SOCIETAL HEALING BASELINE REPORT

Authors

Dr. Alexandros Lordos, Centre for Sustainable Peace and Democratic Development

Dr. Darius Gishoma, University of Rwanda

Dr. Eugene Rutembesa, University of Rwanda

Contributors

Celestin Nsengiyumva, Never Again Rwanda

Abiosseh Davis, Interpeace

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Introduction

The *Societal Healing and Participatory Governance for Peace in Rwanda* programme is a four-year programme funded by Sida and implemented by Never Again Rwanda and Interpeace. The programme, which commenced on 1 January 2015, has a vision *to contribute to a peaceful and inclusive Rwandan Society, enabled to overcome the wounds of the past and peacefully manage conflicts and diversity as well as empowered to influence programmes and policies responsive to citizens' priorities*. The programme was designed on the premise that Rwandan society is still marked by the wounds left by the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, structural violence, war, discrimination and inequality. While numerous state-and civil society-led initiatives have led to the establishment of peaceful coexistence between individuals and groups of diverse backgrounds in Rwanda, residual and unaddressed issues remain within the society, a challenge to sustainable peace.

The Societal Healing axis of the *Societal Healing and Participatory Governance for Peace in Rwanda* programme seeks to contribute to addressing these issues by creating safe spaces where individuals can receive psychological support through group and communal healing approaches. The programme's theory of change for the work on healing is as follows:

> *If Rwandans, young and old engage in processes of healing and inclusive dialogue to overcome social divisions and wounds of the past, to work collaboratively across divides, and to utilize spaces for informing decision-making responsive to their needs and priorities, then they will deepen their resilience to violent conflict and be empowered to manage and transform conflict through greater collective participation as well as the use of strengthened Rwandan institutions.*

Building upon the programme's theory of change to achieve the programme's vision, Never Again Rwanda and Interpeace planned to establish 5 dialogue spaces for healing, called Spaces for Peace that primarily targeted adults in various districts across Rwanda. Additionally, the programme would also establish 10 dialogue spaces for healing among youth, called Youth Peace clubs, some of which would engage schooling youth and others that would engage non-schooling youth. The spaces would be designed in a way to guide participants through a process that aimed to enable them to heal from their wounds, increase their trust in members of their community from diverse backgrounds, and eventually increase their overall tolerance of diversity.

In order to better understand the context of healing and reconciliation in Rwanda, the programme conducted a mapping of healing initiatives to identify lessons learned, best practices and existing gaps in healing and reconciliation approaches in Rwanda. A key finding of the research was that there is an overall lack of strong monitoring and evaluation practices to assess the efficacy of the various healing and reconciliation initiatives. In response to this key finding, Never Again Rwanda and Interpeace designed a baseline and follow-up assessment process in order to effectively monitor and evaluate progress among participants of healing spaces that the programme would establish. The main objective of the baseline was to inform the design and implementation of dialogue spaces as well as to collect baseline data on the programme's key performance indicators that will serve as a critical reference point (benchmark) for assessing change and the impact of the programme. This will be achieved by establishing a basis for monitoring annual progress and comparing the situation before and after the intervention (impact evaluation). The results of the initial baseline assessment are presented in this report.

Methodology, sampling and data collection

Questionnaire Design

The baseline questionnaire to assess trauma, trust and tolerance among participants was jointly designed by Never Again Rwanda, Interpeace, an advisory team of experts engaged to accompany the design and implementation of the healing initiatives under the programme as well as government institutions with mandates related to healing and reconciliation. Never Again Rwanda and Interpeace staff conducted a literature review of healing initiatives across the world and tools used to measure trauma, trust and tolerance. Elements of various tools were adapted to the Rwandan context and compiled into a questionnaire. Never Again Rwanda then sought guidance from an international expert in healing and reconciliation research who is the author of this baseline report. The questionnaire was vetted through a working group meeting of Rwandan experts in psychosocial healing and representatives of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission and National Commission for the Fight Against Genocide. This working group provided inputs to update the questionnaire. The questionnaire was then translated in Kinyarwanda, a native language, to facilitate data collection. Finally, prior to data collection, the questionnaire was pilot tested and adjusted to take into account pilot study recommendations.

Baseline Survey Data collection

Never Again Rwanda and Interpeace decided to administer the baseline survey to 8 of the 15 groups that would be established during the programme in order to have a sample that was both representative of the overall 20 groups and large enough to enable statistical analysis. At the time of the administration of the questionnaire, only eight of the ten groups had been established, thus the questionnaire was administered to 235 members of 8 groups in the following districts: Muhanga, Gisagara and Huye (Southern Province), Gasabo and Nyarugenge (Kigali City), Gicumbi (Northern Province) and Ngoma (Eastern province). Specific information on the 8 groups from which data was collected is provided below:

Spaces for Peace (Adult spaces):

- **Humura:** An association based in Gasabo (in Kigali) composed of 35 (31 Female, 4 male) genocide survivors. It was established in 2014 to deal with trauma and to support survivors through dialogue. This group was selected because wounds related to the genocide are among the most prevalent and profound wounds in Rwandan society.
- **Turuhurane:** This group based in Muhanga is composed of 30 women with husbands of different ethnic backgrounds. It is a newly established group of women with unique needs and challenges that need to be addressed. The group has 30 members. Through another project, NAR had experience working with women from this demographic group and noted the specific wounds faced by this community. Also, inter-marriage is a specifically wounding event in the Rwanda context, thus the programme decided to target this specific group.

Non-schooling youth groups:

- **Twisungane** (Let's support each other) group is a group of young women and single mothers (age 19-27) from Gisagara district. The group is composed of 23 single mothers, and seven young women who are not mothers. The programme targeted this group because the young mothers are vulnerable and have been excluded by their families

- **Abasangirangendo** (Shared vision) Association is a NAR-affiliated association of 32 (20 Female, 12 male) young genocide survivors, orphans and youth from families of perpetrators, made up of both schooling and non-schooling youth in Gishamvu sector, Huye District. The Youth Peace Dialogues have created solidarity among members of this group. Psycho-social education and other approaches such as films and testimonies will complement the Youth Peace Dialogues with this association. The programme targets this group because of the multi-faceted wounds that characterize it: some youth are victims of genocide as orphans who lost their families during genocide; others are victims of actions of their family members in committing genocide, or political manipulation. These youth suffer different societal trauma including shame, grief, mistrust and lack of sense of belonging, poverty, among others. Bringing these groups of youth from diverse background in safe spaces where they can discuss their sensitive past is integral part of Societal Healing Program.
- **World Mission**, a NAR-affiliated club in Kinyinya Sector is comprised of 31 (12 female, 19 male) young genocide survivors, orphans and youth from marginalized groups, both schooling and non-schooling youth. This group was selected by the programme because it is composed of youth from diverse background who experienced wounds from different wounding events. Some of the wounds, among others, include lack of parents and families, poverty, and exclusion because of being historically marginalized.

Schooling youth groups:

- **Lycée de Kigali** is a group made of 30 students (12 male, 18 female) recruited from a NAR existing club established in 2009. The club conducts various activities including visiting vulnerable survivors, organizing visits to genocide memorials and hosting debates as well as public speaking events that draw students from neighbouring schools. The programme targets this group to empower students who were born after genocide with critical thinking because they don't have clear understanding of Rwanda history and genocide history.
- **Groupe Scolaire Byumba Inyange** is a public school that was established in 2009 in Gicumbi district, in the Northern Province that comprised of 31 students (23 female, 8 male) including youth from Gihembe Congolese refugee camp. The programme selected this school, because of issue of identity stereotypes between Rwandans students and Congolese students from the camp. The Congolese students from refugee camp isolated themselves from Rwandans students at school and accused Rwandans for being responsible for their problems. Refugee students accused Rwandans of causing violence in DRC through FDRL (a Rwandan armed rebel group) which resulted in their coming to Rwanda as refugee. Rwandan students on the other hand, accused the Congolese hosting people who committed genocide and killed their parents and relatives. To create a safe space for these students to discuss on these stereotypes and differences, the programme has agreed with the school administration and established the youth peace dialogue.
- **Ababibyi b'Amahoro (Seeds of Peace):** This is a youth club of 30 (12 female, 18 male) university students (from Institute of Agriculture Technology and Education of Kibungo (INATEK) which was established in 2009 to support genocide survivors through various activities, mainly through trauma healing (isanamitima) discussions and educational songs, and skits that convey a message of hope. This group was selected because youth participants demonstrated wounds resulting from losing their parents and family member, poverty, heading households, labelling stereotypes among others. Being part of societal healing program, youth can overcome their wounds, become resilient and

being able to act positively in their school and community through peace and conflict resolutions activities.

Because the nature of the study is sensitive, Never Again Rwanda and Interpeace opted to use trained Never Again Rwanda staff to administer the questionnaire so as to ensure that participants would feel comfortable divulging sensitive information regarding their past. The data collection team was made up of 8 people including 6 NAR staff and 2 interns. Data collection begun in February and was completed in April, 2016 where a data collection team spent 2 days for each group. On day one, the team organized a debriefing meeting with members of spaces for peace to explain the purpose of the baseline assessment and how it will be conducted; while the following day was reserved for individual interviews with all members of spaces for peace. The questionnaire was administered using a face-to-face interview; while on average 3 -5 questionnaires were completed by each enumerator per day. The following are members reached disaggregated by gender and location:

District	Group code and Name	Male	Female	Total
Huye	A1 - Abasangirangendo	8	24	32
Gisagara	B1 - Twisungane	0	26	26
Muhanga	C1 - Turuhurane	0	29	29
Gicumbi	D1 - G.S. Inyange	8	23	31
Gasabo	E1 - World Mission	18	9	27
Gasabo	E2 -- Humura	4	31	35
Nyarugenge	F1 - Lycee de Kigali	10	18	28
Ngoma	G1 - Ababibyi b'Amahoro (Seed of Peace)	16	11	27
	Total	**64**	**171**	**235**

To ensure that high quality data is collected, a strong supervision of data collection process was ensured by NAR M&E expert. After the completion of questionnaires, each data enumerator handed them over to M&E expert who checked the data collected. Any inconsistent data and empty spaces in questionnaires were directly filled or corrected by the data enumerators with the guidance of M&E expert before leaving the field. After each day, a reflection meeting between data enumerators and M&E expert was conducted to discuss challenges met and together find solutions, and plan, for the following day.

The data was entered into SPSS Database by 6 trained data entry clerks over a period of 5 days. The process of data entry was supervised by NAR M&E expert to ensure the quality of data. The data was then cleaned and validated to remove data anomalies before the data analysis.

Baseline Survey Plan of Analysis

The first stage of the data analysis process involved the construction of composite indices in order to reduce the several hundred questions of the survey into a more manageable dozen or so dimensions. Decisions for the parcelling of questionnaire items into composite indices were made on the basis of scale reliability analysis followed by exploratory factor analysis. All indices were rescaled so that the minimum possible score would be 0 while the maximum possible score is 10. Final decisions on how items were parcelled can be found in the results section; while statistical documentation regarding each factor analysis, including individual factor scores, is available in the appendix of this report

The second stage in the data analysis process was to cross-tabulate the various index scores against key demographics. Specifically, cross-tabulations of all indices against age, gender, type of group (i.e. community, schooling youth, or non-schooling youth), and specific healing or youth group were calculated and are reported in the results section.

Finally, an attempt was made to trace the inter-relationships and causal pathways between the various indices through Structural Equation Modelling (SEM). The SEM technique makes it possible to test causal theories that might explain the variability of different indices within a dataset, while also providing statistical guidance to improve the theory in order to achieve a better fit with empirical findings. Statistical documentation regarding the SEM model that was generated, including model fit information and regression pathway scores, is available in the appendix of this report.

At a more basic level of analysis, frequencies of responses for selected questions are also reported, where it is informative to do so.

Supplementary Qualitative Study

For the purpose of a supplementary qualitative study, 2 youth and 2 community member groups were purposively selected to obtain views across age groups (youth-adult), types of groups (community-based, school-based), and type of participant experience (homogenous, heterogeneous).

For focus group discussions with youth, the following groups were selected:

- Lycee De Kigali, Never Again club (Nyarugenge)
- Abasangirangendo Association (Huye)

For focus group discussions with community participants in Spaces for Peace, the following groups were selected:

- Humura (Gasabo)
- Turuhurane (Muhanga)

In total, 50 individuals participated in the group discussions, each focus group having a group size ranging from 12 to 15 selected randomly among the total of 30-40 participants in each selected group. Eligible participants were initially identified and approached by a member of Never Again Rwanda team or a Peace agent. All selected participating members were provided with further information regarding this research and were asked to give their consent. Focus groups took place at appropriate sites, which were convenient for each group of participants.

Focus group interviews were facilitated by a consultant psychologist and staff members of Never Again Rwanda who took notes. Focus group discussions lasted between 2 hours and 3 hours and all sessions were audio recorded. Notes were taken during the session, with the consent of study participants. Questions for focus groups consisted of open-ended questions regarding wounds and healing process in the Rwandan society as perceived by participants, membership and experience of participants in space for peace for community members and Youth Peace Dialogues, perception of these spaces of peace in the community,

the process of sharing personal stories in these groups, the participant's perception on social distance and readiness for social interaction in the Rwandan community, meaning of forgiveness, revenge tendency, etc.

Focus group audio-recordings were saved in protected digital format and used after the interviews to fill in details and gaps in the notes. After the completion of the study, between-subjects interview themes were identified and representative quotes were grouped. Themes were classified based on topics that the focus group intended to explore. Topics were explored by analyzing the content of interview quotes.

Results

Perceptions of Healing and Reconciliation

Participants in the baseline assessment were asked what they understand by the terms "healing" and "reconciliation". Responses were open-ended but were later categorized. In the case of healing (Figure 1a), the majority of participants understand it to imply an internal psychological process whereby memories and emotions are mollified. In the case of reconciliation (Figure 1b), most participants understand it as an interpersonal process which culminates in the capacity to coexist with someone who hurt you, while essential components of reconciliation include the seeking of apology, the provision of forgiveness and the rebuilding of social relations between communities.

