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Is Outgroup Prejudice Passed Down Generationally in Rwanda After the 1994 Genocide Against the Tutsi?

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Family members who witnessed the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi arguably shape their children's narratives of the events and subsequent formation of outgroup prejudice. An understanding of whether vestiges of the genocide are transmitted to future generations informs ongoing peacebuilding efforts. We, therefore, examined the relationship between child and guardian attitudes toward one's outgroup among households of survivors or génocidaires and investigated whether this relationship was potentially affected by social interactions with members of outgroups (survivors or génocidaires) outside the family. We interviewed 588 members of survivor (153 guardian-child dyads) and génocidaire (141 guardian-child dyads) households in the Muhanga district of Rwanda to investigate whether children, 12–18 years old, conveyed their parents' outgroup prejudice after parents participated in a local peace intervention compared to when children participated in similar programming for youth. Structural equation modeling (SEM) results indicated that survivors' and génocidaires' outgroup prejudice did not influence their children's formation of these beliefs. Nor did children affect their guardians in this regard. However, other factors influenced children's beliefs in both households. In survivor households, children who endorsed more positive attitudes toward génocidaires reported stronger family relationships and more frequent interaction with génocidaires after adjusting for child age and gender, and guardian's gender. In génocidaire households, children's positive beliefs about survivors were influenced by more interactions with survivors *and* living with a guardian who participated in peace interventions. Rather than being passively shaped by their guardians' experiences, our results suggested that a new generation of viewpoints was being formed by relationships within and outside the family.

Public Significance Statement

The children of survivors and génocidaires who directly experienced the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda do not share their parents' perceptions of people from outgroups—that is those who perpetrated harm or those victimized by it during the genocide. However, children's regard of outgroups in both households was influenced more by the quality of family relationships and the frequency of their interactions with members of their outgroup.

Keywords: prejudice, children, Rwanda, genocide, families

How does a generation collectively *remember* a genocide that they have not directly experienced and safeguard against its reoccurrence? As of 2018, 61% of Rwandans were under the

age of 24 years (Index Mundi, 2018) and a new generation emerged without a lived memory of the genocide. Family members who witnessed the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi arguably shape their children's emerging narratives of the events and subsequent formation of intergroup prejudice and bias. An understanding of whether vestiges of the genocide can be transmitted to future generations bears much relevance to the postgenocide peacebuilding process.

Allport's (1954) seminal work on how children are socialized in their families to adopt parental attitudes toward members of other ethnic groups has sparked considerable interest in the intergenerational transmission of prejudicial motivations in postconflict settings. Prior studies have found that parents' implicit negative attitudes and behavior influence their children's formation of prejudice toward immigrants and ethnic minorities in Europe

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and Central America (Pirchio et al., 2018) after accounting for the effects of parenting style, child gender, and age (Rodríguez-García & Wagner, 2009). A well-referenced meta-analysis of 131 studies of parental dyads (mainly in Western industrialized countries) indicated small-to-moderate average effect sizes (0.29–0.38) for the correlation between parent and child intergroup attitudes—which “unequivocally demonstrate that parent-child attitudes are related throughout childhood and adolescence” (p. 1270; Degner & Dalege, 2013).

Children and adolescents arguably adapt their parents' attitudes and beliefs toward outgroups (Bar-Tal et al., 2017; Cernat, 2016; Meeusen & Dhont, 2015). However, similarities in ideology have also been shaped by the quality of parent-child relationships (Sinclair et al., 2005; White & Gleitzman, 2006), age of the child (Vollebergh et al., 2001), and personal interactions with outgroups (Vezzali et al., 2017). Schönplflug (2001) described social pathways through which children learned cultural and social values from their parents as “transmission belts” (p. 184). The author emphasized that transmission belts were diverse and interwoven with each other by culture, family characteristics, and the child's developmental stage. Previous studies, for example, have suggested that adolescence is a particularly critical period for identity and values to develop (Vollebergh et al., 2001), but noted that as children grow more autonomous and experience other influences such as peers or the media, parental influence may decrease (Schönplflug, 2001). This is particularly relevant in postconflict settings where civic and peer norms shape the characterization of groups and how they are perceived and treated (Pehar et al., 2020; Tankard & Paluck, 2016).

The similarity between parent and child intergroup attitudes does not presume a unidirectional influence (Bell, 1968). However, results from studies examining the potential reciprocity of parent-child socialization of intergroup attitudes have been inconsistent. Rodríguez-García and Wagner's (2009) finding supported a unidirectional model of prejudice transmission from parent to child in Costa Rica. Bidirectional effects were found by Vollebergh et al. (2001), but the child's influence on the parent was significantly weaker than the parent's influence on the child. De Mol and Buysse (2008) conducted a qualitative examination of Belgian-Flemish families' cultural perspective on child influence on parents, in which parents reported child influence as a way of learning from their child and showing love and respect in their relationship. Therefore, bidirectionality may also vary based on parenting beliefs and practices as well as cultural expressions of affection and respect. Furthermore, age appears to complicate bidirectionality, as Vollebergh et al. (2001) also noted that parental influence decreases in young adulthood. An analysis of data from three generations of parent-child dyads in the U.S. however found that although parent-child similarity was consistent across the lifespan, child influences on parents' political and religious ideologies were stronger in early adulthood (Glass et al., 1986). Other factors, such as family social status and child education also appear to complicate bidirectional parent-child transmission (Vollebergh et al., 2001), indicating that while bidirectionality may be present in parent-child relationships, other factors also play key roles in value transmission.

Transgenerational Impact of the 1994 Genocide

Despite Rwanda's remarkable 26-year journey to “remember, unite, and renew” following the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, the fear of perpetuating cycles of conflict in future generations persists. Research suggesting that young Rwandans struggle to navigate sociocultural expectations for adulthood (Sommers, 2012), coupled with findings of pervasive ethno-gendered categories and stereotypes among young Rwandans (Hilker, 2009, 2014) highlight a troubling reminiscence of the pregenocide period. Furthermore, studies showing that parent-child similarities in political ideologies (Hatemi et al., 2009) and perceived outgroup threat and prejudice (Cernat, 2016; Pirchio et al., 2018) pose a haunting question of relevance in Rwanda—are strains of genocide ideology transmitted across generations in families? Several studies have found convergence of parental and child attitudes about local justice and reconciliation for both survivor and génocidaire¹ households (Rieder, 2014). Although parents transmit their lived experiences and memories of the genocide to their children both directly (e.g., conversations or deliberate silence about the parents' experiences and views of the genocide) and indirectly (e.g., economic shocks and compromised parenting) they do not necessarily beget further violence (Berckmoes et al., 2017). There has been no empirical evidence to our knowledge of parent-child socialization of intergroup attitudes in Rwanda and how similarities in parent-child attitudes may differ in survivor and génocidaire households. Moreover, we know much less about how children are socialized when their exposure to outgroup narratives diverges from their parental experiences. This is of timely relevance given state and local initiatives aimed to construct a new narrative of shared national identity and to promote positive intergroup relations (Kang et al., 2020). It remains unclear how these postconflict recovery and peacebuilding programs potentially reify or call into question ideas that are propagated between parents and their children within households (Taka, 2020).

