

Final Report of Results USAID Rwanda Project

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Karuna Center for Peacebuilding

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The Karuna Center project integrates programs on community dialogue, trauma-healing, and problem-solving through collaborative activities with the aim of increasing social cohesion, promoting reconciliation, and building population's resilience to future social tensions. The intervention was implemented in 16 communities spread across Rwanda, where intergroup tensions are high. To examine whether the different intervention programs met their goals, we collected data from program participants before and after program implementation. To assess the potential of the programs to effect change, we examined a variety of outcomes that tap into the programs' objectives and theory of change, including those that focus on enhancing social cohesion, healing from trauma, encouraging open dialogues and communication, and contributing more generally to reconciliation.

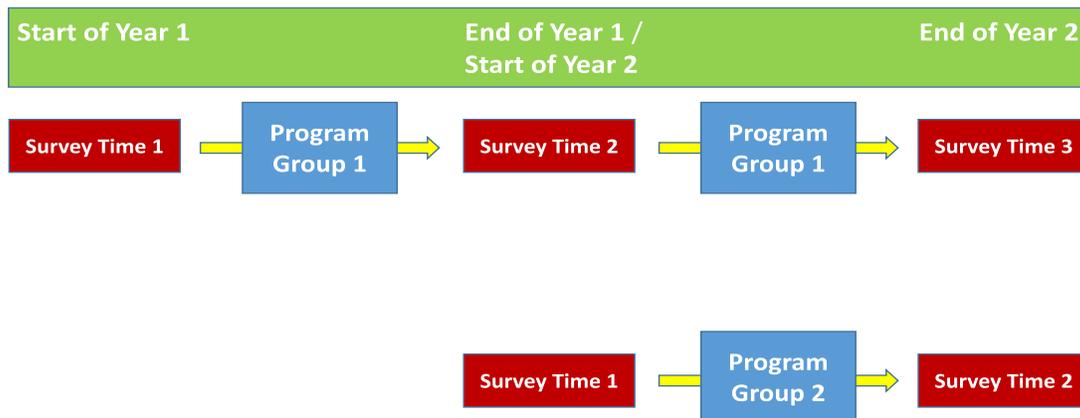
We outline our predictions here:

- 1) If the programs increased social cohesion, then we expected program participants to report greater social trust generally, as well as toward specific outgroups along the Rwandan social divides, following their participation in the programs. Participants should also be more likely to perceive that other people in Rwanda are willing to help others following their participation in the programs.
- 2) In line with the goal of fostering open dialogue, we expected program participants to be more likely to express openness toward different points of view and perspectives, and increased willingness to communicate with other groups in Rwanda, following their participation in the programs.
- 3) If the programs effectively address healing from trauma, then we expect that program participants would report lower levels of psychological suffering, such as depressive symptoms, following their participation in the programs.
- 4) Lastly, consistent with the goal of promoting reconciliation and social cohesion, we expected program participants to show greater willingness to integrate with other groups along the various social divides in Rwanda, as well as higher perceived commitment to the reconciliation process for all groups, following their participation in the programs.

Assessment Procedures and Data Collection Schedule

Data were collected from program participants via face-to-face interviews. An enumerator read the survey questions aloud to each participant and provided participants with pictorial representations of scoring scales with which they could indicate their response to each survey question. This methodology was used to ensure that all participants, regardless of their education status or literacy levels, would be able to respond to all questions similarly.

To examine the programs' effectiveness in fostering the desired outcomes we analyzed surveys collected from program participants before and after their participation in each of three programs implemented as part of this project (**Dialogue Facilitators, Healing Companions, Youth Champions**). Among those participants who took part in the intervention programs during Year 1 of the project, we analyzed surveys across three time points: (1) at the start of Year 1 prior to their participation in the program; (2) at the end of Year 1, following their participation in the program; and (3) at the end of the Year 2, long after their participation in the program had ended. Among those participants who took part in the intervention programs during Year 2 of the project, we analyzed surveys across two time points: (1) at the start of Year 2 prior to their participation in the program; and (2) at the end of Year 2, following their participation in the program. A summary of the data collection schedule for program participants from Year 1 (Program Group 1) and Year 2 (Program Group 2) is depicted below:



