributing to the national reconciliation process. Given that the church is a major social institution in Rwanda it is now important for it to play a major part in the process of reconciliation. Religious movements are commissioned to create an inclusive society through the works of peace, justice, truth, and mercy, which can liberate both the victim from being consumed by hatred and the perpetrator from guilt and fear of revenge (Kubai 2005, 20).
**Association des Eglises de Pentecôte du Rwanda**

One of the religious social movements that existed before and during the genocide, as well as now, in Rwanda is the Association des Eglises de Pentecôte du Rwanda (ADEPR). The history of the ADEPR began in colonial Rwanda. In the 1930s the movement spread from the eastern part of Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), where Swedish missionaries from the Swedish Free Mission were operating in cooperation with Congolese evangelists, to the south western part of Rwanda and the city of Cyangugu (Söderlund 1995, 104). At the time of the initial establishment of the ADEPR, King Mutara III Rudahigwa of Rwanda converted to Catholicism and turned Rwanda into the most Catholic country in Africa (Gourevitch 1998, 56). The Swedish Free Mission together with the Southern Baptists were the last major missions to enter Rwanda (Mbanda 1997, 6). During the first two decades the ADEPR was mainly active in the southwest province. In 1955 the movement spread to northwestern Rwanda, to the city of Gisenyi and some years later to the capital of Rwanda, Kigali (Söderlund 1995, 122). In 1962, when Rwanda became independent, the Swedish Free Mission handed over all property to the administration of the ADEPR and all the local congregations applied to get their 'personnalité civil' to demonstrate their independence from the Swedish Free Mission (Söderlund 1995, 210).

Today, ADEPR is one of the largest religious grassroots movements in Rwanda with over one million members (including children and non-baptized adults). ADEPR is also an important contributor to the Rwandese educational sector, currently overseeing more than 80 schools in Rwanda (Usabwimana 2007, 13).

In post-genocide Rwanda new Pentecostal movements have been established. After the RPF takeover of the country in July 1994, church services were resumed with certain churches being packed to their maximum capacity. In most of the new Pentecostal movements, the organizers are returnees, elders or pastors from churches or refugee resettlements where they used to live in exile (Mbanda 1997, 112). Being that many returnees found that they could not fit into the traditional Pentecostal movement and the leadership conflicts that characterized it, they established churches that reflected the culture of their home countries in exile (Mbanda 1997, 114, 115).
Part 2

The Movement and its Reconciliation Strategy

In this section the researcher presents how the concept of reconciliation is interpreted by members and leaders of the ADEPR in post-genocide Rwanda and what methods and strategies they are using.

The Power of a Grassroots Movement

The ADEPR in Rwanda is a grassroots movement set in the countryside and this has had an effect on their interpretation of the concept of reconciliation. The Pentecostal movement is the one of the largest religious grassroots movements in Rwanda with over one million members (including children and non-baptized adults). Their method is generally considered as one of the necessary components for successful peace-building processes; since intervention by elite negotiations alone cannot bring reconciliation, but has to be accompanied with intensive grassroots activities (Abu-Nimer 2001, 343). Transformation of human relationships can only be achieved by actors outside the government and therefore a multilevel peace process always must include social movements on the local scene. Due to their emphasis on the population in the rural areas of Rwanda they have many socially excluded people among their own members in the local churches, and as a result leaders incorporate reconciliation teaching for their uneducated, poor members. In general, the strategy aims at simplifying the message of reconciliation and making it available for simple people to integrate the concept of reconciliation into their daily lives.

The ADEPR has many Hutus among its members, since the movement contains members from the less urbanized areas, in particular in the western areas of the country. This affects their way of focusing on the perpetrating side in the reconciliation process. This also means that some of their current members played a role in the 1994 genocide. In their strategy and in their methods the movement emphasizes that perpetrators must heal from the wounds they have inflicted on themselves as they harmed others. They assume that healing can help perpetrators to face their crimes, to engage with their victims, and to enter into a process that leads to reconciliation. In the movement there are also many members of the perpetrator group whom
were not engaged in violence but who need to heal from the impact of their own group's actions.¹ Representatives from the movement emphasise that it is not mainly a 'Hutu movement' but they focus instead on the strong diversity that the movement contains.² Most activists in the movement disagree regarding the role that the movement had during the genocide, but the fact that the movement existed in pre-genocide times affects the reconciliation strategy and methods. The younger generation is more open to speak about the role that the movement played in the genocide than the older. Others argue that the ADEPR had a more neutral role in the genocide in protecting victims and assisting many Tutsis to flee to the eastern side of Congo (DRC).³ Other members of the movement, in particular those who joined the movement in post-genocide times, are questioning what the leaders in the movement did. They are motivated by changing the image through their reconciliation strategy by focusing on fostering forgiveness and encouraging perpetrators to confess their crimes.⁴

**The Impact of the Governmental Monopolization**

What is missing in Rwanda is room for thought, open discussion, and free expression of opinion given that the government is exercising such a high level of control. Members and leaders of the ADEPR refer to the government and politics when they are asked to define the concept of reconciliation. Several leaders have brought to light a governmental monopolization of the concept of reconciliation and that this concept is extremely politicized. The Director of Centre for Conflict Management (CCM) argues that the government has to a very high extent influenced the methods that the ADEPR and other religious movements have used in the process of reconciliation.