Peacebuilding Interventions

Child and adolescent interventions aimed to improve intergroup relations and reduce prejudice in the U.S. and Europe have largely focused on promoting perspective taking (social-cognitive development), increasing knowledge about social outgroups (social learning theory), and facilitating meaningful interactions between groups (intergroup contact hypothesis)—with evidence of low-to-moderate effectiveness based on a meta-analysis of 81 studies (effect size of $d = 0.30$; Beelmann & Heinemann, 2014). Similarly, school-based peacebuilding programs in Liberia (Quaynor, 2015), Uganda (Ager et al., 2011), and Northern Ireland (Stringer et al., 2010) underscored the importance of open and critical discussions about

¹ In this article, the term “survivors” refers largely to Tutsis who were victims of or witnessed violence and killings during the genocide between April and June 2014. “Génocidaire” is broadly defined as one who committed a genocidal act in 1994 and is not a legal term suggesting that a person was prosecuted for genocide related crimes (Corey & Joireman, 2004). The authors are cautious to not interchangeably identify survivors with Tutsis nor génocidaires with Hutus, but rather to acknowledge the intentional killings of Tutsi household members during the genocide in 1994 and to recognize moderate Hutus who refused to participate in killings, actively protected Tutsis, or shared Tutsi heritage (Baldwin, 2019).

historical conflict, and promoting agency and personal security with primary school students. The application of these approaches in Rwanda holds promise as a crucial catalyst from which to build more sustained structural interventions and reforms. Formal education systems in Rwanda, for example, have played dual roles in legitimizing conflict under Belgium colonization (Walker-Keleher, 2006) and preventing postgenocide violence (Taka, 2020). In the aftermath of the genocide, for example, education reform legislated against any form of discrimination or ethnic identification for students and teachers and prioritized civic values and social cohesion. The extent to which formal education shaped intergroup perceptions and behavior among children is important to consider when we seek to understand how children are socialized about ethnic conflict by their guardians.

Taken together, these findings suggest that in addition to being socialized by peers and the community-at-large, children and adolescents arguably adopt their guardian's attitudes and beliefs toward outgroups, especially at younger ages. The extent to which children influence their guardians' attitudes in turn also remains unclear. To address this, we empirically investigated the relationship between guardian and child attitudes toward the outgroup among a convenience sample of guardian-child dyads in survivor and génocidaire households in Rwanda. To further understand whether social interactions with outgroups outside the family potentially affected the mutual influences of guardians and children on each other, we compared dyads in households where only the guardians participated in a local peace intervention called Cows for Peace (CFP), with dyads in households where only the children participated in Peace Education, a school-based peace intervention. In line with this aim, we hypothesized the following:

Hypothesis 1a: Guardian beliefs about outgroups and the genocide will influence their children's formation of these beliefs in both survivor and génocidaire households (unidirectional influence) after adjusting for child age and gender, guardian gender, and family relations (see Table 3, for specific measures used to assess outgroup beliefs for all stated hypotheses).

Hypothesis 1b: This unidirectional guardian-child influence will be significant for children who have not formally participated in a child peace intervention (moderator₁) and have had fewer informal outgroup interactions outside the family (moderator₂).

Hypothesis 2: Children's beliefs about outgroups will not influence their guardians' formation of these beliefs in survivor and génocidaire household (bidirectional influence) regardless of the guardian's participation in an adult peace intervention (moderator₁) or outgroup interactions outside the family (moderator₂).

Results from this study will help us better understand how children acquire intergroup attitudes from their parents and how programming in postconflict Rwanda can be tailored to address select pathways of parental socialization of childhood prejudice toward outgroups.

Method

Participants and Procedure

Guardians and children from survivor and génocidaire households who participated in one of two local peace-intervention programs were recruited by convenience from Kamonyi and Ruhango—two sectors in the Muhanga district between July and December of 2019. These districts were selected based on our local collaborators' continued work with survivors and génocidaires in these regions for the past 15 years. The first program from which we drew our sample, CFP, was a local intervention developed in 2012 that applied principles of contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954) to promote sustained reconciliation between adult génocidaires and the survivors whom they had directly harmed during the 1994 genocide (Kang et al., 2020). The sampling technique was described in Kang et al. (2020). Briefly, our research team met with sector leaders (elected officials) to assess the need and introduce the rationale and logistics of implementing our local intervention. After agreeing on the potential benefits of the proposed program, the leaders submitted the names and contact information of residents in their respective sectors who had been directly affected by the 1994 genocide.² CFP implemented three programmatic activities: (a) 3-day workshops focused on requisite personal and relational changes for interacting with the outgroup; (b) self-led group gatherings of génocidaire-survivor dyads who completed the workshops, hosted at local residential areas; and (c) cooperative cow raising between select génocidaires and survivors in each group. We also recruited from a second program, Rwandan Peace Education Program (RPEP), a school-based intervention developed in 2015 to educate 9th- through 12th-grade students on the historical context of the genocide and to equip them with conflict resolution skills, critical thinking that challenged negative perceptions of outgroups, empathy, and action to build a more peaceful society. High schools were selected from the Muhanga district with the aim of integrating child and adult (CFP) programming. Only students voluntarily participated in Peace Clubs—their guardians did not. Similar to CFP, this program fostered peer interactions between students from survivor and génocidaire households through community and school debates, dialogue clubs, visits to genocide memorial sites, and team sports competitions (de Dieu Basabose, 2015).

We recruited two groups of guardian-child dyads from survivor and génocidaire households—guardian-focused (CFP) and child-focused intervention groups (Rwanda Peace Education Program)—to determine how social influences outside the family, such as these programs, might affect the directionality of guardian-child influences. The guardian-focused intervention group was comprised of survivors and génocidaires who participated in CFP and their children (12–18 years old) who were not involved in any local peace programs. The child-focused intervention group included dyads with children in survivor and génocidaire households who participated Peace Education and their guardians who were not involved in any local peace programs.