What is healing?

Category	Percentage
Inner Healing of Memories	61%
Emotional Healing	61%
Healing from Grief and Losses	37%
Freedom	35%
Forgiveness	35%
Apology	35%
Coexistence with someone who hurt you	34%
Rebuilding social relationships between communities	28%
Physical Healing	18%
Punishment	13%
Revenge	1%
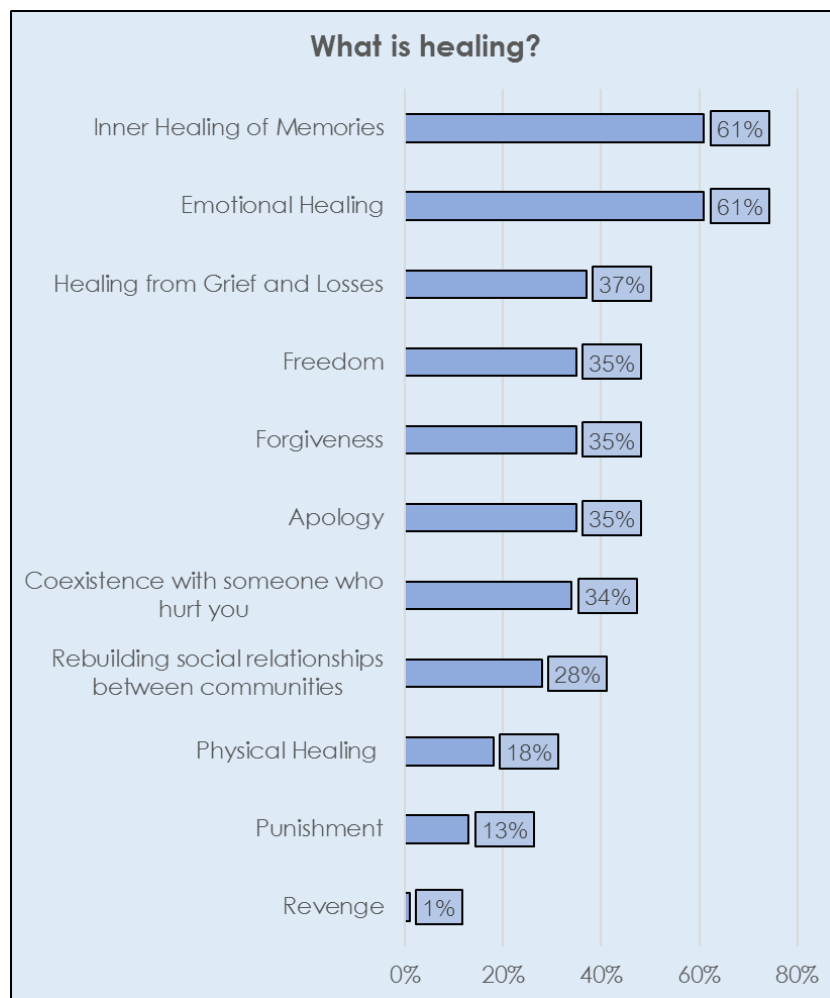
Figure 1a – What is healing?

It should be noted that a minority of participants gave responses characteristic of reconciliation when asked about healing (e.g. forgiveness; apology) and responses characteristic of healing when asked about reconciliation (e.g. healing from grief and losses). This may reflect an implicit understanding that psychological healing and inter-personal reconciliation are mutually inter-dependent processes, which

cannot be understood in the absence of the other. Finally, it should be noted that a small minority of participants believe that both healing and reconciliation are to be achieved through punishment of perpetrators.

What is reconciliation?

Category	Percentage
Coexistence with someone who hurt you	70%
Forgiveness	63%
Apology	55%
Rebuilding Social Relations between communities	46%
Healing from grief and losses	29%
Justice and legal processes	26%
Freedom	24%
Punishment	15%
Political reconciliation	9%
Revenge	0%
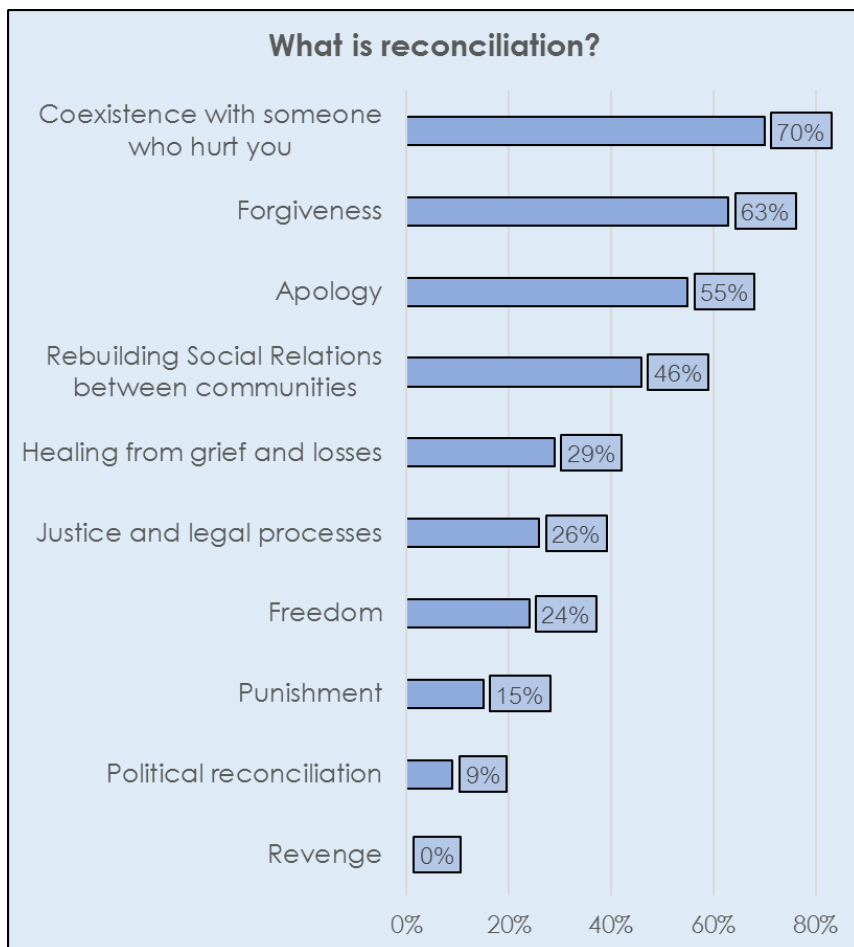
Figure 1b – What is reconciliation?

Traumatic Experiences and their impact

When asked about what type of traumatic experiences participants have been exposed to, and also to what extent these experiences have had an impact in their lives (Figure 2), the most frequently mentioned response was lack of parents or close friends (69%), followed by murder (60%) and genocide-related crimes (57%).

At the other extreme, certain traumatic experiences were rarely mentioned by participants. These include inability to bear children (4%), human trafficking (3%) and sexual violence by a family member (2%). In contrast, sexual violence by someone outside the family was much more frequently reported (16%).

Traumatic experiences that have caused moderate or severe harm

Experience	Percentage
Lack of parents or close friends	69%
Murder	60%
Genocide-related crimes	57%
Unexpected death of a family member	46%
Being harassed due to who you are	45%
Experienced maltreatment by family member	43%
Experienced maltreatment by other people in the community	42%
Have learned of extreme violence suffered by a close relative or his / her death	40%
Witnessing violence, the death of someone or atrocities	39%
Problems encountered in places of refugees	38%
Destruction / vandalization of house	35%
Being victim of physical assault	31%
Destruction / vandalization of crops	30%
Permanent disability	26%
Forced to do things you do not want to do	26%
Eviction from land / house	25%
Torture	24%
Lack of adequate justice	23%
Lack of access to housing	20%
Imprisonment of close family members due to genocide	16%
Sexual violence by someone outside of your family	16%
False imprisonment	13%
Bareness / inability to bear children	4%
Human trafficking	3%
Sexual violence by a family member	2%

Figure 2 – Impact of trauma

Factor analysis conducted on the items measuring traumatic experiences revealed four distinct dimensions (Table 1), which led to a selection of questionnaire items being parcelled accordingly. The indices thus constructed include, 'Victim of Violence' *(experienced torture; suffered physical assault; victim of sexual violence; which may have had permanent disability as an outcome)*, 'Victim of Property Crimes' *(house destroyed or vandalized; crops destroyed or vandalized; evicted from house)*, 'Exposure to Violence against Others' *(has witnessed or learnt of extreme violence or death suffered by others)*, and 'Victimization in the Community' *(false imprisonment; lack of adequate justice; forced to do things you did not want to do; maltreatment by others in the community)*. The four indices were then aggregated into an 'Impact of Trauma' index, with the highest scores reflecting traumatic experiences in all the aforementioned contexts.

Victim of Violence
Torture
Permanent disability
Being victim of Physical assault
Sexual violence by someone outside of your family
Victim of Property Crimes
Destruction/vandalization of house
Destruction/vandalization of crops
Eviction from land/house
Exposure to violence against others
Have learned of extreme violence suffered by a close relative or his/her death
Witnessing violence or the death of someone, Witnessed atrocities, e.g. mass killings mutilated bodies
Victimization in the Community
Forced to do things you do not want to do
False imprisonment
Lack of adequate justice
Experiencing Maltreatment by other people in the community (i.e. school, work, neighbors, leader etc.)

Table 1 – Parcelling of Victimization items, based on Factor Analysis

Looking at the scores of the different indices per sub-group (Table 2), it is evident that the overall impact of trauma is highest amongst participants age 38 and older, who are members of community-based healing spaces. Impact of trauma is moderate among non-schooling youth groups, but also in the Ababibyi b'Amahoro (Seed of Peace) schooling youth group. In contrast, impact of trauma is very low in the remaining schooling youth groups, and among participants up to 20 years old who did not experience the genocide directly.

	Index: Impact of Trauma	Index: Victim of Violence	Index: Victim of Property Crimes	Index: Exposure to Violence Against Others	Index: Victimization in the Community
Overall Index Score	**3,1**	**1,8**	**3,0**	**3,9**	**2,6**
Up to 20 yrs	**1,3**	0,7	1,2	1,3	1,4
21 to 37 yrs	**3,2**	1,7	2,6	3,5	2,7
38 to 54 yrs	**5,3**	3,9	6,2	8,0	4,4
55 yrs +	**5,4**	3,4	6,2	8,9	4,0
Male (Community / Youth)	**2,9 (5,1 / 2,7)**	1,5 (4,0 / 1,3)	2,6 (5,5 / 2,3)	3,1 (8,8 / 2,6)	2,3 (3,5 / 2,2)
Female (Community / Youth)	**3,2 (5,2 / 2,2)**	1,9 (3,6 / 1,1)	3,2 (5,8 / 1,8)	4,3 (8,1 / 2,3)	2,8 (4,2 / 2,0)
COM: Community Member	**5,2**	3,7	5,8	8,1	4,2
SHY: Schooling Youth	**1,9**	0,9	1,7	2,2	1,5
NSY: Non-schooling Youth	**2,7**	1,4	2,2	2,5	2,6
C1 - Turuhurane (COM)	**4,8**	3,4	4,7	7,0	4,0
E2 -- Humura (COM)	**5,6**	3,8	6,7	9,1	4,3
D1 - G.S. Inyange (SHY)	**1,3**	0,8	0,9	1,7	1,1
F1 - Lycee de Kigali (SHY)	**1,0**	0,3	0,9	0,9	1,2
G1 - Ababibyi b'Amahoro (Seed of Peace) (SHY)	**3,6**	1,6	3,5	4,2	2,4
A1 - Abasangirangendo (NSY)	**3,0**	1,2	2,1	3,0	3,5
B1 - Twisungane (NSY)	**2,2**	1,6	1,5	1,6	2,2
E1 - World Mission (NSY)	**2,9**	1,4	3,0	2,7	1,9

Table 2 – Trauma and Victimization Indices

Across all groups, exposure to violence against others is the traumatic experience most frequently reported (index score 3.9), followed by victim of property crime (index score 3.0), victimization in the community (index score 2.6) and finally being a direct victim of violence (index score 1.8). In other words, exposure to violence against others is a much more prevalent phenomenon among group members than direct violence against the self.

The majority of youth who participated in Lycee de Kigali FGD were born after the genocide (the oldest 4 years after). They have not experienced the genocide and many of them engaged in conversation by similar and typical sentences "*I was not born when the genocide happened", "I was not there when all of this happened", I don't have enough knowledge on Rwandan history"*. They started by insisting on the fact that they were not primarily concerned with wounds, as if the topic was an adult issue and marginally theirs. They were aware however that the Rwandan society experienced and still experiencing the wounds which include the wounds from Genocide of 1994 against Tutsi and wounds from other historical background. They mentioned some of these wounds: lack of family member or relative during genocide, lack of justice, rooted properties during the Genocide, living in exile hunted by neighbors, mistreatment of children orphans by relatives or neighbors.

When asked if they think there are people who are more wounded than others in community or in school, youth indicated that majority of Rwandans are wounded, but the level of wounds is not the same: genocide survivors and genocide perpetrators are more wounded than any other person in community--the survivors are more wounded because they always think about the family members and properties they lost during the genocide, while perpetrators and their relatives suffer from shame and lack of full integration in the society.

"*I don't have enough knowledge on Rwandan history, but I know that my parents have been victimized by Genocide and other historical experiences. They lived as refugee for many years, and when they returned to Rwanda, they had to start from zero because all they lost all their property during the Genocide"*, one participant said.

"*There are Rwandans who still have wounds: my father is still remembering how he was historically denied his right to education; this wound will never end in his mind even after 50 years",* a second participant added.

Youth themselves experience the burden of trauma even if they don't know exactly what and how it happened. This was the most common theme expressed by the youth who participated in focus groups. They never experienced the genocide but are living in families under the grip of genocide trauma. Parents seem to be inhabited by the trauma and what is felt by the youth is the consequences and changes resulting from the wounds affecting parents and relatives rather than the wound in itself. Wounds from family members have a ricochet effect on youth.