I think in our country it is the government who's pushing, I think it is the role of the government to push but I think on many [occasions], the good initiatives are coming from the government and not from the church. The idea of the Gacaca, which is very Christian, a justice which reconciles [unclear] with a Biblical vision of things, no, it didn’t come from religion but it came from the government⁵

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¹ Pastor, Resurrection Church, p. 6.
² Youth Leader, ADEPR Kigali, p. 6.
⁴ CEP Leader, ADEPR Butare, p. 6.
⁵ Director, Center for Conflict Management, p. 4.
Several members, activists, and leaders of the movement express how the government influenced their interpretation of the concept of reconciliation. There is a tendency in the case study that representatives from the movement in the western side of Rwanda (Cyangugu and Gisenyi) are more strongly emphasizing a governmental monopolization over the concept of reconciliation. This could be due to the fact that the movement is stronger in those areas and a great majority of the members there are Hutus. Thus the government might exercise a higher level of social control there. That would explain their tendency to articulate their support for the government during the interviews.  

Because of this strong emphasis on the reconciliation strategy of the government among leaders in the ADEPR, some more critical members have questioned their leaders and wonder if they are agents of the government. There is also a tendency in the ADEPR towards adopting a stronger local emphasis within the concept of reconciliation among members inside the ADEPR. There are also some members, activists, and leaders who are sceptical towards a governmental monopolization of the concept of reconciliation who bring to the light the importance for the movement to express its particularities, like their Christian faith, their method of building churches, and the message of love in their articulation of the concept of reconciliation.

The Use of Religious Discourse in the Reconciliation Process

The message of reconciliation and peace is central to many religions including the Christian faith. The aim of the church is to practice, speak, and live a message of reconciliation. From a religious standpoint, reconciliation is the mission and the very quality of the church (Isasi-Díaz 2006, 77). Sampson argues that 'a remarkable new trend in peace building is the introduction of religious meanings as the medium and not just the motivation for peace building practice, with prayer, meditation, and religious discourse and rituals increasingly finding a place at the dialogue' (Sampson 1997, 274, 276). To practice and live in reconciliation within a religious movement and between religious communities is a means of being congruent with the gospel preached and a living witness to the reconciling embrace of God (Clegg 2006, 132).

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6 Deaconess, ADEPR Gisenyi, p. 3.
7 Legal Advicer, ADEPR, p. 2.
Many scholars argue in favour of using spiritual techniques in reconciliation processes, among others Lederach emphasizes that ‘reconciliation must be looked upon as a spiritual, theological as well as juridical concept, a process and a way of living, reconciliation is always in the making’ (Lederach 1999, 10, 11, 12).

The Emphasis on Forgiveness

Many scholars emphasise that forgiveness is central to the Christian faith and reconciliation. When numerous survivors in Rwanda explain in their testimonies how they have been able to forgive, the inclusion of religious discourse is noticeable; in the Gacaca tribunals several of the perpetrators confessed their crimes of genocide by using biblical references (Mbanda 1997, 26). The case study made of the ADEPR shows that this is also true for them. Members, activists, and leaders of the ADEPR all put their emphasis on forgiveness in their interpretation of the concept of reconciliation. They also underline the importance of using forgiveness as a method and as the overall strategy.

Reconciliation between individuals or groups requires the involvement of two or more parties in an interaction of apology and forgiveness and the willingness to embark on a new relationship based on acceptance and trust. Among Christians the reality of forgiveness is a central principle of their faith. In public gatherings involving forgiveness, in some Christian contexts there is a tendency for people to take on themselves the sins of their own group, whether or not they personally committed those sins. This is the foundation of the first stages of most ethnic violence, where victims are guilty because of their ethnicity and are held responsible as if they have committed all the offenses of a group (Gopin 2001, 87, 88).

In the ADEPR there has been a strong emphasis on perpetrators to be forgiven, and less focus has been on survivors’ ability to forgive crimes against their own families. The movement has used ‘a two-way’ strategy, whereby both sides should be involved in the process of forgiveness. Engaging in a process of forgiveness is a personal choice and must remain

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8 Member, ADEPR Butare, p. 4.
9 Deaconess, ADEPR Gisenyi, p. 1.
10 Kindergarden School Teacher, ADEPR Gisenyi, p. 1.
11 Pastor, ADEPR Kigali, p. 2; National Evangelist, ADEPR, p. 6.
in that realm, whether dealing with forgiving someone for violating one’s
dignity or forgiving oneself for robbing others of their dignity. The best one
could hope for is to create the conditions that would give rise to forgiveness
(Hicks 2001, 145). Liechty argues that ‘the Christian tradition ... is heavily
weighted towards forgiving rather than repenting’ (Liechty 2006, 60). True
forgiveness cannot be granted until the perpetrator has sought and earned
it through confession and repentance (Lewis-Herman 1992, 189, 190). The
act of forgiving, however, should not be mixed up with forgetting what has
happened in a society. Volf argues that ‘in the context of cheap reconcili-
ation, forgiveness is best described as acting toward the perpetrator ‘as if
their sin were not there’. The offence has happened – or one party thinks
that it has happened – but the injured party treats the offender as if it had
not (Volf 2001, 36).

There are others in some churches and in the ADEPR
who claim that because of spirituality and being a believer, forgiveness is
possible even if it seems impossible from a rational point of view.

The Practice of Repentance

ADEPR is working mainly with the perpetrating side. The Pentecostal
movement is therefore emphasizing repentance and the movement encour-
gages perpetrators to confess their crimes in prisons, in church, and in the
local Gacaca processes. A national evangelist from the ADEPR and a youth
leader from a Pentecostal church (ADEPR) in Butare describe this process.

because in the Pentecostal movement, the confession, public confession, is
something which is different from the Catholic, because for them, confessing
is to the priest and in secret, but this public confession has been very powerful
in prisons, because when a message has been given and people could confess
publically, it encourages even the other prisoners and it [has] an impact, a
move of confessions and those confessions were not like confessing before
the government, or like before a church, but people were encouraged even
to write down their confessions and take it to the courts, so we have seen
many prisoners confessed and they even contributed in the Gacaca, to tell
the truth and even to help the victims to know where the bodies were, so
they had a great contribution.