² Given the communal fabric of Rwanda society and the Gacaca court hearings, the identities of survivors and their direct offenders are publicly known. Moreover, our partnering organization in Rwanda is a reputable and respected agency whose work has garnered the trust of local leaders since 2004.

Five Rwandan interviewers who were directly affected by the genocide (three women and two men) were trained to conduct 60- to 90-min individual interviews in Kinyarwanda in participants' homes and schools. The interviewers were selected and trained by experienced staff who have been involved in two previous studies that our team has conducted in Rwanda. Given the historically sensitive nature of the questions, two local team leaders (CM and GM) were available during the field visits to provide consultation in the event that participants were distressed. Ezer kang; EK (a clinical psychologist) also conducted weekly debriefing sessions with the local team to discuss challenges and concerns encountered during the interviews. No critical incidents were reported for this study.

Validated instruments from published studies were translated from English to Kinyarwanda by a translator and back translated to English by a second independent translator. Participants were informed before the interview that they would be asked about their experiences of the genocide and that they could forgo answering any questions or discontinue the interview if they felt uncomfortable. No incentive was provided to study participants. Informed consent and child assent were obtained. Interviewers used handheld mobile devices to administer interviews. An open-source online data collection system in KoBoToolbox (<http://www.kobotoolbox.org>) was used to record participant responses which were temporarily saved on each device and synchronized with a cloud server once a connection to the internet was reestablished in the research office. The Institutional Review Boards at the Principal Investigator's current (Howard University, IRB-19-CAS-19) and former (Wheaton College, IL, IRB-1398453-3) institutions approved this study.

Measures

Based on previous findings (Kang et al., 2020; Schaal et al., 2012; Scull et al., 2016) and the extensive fieldwork of our community partner we selected the following measures of how survivors and génocidaires were impacted by the genocide, and their attitudes, beliefs, and attitudes toward members of one's outgroup (i.e., génocidaires were the referenced outgroup for survivors and survivors were the referenced outgroup for génocidaires).

Traumatic Stress

Guardians (survivors and génocidaires) rated how often they experienced 10 symptoms of posttraumatic stress disorder as indicated in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, 4th Edition (American Psychiatric Association, 1994) on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = *Never* to 5 = *Very often*. Symptoms included trauma-related recurrent automatic thoughts, dreams, flashbacks, pain, sleeplessness, irritability/anger burst, difficulties in concentrating, awareness of danger, and exaggerated startle reflex. A Kinyarwanda translation of this instrument (Rimé et al., 2011) was used in our earlier study in Rwanda (Kang et al., 2016). Total scores ranged from 10 to 50 with higher values indicating more traumatic stress symptoms. Cronbach's α for guardians in survivor and génocidaire households was 0.85.

Readiness to Reconcile

Based on a measure that assessed for reconciliation and forgiveness among survivors of the 1994 genocide (Staub et al., 2005), a

15-item survey used in our previous studies in Rwanda was administered to guardians and children in survivor households. Participants ranked their agreement with statements such as "each group has harmed the other"; "not all Hutu participated in the genocide"; and "I can forgive members of the other group who acknowledge the harm their group did" on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 0 = *Strongly Agreed* to 4 = *Strongly Disagreed*. Total scores ranging from 0 to 60 were calculated with higher scores indicating more readiness to reconcile. Cronbach's α for guardians and children in survivor households were 0.80 and 0.64, respectively. In génocidaire households, the Cronbach's α for guardians and children were 0.72 and 0.65, respectively.

Outgroup Negative Stereotypes

A questionnaire from Rimé et al. (2011) study of outgroup perceptions among victims and génocidaires after the gacaca trials was adapted to measure stereotypes. All guardians and children rated how much each of 22 stereotypes described their perceptions of génocidaires on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 0 = *Unsure* to 4 = *Very characteristic*. Using principal component analysis (PCA) to confirm "positive" and "negative" characteristics, a negative stereotype index was created based on three items for guardians—malevolent, lack of affection for humans, and savage for guardians (see Kang et al., 2016, for scoring details). Children responded to three comparable negative outgroup stereotype items: like to argue and fight, trouble maker, and mean to other kids. Total scores ranged from 0 to 12 with higher scores indicating more negative characterization of outgroup. Cronbach's α for guardians and children in survivor households were 0.77 and 0.67, respectively. In génocidaire households, the Cronbach's α for guardians and children were 0.74 and 0.77, respectively.

Perceived Social Norms of Outgroup

Beliefs and perceived social norms concerning interactions and relationships with génocidaires were assessed by a five-item scale adapted from Paluck's (2009) study examining the role of mass media in shaping prejudiced beliefs in Rwanda. Based on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = *Strongly disagree* to 4 = *Strongly agree*, all guardians and children in survivor households rated their agreement with perceived descriptive and prescriptive norms of génocidaires (e.g., "there is mistrust in my community"; "I advise my children [or the ones I will have in the future] that they should only marry people from the same regional, religious or ethnic group as our own"). Total scores ranging from 6 to 24 were calculated with scores reversed such that higher sum scores indicated more positive personal beliefs about génocidaires. Cronbach's α for guardians and children in survivor households were 0.67 and 0.54, respectively.

Frequency of Outgroup Contact

All guardians and children indicated how frequently they interacted with the outgroup as neighbors and acquaintances/friends—items that were adapted from a study examining perceptions of outgroup in Bangladesh (Islam & Hewstone, 1993). Participants responded on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = *Almost Always* to 5 = *Never*. Total scores ranged from 2 to 10 with higher scores (reversed) indicating more frequent contact with outgroup.

Cronbach's α for guardians and children in survivor households were 0.84 and 0.81, respectively. In génocidaire households, the Cronbach's α for guardians and children were 0.72 and 0.89, respectively.

Willingness to Interaction With Outgroup

The Bogardus Social Distance questionnaire used in a study examining ethnic stereotypes in South Africa (Gordijn et al., 2008) was adapted to measure willingness to interact with outgroup members. All guardians and children rated the extent to which they would be happy from 1 = *Very unhappy* to 4 = *Very happy* to have an outgroup member or a family member of an outgroup member marry into their family, as a close friend, next-door neighbors, at school or work, and as a speaking acquaintance. Total scores ranging from 6 to 24 were calculated with higher scores indicating less social distance and more willingness to interact with outgroup members. Cronbach's α for guardians and children in survivor households were 0.93 and 0.85, respectively. In génocidaire households, the Cronbach's α for guardians and children were 0.90 and 0.84, respectively.