Program Participants and Analytic Strategy

We aimed to collect survey responses from as many program participants as possible. Based on the surveys received, we were able to identify and match responses from 150 individuals who completed surveys before participation (“pre-survey”) and many months after their participation (“post-survey”) in one of the three programs of this intervention: **Dialogue Facilitators** (32 individuals), **Healing Companions** (64 individuals), and **Youth Champions** (54 individuals). Surveys were collected from program participants in each of the eight districts in which programs were implemented, including those in the Western Province (Nyamasheke District, Karongi District, Rubayu District), Southern Province (Gisagara District), Northern Province (Gakenke District, Gicumbi District), and Eastern Province (Kirehe District, Bugesera District).

For program participants from Year 1, pre-survey responses were collected between November 2016 and February 2017, and post-survey responses were collected between August and September of 2017. For program participants from Year 2, pre-survey responses were collected between October 2017 and February 2018, and post-survey responses were collected between April and May of 2018. Numbers of program participants who completed pre-surveys and post-surveys from each year are summarized below.

Program Group		Pre-Survey Responses	Post-Survey Responses
Dialogue Facilitators	Program Year 1	17	14
	Program Year 2	15	15
	Total	32	29
Healing Companions	Program Year 1	33	27
	Program Year 2	31	28
	Total	64	55
Youth Champions	Program Year 1	20	13
	Program Year 2	34	32
	Total	54	45

To examine the effects of program participation, we conducted three primary sets of analyses. First, we combined responses from Year 1 and Year 2 program participants, to examine general trends in responses before and after their participation in each of the three programs. Second, using only data from Year 1 participants, we compared survey responses across three time points – before program participation in Year 1, soon after program participation in Year 1, and after continued participation in the program at the end of Year 2 – to test whether any observable effects of the programs were sustained over the long term. Third, we conducted more specialized analyses for survivors of the genocide who comprised slightly more than half (52%) of the adult participants who took part in one of the adult-centered programs (Dialogue Facilitators or Healing Companions), in order to investigate how program participation may have affected their feelings toward distinct groups in Rwanda. Additionally, we compared pre-survey responses of survivors who participated in one of the programs to a broader community sample of survivors who did not participate in any of the programs, to explore whether baseline responses of participating survivors may represent sentiments expressed by survivors in the general population.

Assessment Indicators

The survey included two sets of assessment indicators. One set assessed participants’ perceptions of Rwandans in general without reference to specific outgroups (named “General Indicators”). A second set (named “Outgroup Indicators”) examined participants’ attitudes and perceptions in relation to each of the following groups in Rwanda: Survivors, Perpetrators, Bystanders, Rescuers, and Returnees. All assessment indicators are reported in the table below, as well as described in the reporting of results.

General Indicators		
Measure	Item Wording	Assessed Objective
Trust in others	<i>Most people in Rwanda can be trusted</i>	Social cohesion
Perceived willingness to help others	<i>People are generally willing to help each other in Rwanda</i>	Social cohesion
Openness to other points of view	<i>If people have different points of view to give, they should be able to express those views</i>	Open dialogue and communication
Personal suffering	<p><i>Think about how you have been feeling lately, for the last few weeks:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How much have you suddenly felt fearful, anxious, or angry, and you don't know why? 2. How much have you lost sleep over worry? 3. How much have you felt like you couldn't overcome your difficulties? 4. How much have you been feeling unhappy or depressed? 	Trauma healing
<p>Outgroup Indicators <i>(Each question was asked separately in relation to each of the following groups: survivors, perpetrators, bystanders, rescuers, returnees)</i></p>		
Trust	<p><i>To what extent do you feel you can trust most people who are:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) Survivors b) Rescuers c) Perpetrators d) Bystanders e) Returnees 	Social cohesion
Willingness to communicate with different groups	<p><i>How much are you:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. willing to share personal experiences of the conflict with them 2. willing to listen to [their] experiences of the conflict in Rwanda 3. able to have serious and open discussions about the conflict with them. 	Open dialogue and communication
Willingness for integration	<p><i>How willing are you to:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. ask a favor of them; 2. have them as a close friend; 3. join an association or cooperative with them; 4. join a church with them; 5. participate in celebrations and parties with them; 6. work with them; 7. marry them or have a close relative marry them; 8. leave their child, or the child of a family member, in their care; 9. assist them with money; 	Social cohesion and reconciliation