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12 Member, Zion Temple Church Kigali, pp. 1-2; National Evangelist, ADEPR, p. 2.
13 Pastor, Resurrection Church Kigali, p. 1; Evangelist, ADEPR Cyangugu, p. 2.
14 Youth Leader, ADEPR Butare, p. 2.
15 National Evangelist, ADEPR, p. 6.
The ADEPR has been very successful in this process with their strong emphasis on repentance. Truth is the longing for acknowledgment of wrongdoing and the validation of painful loss and experience. There is a difference between knowing and acknowledging something, and this has to do with a humanizing act of acknowledgement. Through truth history becomes more transparent, and without acts of truth told the reconciliation process will be seen as superficial, manipulated, and possibly also as somewhat arrogant towards victims. Without truth, forgiveness and repentance will be insipid, partial, and cheap. In Rwanda the government has encouraged prisoners to confess in return for reduced sentences (Lambourne 2001, 327). The process of confessing depends on shared analysis of the history of the conflict, recognition of injustices, and acceptance of moral responsibility (J. V. Montville 1993, 112).

The Neglect of Justice

If justice is impossible, true forgiveness can never take place (Volf 2001, 41). Reconciliation can be seen as the bringing together of justice and mercy in a process of understanding and forgiveness, integrating both secular and religious aspects. Reconciliation implies the acknowledgement of wrongs committed and compassion toward the perpetrator should not be equated with condoning the crimes committed. Lambourne purports that 'some traditional justice systems, such as the Gacaca system in Rwanda, involve the concept of restorative justice where the emphasis is placed on restoring relationships between the parties in a conflict instead of inflicting punishment'. Many scholars have asked how religious discourse can genuinely be based on justice and what it would imply for religious movements still accused of complicity in the Rwandan genocide (Ndorimana 2001, 149).

If the church contributes to the process of justice, unity can be re-established among Rwandans in general, and among Christians in particular (Ndahiro 2004, 246) (Grey 2007, 83) but results from the case study prove that the Pentecostal movement has barely been emphasizing justice in their reconciliation strategy or their interpretation of the concept. The Executive Secretary of National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC) together with a representative from the Civil Society Platform (CSP) in Rwanda are both critical over this in their argument regarding how the ADEPR understands and articulates the concept of reconciliation in their daily work.17

16 Representative, Prison Fellowship, p. 4.
17 Executive Secretary, National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, p. 4.
They neglect a lot of justice. They don't emphasize justice, they think forgiveness that can be in the church can replace justice and they are wrong. They don't encourage people to accuse perpetrators, they encourage them to forgive them, you see? (...) Because they think holistic, every Christian should forgive and not go into those details.\textsuperscript{18}

\textbf{The Neglect of Development}

An important part of reconciliation, which Lederach and other researchers emphasise, is sustainable peace building with development in the agenda. The case study shows that the Pentecostal movement has been active in this field but it has not been their focus and many inside the movement, as well as outsiders, agree upon the fact that the ADEPR could have done more in the social field by prioritizing differently when it comes to finance and by highlighting this component in their reconciliation strategy. Two external actors, a Gacaca researcher from Penal Reform International (PRI) and the director of the Center for Conflict Management (CCM) at National University of Rwanda (NUR), both highlight this fact.\textsuperscript{19}

In the ADEPR several leaders, including a development worker express that one of the explanations for this neglect is that the movement lacks financial resources. However, that is not a comprehensive explanation.\textsuperscript{20} Other representatives argue that reconciliation is an ongoing process and that the ADEPR chose to emphasise other aspects during the first period and that they are now starting to highlight social development.\textsuperscript{21} In summary, the movement has focused on forgiveness and repentance in their interpretation of their concept of reconciliation and they have put less emphasis on the aspects of justice and development.\textsuperscript{22}

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{18} Representative, Civil Society Platform, p. 5.
\item \textsuperscript{19} Gacaca Researcher, Penal Reform International, p. 6; Director, Center for Conflict Management, p. 7.
\item \textsuperscript{20} Development Worker, ADEPR Cyangugu, p. 2.
\item \textsuperscript{21} Member, ADEPR Cyangugu, p. 4; National Evangelist, ADEPR, p. 12.
\item \textsuperscript{22} National Evangelist, ADEPR, p. 7.
\end{itemize}
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Part 3

The Movement and their Reconciliation Processes

This section looks more closely at the reconciliation processes initiated by the ADEPR and the movement’s role in the civil society as a whole. Although it is not very easy to measure reconciliation, the case study proves that the effort to make the process of reconciliation community based has started bearing fruit. This can be seen through the number of community initiatives for unity and reconciliation that the ADEPR has either initiated or taken part in.