Family Relations

Adapted from a larger measure of family functioning among students (74% Black and Latino) attending Chicago public schools (Tolan et al., 1997), 12 items were selected by the local research team that assessed for family relations ("family members feel very close to each other"), communication ("My family know what I mean when I say something"), and beliefs about family ("no matter what, family members should stick together"). All guardians and children rated their agreement with items on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = *Strongly Disagree* to 5 = *Strongly Agree*. Total scores ranged from 12 to 60 with higher scores indicating stronger family relations, communications, and respect for shared beliefs. Cronbach's α for guardians and children in survivor households were 0.81 and 0.72, respectively. In génocidaire households, the Cronbach's α for guardians and children were 0.78 and 0.76, respectively.

Political Discussions at Home

Children of survivor and génocidaire households responded to a measure regarding their frequency of political discussions in the home and with peers (Meeusen & Dhont, 2015). Children were asked how often they discussed issues related to general politics, Africa, the 1994 genocide, and other countries and cultures with family members or peers. The frequency of political conversation was measured on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = *Most of the Time* to 4 = *Never*. A total of eight items (four related to peers, four related to family) yielded scores from 4 to 16, with higher scores indicating more frequent conversations with peers and family respectively. Cronbach's α for children's discussion with family members in survivor and génocidaire households were 0.68 and 0.72, respectively. For children's discussion with peers in survivor and génocidaire households, the Cronbach's α were 0.77 and 0.69, respectively.

Forgiveness of Génocidaires

Survivors' forgiveness of génocidaires was measured by a four-item survey with responses measured on a 5-point Likert scale

ranging from 1 = *Strongly Disagree* to 5 = *Strongly Agree*. Items included statements such as "I think people should try to abandon their negative feelings toward perpetrators" and "I think those who admit and confess to harming others should be forgiven." Total scores ranging from 4 to 20 were calculated with higher scores indicating greater attitudes of forgiveness toward génocidaires. Cronbach's α for guardians and children in survivor households were both 0.82.

Shame and Guilt

The State Shame and Guilt Scale (Marschall et al., 1994) was a 15-item measure of guilt and shame related to a negative event. Our research team in Rwanda reviewed the questions and determined that the items appropriately addressed the context of the genocide. Génocidaires only rated statements such as "I feel remorse, regret" and "I feel tension about what I did" on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = *Not feeling this way at all* to 5 = *Feeling this way strongly*. Total scores ranging from 15 to 75 were calculated with higher scores indicating higher guilt and shame. Cronbach's α for guardians in génocidaire households was 0.88.

Perceived Forgiveness by Others

The Transgression-Related Interpersonal Motivation Inventory (TRIM) was a 12-item measure of génocidaires' perceptions of being forgiven by those they offended (McCullough et al., 1998). Génocidaires responded to statements about the extent to which survivors avoided them ("he/she wants to keep as much distance between us as possible") or sought revenge ("he/she wants to get even") on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = *Definitely False* to 7 = *Definitely True*. Total scores ranged from 12 to 84 with higher scores indicating higher perceived forgiveness by others. Cronbach's α for guardians in génocidaire households was 0.92.

Self-Forgiveness

The State Self-Forgiveness Scale (SSFS) was a 17-item measure of self-forgiving feelings, actions, and beliefs related to a specific event rather than across a range of situational contexts (Wohl et al., 2008). This was particularly relevant in assessing génocidaires' self-forgiveness for their role in the genocide. They responded to statements ("as I considered what I did was wrong, I believe I am acceptable") on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = *Not at all* to 4 = *Completely*. Total scores ranged from 17 to 68 with higher scores indicating more self-forgiveness. Cronbach's α for guardians in génocidaire households was 0.84.

Sociodemographic

Information collected includes age, gender, marital status, education, living conditions (e.g., floor materials), exposure to genocide events and the total number of family members killed in the genocide, participation in postgenocide peace programming, and génocidaire incarceration history.

Statistical Analysis

We used structural equation modeling (SEM) techniques to test the directionality of influences between guardians and their children

under maximum likelihood estimation (ML) in Mplus (Muthén & Muthén, 2012). Confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was initially conducted in the measurement model to identify the underlying factor structure between latent factors (herein referred to guardian and child beliefs) and observed indicators among survivors and génocidaires as seen in equation 1. Let i be an i th individual, p be several observed indicators, and m be a number of latent factors.

$$\mathbf{Y}_i = \mathbf{v} + \Lambda\boldsymbol{\theta}_i + \boldsymbol{\varepsilon}_i, \quad (1)$$

where \mathbf{Y}_i is a $px1$ vector of observed indicators, \mathbf{v} is a $px1$ vector of intercept, Λ is a pxm matrix of factor loading, $\boldsymbol{\theta}_i$ is a $mx1$ vector of latent factors, and $\boldsymbol{\varepsilon}_i$ is a $px1$ vector of measurement error that assumes multivariate normal distribution with a mean vector of $\mathbf{0}$ and a diagonal matrix of Ψ . To address the theoretical relationships between factors and observed variables in the structural model, we consider a model with one endogenous latent factor, η_i , (child belief or guardian belief), one exogenous latent factor, ξ_i , (guardian belief or child belief), denoted as $\boldsymbol{\theta}_i = (\eta_i, \xi_i)$, one moderator, X_i , (intervention type or outgroup contact), four covariates (age of child, age of guardian, gender of guardian, and family relations), as well as one latent interaction, $(X_i\xi_i)$, as below:

$$\eta_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1\xi_i + \beta_2X_i + \beta_3\xi_iX_i + \boldsymbol{\Pi}\mathbf{Z}_i + \delta_i, \quad (2)$$

where β_0 is an intercept of η_i , β_1 is the coefficient of the endogenous latent factor η_i regressed on the exogenous latent factors ξ_i , β_2 is the coefficient of the endogenous latent factor η_i regressed on the moderator X_i , β_3 is the coefficient of the endogenous latent factor η_i regressed on the latent interaction ξ_iX_i , $\boldsymbol{\Pi}$ contains a vector of coefficients of the endogenous latent factor η_i regressed on covariates \mathbf{Z}_i , δ_i are the factor disturbances of η_i that assumes normal distribution with a mean of 0 and a variance of σ_δ^2 .