When asked if youth have wounds, schooling youth indicated that youth are wounded but not at the same level as the adult people. "*We have wounds but we don't have the same wounds as people who experienced the genocide"* a female participant indicated during the FGD. The youth also said that there are youth among them who are wounded. For example, some youth who lost their parents and relatives during the genocide are wounded because they lack access to education provided by parents and these youth struggle to survive. Similarly, youth whose parents are in jail because of genocide related crimes experience shame and isolation from their peers.

Non-schooling youth from Abasangirangendo were on average older than youth from Lycee de Kigali and were more likely to discuss wounds that they experienced personally, some related to the genocide and others related to other experiences.

Regarding these wounds, one participant said: "*our community is suffering two categories of wounds: physical ones like those who were mistreated and tortured and left with physical disabilities during the 1994 genocide. And invisible and psychological wounds like trauma, depression, grief and mourning…*"

Women from Humura, a community-based group composed of genocide survivors discussed their most commonly shared wounds, which were mostly related to the experiences during the genocide. Wounds raised by participants include being a victim of torture during the genocide; witnessing violence against a member of the family or witnessing a collective massacre of unknown people; being suddenly deprived of parents, siblings and children and losing their entire families as well as poverty, lack of shelter and difficult living conditions after the genocide (poverty, shelter). Other wounds included not being able to bury relatives; living with disabilities caused by violence; and constant dreams and hopes of meet relatives whom they are not sure were killed during the genocide as well as relationship with ex-perpetrators in the community, etc.

One participant said: "*the biggest wound we have, is the images of what we have lived during the 1994 genocide… the things seen by our eyes. We saw our people dying. These images are engraved in our minds. When you think about, your mind is quickly troubled*"

Another participant described one survivor that is often affected by multiple wounds: "*There are some of us with obvious wounds ... as the case of one of us … this man is physically handicapped by injuries from genocide. And as if that was not enough, he lost all his family and lives alone today…. He lives alone with his handicap, all caused by the genocide …this is sad*"

When asked about wounds of non-genocide survivors, one participant said: "*They have wounds because they feel a shamed to be associated with genocide and to get such identity*". The participant continued: "*They feel marginalized in the society. Their children have great sadness because they always think that their parents were perpetrators yet children never did anything but people see them in that image.*"

A good number of the participants from the Turuhurane group identify themselves as "genocide survivor" and have gone through a series of traumatic experience during the genocide. Although individual wounds were expressed by a considerable number of women from this group, the typical and the most challenging wound reported by all women was at the interpersonal, intra marriage and family level, involving issues of belonging and identity. The women from this group, who are married to men of different ethnicities, also discussed community-level implications of their wounds.

The women of Turuhurane shared that individually they experienced extremely traumatic events that overwhelmed them and affected their ability to cope, to understand and to relate to others. Although twenty-two years have passed since the genocide, they feel that their wounds are still wide open and that the pain they experience remain present.

One participant noted: "*During the genocide two interahamwe were discussing how I should be killed. After the discussion one came to the conclusion that 'she (I) is still young. Let's do her a favor and postpone her*

death. It will give us the time to enjoy sex with her. Let's taste her. I heard that Tutsi women are very good'. The old one started and I begged him for mercy saying 'please stop it I am the same age as your daughter'. After finishing he asked the young one to follow (….) this is a wound that is embedded into my flesh. Another wound that is currently hard for me to deal with is the wound of rejection by the community. When I walk out, people say 'look at that woman…. she is the one who condemned the old neighbor.'

She continued*: During the Gacaca jurisdiction, my testimony led to the sentencing of that man to 30 years in jail. The community has since said that it is all my fault. I don't think these wounds will ever leave me. (…) I was ready to forgive him but he didn't come to ask for forgiveness (….) Later I married a Hutu and I gained the courage to tell him the truth to let him decide whether we would get married or not. He knows everything and has accepted to stay with me."*

Women did not talk about one unique individual traumatic experience but a mixture of multiple events and conditions they endured, including rape; loss of parents and siblings; harassment by the husbands and in-laws from different ethnic backgrounds, etc. They seem to be suffering from the cumulative effect of multiple wounds.

Psychological Distress and Resilience

A factor analysis of psychological distress items included in the baseline assessment survey revealed three underlying dimensions (Table 3a): Firstly, Post-traumatic distress, which includes a mixture of characteristic symptoms of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (e.g. bad memories and dreams; avoidance) with symptoms of Generalized Anxiety (e.g. worry a lot about bad things that could happen; constant headaches). Secondly, poor self-esteem and guilt, which combines features such as feeling worthless, thinking that life is unfair compared to others, feeling bad about things that the person did, and thinking about suicide. And finally, anger – as measured through questions on having trouble to control one's temper, or becoming so mad that one may break things or hit people.

In contrast, the factor analysis of resilience items included in the assessment suggests that all of them contribute to a single underlying dimension (Table 3b), which includes, among other things, possessing a

Post Traumatic Distress
I have really bad memories or dreams
I worry a lot about bad things that could happen
I feel depressed or very sad
Experienced Avoidance
I feel like I am ready to explode due to grief
Experiencing Anxiety
Experienced Somatic illness
I lack peace in my heart
Experienced isolation/ restruction of relationship
Experienced constant headches
Poor Self Esteem & Guilt
I feel worthless
I think about death or suicide
I feel that my life is unfair compared to the lives of others around me
I feel bad about things that I have done
Anger
I become so mad that I may break things
I become so mad that I may hit people
I have trouble controlling my temper

Table 3a – Parcelling of Psychological Distress items

belief in one's self efficacy; being able to multi-task; feeling driven by a sense that life is meaningful; possessing self-control; keeping a cool head during an emergency; and having a sense of humour. This finding is consistent with internationally validated models and definitions of psychological resilience.

Psychological Resilience
I usually manage one way or another
I feel proud that I have accomplished things in my life
I usually take things in stride
I am friends with myself
I feel that I can handle many things at a time
I am determined
I can get through difficult times because I've experienced difficulty before
I have self-discipline
I keep interested in things
I can usually find something to laugh about
My belief in myself gets me through hard times
In an emergency, I'm someone people generally can rely on
My life has meaning
When I'm in a difficult situation I can usually find my way out of it

Table 3b – Psychological Resilience items included in the overall dimension

Consistent with the findings presented earlier on impact of traumatic events, the groups suffering most from post-traumatic distress are older persons, age 38 and over, who are participating in the community-based healing spaces (Table 4). It should also be noted that women score significantly worse than men in post-traumatic distress, as well as low self-esteem and guilt, though levels of anger are similar across both genders. Furthermore, it is notable that levels of anger appear to peak out in the age group 38 to 54, while people age 55 and older display significantly lower levels of anger. As for psychological resilience, this appears to display an inverse trend against age (i.e. the younger a participant, the higher their psychological resilience) while participants in the two community-based groups appear to display the lowest levels of psychological resilience.

Focus Group Discussions attempted to understand how and why participants are resilient or not. It was difficult to for the Lycee de Kigali participants to define and understand the term "resilience"; many of them confused the term with healing. The students said that, resilience is something possible in Rwanda but also something that remains difficult for people who lost their parents, children, and relatives during the genocide. They also indicated that they know some people in their communities who had overcome their wounds.

One participant said: "*My uncle lost his 3 children but now, he is resilient. He is always smiling, talking to everyone, and he lives in peace with neighbors. He is at ease when talking about his genocide wounds*".

What make him resilient are prayers. He likes to pray despite the fact that his first born was shot and died when he was trying to close the door of the church during the genocide".

	Index: Post Traumatic Distress	Index: Low Self Esteem & Guilt	Index: Anger	Index: Psychological Resilience
Overall Index Score	**4,1**	**2,5**	**2,3**	**6,7**
Up to 20 yrs	2,1	1,6	1,9	7,2
21 to 37 yrs	3,8	2,3	2,3	6,8
38 to 54 yrs	7,1	4,3	3,5	6,1
55 yrs +	7,3	3,7	2,2	5,6
Male (Community / Youth)	2,5 (5,2 / 2,3)	1,4 (2,7 / 1,3)	2,2 (2,2 / 2,2)	7,3 (5,5 / 7,4)
Female (Community / Youth)	4,7 (7,5 / 3,2)	2,9 (4,3 / 2,1)	2,3 (2,8 / 2,1)	6,5 (5,5 / 7,0)
COM: Community Member	7,3	4,2	2,8	5,5
SHY: Schooling Youth	1,9	1,1	1,7	7,4
NSY: Non-schooling Youth	3,8	2,5	2,5	6,9
C1 - Turuhurane (COM)	7,4	4,8	3,4	5,2
E2 -- Humura (COM)	7,2	3,7	2,3	5,8
D1 - G.S. Inyange (SHY)	2,3	1,8	2,3	7,2
F1 - Lycee de Kigali (SHY)	1,3	0,9	1,5	7,5
G1 - Ababibyi b'Amahoro (Seed of Peace) (SHY)	2,2	0,6	1,1	7,5
A1 - Abasangirangendo (NSY)	4,0	2,7	3,1	6,5
B1 - Twisungane (NSY)	4,1	3,2	2,4	6,6
E1 - World Mission (NSY)	3,2	1,7	1,9	7,7

Table 4 – Psychological Distress and Resilience Indices

The students listed the factors they felt contributed to resilience, including prayers, dialogue, sharing stories with close friends, focusing on the future not the past, playing with others, critical thinking, having a vision and goals, and investing in economic activities, among others.

For non-schooling youth, during the FGD's we used the term of "ubudaheranwa" to define resilience. The participants noted that in Kinyarwanda, those who are resilient are given specific names which mean "people who never give up" or "people who do their best to overcome a bad situation." They said that there are many people who are like this, including some among them. They defined someone resilient as a person who is able to stay alive by maintaining a sense of life, who is capable of maintaining good relationship with neighbors, who can get married despite the effects of genocide, and who is able to fight in order overcome several life problems.

Forgiveness and Revenge

The factor analysis of items measuring forgiveness (Table 5a) revealed an interesting distinction between supporting forgiveness in theory (e.g. endorsing the statement that 'without forgiveness a conflict can never be resolved') and the actual practice of forgiveness as experienced in real-life personal contexts (e.g. If happened, I feel that I can forgive someone who killed my parents / children / relatives). As for revenge tendency, factor analysis (Table 5b) revealed this to be a unified construct, i.e. a person is either a believer in revenge, regardless of the specific insult, or a person is not a believer in revenge, whatever the provocation.

Similar to the findings above for anger, the age group most likely to advocate for revenge is the 38 to 54 years old cohort, which is also the age group least forgiving in practice (Table 6). Elevated scores for revenge tendency are also found among two of the non-schooling youth groups, Abasangirangendo and World Mission. While the remaining non-schooling youth group, Twisungane, displays a low tendency for revenge, it should be noted that they also display a very low tendency for forgiveness in practice, lowest in fact among all the youth groups and healing spaces.

Forgiveness in practice
If happened, I feel that I can forgive someone who raped me/my relatives
If happened, I feel that I can forgive someone who poisoned my child/relative
If happened , I feel I can forgive someone who did other bad things to me or to my family
If happened, I feel that I can forgive someone who killed my parents/children/ relatives
If happened, I feel that I can forgive someone who make my child pregnant before the adult age
If happened, I feel that I can forgive someone who destroyed my properties
Forgiveness in theory
Without forgiveness a conflict can never be resolved
The only way to overcome a bad event or situation is to let go of the past and forgive your offender
It is ok to forgive someone who hurt you, even if they don't repent for their action

Table 5a – Parcelling of Forgiveness items

According to FGD participants, false forgiveness exists in Rwanda because there is demand for it, in the post-genocide context. Sometimes people, especially from the older generation, pretend to have forgiven the perpetrators but their feelings are not authentic.

Revenge Tendency *(for which of the following have you sought revenge or desire to seek revenge?)*
Someone from your family who maltreated you
Someone in your community who maltreated you (i.e. school, work, neighbors, leader etc)
Someone who did a Physical assault to you/to your family members
Someone who forced to do things you do not want to do
Someone who destroyed your house
Someone who destroyed your crops
Someone who did a Sexual violence to you
A person who did torturing to you
A person who murdered someone from your family
Someone who evicted you from your land/house
A person who committed Genocide related crimes to you/your family including murder, sexual harassment, theft of property, destruction of land/home
A person who extremely caused violence to your close relative
A person who caused a Permanent disability to you

Table 5b – Revenge items included in the overall dimension

When asked how they understand "forgiveness", Lycee de Kigali students said that forgiveness is like turning / opening a new page—leaving behind what happened and agreeing to live together with someone who hurt you or who caused wounds to you or your family. However, they indicated that it is easy to forgive someone who did bad things to you, but when it comes to someone who killed your parents, children, relatives, it becomes more complicated. A few students know people who forgave others, however they indicated that forgiving someone who killed your parents or relatives is done in theory, not in practice.

One participant shared the following story: *"I know someone who killed my grandmother's family members and stole her property during the genocide. The man was put in prison and later he was released under presidential forgiveness. Upon returning to the community, the man tried many times to ask my grandmother to forgive him, but she was so angry and was not keen to forgive him. The man continued coming to my grandmother's house and asking for pardon but my grandmother was not receptive.*

One day, the man came and asked my grandmother if he could assist her to farm her land, and she accepted. As the man used to come many times, my grandmother was stressed and tired with the request and later said to him "I forgive you", *but for us who know the reality, this was not the true forgiveness—it is forgiveness in theory because whenever she sees him, she thinks about what he did to her family*

 "So, it is very hard to see someone who killed your family and you see him coming asking for forgiveness. Yes, you can forgive him in theory, but forgiveness from the depths of your heart is something difficult", she concluded.

Among non-schooling youth, whose groups are composed of individuals with different identities, participants have begun already experimenting with forgiveness. A focus group participant said: *"A perpetrator who was released came to me seeking forgiveness and I granted it.*"

Another participant said: "*If someone betrayed me I am able to forgive him even if he or she doesn't ask for forgiveness.*" He then gave the example of his family who has forgiven a perpetrator family that stole their property during the genocide.