Reconciliation as a Societal Process

The ADEPR defines their reconciliation efforts as ‘a process’. They do not consider their contribution in terms of ‘reconciliation activities’ but rather as part of something greater. Despite this, the ADEPR strongly emphasises the experiences of ‘individual members’. For example, they highlight the meeting between a perpetrator and a victim from the 1994 genocide as their greatest effort in order to accomplish reconciliation.23

Reconciliation through Prison Outreach

The movement has had a great impact in their emphasis on repentance through their outreach programmes in prisons. It has resulted in perpetrators confessing their crimes in local Gacaca sessions. An evangelist and a member from the Pentecostal church (ADEPR) in Cyangugu argue that the movement has a good reputation in the Gacacas and, according to their point of view, they are considered by the rest of the society to tell the truth.24

I mean this, those deacons and many members from the churches in ADEPR, especially in Cyangugu where I was born, they have been chosen to be responsible as judges in Gacaca tribunals because they know they are not partials, they are serious, they cannot agree to corruption, they know corruption is a sin.25

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23 Member, ADEPR Butare, p. 1.
24 Evangelist, ADEPR Cyangugu, p. 4.
25 Member, ADEPR Cyangugu, p. 3.
The post-genocide period left the country with the greatest challenge imaginable in establishing a judicial system that could try all the suspects. The Gacaca system can be explained as a traditional justice system that has historically been used whenever the community has felt the demand to restore societal harmony (S. Vandeginst 2001, 238). There has been a need for victims to have their stories told and to have what happened acknowledged. The Gacaca contains certain features of truth telling for the local communities. This contributes to a common understanding of the past, through hearing different sides of the story ((PRI) 2007, 7). A common understanding of the past that people could agree on also adds to the possibilities of understanding how to get where one wants to go, and could as such enhance cooperation between groups in society. Christians, in their base communities, have spoken about their sufferings, their questions, their internal conflicts, and among others organisations through the Gacaca tribunals. Some of the Hutu Christians recognized that they had oppressed the Tutsis in different ways since 1959 and confessed the crime of genocide (Mukarwego 2004, 123).

In the prisons, the ADEPR has carried out activities such as evangelism in order to create a safer space for the acceptance of prisoners' responsibilities in crime. Thus they have enabled repentance and confession and they have facilitated prisoners to seek forgiveness. The ADEPR established a literacy training programs for illiterate prisoners. The ADEPR, in addition, organizes some visitations between the prisoners and survivors and their families to create a good atmosphere of Christian-based relationships among them. The ADEPR also organizes visits between prisoners and ex-prisoners in order to create an open space encouraging prisoners to give testimonies concerning the role they played during the genocide.

The ADEPR is part of a network of religious actors working in prisons, called the Prison Fellowship Rwanda (PFR). One aspect which the representative from the PFR highlight is also shared by a Gacaca researcher from the Penal Reform International (PRI), that the ADEPR has also been active due to the fact that many of their members and leaders have personal ties to the prisoners.

26 Participant observation; attending Gacaca sessions in Gisenyi and Butare in April 2009.
The reason why the ADEPR has a higher rate than other church[es] is that most of the pastors during that time of those churches were the relatives of those perpetrators. So these perpetrators were giving more trust to the pastors in what they are preaching [to] them, because they have no [doubt] why about to betray them because these were their relatives. Since I’ve said before that these pastors were relatives to the perpetrators so the perpetrators had much trust in them, so they spoke all of what they have in their mind and this made them confess and tell the truth.28

**Refugee Churches and Meetings for Perpetrators**

The movement is organizing many activities with the intention for perpetrators to heal from the wounds they have inflicted on themselves, as they harmed others. The movement assumes that healing can open perpetrators to face their crimes, to engage with their victims, and to enter into a process that leads to reconciliation. The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), situated in Arusha, Tanzania, has a handful of Rwandese Pentecostal detainees accused of being masterminds behind the 1994 genocide: for inciting the crimes of genocide and crimes against humanity. The ADEPR has worked in cooperation with the Free Pentecostal Church of Tanzania (FPCT) in conducting ceremonies and gatherings for the detainees there on a weekly basis.29

The Pentecostal movement also established refugee churches for displaced Rwandans in the eastern part of Congo (DRC), the Kivu-region, and the western side of Tanzania around Kigoma. Marc Sommers has written a report on ‘Reconciliation and Religion: Refugee churches in the Rwandan camps’ where he conducted interviews with members and leaders of the Pentecostal churches in the refugee camps of Muvumba and Rusumo. He found that the Pentecostal movement gathered far more than 6,000 adults in one of the camps and that these events provided a measure of psychological and spiritual support (Sommers 1996, 3).

**Reconciliation through Education**

What impact the ADEPR schools have had in the reconciliation process and whether the movement has taken the role of peace educators are interesting subjects since the movement historically has emphasized education.

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29 Participant observation at the UNDF, Arusha, the month of December 2008.
The mission strategy shared by all evangelists and missionaries from the Pentecostal movement (Swedish Mission/ADEPR) was the evangelization of Rwanda through the creation of schools with the goal of converting both present and future generations to Christianity (Berry 1999, 34). A pastor from a Pentecostal church (ADEPR) in Kigali emphasizes that the movement is not only active in conducting primary and secondary education, but also in arranging general training sessions for members and leaders in the movement.

Churches began to teach people, to hold seminars on how to forgive to those who had done wrong to them. So churches taught, a lot, seminars and conferences have taken place and some testimonies have been given for people who have taken the step to forgive and even for some people who have repented.30

The ADEPR has 130 primary schools, twenty secondary schools, and five theological schools.31 Education has continuously played a great role during the reconciliation process, whether it to sensitize the Rwandese society, to promote a good understanding of the past, to build the skills of living with diversity, or to promote healing and reconciliation. The Pentecostal movement received international assistance for reconstruction and improvement of their education. The Vice-President and the Executive Secretary of the National and Unity Reconciliation Commission (NURC) in Rwanda brought to light the efforts made by the ADEPR in the field of education as part of the reconciliation process.