	10. receive monetary support from them; 11. borrow a tool or use a service from them; 12. lend a tool or give a service to them.	
Perceived commitment to reconciliation	<i>How much do you believe that people from this group are committed to working toward reconciliation in Rwanda?</i>	Social cohesion and reconciliation

Overall Trends Across Participants in Different Programs

The following analyses summarize overall trends observed over time for participants in each of the three programs.

Trust in Others

First, we examined the degree to which respondents agreed with the item “*Most people in Rwanda can be trusted.*” This item was scored on a scale ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 6 (Strongly Agree), so that higher scores would correspond with greater levels of trust.

Program Group	Mean Score – Pre-Survey	Mean Score – Post-Survey	Significance Test
Dialogue Facilitators	3.86	5.38	$t = -5.71, p < .001$
Healing Companions	4.19	5.64	$t = -10.46, p < .001$
Youth Champions	4.82	5.32	$t = -2.48, p < .05$

Participants in all three programs reported significantly higher mean levels of trust in the post-surveys than in the pre-surveys. These results strongly suggest that participants’ belief that “*most Rwandans can be trusted*” grew higher over the course of their participation in the program. While the mean difference between pre- and post-scores was statistically significant in all cases, it is worthwhile noting that the mean difference was somewhat less pronounced among participants in the Youth Champions program, who generally reported greater trust in the initial pre-surveys than did participants in the Dialogue Facilitators and Healing Companions programs.

Additionally, higher trust scores were reported in the post-survey than in the pre-survey by 21 of 29 participants in the Dialogue Facilitators program (72.4%), by 45 of 55 participants in the Healing Companions program (81.8%), and by 22 of 45 participants in the Youth Champions program (48.9%).

Willingness to Help Others

Next, we examined the degree to which respondents agreed with the item “*People are generally willing to help each other in Rwanda.*” This item was scored on a scale ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 6 (Strongly Agree), so that higher scores would correspond with greater beliefs that people are willing to help others.

Program Group	Mean Score – Pre-Survey	Mean Score – Post-Survey	Significance Test
Dialogue Facilitators	4.28	5.59	$t = -5.07, p < .001$
Healing Companions	4.34	5.72	$t = -7.60, p < .001$
Youth Champions	4.89	5.67	$t = -6.82, p < .001$

Participants in all three programs reported significantly stronger beliefs that Rwandans are willing to help others in the post-surveys than in the pre-surveys. These results strongly suggest that participants' belief that "*people are generally willing to help each other in Rwanda*" grew higher over the course of their participation in the program. While the mean difference between pre- and post-scores was statistically significant in all cases, it should be noted that participants in the Youth Champions program generally reported a stronger belief that Rwandans are willing to help each other in the pre-surveys, relative to the initial beliefs reported by participants in the Dialogue Facilitators and Healing Companions programs.

Stronger beliefs that Rwandans are willing to help others were reported in the post-survey than in the pre-survey by 21 of 30 participants in the Dialogue Facilitators program (70.0%), by 43 of 55 participants in the Healing Companions program (78.2%), and by 28 of 45 participants in the Youth Champions program (62.2%).

Openness to Other Points of View

We also examined the degree to which respondents agreed with the notion that "*If people have different points of view to give, they should be able to express those views.*" This item was scored on a scale ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 6 (Strongly Agree), so that higher scores would correspond with greater openness to other points of view.