	Index: Forgiveness in Theory	Index: Forgiveness in Practice	Index: Revenge Tendency
Overall Index Score	**5,1**	**3,5**	**1,0**
Up to 20 yrs	5,3	3,5	0,5
21 to 37 yrs	5,0	3,6	1,1
38 to 54 yrs	4,6	3,2	2,0
55 yrs +	5,3	3,6	1,2
Male (Community / Youth)	5,2 (4,2 / 5,2)	3,9 (4,8 / 3,9)	1,1 (1,8 / 1,0)
Female (Community / Youth)	5,1 (4,8 / 5,2)	3,3 (3,1 / 3,5)	1,0 (1,6 / 0,6)
COM: Community Member	4,7	3,1	1,6
SHY: Schooling Youth	5,7	3,9	0,5
NSY: Non-schooling Youth	4,8	3,4	1,1
C1 - Turuhurane (COM)	4,8	3,0	1,8
E2 -- Humura (COM)	4,7	3,3	1,5
D1 - G.S. Inyange (SHY)	5,5	3,3	0,6
F1 - Lycee de Kigali (SHY)	6,0	4,0	0,4
G1 - Ababibyi b'Amahoro (Seed of Peace) (SHY)	5,6	4,3	0,3
A1 - Abasangirangendo (NSY)	5,1	4,0	1,3
B1 - Twisungane (NSY)	4,9	2,9	0,4
E1 - World Mission (NSY)	4,4	3,3	1,5

Table 6 – Forgiveness and Revenge Indices

According to focus group participants, different factors affect whether forgiveness will be granted. It is important that the injustice committed is to recognized and accepted. The perpetrator who wounded the community has to accept their responsibility and present apologies. This is the right way toward forgiveness and reconciliation. To feel guilty indeed constitutes an act of courage and is significant in the process of reconciliation. This act allows the community to recover from wounds. Forgiveness consists of restoring relationships. It is an act of humanity to restores relationships with people wounded. Non-schooling youth seem more receptive and open for forgiveness and reconciliation.

As for revenge, the Lycee de Kigali schooling youth define it as "*keeping in mind something bad that someone did to you or to your family and in return, do the same or something worse to him to his family*". Some students agree that revenge can be good in the sense that it teaches a lesson to someone who did bad things so that they can correct themselves. However, others see revenge as a bad character trait, arguing that it is not good to respond to violence with violence. The students indicated that, even if there are some people who could have a desire for revenge, the legal framework in Rwanda is clear: it prohibits and punishes these who seek revenge against others. "*If you take revenge against someone, the law will punish you based on what you did and not based on the reason for your revenge,*" said one participant.

A few students indicated that they have a desire to take revenge against others in school – for example those who may damage their notebooks, uniforms, etc. The felt that revenge was a way to correct that person. However, the students felt uncomfortable taking revenge - by doing the same as was done to them - against these who killed family members, relatives and friends.

The non-schooling youth were knowledgeable about the concept of revenge because some of them are survivors, orphans or children of perpetrators. On this topic one participant said: "*Because of paying what my family has destroyed I was so angry and thinking that if I could do something bad I would. I was so annoyed to see our property sold and given to others*". She said that the group allowed her to overcome her hate against the survivor family and now the two families have begun inviting each other.

Another participant said: "*Revenge is not good. Because if you do that and everyone does that, the world will be exterminated.*" Yet another said: "*If someone killed my children I would not take revenge but I would have to keep my distance. I can live alongside the person without any relationship and just the minimum contact.*" This suggests that the youth who experienced the realities related to traumatic events and conflict seem to be more resistant to granting forgiveness.

Forgiveness and reconciliation are essential processes leading to social equilibrium following events such as the genocide that destroyed not only people but also relationships. Those processes towards restoring relationships was a vital necessity in the Rwandan context after the genocide. Forgiveness was sought by those who were guilty and was awarded by those who were still suffering but wished to try to overcome collective trauma. However, revenge tendency remains a natural instinct among those who have been victimized.

Readiness to trust the healing space / youth group

The baseline assessment survey included several items which inquire what activities participants would be ready to share with other members of the group. A factor analysis of these revealed four dimensions (Table

7), including readiness for social interaction (e.g. inviting someone from the group to a wedding or family celebration), readiness for personal sharing (e.g. listening to the testimonies of someone in the group; discussing sensitive topics like the genocide), readiness for trauma expression (e.g. openly discussing your trauma or deep wounds), and readiness for daily life partnerships (e.g. accept matrimonial alliances with someone in the group). The aggregate of these four indices was also calculated, to serve as an index of Trust towards the Healing Space or Youth Group.

Readiness for social interaction
Inviting someone from this group to a wedding or family celebration
Attending the wedding, burial or family celebration of someone from this group
Voting for someone in this group if they were running for office
Attending a wedding of a member of this group
Joining an Ikimina saving group with other in this group
Playing game together with someone from this group (football/basketball, etc)
Readiness for personal sharing
Listening to the testimonies of someone in this group one on one
Speaking to someone in this group about your experiences one on one
Listening to the testimonies of others in front the group
Discussing sensitive topics (like Genocide, commemoration, GBV,etc)
Sharing your personal wounds with others in front of the group
Readiness for trauma expression
Expressing your trauma/wounds through story telling/discussions
Expressing your trauma or deep wounds through other arts (painting, drawing), writing
Expressing your trauma or deep wounds through theatre and drama
Openly discussing your trauma or deep wounds
Participating in collective work in the community to raise awareness about trauma and deep wounds
Readiness for daily life partnerships
Accept matrimonial alliances with someone in this group
Marrying someone in this group
Letting members of the group make important decisions on my behalf
Leaving your child / sibling with others in this group

Table 7 – Parcelling of items denoting potential group activities

As expected, given that this is still the baseline assessment, readiness to share is still relatively low overall, with the only overall index scoring above 5 being 'Readiness for Social Interaction' (Table 8).

	Index: Trust of Healing Space / Youth Group	Index: Readiness for Social Interaction	Index: Readiness for Personal Sharing	Index: Readiness for Trauma Expression	Index: Readiness for Daily Life Partnerships
Overall Index Score	**4,7**	**5,8**	**4,2**	**4,9**	**4,0**
Up to 20 yrs	5,2	6,4	4,8	5,3	4,4
21 to 37 yrs	4,5	5,6	3,8	4,9	3,6
38 to 54 yrs	4,4	5,3	3,8	4,4	3,9
55 yrs +	4,6	5,2	4,5	4,5	4,3
Male (Community / Youth)	4,8 (4,1 / 4,9)	5,9 (4,8 / 6,0)	4,1 (4,0 / 4,1)	5,3 (4,5 / 5,3)	4,0 (3,2 / 4,1)
Female (Community / Youth)	4,7 (4,2 / 4,9)	5,7 (5,0 / 6,1)	4,2 (3,8 / 4,5)	4,8 (4,3 / 5,1)	4,0 (3,9 / 4,0)
COM: Community Member	4,2	5,0	3,8	4,3	3,8
SHY: Schooling Youth	5,5	6,7	4,9	5,5	4,9
NSY: Non-schooling Youth	4,3	5,4	3,8	4,8	3,3
C1 - Turuhurane (COM)	4,0	4,7	3,7	4,5	3,3
E2 – Humura (COM)	4,4	5,2	3,8	4,2	4,2
D1 - G.S. Inyange (SHY)	4,6	6,0	4,2	4,7	3,4
F1 - Lycee de Kigali (SHY)	6,1	7,1	5,7	6,1	5,6
G1 - Ababibyi b'Amahoro (Seed of Peace) (SHY)	6,0	7,2	4,9	6,0	5,8
A1 - Abasangirangendo (NSY)	3,5	4,6	3,2	3,8	2,4
B1 - Twisungane (NSY)	5,2	5,9	4,8	5,4	4,6
E1 - World Mission (NSY)	4,4	5,7	3,5	5,2	3,0

Table 8 – Trust of Healing Space / Youth Group indices

Young participants, up to 20 years old, and schooling youth participants, are significantly more willing to trust the space than other age groups, community-based groups and non-schooling youth groups. Specific

groups displaying the lowest trust include the non-schooling group Abasangirangendo, and the community group Turuhurane. One explanation for the similarity between non-schooling youth and community members is that they live in similarly tense environments where victims and perpetrators live side-by-side, especially in rural areas.

When asked about the benefits of the healing dialogues, schooling youth shared the following benefits: gaining a clear understanding of Rwandan history, sharing their wounds with peers, healing their wounds, exchanging of knowledge and experiences, changing behavior and attitudes, gaining critical thinking, increasing their capacity to analyze and understand the causes of genocide and its consequences, etc.

One participant said: **"***as a Rwandan, this group helped me to understand better how genocide ideology has evolved over time in Rwanda and how it led to the Genocide against Tutsi. I learnt many things through dialogue meetings and it is a package of what I will tell my children in future.*"*.

Another participant added: *"As we said before, many of us were born after genocide. There is what we leant from the books and parents, but we still need to learn more about genocide history. This group helped me to understand that, because through our monthly meetings we critically analyze the history and psychological wounds and how these wounds could be healed. Before joining this group, I used to study, eat and sleep and it was fine for me. But now, as a result of being a member of this group, I have discovered that people are really wounded. I used to play with my friends without knowing how they are wounded. But through this dialogue, we share our personal experiences and I know how it is helpful."*

How did Abasangirangendo, the non-schooling youth decide to join the group? Abasangirangendo was primarily a group composed by genocide survivor youth. It was created a decade after the genocide with the intention to focus on the needs of youth from families who survived the genocide. Later, they realized how the relationships between victims–perpetrators were still filled with suspicion. They then decided to shift and build a heterogeneous group including youth from parents who committed the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. They used to meet and hold dialogue about the Rwandan culture and solidarity. The need to connect, to share activities and to increase tolerance among the new generation was the principal motivation.

For the adult community group participants, joining the healing space was sometimes rendered easy because individuals were invited by people in the group with whom they were familiar. However, from the perspective of participants, openly sharing within the group felt like a huge risk and a step that very few among them were ready to make. There was no trust among participants and there was no guarantee that what was shared in a group would remain in the group. A participant shared *"the first thing we learnt in the group was to keep the information shared in the group confidential. To protect the group is to protect our secrets together as one."* Thus, there was a sense of discomfort among participants when the dialogue commenced:

Although there was little to no group when the dialogues began, progressively a sense of trust started to be built among the members during the course of the multiple interactions. According to one participant: *"Yes, today we trust each other. I can say that we know each other better than at the beginning of this group."*

This is normal in the evolution and progression of therapeutic groups. Participants later describe the spaces of Peace as a place where participants experience the feeling of rest and quiet. A space where people have the permission to drop the tension momentarily.

Women from Turuhurane indicated that they have started to feel better emotionally and psychologically over the course of the dialogues. Speaking and sharing with other women was associated with positive outcomes such as "feeling relieved", "feeling again surrounded by humanity", "feeling yourself human"; "finding advice to handle concrete issues." One member of the group expressed: *"to talk about wounds? Let's start by the mourning period. Before I joined this group I was like a non-human because of many wounds but now with the help of the group, these feelings are weakening."*

Some women have used medication for many years to treat their emotional wounds and discomfort. Now, based on their experiences with the healing dialogues, they have begun to feel that those who are wounded have the ability to stop feeling sad through genuine encounters with sensitive people, whether another member of the group or the staff of Never Again Rwanda. A participant shared: *"before joining the group, I was addicted to medication. Now I feel good in this (..) I used to get a headache and palpitations. A friend came to visit me and advised me to join the group and when I joined the group, they welcomed me and I recovered because I found we were similar. Some of them are more deeply wounded than me."*

Despite these testimonies, it is important to note that healing spaces do note replace other approaches. However, it is interesting to see that the group provides its members with important experiences that allows them to regain a sense of life and to develop their self-esteem. The space allows for the free expression of emotions. Many participants see the group as a new family. The group represents for some an important experience that affirms their existence.

Social Tolerance

Developing metrics for social tolerance required a two-stage process. In the first step, scores for different activities that one could undertake with members of a specific group (e.g. vote for them; form an ikimina with them; marry them) were aggregated to formulate group-specific Social Proximity indices. In the second step, the separate Social Proximity indices were reduced further into a smaller number of dimensions through factor analysis (Table 9), out of which five social proximity indices emerged: Proximity to social in-group (e.g. close friends, neighbors); proximity to the

Social Proximity to social ingroup
Social Proximity to Close Friends
Social Proximity to Neighbors
Social Proximity to People from your religion affiliation
Social Proximity to disadvantaged
Social Proximity to people from poor families
Social Proximity to people with disabilities
Social Proximity to inflowing populations
Social Proximity to old case returnees (refugees of 1959)
Social Proximity to new case returnees (refugees of 1994)
Social Proximity to people from another country
Social Proximity to refugees from neighbouring countries
Social Proximity to genocide survivors
Social Proximity to Family Members of Genocide Survivors
Social Proximity to Genocide Survivors
Social Proximity to genocide perpetrators
Social Proximity to ex-prisoners accused of genocide crimes
Social Proximity to family members of people involved in genocide crimes

Table 9 – Parcelling of specific Social proximity indices

disadvantaged (e.g. people from poor families, people from disabilities); proximity to inflowing populations (e.g. returnees, refugees, people from neighboring countries); proximity to genocide survivors (themselves and their family members); and proximity to genocide perpetrators (again, either themselves or their family members). An aggregate of the five indices was also calculated to serve as a Social Tolerance Index.