**Reconciliation through Psychological and Social Healing**

Perpetrators must heal from the wounds they have inflicted on themselves, as they harmed others. Healing can enable perpetrators to face their crimes, to engage with their victims, and to enter into a process that leads to reconciliation. Members of the perpetrator group who were not engaged in violence also need to heal from the impact of their own group’s actions (Pearlman 2001, 208). The ADEPR has played an important role in reconciling individual members of the movement. Results from the case study indicate that members have been emotionally affected in a positive way by participating in activities within the Pentecostal movement. Survivors are courageous coming to terms with the past and some have started joint initiatives with

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30 Pastor, ADEPR Kigali, p. 1.
31 Legal Representative, ADEPR, p. 3.
families of perpetrators and released perpetrators, and stories of forgiveness and confession are emerging countrywide. The Executive Secretary of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC) in Rwanda highlights the role that the Pentecostal movement plays in this field.\textsuperscript{32}

The ADEPR has attempted to confront the ethnic hatred directly through reconciliation workshops and community healing initiatives, and indirectly within the context of their other programmes. In 2005, forty-five pastors and deacons from the ADEPR attended a seminar on traumatic wound healing and reconciliation, organized by CARSA (CARSA 2006, 3).\textsuperscript{33} The ADEPR has recognized that there are people who are still in great pain and the great level of trauma for those who were in the country, even for those who came from outside and saw that the slaughter had to be taken seriously. Scholars argue for the importance of healing and for Galtung it is integrated into his comprehensive understanding of reconciliation, whereby he defines reconciliation as 'the process of healing the traumas of both victims and perpetrators after violence, providing a closure of the bad relation. The process prepares the parties for relations with justice and peace' (Galtung 2001, 3). The other thing that needs to be understood is the level of trauma for those who were in the country, and even for those who came from outside and saw killings. Healing is definitely going to take time. Therefore the process demands patience, but people are often impatient (Mbando 1997, 123). The Pentecostal movement has also experienced that healing can enable perpetrators to face their crimes, to engage with their victims, and to enter into a process that leads to reconciliation.\textsuperscript{34}

\textit{Reconciliation through Social Reconstruction}

Linking forgiveness to reconciliation is essential, but the issue cannot be addressed before the basic human and social needs are met (Abu-Nimer 2001, 344). The case study indicates that the Pentecostal movement has been active in this field but the movement could have done more.\textsuperscript{35}

The case study also shows that the movement has had initiatives like reconciliation villages in the southern part of Rwanda, financed by FINIDA

\begin{footnotes}
\item[32] Executive Secretary, National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, p. 1.
\item[33] Member, ADEPR Butare, p. 6.
\item[34] Local CEP member, ADEPR Butare, p. 1.
\end{footnotes}
Part 4

The Movement’s Impact and Influential Factors Behind

This section deals with factors influencing the reconciliation process as it is executed by the ADEPR in post-genocide Rwanda. The case study proves that there are both internal and external factors that have affected the reconciliation process. Also, amongst agents it is noticeable that there are both actors inside Rwanda – mainly the government – and outsiders, such as the Rwandese in diaspora and the Swedish Pentecostal movement.

**Ethnic Struggle and Leadership Crisis (1994-2004)**

In order for the church to resume a ministry that will have an impact on the lives of people, church-wide confession and the election of new leaders is essential (Mbanda 1997, 83, 94, 111, 114). Where former leaders have returned, leadership crisis escalated with church members demanding that those with any association with or involvement in the genocide should be replaced by new elected leaders. There is also a demand for the church to recognize the integration of Tutsis into the leadership of the church in order to bring a new balance to the church leadership that was historically selected on the basis of ethnic origin or political motivations (Mbanda 1997, 114).

The ADEPR faced a series of internal struggles and leadership crises during the first decade following the genocide. Before the genocide, a majority of the pastors were Hutu and the Tutsi side was not represented in the leadership. When the Tutsi returnees came back after leading Pentecostal movements in exile (DRC, Tanzania, Burundi, and Uganda) they clashed with the traditional ‘Hutu’ dominated leadership in the ADEPR. The established

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36 Pastor, Restoration Church, p. 9.
‘Hutu’ dominated leadership did not want to recognize the returnees as official pastors but rather considered them to be a threat.\textsuperscript{37, 38}

This conflict was known even to the surrounding society, including the government.\textsuperscript{39} The conflict furthermore had an impact on individuals in the movement. Members of the ADEPR attending churches with deep divisions, fights, and power struggles for leadership would understandably be negative towards the results of reconciliation efforts. The reconciliation programmes were therefore harmed by the conflict and the lack of church leaders’ repentance (Mbanda 1997, 123). The Vice-President of the NURC in Rwanda argues that it is understandable that the ADEPR was passive in the reconciliation process during the first decade following the genocide due to their internal struggles.

I don’t blame them, they were still fighting alongside the lines of ethnicity; there is no one who can go to preach reconciliation when you are still fighting inside the church on lines of ethnicity.\textsuperscript{40}

\textbf{On the Way; Reconciliation Improvements (2004-2009)}

The period following the conflict era was characterized by processes of repentance inside the movement. It started with the top leaders themselves; they had to repent and ask for forgiveness from each other and they were even urged to go to the churches and present their testimonies of forgiveness or repentance, which they did. After the leaders had confessed their part in the conflict and the role they played in the 1994 genocide, the leaders came out very strong in their ministry in prisons, schools, hospitals, and local communities. The case study shows that during the last five years, the period in between the years of 2004 and 2009, the Pentecostal movement has been very active and has contributed a great deal to the reconciliation process.\textsuperscript{41}

By looking into the dimensions of reconciliation (acknowledgement, acceptance, apology, restoration, and forgiveness), the units involved in reconciliation processes (individuals, groups, and officials), and the possible level of reconciliation (minor or significant), the case study shows that in recent

\textsuperscript{37} Member, ADEPR Gisenyi, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{38} National Evangelist, ADEPR, p. 16.
\textsuperscript{39} Pastor, Resurrection Church, p. 6.
\textsuperscript{40} Vice-President, National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{41} District Pastor, ADEPR Gisenyi, p. 2, 5.
years the ADEPR has played a significant role: in particular for individual members and prisoners on the perpetrator side, mainly due to the fact that the movement managed to deal with and solve their internal conflict. The Vice-President of the NURC argues that the ADEPR has the potential to play an even greater role if they continue from where they started in recent years.  