Results

Participants

Five hundred and eight-eight members of survivor (153 guardian–child dyads) and génocidaire (141 guardian–child dyads) households completed the interviews. Child and guardian variable scores were separately compared between survivor households that participated in guardian- and child-focused interventions (see Table 1). We reported similar within-group score comparisons in génocidaire households (see Table 2).

Four SEM Models (1–4) were estimated for guardian–child dyads in survivor households (see Table 3). Two latent factors - guardian and child beliefs about outgroup (five observed indicators respectively) were detected. Intervention Type (child or guardian) was the

Table 1
Descriptive for Survivor Household Members (n = 306)

| Intervention | Guardian focused (<i>Cows for peace</i>) Freq (%) / Mean (SD) | | Child focused (<i>Peace education</i>) Freq (%) / Mean (SD) | |
|---|---|----------------|---|----------------|
| | Parent (n = 80) | Child (n = 80) | Parent (n = 73) | Child (n = 73) |
| Gender | | | | |
| Female | 52 (65%) | 33 (41%) | 47 (64%) | 47 (64%) |
| Male | 28 (35%) | 47 (59%) | 26 (26%) | 26 (36%) |
| Age | 51.57 (10.80)* | 14.66 (2.06)** | 47.66 (7.9)* | 16.30 (1.51)** |
| Highest degree | | | | |
| None | 12 (15%) | 4 (5%) | 7 (10%) | 2 (3%) |
| Primary | 58 (73%) | 47 (59%) | 44 (60%) | 3 (4%) |
| Secondary | 4 (5%) | 29 (36%) | 12 (16%) | 68 (93%) |
| Vocational | 6 (8%) | 0 | 9 (12%) | 0 |
| Graduate school | 0 | 0 | 1 (1%) | 0 |
| Exposure to genocide events ^a | 9.00 (1.97)** | | 7.89 (2.82)** | |
| Total family members killed | 3.32 (1.29) | | 3.37 (1.60) | |
| Traumatic stress ^b | 26.14 (7.08)* | | 28.41 (6.88)* | |
| Perceived norms of outgroup ^c | 22.23 (2.68)* | 20.96 (2.66)** | 21.01 (3.14)* | 22.44 (3.02)** |
| Willing interact with outgroup ^d | 17.04 (4.04) | 10.40 (2.68) | 16.27 (3.97) | 11.18 (2.87) |
| Readiness to reconcile ^e | 53.29 (8.11)* | 52.93 (6.16)** | 50.18 (8.89)* | 56.32 (6.85)** |
| Forgiveness of génocidaire ^f | 16.36 (2.81) | 16.10 (2.07) | 15.86 (3.27) | 16.67 (2.27) |
| Outgroup negative stereotype ^g | 5.74 (2.04)* | 5.08 (1.87)** | 4.92 (2.31)* | 4.32 (1.48)** |
| Freq of outgroup contact ^h | 6.90 (1.88)** | 4.53 (2.03) | 5.81 (8.89)** | 4.11 (2.35) |
| Family relations ⁱ | 48.58 (5.36) | 47.76 (5.16)** | 48.86 (5.76) | 50.00 (4.98)** |
| Political discussions ^j | | | | |
| With peers | | 9.70 (3.12)** | | 11.26 (2.55)** |
| With family | | 8.93 (2.81) | | 9.41 (2.45) |

^a Range = 0–12 with higher scores indicating a greater number of genocide events experienced. ^b Range = 10–50 with higher scores indicating more trauma symptoms. ^c Range = 7–28 with higher scores indicating more positive perceived norms of génocidaires. ^d Range = 6–24 with higher scores indicating increased willingness to interact with génocidaires. ^e Range = 15–60 with higher scores indicating increased readiness to reconcile. ^f Range = 4–20 with higher scores indicating increased forgiveness of génocidaires. ^g Range = 0–12 with higher scores indicating increased belief in negative outgroup stereotype. ^h Range = 2–10 with higher scores indicating the increased frequency of outgroup contact in past 6 months. ⁱ Range = 12–60 with higher scores indicating stronger family relationships. ^j Range = 4–16 with higher scores indicating more frequent discussions (separate scores for family/peers). * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$ denote significant t -test differences between: (1) children in guardian and child-focused interventions and (2) between guardians from both interventions.

Table 2
Descriptive for *Génocidaire* Household Members (*n* = 282)

| Intervention | Guardian focused (<i>Cows for peace</i>) Freq (%) / Mean (SD) | | Child focused (<i>Peace education</i>) Freq (%) / Mean (SD) | |
|--|---|------------------------|---|------------------------|
| | Parent (<i>n</i> = 78) | Child (<i>n</i> = 78) | Parent (<i>n</i> = 63) | Child (<i>n</i> = 63) |
| Gender | | | | |
| Female | 6 (8%) | 40 (51%) | 6 (10%) | 35 (56%) |
| Male | 72 (92%) | 38 (49%) | 57 (90%) | 28 (44%) |
| Age | 54.77 (6.80) | 14.06 (2.65)* | 53.77 (6.59) | 15.95 (1.55)* |
| Highest degree | | | | |
| None | 13 (16%) | 1 (.01%) | 12 (19%) | 0 |
| Primary | 60 (77%) | 62 (79%) | 46 (73%) | 5 (.08) |
| Secondary | 3 (.04%) | 15 (19%) | 0 | 58 (92%) |
| Vocational | 2 (.03%) | 0 | 5 (.08%) | 0 |
| Exposure to genocide events ^a | 4.12 (2.10)** | | 2.89 (2.32)** | |
| Total family members killed | 1.65 (0.83) | | 1.48 (0.87) | |
| Traumatic stress ^b | 22.81 (7.08) | | 21.71 (6.13) | |
| Readiness to reconcile ^c | 56.90 (6.80) | 52.47 (6.28)** | 58.73 (6.92) | 57.19 (6.56)** |
| Outgroup negative stereotype ^d | 4.17 (1.52)* | 4.78 (2.47) | 3.59 (1.64)* | 4.08 (2.02) |
| Shame & Guilt ^e | 76.82 (14.86) | | 74.48 (18.64) | |
| Perceived Forgiveness by others ^f | 63.97 (6.66) | | 64.35 (9.72) | |
| Self-forgiveness ^g | 50.79 (9.84) | | 48.98 (9.96) | |
| Freq of outgroup contact ^h | 7.44 (1.80) | 4.53 (1.92) | 7.30 (2.08) | 4.78 (2.24) |
| Family relations ⁱ | 48.97 (5.06)* | 47.69 (5.94) | 50.83 (5.35)* | 48.92 (4.95) |
| Willing interact with outgroup ^j | | 12.56 (2.56)* | | 13.35 (1.78)* |
| Political discussions ^k | | | | |
| With peers | | 8.74 (2.47)** | | 10.19 (2.92)** |
| With family | | 8.38 (2.59) | | 8.52 (3.04) |