	Index: Social Tolerance	Social Proximity Index: Social Ingroup	Social Proximity Index: Socially Disadvantaged	Social Proximity Index: Inflowing Populations	Social Proximity Index: Genocide Survivors	Social Proximity Index: Genocide Perpetrators
Overall Index Score	**5,9**	**7,3**	**6,0**	**5,3**	**7,0**	**4,1**
Up to 20 yrs	**6,1**	7,6	6,3	5,5	6,7	4,7
21 to 37 yrs	**5,9**	7,2	5,9	5,1	7,0	4,2
38 to 54 yrs	**5,6**	7,1	5,6	5,1	7,6	2,8
55 yrs +	**5,7**	6,7	5,7	5,2	7,1	3,6
Male (Community / Youth)	**6,4 (5,9 / 6,4)**	7,4 (7,1 / 7,4)	6,5 (6,1 / 6,6)	5,9 (5,3 / 5,9)	7,3 (7,5 / 7,3)	4,6 (3,6 / 4,7)
Female (Community / Youth)	**5,8 (5,5 / 5,9)**	7,2 (6,7 / 7,5)	5,8 (5,6 / 5,9)	5,0 (5,0 / 5,0)	6,8 (7,2 / 6,7)	3,9 (3,1 / 4,4)
COM: Community Member	**5,5**	6,7	5,6	5,1	7,2	3,1
SHY: Schooling Youth	**6,4**	7,5	6,5	5,8	7,3	4,6
NSY: Non-schooling Youth	**5,8**	7,4	5,7	4,8	6,5	4,4
C1 - Turuhurane (COM)	**5,2**	6,4	5,5	4,7	6,7	2,8
E2 -- Humura (COM)	**5,8**	7,0	5,7	5,4	7,6	3,4
D1 - G.S. Inyange (SHY)	**6,1**	7,7	6,5	4,8	6,8	4,6
F1 - Lycee de Kigali (SHY)	**6,6**	7,6	6,5	6,7	7,5	4,8
G1 - Ababibyi b'Amahoro (Seed of Peace) (SHY)	**6,4**	7,3	6,5	6,2	7,6	4,4
A1 - Abasangirangendo (NSY)	**5,2**	7,3	4,8	3,9	6,0	4,2
B1 - Twisungane (NSY)	**6,0**	7,3	6,2	5,0	6,2	5,4
E1 - World Mission (NSY)	**6,1**	7,5	6,2	5,8	7,4	3,8

Table 10 – Social Tolerance and Social Proximity indices

In comparing the various social proximity indices (Table 10), a striking difference is evidenced regarding proximity to genocide perpetrators, which is significantly lower than all other proximity indices across all sub-groups. In contrast, proximity to survivors is on the whole quite high, in some groups even surpassing proximity

to the social in-group. This high proximity to survivors could demonstrate sympathy and lack of fear towards them, and vice versa for the perpetrators. Looking at overall scores for Social Tolerance, it is significantly higher among schooling youth than among non-schooling youth and community members; while among the community and non-schooling groups lowest social tolerance is evident in Turuhurane and Abasangirangendo, in much the same way that trust within these specific healing spaces was shown above to be lower than in other groups. Finally, women participants appear to display somewhat lower social tolerance than male participants. It should be noted however that this finding may be related to the composition of the groups and the types of women specifically participating in these groups.

With regards to social distance and readiness for social interactions, youth in focus groups openly discussed how they are more comfortable with some groups and why there are not comfortable with other groups. The level of comfort in engaging in activities or discussion with different people varies across categories. The Lycee in Kigali youth indicated that are comfortable meeting, discussing and working with genocide survivors and former RPF soldiers. However, they were not comfortable meeting, discussing or working with ex-genocide perpetrators, demobilized soldiers from other armed groups and historically marginalized groups (Batwa). The reasons behind these factors could be attributed to the fact that ex-RPF are viewed as legitimate soldiers who liberated the country. Armed groups are associated with genocide while marginalized groups have not been able to surface in public spaces and little advocacy has been made on behalf of these groups, so they remain unaccepted and non-respected.

The FGD with school youth revealed that the majority of them spent most their time in schooling activities, and have very low interactions with groups such as ex-perpetrators, former members of other armed groups or people from marginalized groups. Some students shared that they didn't even know any genocide perpetrators or survivors. Others were not aware of historically marginalized people and demobilized soldiers from armed groups. The FGD had also revealed that a very limited number of students met, discussed, and worked together with these categories of people.

However, the majority of FGD participants said that they are comfortable to discuss or work with genocide survivors or their children, but that they would be uncomfortable discussing sensitive issues, like the genocide, because they fear reviving the wounds of these groups. Some youth indicated that they were cautious when discussing with survivors/children especially during the commemoration period. One participant shared: "*Our social interaction with Genocide survivors is good, but it is not 100%. For example, during the commemoration period, if she/he remembers/reflects on what happened to him, or people, property lost during the genocide, it seems to affect the current relationship with other people because it is time to reflect on his/her past. Sometimes s/he can regret forgiving those who wounded him*".

On the other hand, some youth said that are open and comfortable in sharing personal stories with genocide survivors or their children. "f*or me, there is no problem in discussing with a genocide survivor or his children, I have a close friend whose parents have survived the genocide and we have discussed many times what happened, how people of his family were killed. He told me that openly and I was very curious to know more about what the family has gone through*," said one participant.

The students said they are more comfortable discussing with demobilized soldiers from RPF than with people from demobilized armed groups. They feel that RPF stopped genocide while the armed groups have destabilized the country, including being part of killings during the genocide. The students have a negative perception of them because they associate these groups with genocide ideology, with which the students

themselves do not want to be associated. One participant said: "*I can't trust someone from demobilized former armed group because I know the person believes in genocide ideology; so it can take me a long time to socialize with him*"

Women from Turuhurane also shared how social interaction in their community is affected by wounds lived by themselves or other members of the Rwandan society. As an illustration, one of them said: "*there is a perpetrator man who was released from prison but he doesn't dare to go out of his house. He stays at home because of shame due to the bad things he did during the genocide. And he is lives alone.*"

Peace Activism

Regarding engagement in peace activism, a slightly different set of questions were asked of community healing space participants and youth group participants, reflecting differences in opportunities for engagement that people of different age groups have. Looking first at the peace activism of healing space participants (Figure 3a) it is notable that the majority of them engage in genocide commemoration activities and support for survivors or other vulnerable persons. However, the majority does not participate in efforts to solve conflicts, bring about unity, or facilitate reconciliation between survivors and perpetrators. Assisting ex-genocide perpetrators to pay back their debts is in fact a rare and unusual activity, displayed only by about one in ten participants. The peace activism of youth group participants (Figure 3b) displays a similar zeal for supporting genocide survivors and other vulnerable people, but at the same time the majority of participating youth is actively engaged in peace and reconciliation activities, including through dialogue, community work, religious events, use of art, and debates. At the same time, the reticence displayed by older participants in engaging with ex-genocide perpetrators can be evidenced among youth group participants as well.

Overall indices for peace activism were also calculated (Tables 11a, 11b), and then cross-tabulated by demographic indicators (Table 12). The most active age group appears to be the 21 to 37 years old cohort, while mean are somewhat more likely to be engaged in activism than women. Two of the non-schooling youth groups, World Mission and Abasangirangendo, display relatively high activism, whereas in contrast the Twisungane non-schooling youth group displays the lowest level of activism amongst all groups.

Through the FGD, the Lycee de Kigali students indicated that they contribute to the process of healing and peace through peace initiatives both in school and in the community. One said: ""*During the commemoration period, as students we mobilize students and we contribute some little money to buy some foods, materials and clothes to give to poor genocide survivors. When we visit them, they feel relieved*". Another participant added: "*As youth, we use social media to challenge those who deny the genocide and who have genocide ideology. The ideological message they post can mislead some of us, but we use our knowledge to challenge them*", a participant said.

Peace Activities of Healing Space Participants

Activity	I did not participate	I participated as an invitee	I helped to organize / initiate	I organized independently
Genocide commemoration activities	16%	47%	37%	
Supporting genocide survivors and / or other vulnerable people	33%	33%	23%	11%
A community work / Umuganda to solve a problem	42%	42%	15%	
Construction of house for vulnerable people	46%	24%	31%	
A religious related event aimed to peacefully resolve a conflict or promote unity and reconciliation or healing	57%	38%	3%	2%
Advocacy to vulnerable people	59%	16%	20%	5%
Assisting a genocide survivor to reconcile with a genocide perpetrator	70%	8%	13%	8%
A training / workshop aiming to solve conflict	70%	30%		
A debate aiming to solve conflicts	76%	19%	3%	2%
A drama / song / theatre to talk about unity, reconciliation and conflict resolution	82%	11%	7%	
A juridical assistance	84%	8%	7%	2%
Setting up a unity and reconciliation club / association / cooperative	84%	7%	10%	
Planting a tree for peace	85%	10%	5%	
Assisting ex-genocide perpetrators to pay back the properties damaged during genocide	87%	2%	7%	5%
A radio / TV show aiming to teach people about peaceful conflict resolution	93%	7%		

Legend:
- ■ I did not participate
- ■ I participated as an invitee
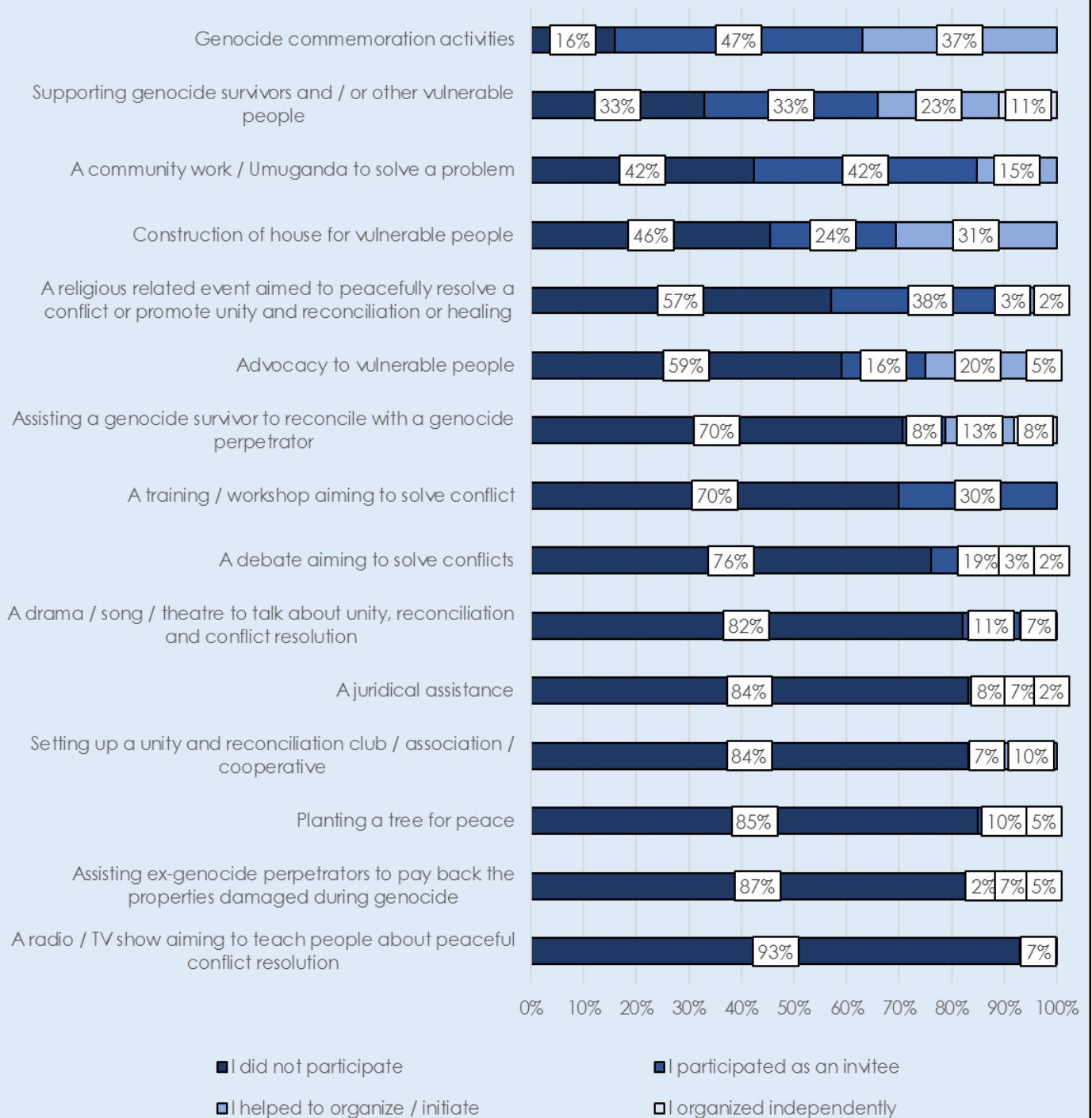- ▣ I helped to organize / initiate
- □ I organized independently