Program Group	Mean Score – Pre-Survey	Mean Score – Post-Survey	Significance Test
Dialogue Facilitators	5.55	6.00	$t = -2.10, p < .05$
Healing Companions	5.51	5.96	$t = -3.59, p < .001$
Youth Champions	5.00	6.00	$t = -3.96, p < .001$

Participants in all three programs reported significantly greater openness to other points of view in the post-surveys than in the pre-surveys. While participants' initial scores on this item were generally high – suggesting a general openness to different points of view in the pre-surveys – participants' belief that people should be able to express different points of view appeared to grow stronger over the course of their participation in the program.

Given that pre-survey scores were already quite high (with means at or above 5.0 on the 6-point scale), relatively few participants in each program showed further openness to different points of view beyond what was demonstrated in their pre-surveys. Nonetheless, even greater openness to other points of view was reported in the post-survey than in the pre-survey by 5 of 29 participants in the Dialogue Facilitators program (17.2%), by 17 of 55 participants in the Healing Companions program (32.7%), and by 18 of 45 participants in the Youth Champions program (40.0%).

Personal Suffering

We then examined how program participants responded to four questions relevant to personal suffering, following this introductory statement: *Think about how you have been feeling lately, for the last few weeks.* Specifically, participants were asked to respond to four items that assessed personal suffering in terms of symptoms typically associated with anxiety and depression: "*How much have you suddenly felt fearful, anxious, or angry, and you don't know why?*", "*How much have you lost sleep over worry?*", "*How much have you felt like you couldn't overcome your difficulties?*" and "*How much have you been feeling unhappy or depressed?*"

These items were scored on a scale ranging from 1 (Not at All) to 5 (Very Much), such that higher scores would indicate greater levels of personal suffering. Internal consistency for this four-item scale was sufficiently high (Cronbach $\alpha = .79$), based on a test of scale reliability using the pooled responses of participants across the three programs.

Program Group	Mean Score – Pre-Survey	Mean Score – Post-Survey	Significance Test
Dialogue Facilitators	2.40	1.22	$t = 6.68, p < .001$
Healing Companions	2.80	1.43	$t = 8.19, p < .001$
Youth Champions	2.86	1.09	$t = 12.65, p < .001$

Complementing the findings for trust and willingness to help others, participants in all three programs reported significantly lower levels of personal suffering in the post-surveys than in the pre-surveys. These results suggest that, for participants in each of the three programs, reported symptoms associated with personal suffering tended to lessen over the course of participation in the program.

Additionally, lower levels of personal suffering were reported in the post-survey than in the pre-survey by 22 of 29 participants in the Dialogue Facilitators program (75.9%), by 44 of 55 participants in the Healing Companions program (80.0%), and by 39 of 45 participants in the Youth Champions program (86.7%).

Examining Trends Across Program Participants Over the Long Term

As noted above, pre-survey responses were collected from Year 1 program participants between November 2016 and February 2017, and their post-survey responses were collected soon after the program ended, between August and September of 2017. Additionally, between April and May 2018, we were able to collect responses from a small sample of 55 individuals who participated in Year 1 programs (14 Dialogue Facilitators, 27 Healing Companions, 14 Youth Champions); collecting responses from these individuals long after their program participation began allows us to test for the continuity and longevity of the trends noted above.

The table below compares mean scores for these 55 participants across three waves of assessment: before program participation (Nov 2016 – Feb 2017), soon after program participation (Aug – Sept 2017) and long after their participation in the program began (April – May 2018). Means in the same row with different subscripts indicate that the means were statistically different from each other at the .05 level of significance; means in the same row with the same subscript did not significantly differ from each other at the .05 level of significance.

Year 1 Participants	Mean Score – Pre-Survey (Nov 2016 – Feb 2017)	Mean Score – Post-Survey (Aug – Sept 2017)	Mean Score – Long-Term (April – May 2018)
Trust	4.39 _a	5.71 _b	5.14 _c
Willingness to Help Others	4.39 _a	5.65 _b	5.96 _c
Openness to Other Points of View	5.62 _a	5.96 _b	6.00 _b
Personal Suffering	2.73 _a	1.31 _b	1.18 _b

Trust. As compared to trust scores prior to participation, program participants were more likely to agree that “*Most people in Rwanda can be trusted*” after participation in the program. Although trust scores decreased somewhat between the post-survey assessment and the long-term assessments, mean scores on trust assessed in the long-term assessment remained significantly higher than trust scores assessed prior to program participation.