^a Range = 0–12 with higher scores indicating a greater number of genocide events experienced. ^b Range = 10–50 with higher scores indicating more trauma symptoms. ^c Range = 15–60 with higher scores indicating increased readiness to reconcile. ^d Range = 0–12 with higher scores indicating increased belief in negative outgroup stereotype. ^e Range = 15–75 with higher scores indicating higher state shame and guilt. ^f Range = 12–84 with higher scores indicating higher perceived forgiveness by survivors. ^g Range = 17–68 with higher scores indicating higher self-forgiveness. ^h Range = 2–10 with higher scores indicating the increased frequency of outgroup contact in past 6 months. ⁱ Range = 12–60 with higher scores indicating stronger family relationships. ^j Range = 4–16 with higher scores indicating increased willingness to interact with survivors. ^k Range = 4–16 with higher scores indicating more frequent discussions (separate scores for family/peers).
* *p* < .05. ** *p* < .01. *** *p* < .001 denote significant *t*-test differences between: (1) children in guardian and child-focused interventions and (2) between guardians from both interventions.

moderator in Models 1–2, and Outgroup Contact (guardian or child) was the moderator in Models 3–4. CFA indicated convergence in Model 1 (AIC = 8,313; BIC = 8,407), Model 2 (AIC = 7,684; BIC = 7,784), Model 3 (AIC = 7,635; BIC = 7,741), and Model 4 (AIC = 7,647; BIC = 7,753). Models 1 and 3 that tested for guardian influence on child demonstrated excellent fit with the data (CFI = 0.975, TLI = 0.969, RMSEA = 0.039, and SRMR = 0.09), as with Models 2 and 4 testing the opposite direction for child influence on guardian.³ Key findings for each model are described below.

Guardian beliefs about outgroups and the genocide in *survivor* households did not influence their children’s formation of these beliefs (*Hypothesis 1a*) regardless of their children’s participation in peace interventions and interactions with outgroups (*Hypothesis 1b*). Likewise, children’s beliefs about outgroup did not influence their guardians’ formation of these beliefs (*Hypothesis 2*).

Results from Model 1 indicated that guardians’ beliefs about outgroup (*génocidaires*) did not influence their children’s formation of these beliefs (*p* > .05) and this was not affected by the child’s participation in peace interventions (Peace Education; *p* > .05; see Figure 1) after controlling for child age and gender, parent gender, and family relations (herein referred to covariates). After controlling for

other covariates, children’s positive beliefs about *génocidaires* increased 0.15 points for every 1 year they were older (*SE* = 0.1, *p* < .05), and increased 0.15 point for every 1-unit increase in family relations (*SE* = 0.04, *p* < .001). Children’s beliefs about outgroup did not influence their guardians’ formation of these beliefs (*p* > .05) and this effect was not affected by the guardian’s participation in a peace intervention (CFP; *p* > .05) after controlling for covariates (Model 2).

Model 3 showed that guardians’ beliefs about outgroup did not influence their children’s formation of these beliefs (*p* > .05), and this effect was not affected by children’s frequency of contact with *génocidaires* (*p* > .05; see Figure 2). After controlling for other covariates, children’s positive beliefs about outgroup increased 0.20 points for every 1 year they were older (*SE* = 0.06, *p* < .05), increased 0.14 point for every 1-unit increase in family relations (*SE* = 0.03, *p* < .001), and increased 1.3 point for every 1-point increase in child’s contact with *génocidaires* (see Figure 2). Children’s beliefs about outgroup did not influence their guardians’ formation of

³ Given that Models 1–4 shared the same observed indicators, the global model fit indices in the measurement model (CFA model) was same for four models. When latent interaction was involved in the structural model in SEM model, the global model fit index was not provided in Mplus and the penalized-likelihood criteria (e.g., AIC, BIC) was reported in the study.

Table 3Summary Description of Structural Equation Models 1–10 for Survivor and *Génocidaire* Households

| SEM model (hypotheses) | Guardian beliefs about | Direction of relationship | Child beliefs about | Moderators | CFA model convergence |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| Survivor households | | | | | |
| 1 (Hypotheses 1a, 1b) | Outgroup ^a | → | Outgroup ^a | Child intervention | ✓ |
| 2 (Hypothesis 2) | Outgroup ^a | ← | Outgroup ^a | Guardian intervention | ✓ |
| 3 (Hypotheses 1a, 1b) | Outgroup ^a | → | Outgroup ^a | Child outgroup contact | ✓ |
| 4 (Hypothesis 2) | Outgroup ^a | ← | Outgroup ^a | Guardian outgroup contact | ✓ |
| <i>Génocidaire</i> households | | | | | |
| 5 (Hypotheses 1a, 1b) | Outgroup ^b | → | Outgroup ^b | Child intervention | |
| 6 (Hypotheses 1a, 1b) | Forgiveness ^c | → | Outgroup ^b | Child intervention | ✓ |
| 7 (Hypothesis 2) | Outgroup ^b | ← | Outgroup ^b | Guardian intervention | |
| 8 (Hypotheses 1a, 1b) | Outgroup ^b | → | Outgroup ^b | Child outgroup contact | |
| 9 (Hypotheses 1a, 1b) | Forgiveness ^c | → | Outgroup ^b | Child outgroup contact | ✓ |
| 10 (Hypothesis 2) | Outgroup ^b | ← | Outgroup ^b | Guardian outgroup contact | |

Note. SEM = Structural equation modeling; CFA = Confirmatory factor analysis. See the online article for the color version of this table.

^a Observed variables included: perceived norms of outgroup, willingness to interact with outgroup, readiness to reconcile, forgiveness of *génocidaire*, and outgroup negative stereotypes. ^b Observed variables included: readiness to reconcile, outgroup negative stereotypes. ^c Observed variables included: shame & guilt, perceived forgiveness by others, self-forgiveness.

these beliefs ($p > .05$). Nor was this affected by the guardian's contact with *génocidaire*s ($p > .05$) after controlling for covariates. Only higher family relations predicted survivors' more positive beliefs about *génocidaire*s ($\beta_{\text{Guardian Belief Family Relations}}^{\text{Guardian Belief}} = 0.12$; $p < .01$; Model 4).