Figure 3a – Peace Activities of Healing Space Participants

Peace Activities of Youth Group Participants

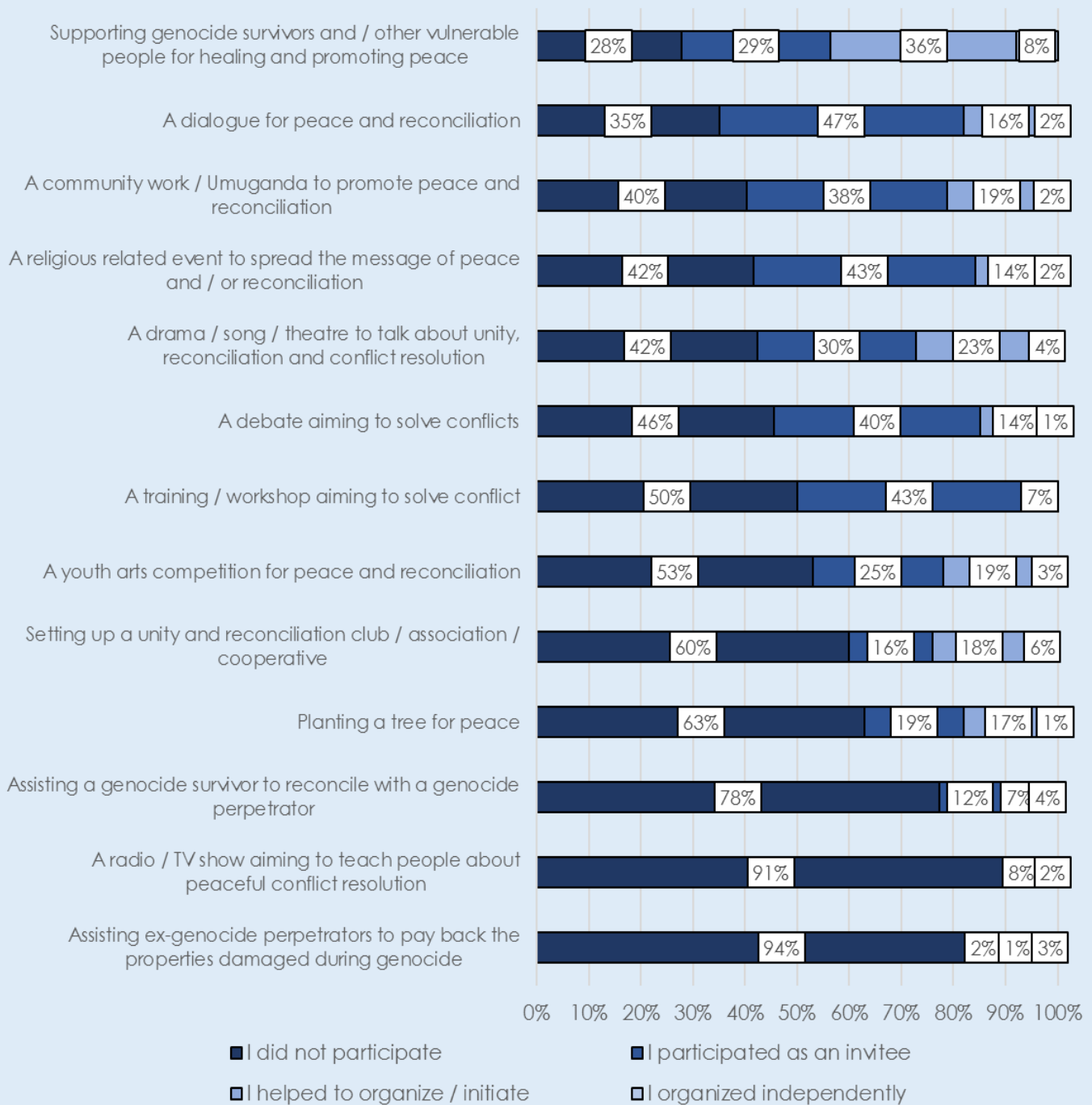| Activity	I did not participate	I participated as an invitee	I helped to organize / initiate	I organized independently
Supporting genocide survivors and / other vulnerable people for healing and promoting peace	28%	29%	36%	8%
A dialogue for peace and reconciliation	35%	47%	16%	2%
A community work / Umuganda to promote peace and reconciliation	40%	38%	19%	2%
A religious related event to spread the message of peace and / or reconciliation	42%	43%	14%	2%
A drama / song / theatre to talk about unity, reconciliation and conflict resolution	42%	30%	23%	4%
A debate aiming to solve conflicts	46%	40%	14%	1%
A training / workshop aiming to solve conflict	50%	43%	7%	
A youth arts competition for peace and reconciliation	53%	25%	19%	3%
Setting up a unity and reconciliation club / association / cooperative	60%	16%	18%	6%
Planting a tree for peace	63%	19%	17%	1%
Assisting a genocide survivor to reconcile with a genocide perpetrator	78%	12%	7%	4%
A radio / TV show aiming to teach people about peaceful conflict resolution	91%	8%		2%
Assisting ex-genocide perpetrators to pay back the properties damaged during genocide	94%	2%	1%	3%

Figure 3b – Peace Activities of Youth Group Participants

Peace Activism (Youth Groups)
Setting up a unity and reconciliation club/association/cooperative
A training/workshop aiming to solve conflicts
A debate aiming to solve conflicts
A radio/TV show aiming to teach people for peaceful conflict resolution
A a drama/song/theatre to talk about unit and reconciliation and conflict resolution
A dialogue for peace and reconciliation
A religious related event/s to spread message on peace and or reconciliation
A community work/Umuganda to promote peace and reconciliation
Supporting a genocide survivor and or other vulnerable people for healing and promoting peace
Assisting ex- genocide perpetrators to pay back the properties damaged during Genocide
A youth arts and competition for peace and reconciliation
Assisted a genocide survivor to reconcile with a genocide perpetrator
Planting a tree for peace and reconciliation

Table 11a – Youth activism items included in the overall dimension

The Lycee de Kigali students see a "peace activist" as someone who respects others, someone who can hear and treat all people equally, someone who respects human rights, someone who has positive attitudes, someone who can socialize with everyone, someone who is impartial, and someone who doesn't have genocide ideology.

Through the FGD, the students expressed strong commitment to act as peace activists in their schools and communities. While students plan activities, lack of financial means, seeking authorization from their school authorities for every activity, as well as the main focus on their studies, constitute barriers for their peace initiatives. In addition, students rejected the notion that being a student is a barrier to initiate any peace activity; they said that because students are together and organized, it is easy to start peace initiatives.

Schooling youth also shared the challenges/ barriers they face in starting peace initiatives. These include:

- Mindset – some students do not care about peace initiatives
- Lack of finance for peace initiatives
- Limited knowledge on Rwandan history—limited understanding about what happened
- Lack of motivation from parents and school authorities
- Lack of information
- Wounds for some students
- More time is allocated for the classroom rather than peace initiatives

For the non-schooling youth in the community most of activities are oriented:

- To assist elderly genocide survivors who have no family at all (Incike)
- Organizing theater forum

- To plant the peace trees in the community
- Conflict management in the community
- Initiating cooperatives that generate income
- Peer support groups and associations
- Sports and art

Non-schooling youth are more active in Initiating activities. One of the reasons is because they have more time available for these activities as compared to schooling youth; the second is that local authorities and the policy of the government encouraging the involvement of youth in all community activities.

Youth from non-schooling groups expressed that a great challenge they are facing with regards to peace initiatives is that parents do not want to change. One participant said: "When we are coming from dialogue spaces, you meet some adult who always ask you why you support the survivors. You have nothing to do with the Tutsi".

The youth, it would seem, are ready to change and more open to forgiveness and reconciliation. Adults are more resistant to forgiveness and to openness towards others.

Peace Activism (Healing Spaces)
Setting up a unity and reconciliation club/association/cooperative
A training/workshop aiming to solve conflicts
A debate aiming to solve conflicts
A radio/TV show aiming to teach people for peaceful conflict resolution
A a drama/song/theatre to talk about unit and reconciliation and conflict resolution
A religious related event/s aimed to peaceful resolve a conflict or promote unity and reconciliation or healing
A community work/Umuganda to solve a problem
A Juridical assistance
Supporting genocide survivor and or other vulnerable people
Assisting a ex- genocide perpetrators to pay back the properties damaged during Genocide
Genocide commemoration activities
Assisting a genocide survivor to reconcile with a genocide perpetrator
Planting a tree for peace
Advocacy to vulnerable people
Construction of house for vulnerable people

Table 11b– Community activism items included in the overall

	Index: Peace Activism (Healing Spaces)	Index: Peace Activism (Youth Groups)
Overall Index Score	**1,7**	**2,2**
Up to 20 yrs		1,8
21 to 37 yrs	1,5	2,4
38 to 54 yrs	1,9	
55 yrs +	1,6	
Male	2,0	2,6
Female	1,7	1,9
COM: Community Member	1,7	
SHY: Schooling Youth		2,0
NSY: Non-schooling Youth		2,3
C1 - Turuhurane (COM)	1,5	
E2 -- Humura (COM)	1,9	
D1 - G.S. Inyange (SHY)		1,9
F1 - Lycee de Kigali (SHY)		2,0
G1 - Ababibyi b'Amahoro (Seed of Peace) (SHY)		2,1
A1 - Abasangirangendo (NSY)		2,9
B1 - Twisungane (NSY)		0,9
E1 - World Mission (NSY)		3,0

Table 12 – Youth and Community Activism indices

Predicting Trust, Tolerance and Activism

Analysis through Structural Equation Modelling revealed a complex network of inter-relationships between the different dimensions being measured in the study (Figure 4). A key enabler of healing, as revealed through this model, is psychological resilience. Through psychological resilience, the impact of trauma, along with feelings of anxiety, anger, low self-esteem and guilt are all reduced. At the same time, psychological resilience makes it easier for participants to connect with other participants and trust the healing space, forgive perpetrators, and experience increased social tolerance.
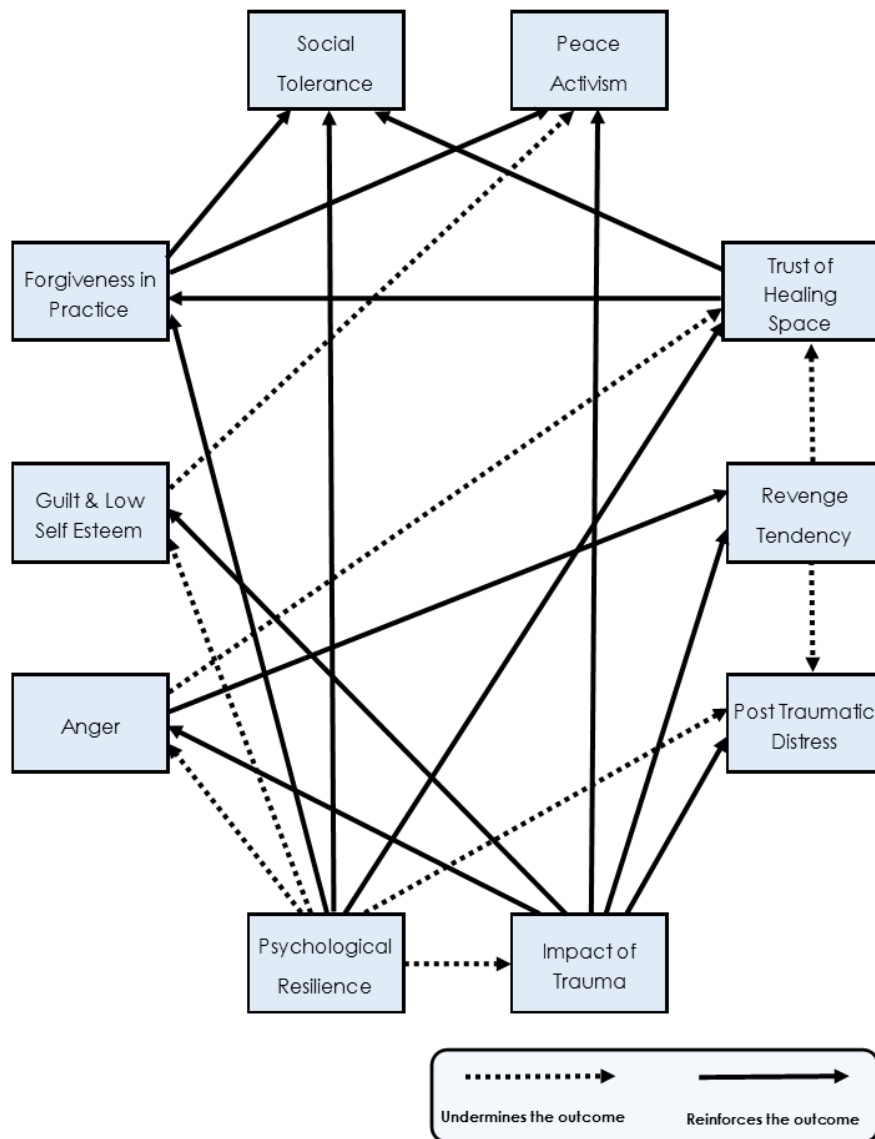

Figure 4 – Structural Equation Model predicting Trust, Tolerance and Activism

The model also reveals how individuals might be overcome by their trauma, and fail to be healed through the group intervention, especially when psychological resilience is absent. The memory of traumatic events can awaken symptoms of post traumatic distress, undermine self-esteem, evoke guilt and inflame anger – which in turn awakens the desire for revenge. Wishing to take revenge paradoxically provides a temporary sense of relief from traumatic distress, probably by experiencing a type of empowerment, while at the same time revenge undermines trust of the healing space. Essentially, taking revenge presents itself as a tempting alternative to going through a full healing process, which alleviates some of the feelings of anxiety and powerlessness, but does not address the underlying mistrust and social disconnection that the traumatized individual is suffering from.

The dynamics of achieving social tolerance are straightforward: Essentially, a cumulative positive cascade of building psychological resilience, learning to trust the healing space, becoming able to forgive, while gradually overcoming the anger, guilt, anxiety and low self-esteem linked to the trauma, ultimately leads to an expanding capacity for social proximity with different social groups.

In contrast the dynamics of increasing peace activism are not so clear-cut. On the one hand, building self-esteem, overcoming guilt and learning to forgive are positive enabling factors which lead to increased activism. On the other hand, high impact of trauma also predicts increased activism: It might be that traumatized individuals are attempting to manage and relieve their distress by engaging in memorialization and social support activities, such as genocide commemoration or supporting other genocide survivors. With this in mind, one might wonder to what extent levels of activism will change as a result of the healing process. Healing will lead to increased self-esteem, reflection, empathy and a capacity to forgive, which taken together would allow for increasingly responsible roles in the community. At the same time, individuals who are now using activism as a way to manage their psychological distress might no longer feel as compelled to do so, once they have been healed of their traumas. Thus, to the extent that levels of activism are determined on the basis of an individual's free decision, overall levels of activism might increase, be reduced or not change at all. What is more certain is that the quality and tenor of civic activism will improve as a result of the healing process, becoming less divisive and compulsive while opening up possibilities to serve bridging functions in a spirit of forgiveness and mutual respect.