Willingness to Help Others. Relative to scores prior to participation, program participants reported being more likely to believe that “*People are generally willing to help each other in Rwanda*” after participation in the program, and this greater belief in Rwandans’ willingness to help others was sustained in the long term.

Openness to Other Points of View. Relative to scores prior to participation, participants tended to be more likely to believe that “*If people have different points of view to give, they should be able to express those views*” following their participation in the program; this tendency to be open to other points of view was sustained in the long term.

Personal Suffering. As compared to scores on the personal suffering measure prior to participation, participants reported fewer symptoms associated with personal suffering (*suddenly feeling fearful, anxious or angry, losing sleep over worry, feeling unable to overcome difficulties, feeling unhappy or depressed*) following their participation in the program. Lower levels of symptoms associated with personal suffering continued to be sustained in the long term.

Examining Trends Among Survivors in Relation to Other Social Groups

Other items in the surveys asked participants to indicate how they feel about five different social groups in Rwanda: survivors, perpetrators, bystanders, rescuers, and returnees. Slightly over half of the adult participants (50 individuals) who took part in one of the adult-centered programs (Dialogue Facilitators or Healing Companions) were identified as survivors of the Rwandan genocide. We therefore conducted additional analyses for this group of survivors, pooling data from those who participated either in Year 1 or Year 2 of the program, to investigate how program participation may have affected their feelings toward distinct groups in Rwanda.

Trust in Specific Groups

Along with the general trust item described above, a series of questions asked participants the extent to which they feel they “*can trust most people who*” (a) are survivors of the genocide in Rwanda; (b) who were perpetrators of the genocide in Rwanda; (c) who were bystanders during the genocide in Rwanda; (d) who were rescuers during the genocide in Rwanda; and (e) who were returnees after the genocide in Rwanda. Mean scores on these items assessed among survivors before and after program participation are provided below.

Trust in	Mean Score – Pre-Survey	Mean Score – Post-Survey	Significance Test
Perpetrators	3.44	5.33	$t = -7.60, p < .001$
Bystanders	3.89	5.50	$t = -5.92, p < .001$
Rescuers	5.53	5.88	$t = -1.73, p = .09$
Returnees	5.33	5.75	$t = -2.17, p < .05$
Survivors	5.31	5.82	$t = -3.01, p < .01$

Overall, results from the pre-survey suggest that survivors were generally less likely to trust perpetrators and bystanders than they were to trust rescuers, returnees, and other survivors prior to program participation. Comparisons of pre-survey and post-survey trust scores suggest that survivors' feelings of trust grew toward each group over the course of their participation in the program, with the possible exception of feelings of trust toward rescuers (which were already quite high prior to program participation).

Willingness to Communicate About the Conflict

Three additional items asked participants to indicate how willing they were to communicate about the conflict with people from the five different groups. Participants were asked to report how much they are “willing to share personal experiences of the conflict with them” as well as how much they feel they are “really willing to listen to [their] experiences of the conflict in Rwanda” and “able to have serious and open discussions about the conflict with them.” These three items were repeated in reference to each of the five groups (survivors, perpetrators, bystanders, rescuers, returnees) and they were scored on a scale ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 6 (Strongly Agree), so that higher scores would correspond with greater willingness to communicate about the conflict with the group in question. Among survivors, internal consistency for this three-item scale was sufficiently high in reference to perpetrators ($\alpha = .84$), bystanders ($\alpha = .85$), rescuers ($\alpha = .91$), and returnees ($\alpha = .97$), as well as in reference to other survivors, ($\alpha = .69$).