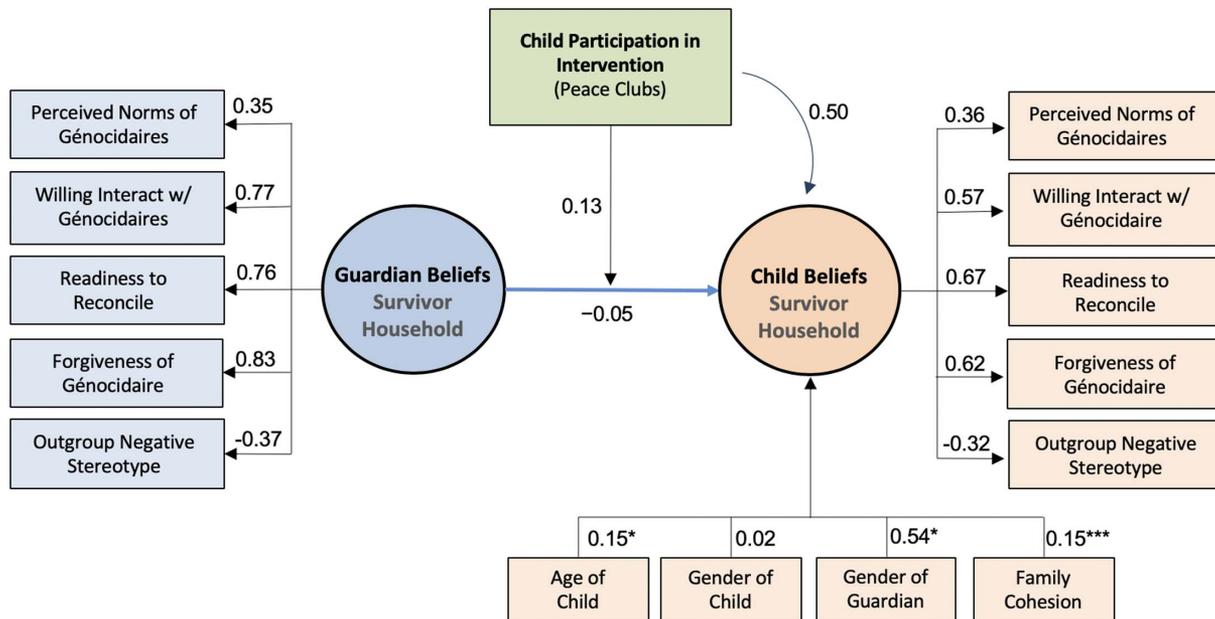
Guardian beliefs about outgroups and the genocide in *génocidaire* households did not influence their children's formation of these beliefs (Hypothesis 1a) regardless of the children's participation in peace

interventions and interactions with outgroups (Hypothesis 1b). Likewise, children's beliefs about outgroup did not influence their guardians' formation of these beliefs (Hypothesis 2).

We ran six additional SEM Models (5–10; see Table 1) for guardian–child dyads in *génocidaire* households. Intervention Type (child or guardian) was the moderator in Models 5–7, and Outgroup Contact (guardian or child) was the moderator in Models

Figure 1

Model 1. Guardian Beliefs About Outgroup Did Not Influence Their Children's Beliefs in Survivor Households When Considering Child Intervention Participation as a Moderator (Standardized Parameter Estimates Shown)

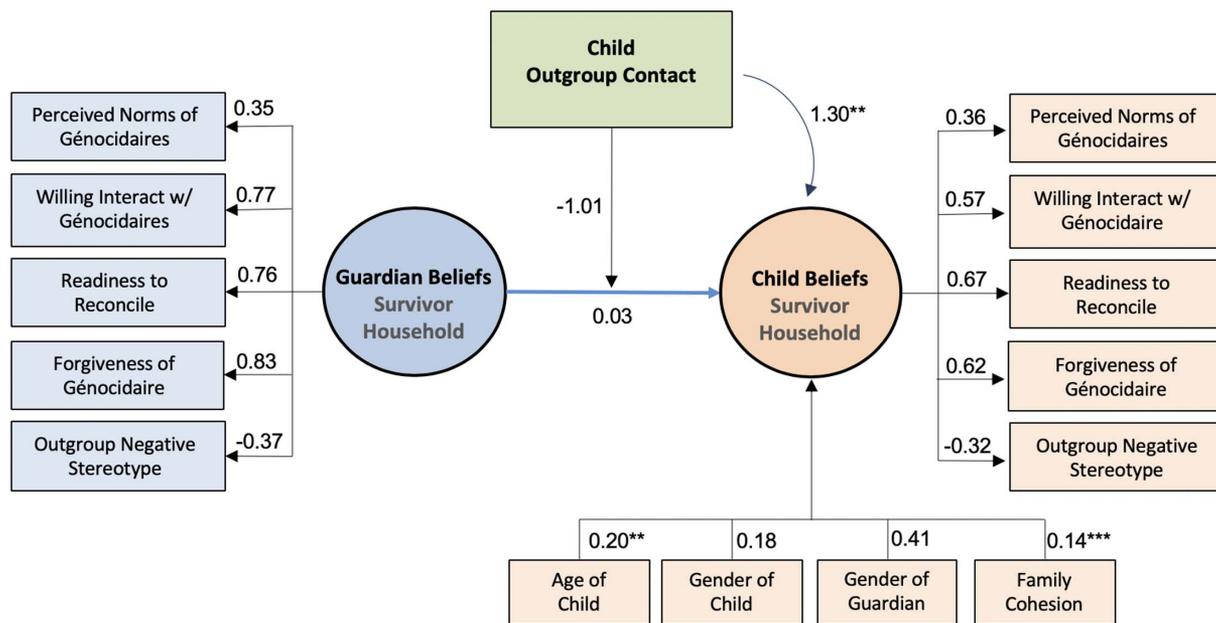


Note. CFI = 0.975, TLI = 0.969, RMSEA = 0.039, and SRMR = 0.09. See the online article for the color version of this figure.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Figure 2

Model 3. Guardian Beliefs About Outgroup Did Not Influence Their Children’s Beliefs in Survivor Households When Considering Child Outgroup Contact as a Moderator (Standardized Parameter Estimates Shown)



Note. CFI = 0.975, TLI = 0.969, RMSEA = 0.039, and SRMR = 0.09. See the online article for the color version of this figure.
 * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

8–10. CFA indicated convergence in Model 6 (AIC = 4,934; BIC = 4,999) and Model 9 (AIC = 4,949; BIC = 5,008). Models 5, 7, 8, and 10 did not independently converge due to a nonpositive definite Fisher information matrix. The correlation between génocidaire guardian and children’s beliefs about outgroup was also weak and not significant, $r = 0.10$, $p > .05$. Models 6 and 9 demonstrated excellent fit to the data (CFI = 0.999, TLI = 1.000, RMSEA = 0.0001, and SRMR = 0.02).