Implications and Recommendations

It is important to keep in mind that the results presented here only reflect a baseline assessment of the healing and reconciliation process on which these groups have embarked on. Both the survey and focus groups represent a snapshot, taken at a specific moment in time, which cannot fully reveal the dynamics of change over time. A more complete picture can only be achieved through repeat collection of data, at regular intervals as the groups move forward, making it possible to analyse and understand trajectories of change as uniquely experienced by individual participants.
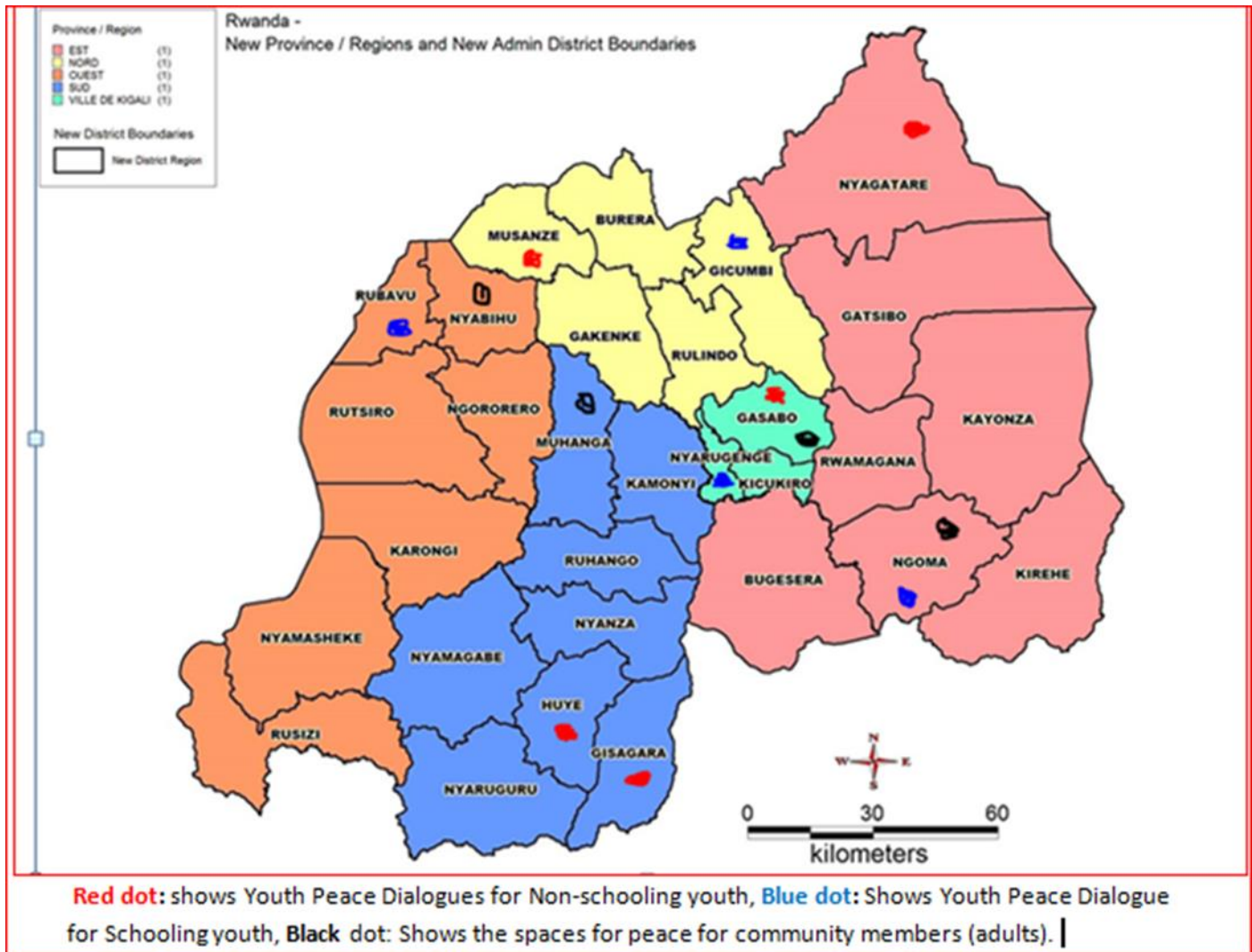
Having said that, there is still much insight that can be gleamed, even from this momentary snapshot into the experiences of trauma, trust and tolerance of participants in the eight groups that participated in this study. Take-away messages and recommendations include:

1. **Cultivate psychological resilience, especially amongst the groups most affected by traumatic events.** While some may think that resilience is an end result of the healing process, this study has in fact showed that psychological resilience is a prerequisite for traumatic experiences to be therapeutically addressed in the context of the group. Thankfully, a rich international literature is available on the subject of fostering psychological resilience, which the healing spaces could draw on. In a nutshell, a skills training approach could be adopted, utilizing existing training manuals to build, among other capacities: emotion regulation; impulse control; social skills; planning skills; empathy; and self-esteem. Resilience can also be nurtured through the interpersonal dynamics of a healing space, when for instance resilient participants serve as role models for the rest, or provide insight and advice on coping strategies that other participants can utilize. Resilience-building interventions should be prioritized in the two community-based groups, and also in the non-schooling youth groups, Abasangirangendo and Twisungane.

2. **Explore with group participants the role that feelings of revenge play in their lives.** Specifically, participants could be assisted to conduct a behavioural analysis of their feelings of revenge, aiming to understand the triggers of revenge (e.g. seeing a former perpetrator get out of prison, remembering loved ones who lost their lives), the actual cognitive and emotional correlates of revenge (e.g. wishing that something bad happens to a perpetrator, feeling angry) and the outcomes, both positive and negative, of desiring revenge (e.g. feeling upset, feeling isolated, experiencing relief). Such a behavioural analysis can set the stage for participants to re-assess what it is they are gaining and losing by nursing feelings of revenge, and discover alternative ways to meet their psychological needs. Revenge relieving activities should be prioritized in the two community groups, and also in the non-schooling groups Abasangirangendo and World Mission.

3. **Reduce the social pressure to engage in peace activism**; instead, and to the extent that peace activism is not formally mandated of citizens, legitimize all personal choices in this regard and encourage an understanding of the motives that underlie engagement in peace activism. This can be achieved through open discussions in the context of the groups, where participants who are more and less involved in activism can share their experiences, discuss the reasons for their choices, and evaluate the impact of their actions in society, whether in the context of peace activism or through their family and income-earning activities. This approach is appropriate for all healing spaced and youth groups.

4. **Focus on understanding, and eventually overcoming, the hostility and intolerance that most group participants experience towards former genocide perpetrators and their families.** To this end, it might be helpful to make space in the groups for the minority voice of perpetrators and their relatives to also be expressed, so that empathy can be cultivated for the social stigma, imprisonment and debt burden that their communities have been experiencing. This activity is suitable for all healing spaces and youth groups.

5. **Create safe individual or small group spaces where victims of sexual violence can receive support for their trauma**, without being required to explore these issues in the context of a large heterogeneous group. The study has shown that only about one in six participants has been the victim of sexual violence. However, the ratio goes up to about one in three in the groups with a high concentration of such experiences, namely Twisungane, Turuhurane and Humura. For these groups, it might be appropriate to form homogeneous subgroups where the approximately 8 to 10 victims of sexual violence in each healing space can specifically discuss the impact that sexual violence has had on their lives, under the supervision and facilitation of qualified and experienced mental health workers. For the remaining groups, which only have 1 to 2 victims of sexual violence each, individual support would be a more appropriate strategy.

6. **Build inter-generational bridges to bring closer together the pre-genocide with the post-genocide generation.** While quality of relations with parents was not explicitly assessed in the baseline survey, several focus group participants talked of the difficulty in reaching out to their parents or other older people who seem preoccupied with their psychological traumas. At the same time, older people could benefit and learn from the increased psychological flexibility, tolerance and resilience of the younger generation. One way this could be achieved in the context of the existing healing spaces and youth groups is to organize special events where the 'other' generation would also be invited for discussions. In the case of community healing spaces, this would involve participants bringing in their children to specific meetings; while in the case of youth groups it would involve participants bringing their parents to meetings. This activity is also suitable for all healing spaces and youth groups.

Appendices

Appendix I: Map of Healing Spaces & Youth Groups

Red dot: shows Youth Peace Dialogues for Non-schooling youth, **Blue dot:** Shows Youth Peace Dialogue for Schooling youth, **Black** dot: Shows the spaces for peace for community members (adults).

Appendix II: Factor Analyses & Factor Scores

Pattern Matrix[a]

	Factor			
	Victim of Violence	Victim of Property Crimes	Exposure to Violence Against Others	Victimization in the Community
10. Torture (gukorerwa Iyicarubozo)	,829			
18. Permanent disability (Ubumuga bwaburundu)	,578			
3. Being victim of Physical assault (Gukomeretswa /gukubitwa bibabaza umubiri)	,545			
9. Sexual violence by someone outside of your family (Gusambanywa kugahato /gufatwa kungufu n' umuntu utari uwo mumuryango wanyu)	,358			
5. Destruction/vandalization of house (Kugusenyera inzu)		,891		
6. Destruction/vandalization of crops (Kukurandurira imyaka)		,701		
12. Eviction from land/house (kwirukanwa burundu ku butaka cyangwa mu inzu yawe)		,510		
17. Have learned of extreme violence suffered by a close relative or his/her death (Kuba warabonye ihohoterwa rikomeye cg urupfu rw' umuvandimwe wawe wahafi			,837	
16. Witnessing violence or the death of someone, Witnessed atrocities, e.g. mass killings mutilated bodies (Kuba warabonye urupfu rw' umuntu, ubwicanyi bukorewe abantu benshi)			,605	
4. Forced to do things you do not want to do (Guhatirwa kungufu gukora icyo wowe udashaka)				,432
14. False imprisonment (Gufungwa binyuranije n' amategeko/uzira ubusa)				,431
13. Lack of adequate justice (kubura ubutabera)				,395
2. Experiencing Maltreatment by other people in the community (i.e. school, work, neighbors, leader etc.)(gufatwa nabi nundi muntu mu gace utuyemo (ku ishuri, mu kazi , abaturanyi, umuyobozi, n' abandi)				,299

Extraction Method: Maximum Likelihood.
Rotation Method: Promax with Kaiser Normalization. [a]

a. Rotation converged in 6 iterations.

Pattern Matrix^a

	Factor		
	Post Traumatic Distress	Poor Self Esteem & Guilt	Anger
2. I have really bad memories or dreams (Ibintu bibi byambayeho bikunze kungaruruka cyane mu mutwe cyangwa inzozi kubintu bibi zikaba zimbaho kenshi)	.993		
1. I worry a lot about bad things that could happen (Numva mfite ubwoba bwinshi bw' ibintu bibi bishobora kubaho)	.847		
3. I feel depressed or very sad (Numva nuzuye umubabaro cyangwa nkumva ntishimye)	.822		
14. Experienced Avoidance (Ujya wumva haribyo wirinda kuba watekerezaho ngo utarushaho gukomereka)	.780		
10. I feel like I am ready to explode due to grief (Njya numva meze nkugiye gusandara kubera ibikomere)	.779		
13. Experiencing Anxiety (Guhorana agahinda)	.768		
15. Experienced Somatic illness (Kubura ibitotsi)	.703		
12. I lack peace in my heart (Mbanumva ntamahoro mfite mumutima)	.699		
17. Experienced isolation/ restruction of relationship (Kumva uri wenyine/ukiheza mubandi	.629		
16. Experienced constant headaches (Umutwe udakira uhoraho)	.626		
5. I feel worthless (Mba numva ntacyo maze)		.789	
4. I think about death or suicide (Bimbaho gutekereza ku rupfu Ntekereza urupfu cyangwa se kwiyahura)		.662	
11. I feel that my life is unfair compared to the lives of others around me (Mbanumva ubuzima bwanjye ntakigenda iyo mbugereranyije n' ubwabandi)	.370	.501	
6. I feel bad about things that I have done (Mpora ntekereza kandi mbabajwe nibintu bibi nigeze gukora)		.460	
7. I become so mad that I may break things(Harigihe ndakara nkumva namenagura ibintu)			.798
8. I become so mad that I may hit people (Harigihe ndakara cyane nkumva nakubita umuntu)			.677
9. I have trouble controlling my temper (Sinjya nshobora kwihanganira uburakari bwanjye iyo buje)			.572

Extraction Method: Maximum Likelihood.
Rotation Method: Promax with Kaiser Normalization.^a

a. Rotation converged in 5 iterations.

Pattern Matrix[a]

	Factor	
	Forgiveness Trait	Forgiveness Philosophy
2. If happened, I feel that I can forgive someone who raped me/my relatives (Numva nababarira uwamfashe kungufu cyangwa agafata kungufu umuvandimwe wanjye, biramutse bibabye/cyangwa byarabaye)	,880	
4. If happened, I feel that I can forgive someone who poisoned my child/relative (Numva nababarira uwandogera umwana/umuvandimwe biramutse bibaye cg byarabayeho)	,877	
7. If happened , I feel I can forgive someone who did other bad things to me or to my family (Numva nababarira umuntu wese wankorera ikintu kibi icyo ari cyo cyose, biramutse bibayeho)	,805	
1. If happened, I feel that I can forgive someone who killed my parents/children/ relatives (Numva nababarira uwanyiciye ababyeyi/ abana/ abavandimwe, biramutse bibaye cg byarabaye)	,784	
5. If happened, I feel that I can forgive someone who make my child pregnant before the adult age (Numva nababarira uwanterera inda umwana utarageza kumyaka yubukure biramutse bibaye cg byarabayeho)	,764	
3. If happened, I feel that I can forgive someone who destroyed my properties (Numva nababarira uwanyagiriza umutungo, biramutse bibaye cg byarabayeho)	,659	
10. Without forgiveness a conflict can never be resolved (Hatabayeho kubabarira, amakimbirane ntashobora gukemuka nagato)		,838
8. The only way to overcome a bad event or situation is to let go of the past and forgive your offender. (Uburyo bwiza bwo kwikura mubibazo/ibikomere, ni ukwirengagiza ibyabaye hanyuma ukababarira uwaguhemukiye)		,815
9. It is ok to forgive someone who hurt you, even if they don't repent for their action Nibyiza kubabarira uwaguhemukiye kabone niyo ataba yagusabye imbabazi kubyo yagukoreye bibi)		,624

Extraction Method: Maximum Likelihood.
Rotation Method: Promax with Kaiser Normalization.[a]

a. Rotation converged in 3 iterations.