**Governmental Influence over the Movement**

Religion is strong in Rwanda. A vast majority of the Rwandese population are engaged in religious congregations. The ADEPR alone has over one million members (including children and non-baptized adults) from all over the country, which represents more than 10 percentage of the total population in Rwanda (Usabwimana 2007, 13). Field notes from participant observations, conducted during memorial week in Rwanda in April 2009, reveal that religious discourse is strongly integrated into the dominant political discourse in Rwanda. The ADEPR is in strong cooperation with the Rwandese government and is greatly influenced and controlled by them. As a result the movement has been given much public space. During one official gathering at the central stadium in Kigali, during the memorial week in April 2009, President Paul Kagame’s speech was introduced by a Pentecostal choir leading the audience in lively worship, performing charismatic hymns and songs.  

The Unity and Reconciliation week was initiated by the NURC aiming for sensitization and mobilization of Rwandans at all levels to engage in unity and in the reconciliation process in their day to day lives (Manaseeh 2009, 35). Religious actors strongly appreciated the public space they were given and at the end of the unity and reconciliation week the commission received an international Peace Award by United Religious Initiative (URI), which is an international US-based organization (United Religious Initiative 2009).

The Rwandan government has understood that Evangelical movements represent a substantial portion of the population and that they possess a moral legitimacy, as well as a certain amount of power or at least the capacity to reach and mobilize supporters throughout the society, and when a moral message serves to mobilize mass action or when the moral messenger backs

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42 Vice-President, National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, p.8.
43 Participant observation at a political meeting at the central stadium in Kigali, during the month of April 2009.
44 Pastor, ADEPR Gisenyi, p. 2.
its words with effective leadership of its own the religious actor can become a significant catalyst for change (Sampson 1997, 281). Seminars and mission crusades in Kigali have also been organized by both religious movements in Rwanda and by movements from the outside, in addition to small group gatherings in the countryside (Mbanda 1997, 122).

These gatherings have attracted a great number of people and have as well been used as platforms for the government to reach out with their propaganda. Religious songs and prayers have been integrated into political gatherings and memorial ceremonies organized by the government. It is noticeable that politicians in Rwanda try to associate themselves with evangelical religious leaders, perhaps in the hope that their associated spiritual power will be reflected on themselves (Haar 2004, 100, 101).

One of the reasons why the government so strongly controls the ADEPR is that it was the Rwandese government who mediated in the conflict that the ADEPR had in the past. As a result of that mediation, the government came up with an argument recommending the movement to, through a system of quota, bring in more Tutsi pastors from the returnee group. A national evangelist brought to light the confusion this argument caused among members at the local level who did not understand why, once again, the process of selecting leaders should be based on ethnicity.

It is difficult because if the government at that time was saying; 'no Tutsi and no Hutu', so how do you sit and say: 'let us distribute the positions to all Hutu and Tutsi'. So in that kind of confusion, it happened somehow that they created a kind of equal opportunities ... so it is like a power sharing and now people are appointed and get to these positions for Hutu and these for Tutsi, this is how the positions where distributed. But now, the problem is that with the congregations, with the lower people, for them they don't feel that it is right, because as a church, if you want to appoint people because of their ethnicity, I think that is not biblical, because it's not, and for the lower people they are not happy about that kind of arrangement.

It was consequently noticeable that the government had chosen a new method in their reconciliation efforts, moving away from the policy of abolishing ethnic labels and towards a silent emphasis on equality between the two ethnical groups in Rwanda. This could also be seen during the national unity and reconciliation week, organized by the NURC, where the ethnic labels

45 Member, ADEPR Butare, p. 1.
46 National Evangelist, ADEPR, p. 9, 10.
relating to Tutsis as victims and the Hutus as perpetrators were strongly emphasised in all advertisements (Manaseeh 2009, 17, 63).

As a result of the strong partnership with the government the top leadership of the ADEPR exercise a higher level of control over their own members inside the movement.47

**Partnership with the Swedish Pentecostal Mission (SPM)**

The case study indicates that one of the most influential external actors for the ADEPR has been the Swedish Pentecostal Mission (SPM). The cooperation between the ADEPR and the Swedish Pentecostal Mission (SPM) goes back to the 1930s, when Swedish missionaries from the Swedish Free Mission were operating in cooperation with Congolese evangelists to establish the movement (Söderlund 1995, 104). Since 1962, the ADEPR has been working independently and all administration over properties has been handed over from the Swedish Free Mission to the movement (Söderlund 1995, 210). Hence the Swedish Pentecostal Mission (SPM) has had strong ties to ADEPR by sending missionaries and project coordinators.

The 1994 genocide in Rwanda brought tensions to the partnership through the ethnic conflict that the ADEPR went through. In the first decade after the 1994 genocide the Swedish Pentecostal Mission (SPM) was to some extent withdrawing from cooperation instead of taking an active role as a mediator. The Vice-President of NURC, who was part of the parliamentary group that was appointed by the government to work in this process, describes the process as follows:

> the Swedish Pentecostal church, were the mother church, if I can say but the Swedish movement pulled out without putting pressure on the leadership here in solving their problems (...) they did put pressure by pulling out PMU because there was a time that PMU stopped and that is why the government came in because the Swedish government was passing their money through PMU, through ADEPR to build and do things here.48

Some voices, including the Vice-President NURC argue that this is due to the fact the Swedish Pentecostal Mission (SPM) was not neutral and decided to support the ‘Hutu side’ in the conflict.