Willingness to Communicate with	Mean Score – Pre-Survey	Mean Score – Post-Survey	Significance Test
Perpetrators	4.16	5.60	$t = -5.68, p < .001$
Bystanders	4.60	5.80	$t = -5.15, p < .001$
Rescuers	5.66	5.94	$t = -2.22, p < .05$
Returnees	5.64	5.92	$t = -2.06, p < .05$
Survivors	5.88	5.99	$t = -2.20, p < .05$

Paralleling findings for trust, results from the pre-survey suggest that survivors were generally less willing to communicate about the conflict with perpetrators and bystanders, as compared to with rescuers, returnees, and other survivors. Nonetheless, survivors grew more willing to communicate about the conflict with all groups following their participation in the program than they were prior to participation.

Willingness for Social Integration

A set of 12 items asked participants to indicate how willing they were to interact with people from each of the five different groups across a wide variety of domains, including their willingness to: ask a favor of them; have them as a close friend; join an association or cooperative with them; join a church with them; participate in celebrations and parties with them; work with them; marry them or have a close relative marry them; leave their child, or the child of a family member, in their care; assist them with money; receive monetary support from them; borrow a tool or use a service from them; or lend a tool or give a service to them. These 12 items were repeated in reference to each of the five groups (survivors, perpetrators, bystanders, rescuers, returnees) and they were scored on a scale ranging from 1 (Not at All) to 5 (Very Much), so that higher scores would indicate greater willingness for social integration with the group in question. Among survivors, internal consistency for this 12-item scale was quite high in

reference to perpetrators ($\alpha = .95$), bystanders ($\alpha = .97$), rescuers ($\alpha = .99$), and returnees ($\alpha = .96$), as well as in reference to other survivors, ($\alpha = .90$).

Willingness for Integration with	Mean Score – Pre-Survey	Mean Score – Post-Survey	Significance Test
Perpetrators	3.95	4.76	$t = -5.42, p < .001$
Bystanders	3.99	4.88	$t = -5.77, p < .001$
Rescuers	4.88	4.99	$t = -1.93, p = .06$
Returnees	4.75	4.95	$t = -3.10, p < .01$
Survivors	4.83	5.00	$t = -3.46, p < .001$

In line with the trends reported above, results from the pre-survey suggest that survivors were generally less willing to integrate with perpetrators and bystanders relative to their willingness to integrate with rescuers, returnees, and other survivors. Nonetheless, survivors grew more willing to become socially integrated with all groups following their participation in the program than they were prior to participation.

Perceived Readiness for Reconciliation by Different Groups

A separate set of items asked participants to indicate how much they believed people from each of the five different groups are “committed to working toward reconciliation in Rwanda.” This item was scored on a scale ranging from 1 (Not at All) to 5 (Very Much), so that higher scores would indicate greater readiness for reconciliation among members of the group in question.

Perceived Readiness for Reconciliation among	Mean Score – Pre-Survey	Mean Score – Post-Survey	Significance Test
Perpetrators	4.28	4.91	$t = -3.93, p < .001$
Bystanders	4.48	4.95	$t = -2.96, p < .01$
Rescuers	4.93	5.00	$t = -1.78, p = .08$
Returnees	4.88	4.98	$t = -1.67, p = .10$
Survivors	4.75	4.95	$t = -2.15, p < .05$

Similar to the findings for trust, prior to program participation, survivors were generally less likely to believe that perpetrators and bystanders were truly committed to working toward reconciliation relative to what they believed about rescuers, returnees, and other survivors. However, comparisons of pre-survey and post-survey scores suggest that survivors’ beliefs in other groups’ commitment to working toward reconciliation grew over the course of their participation in the program; this trend was somewhat weaker in relation to rescuers and returnees, yet it should be noted that survivors’ beliefs about rescuers’ and returnees’ commitment to reconciliation were already quite high prior to program participation.