Pattern Matrix[a]

	Factor			
	Readiness for social interaction	Readiness for personal sharing	Readiness for trauma expression	Readiness for daily life partnerships
1.13. Inviting someone from this group to a wedding or family celebration (Gutumira umuntu mubagize iri tsinda nko mubukwe cg ibindi birori	,984			
1.14. Attending the wedding, burial or family celebration of someone from this group (Kujya mubukwe, gushyingura cg ibirori bindi by' umuntu mubagize itsinda	,934			
1.17. Voting for someone in this group if they were running for office (Gutora umuntu ugize itsinda mugihe hari umwanya utorerwa)	,753			
2.7. Attending a wedding of a member of this group(Kwitabira ubukwe bw' umwe mubagize itsinda)	,692			
1.8. Joining an Ikimina saving group with other in this group (Kujya mu ikimina hamwe nabagize iri tsinda)	,598			
1.10. Playing game together with someone from this group (football/basketball, etc) (Gukina imikino n' abantu bagize iri tsinda)	,499			
1.1. Listening to the testimonies of someone in this group one on one (Kumva ubuhamya k' ubuzima umuntu runaka yaciyemo muri babiri)		,831		
1.2. Speaking to someone in this group about your experiences one on one (kuganiriza umuntu kubyerekeye ubuzima bwawe nibyo waciyemo muri babiri)		,801		
1.4. Listening to the testimonies of others in front the group (Kumva ubuhamya k' ubuzima bwabagize itsinda mugihe butangiwe mu itsinda)		,793		
1.3. Discussing sensitive topics (like Genocide, commemoration, GBV,etc (Kuganira mw' itsinda ku nsanganyamatsiko zerekeye: Jenoside, kwibuka, Gufatwa kungufu, nizindi zishobora gutera ihungabana		,790		
1.5. Sharing your personal wounds with others in front of the group (Gutanga ubuhamya bwerekeye ubuzima bwawe n' ibikomere wahuye nabyo uri imbere y' abagize itsinda)		,621		
2.4 Expressing your trauma/wounds through story telling/discussions (Kugaragaza ibikomere byawe ubinyujije mukubara inkuru/mubiganiro)			,834	
2.3. Expressing your trauma or deep wounds through other arts (painting, drawing), writing (Kugaragaza ibikomere byawe /ihungabana ubicishije mubugeni, mu nyandiko, Gusiga amarangi, gushyushanya,			,765	
2.1. Expressing your trauma or deep wounds through theatre and drama (Kugaragaza ibikomere byawe /ihungabana ubicishije nko mu makinamico ndetse n' imyidagaduro)			,690	
2.5. Openly discussing your trauma or deep wounds (Kuganira kumugaragaro kubijyanye n' ibikomere/ihungabana ryawe)			,567	
2.6. Participating in collective work in the community to raise awareness about trauma and deep wounds (Kwitabira igikorwa rusange mugace utuyemo kigamije kugaragaza ibikomere ndetse n' ihungabana			,472	
1.12. Accept matrimonial alliances with someone in this group (Kuvanga umutungo numwe mubagize itsinda)				1,053
1.11. Marrying someone in this group (Gushyingiranwa n' umwe mubagize itsinda)				,898
1.16. Letting members of the group make important decisions on my behalf (Kureka abo muri iri tsinda bakagufatira icyemezo kubintu byingenzi kuri wowe)				,463
1.15. Leaving your child / sibling with others in this group (Gusigira umwana/ umuvandimwe wawe urwaye umuntu uwo ari we wese uri muri iri tsinda)				,427

Extraction Method: Maximum Likelihood.
Rotation Method: Promax with Kaiser Normalization. [a]

a. Rotation converged in 6 iterations.

Pattern Matrix[a]

	Factor				
	SP to inflowing populations	SP to genocide perpetrators	SP to genocide survivors	SP to social ingroup	SP to disadvantaged
15. Social Proximity to old case returnees (refugees of 1959)	.981				
16. Social Proximity to new case returnees (refugees of 1994)	.725				
5. Social Proximity to People from another country	.661				
19. Social Proximity to refugees from neighbouring countries	.490				.357
13. Social Proximity to ex-prisoners accused of genocide crimes		1.048			
14. Social Proximity to family members of people involved in genocide crimes		.739			
12. Social Proximity to Family Members of Genocide Survivors			1.019		
11. Social Proximity to Genocide Survivors			.857		
2. Social Proximity to Close Friends				1.064	
3. Social Proximity to Neighbors				.484	
6. Social Proximity to People from your religion affiliation				.478	
20. Social Proximity to people from poor families					.954
23. Social Proximity to people with disabilities					.853

Extraction Method: Maximum Likelihood.
Rotation Method: Promax with Kaiser Normalization.[a]

a. Rotation converged in 6 iterations.
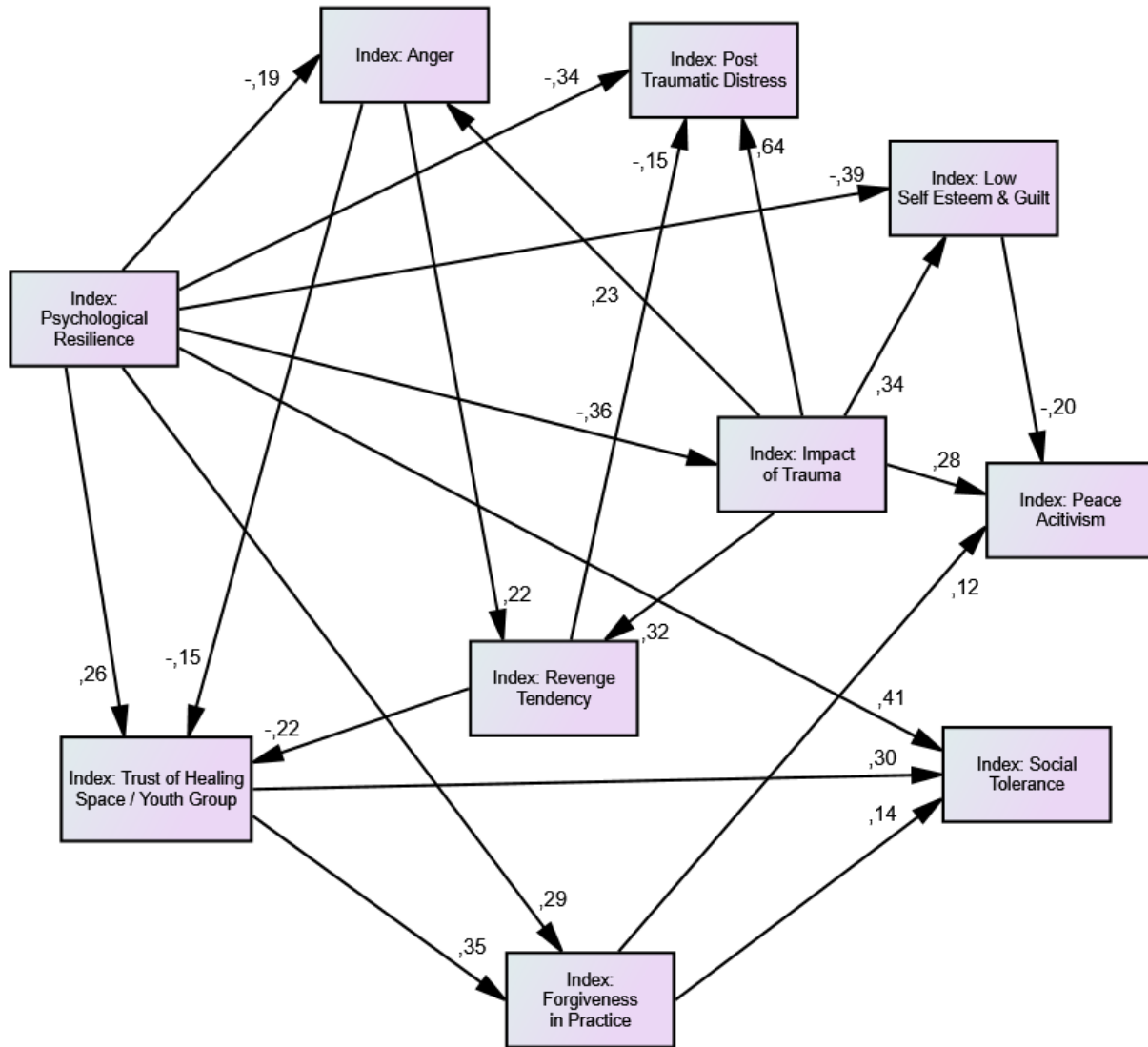
Model Fit Statistics: CMIN=25.5, DF=21, CFI=0.995, RMSEA=0.030, SRMR=0.029

Appendix IV: Summary of Baseline Indicators

	Index: Impact of Trauma	Index: Trust of Healing Space / Youth Group	Index: Social Tolerance
Overall Index Score	**3,1**	**4,7**	**5,9**
Up to 20 yrs	1,3	5,2	6,1
21 to 37 yrs	3,2	4,5	5,9
38 to 54 yrs	5,3	4,4	5,6
55 yrs +	5,4	4,6	5,7
Male (Community / Youth)	2,9 (5,1 / 2,7)	4,8 (4,1 / 4,9)	6,4 (5,9 / 6,4)
Female (Community / Youth)	3,2 (5,2 / 2,2)	4,7 (4,2 / 4,9)	5,8 (5,5 / 5,9)
COM: Community Member	5,2	4,2	5,5
SHY: Schooling Youth	1,9	5,5	6,4
NSY: Non-schooling Youth	2,7	4,3	5,8
C1 - Turuhurane (COM)	4,8	4,0	5,2
E2 -- Humura (COM)	5,6	4,4	5,8
D1 - G.S. Inyange (SHY)	1,3	4,6	6,1
F1 - Lycee de Kigali (SHY)	1,0	6,1	6,6
G1 - Ababibyi b'Amahoro (Seed of Peace) (SHY)	3,6	6,0	6,4
A1 - Abasangirangendo (NSY)	3,0	3,5	5,2
B1 - Twisungane (NSY)	2,2	5,2	6,0
E1 - World Mission (NSY)	2,9	4,4	6,1

Baseline indicators for trauma, trust and tolerance, disaggregated by age, gender and district

	Healing Spaces: % that set up independent initiative to solve conflict or implement community development	Youth Groups: % that facilitated conflict resolution in community or school	Youth Groups: % that started activity related to peace & reconciliation in community or school
Overall Percent	**63%**	**66%**	**42%**
Up to 20 yrs		66%	34%
21 to 37 yrs	40%	65%	48%
38 to 54 yrs	84%		
55 yrs +	52%		
Male	60%	82%	56%
Female	63%	56%	35%
C1 - Turuhurane (COM)	59%		
E2 -- Humura (COM)	66%		
D1 - G.S. Inyange (SHY)		65%	23%
F1 - Lycee de Kigali (SHY)		71%	50%
G1 - Ababibyi b'Amahoro (Seed of Peace) (SHY)		70%	63%
A1 - Abasangirangendo (NSY)		72%	59%
B1 - Twisungane (NSY)		23%	8%
E1 - World Mission (NSY)		89%	48%

Baseline indicators for initiatives undertaken by healing space and youth group participants

Appendix V: Methodology to calculate indicator targets

To calculate targets for improvements in the baseline indicators, over the next 12 months, the 'effect size' method will be utilized. The effect size is used widely in the social and biomedical sciences to evaluate the impact of interventions, medications, etc.

To estimate the effect size, one must first calculate the mean and standard deviation of the index to be assessed. In the case of the trauma, trust and tolerance indices, the relevant means and standard deviations, also disaggregated by type of group and gender, are shown below:

Type of Participant			Index: Impact of Trauma	Index: Trust of Healing Space / Youth Group	Index: Social Tolerance
Community	Male	Mean	5,1	4,1	5,9
		Std. Deviation	1,4	1,2	1,2
	Female	Mean	5,2	4,2	5,5
		Std. Deviation	1,6	2,2	1,3
	Total	Mean	5,2	4,2	5,5
		Std. Deviation	1,5	2,1	1,3
Youth	Male	Mean	2,7	4,9	6,4
		Std. Deviation	1,8	2,4	1,3
	Female	Mean	2,1	4,9	5,9
		Std. Deviation	1,6	2,2	1,6
	Total	Mean	2,3	4,9	6,1
		Std. Deviation	1,7	2,2	1,5
Total	Male	Mean	2,9	4,8	6,4
		Std. Deviation	1,9	2,3	1,3
	Female	Mean	3,2	4,7	5,8
		Std. Deviation	2,2	2,2	1,5
	Total	Mean	3,1	4,7	5,9
		Std. Deviation	2,1	2,2	1,5

With these statistics at hand, we can denote a small effect size as a change of 0.2 standard deviations; a moderate effect size as a change of 0.5 standard deviations; and a large effect size as a change of 0.8 standard deviations. Effect sizes greater than 1.0 are typically described in the scientific literature as 'huge'.

Regarding our three indicators, one would expect the intervention to lead to change of small effect size on trauma *(the memories will still be there but they will hurt slightly less)*, a large effect size on trust *(the relations between members of the groups will improve a lot as they get to know each other and experience healing)*, and a moderate effect size on tolerance *(social habits outside the group are harder to change, but we expect a substantial spill-over effect)*.

If we apply these calculations to the total index scores above, as an example, we expect the following changes:

Trauma: Current score = 3.1

Small effect size change = 0.2 * standard deviation = 0.2 * 2.1 = approx. 0.4

Trauma: Expected score after 12 months = 2.7

Trust: Current score = 4.7

Large effect size change = 0.8 * standard deviation = 0.8 * 2.2 = approx. 1.8

Trust: Expected score after 12 months = 6.5

Tolerance: Current score = 5.9

Moderate effect size change = 0.5 * standard deviation = 0.5 * 1.5 = approx. 0.8

Tolerance: Expected score after 12 months = 6.7

The above is just an illustration of the approach, as the actual trauma, trust and tolerance targets will be set on the disaggregated statistics, i.e. separately for each gender and for each type of group. Similar principles will be utilized to calculate targets for peace activism initiatives