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47 Member, ADEPR Cyangugu, p. 4, 5.
48 Vice-President, National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, p.5.
I think Sweden had already taken a position and Sweden was supportive of the Hutu side of the cause and I still believe that was the major cause. So when they saw that the Tutsi side was becoming stronger and there was now the government had sure enough a good hand in terms of Tutsi being integrated, so I think, that’s my interpretation, I think the Swedish mission being sold to the Hutu cause.

The SPM was also to a great extent affected by Rwandese in the diaspora. Ugirashebuja argues that expatriate missionaries in general supported their Rwandan refugee friends in the years following the 1994 genocide in claiming their rights in the name of their ethnic group (Ugirashebuja 2004, 60). An evangelist from the ADEPR describes what happened and his analysis of the possible reasons for what happened.

from the Rwandese who are outside, especially Hutus, who are outside and lobbying in some countries, trying to downplay the genocide and at one point, even trying to dismiss... the other thing is that, during the clashes between in the leadership, between Hutu and Tutsi, they also kicked out the Swedish missionaries, so there was an initiative recently, to bring them back and to sit together and talk about all bad things that happened and ask for forgiveness, that happened also recently, and it is a very good thing.

The case study indicates that in present time the partnership between the SPM and the ADEPR is restored. The Swedish Pentecostal Mission Relief and Development Cooperation Agency (PMU InterLife) is financially supporting many reconciliation initiatives in the movement. In 1999, the ADEPR started a pilot project for alphabetization (PANA in cooperation with PMU Interlife (Wedin 2006, 7). PMU InterLife in addition has a Swedish project co-coordinator based in Kigali (PMU InterLife 2009).

The Young Generation; Showing the Way Forward

The final factor that has influenced the reconciliation process as it is executed by the ADEPR in post-genocide Rwanda is the young generation within the movement. They have been leading figures in initiating processes of reconciliation internally, in local churches, and externally through village programs with a strong emphasis on forgiveness and acceptance of the past.

49 Vice-President, National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, p.6.
50 National Evangelist, ADEPR, pp. 8, 11.
51 Pastor, ADEPR Cyangugu, p. 3.
They are organized in CEP (Communauté des Etudiants Pentecôtistes). It is a fellowship of Pentecostal students in the universities. They work with everybody and they are also in partnership with the government. When they go to the communities, they bring people together (local government leaders, church leaders and everybody in the community) and their work has been very effective. People have repented, people have come to confess their hate, people have forgiven each other, and this has happened everywhere in the public including on the radio and in the countryside. This leading role has been recognized by the NURC.52 Leading pastors state that they are proud of what the youth are doing and emphasize the importance that they have had for the reconciliation process53.

Part 5

Conclusions

This section summarizes the research findings and aims at responding to the framing research question: what role and possible impact the traditional Pentecostal movement has had in the national reconciliation process in post-genocide Rwanda.

The Concept of Reconciliation

Lederach’s model states that reconciliation should be considered a journey towards a place where four components – Peace, Justice, Mercy and Truth – meet up and that without one of these ‘legs’ holding up reconciliation, it will not be sustainable. In relating the results from this case study to Lederach’s model, the research findings shows that the ADEPR mainly focused on two of the fields (Mercy and Truth) in their emphasis on forgiveness and repentance. They have neglected one of the parts in Lederach’s concept (Justice) and they have put some emphasis on the forth part (Peace) by mentioning relationship building, but they have not prioritized this in their reconciliation strategy.

Their strategy aims at simplifying the message of reconciliation and at making it attainable on a grassroots level for people in the countryside. The ADEPR has over one million members (including children and non-baptized

52 CEP member, ADEPR Butare, p. 2.
53 Pastor, ADEPR Butare, p. 4.
adults) and many are Hutus. This results in a perpetrator focus in the reconcili­ation process. The movement emphasizes that perpetrators must heal from the wounds they have inflicted on themselves as they harmed others. Members and leaders of the ADEPR refer to the government and politics when they are asked to define the concept of reconciliation. Several religious leaders also refer to the acts of genocide by using religious discourse, e.g. a terminology indicating demonic influence.

Reconciliation Processes

Qualitative data drawn from semi-structured interviews, participant observa­tions, and organizational documents have shown the difficulties with measuring reconciliation. This case study, however, proves that the effort to make the process of reconciliation community based has started bearing fruit. This can be seen through the number of community initiatives for unity and reconciliation that the ADEPR has either initiated or taken part in. The movement has, during the last five years, had a great impact, in particular in its emphasis on repentance through its outreach programmes in prisons which have resulted in perpetrators confessing their crimes in local Gacaca sessions.

Members are emotionally affected in a positive way by participating in activities with the ADEPR. Survivors are courageously coming to terms with the past and have started joining in initiatives with families of perpetrators and released perpetrators. Education has played a great role during the reconciliation process since it has been used to sensitize the Rwandese society to build the skills of living with diversity. The ADEPR has also contributed to peace by becoming an important radio announcer by broadcasting a weekly show on the governmental radio. The movement has also worked through reconciliation villages in the southern part of Rwanda where former perpetrators from refugee camps in Tanzania have been integrated with survivors from the ADEPR.