As final, supplementary analyses, we compared pre-survey responses of the 50 survivors who participated in one of the programs to a broader community sample of 198 survivors who did not participate in any of the programs. Non-participating survivors were invited to complete surveys at informational meetings held in each of the project sites, as part of broader efforts to recruit program participants. These final analyses were conducted to consider the degree to which responses of survivors who chose to participate in one of the programs may or may not represent the sentiments of the broader population of survivors in Rwanda. If the pre-survey responses of

participating survivors were considerably different from those of non-participating survivors, this would suggest that there were certain characteristics of survivors who chose to participate that distinguished them from the broader survivor population; however, if the pre-survey responses of participating survivors are generally similar to those of survivors who did not participate in any of the programs, this can enhance our confidence that sentiments expressed by participating survivors are likely representative of those held by other survivors in Rwanda. Mean scores for participating survivors and non-participating survivors are summarized in the table below.

Trust in	Mean Score – Pre-Survey Participating Survivors¹	Mean Score – Community Non-Participating Survivors	Significance Test
Perpetrators	3.36	3.36	$t = .01, ns$
Bystanders	3.76	3.71	$t = -.16, ns$
Rescuers	5.56	5.60	$t = .20, ns$
Returnees	5.31	5.46	$t = .89, ns$
Survivors	5.32	5.29	$t = -.16, ns$
Willingness to Communicate with			Significance Test
Perpetrators	4.13	4.45	$t = 1.44, ns$
Bystanders	4.50	4.65	$t = .62, ns$
Rescuers	5.58	5.74	$t = 1.24, ns$
Returnees	5.65	5.64	$t = -.11, ns$
Survivors	5.89	5.67	$t = -2.09, p < .05$
Willingness for Integration With			Significance Test
Perpetrators	3.90	3.88	$t = -.17, ns$
Bystanders	3.90	3.97	$t = .42, ns$
Rescuers	4.78	4.81	$t = .28, ns$
Returnees	4.75	4.75	$t = .06, ns$
Survivors	4.83	4.76	$t = -.89, ns$
Perceived Readiness for Reconciliation among			Significance Test
Perpetrators	4.25	4.27	$t = .13, ns$
Bystanders	4.42	4.45	$t = .25, ns$
Rescuers	4.90	4.90	$t = .10, ns$
Returnees	4.87	4.81	$t = -.73, ns$
Survivors	4.76	4.88	$t = 1.70, ns$

Results show that, in nearly all cases, there were no significant differences in initial survey responses among survivors who participated in one of the programs and survivors in the community sample who did not participate in any of the programs. Only one significant difference emerged between these groups: survivors who chose to participate in one of the programs reported being generally more willing to communicate with other survivors about the

¹ The reader should note that the mean estimates for survivors' pre-survey responses reported here may differ slightly from the mean estimates for survivors' pre-survey responses reported previously because of slight differences in the numbers of cases available for statistical analysis in reference to each comparison.

conflict relative to survivors who chose not to participate in any of the programs. Importantly, comparisons between participating survivors and non-participating survivors yielded no significant differences in their initial feelings of trust toward, willingness to communicate with, or willingness to integrate with perpetrators and bystanders. These groups of survivors also reported similar perceptions of readiness for reconciliation among perpetrators and bystanders. Taken together, results from the supplementary analyses suggest that survivors who chose to participate in one of the programs held initial attitudes that were generally similar to those who did not choose to participate the programs, rather than seeming to represent a distinct subset of survivors in Rwanda.

Summary and Conclusion

To sum up, the results of this research show positive effects of program participation across almost all assessment indicators. Following participation in the programs (compared to pre-program scores), participants across the three different programs showed (1) greater willingness for social cohesion and reconciliation as assessed through social trust, perceptions of people's willingness to help others, as well as survivors' willingness to socially integrate with other groups and perceiving greater commitment to reconciliation among those groups; (2) greater openness to dialogue as assessed through openness to different perspectives and willingness to communicate openly with members of different outgroups; and (3) greater trauma healing as assessed by an index of psychological suffering. Importantly, these effects were sustained over time among Year 1 program participants, who were surveyed long after their participation at the end of Year 2. Moreover, supplemental analyses with survivors show encouraging trends toward greater social trust toward, and greater willingness to communicate and integrate with, each of the other specified groups.