Reconciliation Impact

By combining the aspects of the dimensions of reconciliation (Mercy, Truth, Justice, and Truth), the units involved in reconciliation processes (individuals, groups, and leaders), and the possible level of reconciliation (minor or significant) this case study shows that the movement had been fairly inactive
in the reconciliation process during the first decade following the genocide. However, in the last five years the ADEPR has played a significant role in this process, in particular for individual members and prisoners on the perpetrator side. This has been confirmed by all the outside actors that have participated in the case study such as representatives from NURC.

The ADEPR is in strong cooperation with the Rwandese government and is greatly influenced and controlled by them. One of the most influential external actors for the ADEPR has been the SPM.

**Theoretical Implications**

The case study suffered a great hindrance due to the difficulty of measuring the qualitative concept of reconciliation. When assessing what role the ADEPR has had in the reconciliation process in post-genocide Rwanda the breadth was reflected by the number of people involved in reconciliation; the depth of reconciliation reflected the degree to which different parts such as Justice, Trust, Mercy, and Peace have been restored. In addition, outside perspectives from the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission have been of great importance enabling an assessment. The case study shows that religious social movements can contribute to reconciliation by fostering peace, empowering the weak, and by playing the role as an educator and a counterpart.

Furthermore the results show what importance religion can play in order for people to open up emotionally and confess their pass deeds, in order to leave their old lives behind them. In particular, it is of great interest to see that results from the case study confirm what scholars like Workum argue for Christianity as a particular faith that considers reconciliation as a central issue but embedded in a context of asking forgiveness, forgiving, and repentance. In this way he argues that reconciliation can produce justice. Scholars in general consider justice as a precondition for reconciliation and therefore Lederach's division of justice from Truth and Mercy might be a bit narrowing. One might say that the ADEPR has contributed to Justice by emphasising forgiveness and repentance. The concept of peace, as it is portrayed by Lederach, is all about relationship building. The case study confirms this as well as Rupensinghe's hypothesis that by sharing your daily life in a social movement you can achieve co-existence and reconciliation on the local level.
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Appendix 1

ADEPR Statistical Map
Appendix 2

Semi-Structured Interview Guide

Introduction

The Interview Guide is based on my previous knowledge in the field of peace and conflict studies together with a preoperational study made on the Pentecostal movement in Rwanda. The guide relates directly to the key issues in my research and the interview questions are constructed in relation to what findings could be best answered in a face to face interview (Gillham 2000, 65).

The interview guide is created for conducting thirty semi-structured interviews with religious leaders and members inside the Pentecostal movement, as well as with external actors outside the Pentecostal movement. These include, but are not limited to, the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, the Rwandese National Civil Society Platform, and additional religious representatives.

The interview guide contains varying types of questions whose overall aim is to direct the interviewee in a clear but unobtrusive manner as well as for the interpreter to, without doubt, follow the purpose and structure for the interview. The Grand Tour Question is general in its nature and designed to get the conversation started. Floating Prompt Questions are questions that interviewers use to continue the conversation. However, important categories that had been identified may not be dealt with spontaneously and therefore Planned Prompt Questions are questions that are designed to prompt the person being questioned to consider areas of the topic that do not come readily to mind or speech. Contrast Prompt Questions are value based and aim for the respondent to take a position (McCracken 1988, 34, 35, 36, 37). The prompts included in this guide aim at ensuring that all the interviews have comparable coverage in the further stage of content analysis.
Guide Questions

Grand Tour Question

What role and what possible impact has the Pentecostal movement had in the national reconciliation process in post-genocide Rwanda?

Floating Prompt Questions

How do you understand the concept of reconciliation?
What do you think about reconciliation in post-genocide Rwanda?
What has been your role in the reconciliation process in post-genocide Rwanda?

Planned Prompt Questions

According to your point of view, how is the concept of reconciliation interpreted and articulated in the Rwandan Pentecostal movement?

Is there anything particular in the concept of reconciliation that the Pentecostal movement has emphasized or neglected?

According to your understanding, has it been possible to go back and talk about what happened in the past during gatherings in the Pentecostal movement?

Has the Pentecostal movement made any adjustments in terms of organisation, teaching, and appointment of leaders to prevent genocide from happening again?

How has it worked out for members (perpetrators, survivors, and returnees) to forgive each other and share their daily lives in the movement after the events of genocide?

What series of reconciliation processes has the ADEPR initiated internally inside the movement as well as externally?

What possible impact have spiritual gatherings had in the reconciliation process?
Reconciliation as a Societal Process

What possible impact have the Pentecostal schools had in the reconciliation process?

What possible impact have Pentecostal audio/visual media productions (radio and music) had in the reconciliation process?

What series of external reconciliation processes has the Pentecostal movement taken part in?

To what extent has cooperation with the government existed and to what extent has the government influenced the role the Pentecostal movement has taken?

To what extent has cooperation with other church congregations existed and what has been the movements’ impact on ecumenical reconciliation initiatives?

Has the Pentecostal movement been involved in reconciliation initiatives outside religious circles and if so how has cooperation with other civil society actors affected the outcomes?

What has been the outcome from cooperation with the global Pentecostal movement in relation to the reconciliation process?

Has the Pentecostal movement received any external funds for reconciliation initiatives and if so what have the donors been emphasizing in their assistance?

**Contrast Prompt Questions**

What is the position and reputation of the Pentecostal movement in post-genocide Rwanda and is the movement efficient in recruiting new members?

Does the Pentecostal movement contain factions or disagreements, if so have they had any effects on the reconciliation?

What impact has the Pentecostal movement had in relation to other grassroots movements and other congregations in post-genocide Rwanda?

Finally, according to your point of view has the Pentecostal movement played a minor or a significant role in the reconciliation process in post-genocide Rwanda?