Models 6 and 9 similarly indicated that génocidaire guardian beliefs about outgroup did not significantly affect their children’s formation of these beliefs. Nor was the relationship moderated by guardians’ participation in CFP ($p > .05$). However, children whose guardians participated in the intervention reported more positive beliefs about outgroup ($SE = 1.2$, $p < .001$; see Figure 3). Also, more frequent child outgroup contact with survivors was associated with more positive beliefs about outgroup ($SE = 0.5$, $p < .05$; see Figure 4).

Discussion

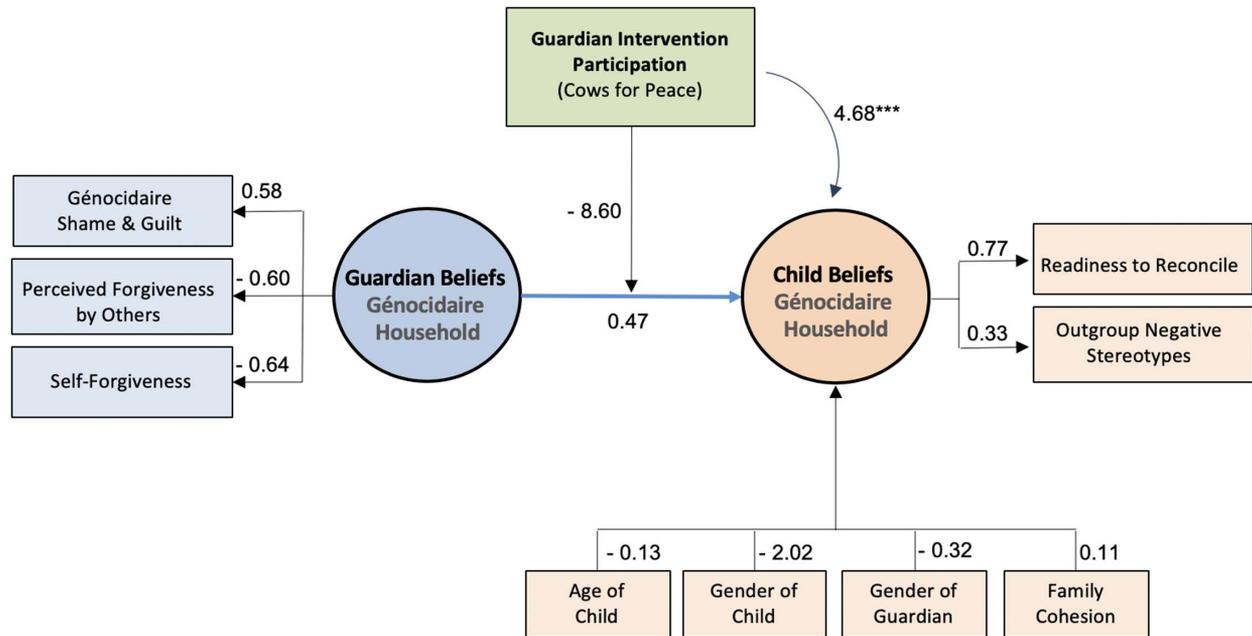
Our findings indicated that survivors’ and génocidaires’ attitudes and perceptions of their referenced outgroups did not influence their children’s formation of these beliefs. Nor did children affect their guardians in this regard in the context of postgenocide Rwanda. Our disconfirmed hypothesis that guardians transmit their ideologies and beliefs about outgroups to their children led us to consider other influences that potentially shape children’s formation of intergroup attitudes. Our models indicated several such noteworthy findings. First, in survivor households, children who endorsed more positive attitudes toward génocidaires reported stronger family relations and

communication among family members and casually interacted more frequently with neighbors and acquaintances who were génocidaires after adjusting for the potential effects of the child’s age, gender, and guardian’s gender on their beliefs. Second, in génocidaire households, children’s positive beliefs about survivors were similarly associated with more frequent intergroup contact and living with a guardian who participated in CFP. Taken together, our findings carry several wide-ranging implications.

First, guardians and children’s postgenocide perception of outgroups appeared to be shaped by a wide range of influences outside the family including daily social interactions and formal programming such as *ingando*, political reeducation camps intended to de-ethnicize Rwandan society (Purdekova, 2015) and government propaganda (Blouin & Mukand, 2019)—all under the ostensible narrative of national unity. Beyond these extra-familial influences, it is also plausible that in both survivor and génocidaire households, the pervasive insecurity about discussing ethnicity (Hilker, 2009) coupled with the fear of what such discussions may stir-up about family members’ experiences during and after the genocide (e.g., imprisonment for atrocities committed, death of family members) stifled formative conversations at home about intergroup relations (Leone & Sarrica, 2020). This reticence or “chosen amnesia”—a deliberate forgetting deemed “essential for local existence” (Buckley-Zistel, 2006, p. 134)—pragmatically served to maintain harmony in families and the community-at-large. However, it is also probable that guardians openly discuss historical and personal accounts of the genocide with their children at home and expose them to public venues such as annual commemoration ceremonies and mass media campaigns that espouse a renewed national identity. It merits further examination to understand how the vastly different

Figure 3

Model 6. Guardian Beliefs About Forgiveness Did Not Influence Their Children's Beliefs About Outgroup When Considering Guardian Intervention Participation as a Moderator (Standardized Parameter Estimates Shown)



Note. CFI = 0.999, TLI = 1.000, RMSEA = 0.0001, and SRMR = 0.02. See the online article for the color version of this figure.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

political spaces that guardians and their children occupy in pre- and postgenocide contexts—specifically the vast shift from divisionism to the intended eradication of any form of genocide ideology—potentially shape the course of their conversations. Williamson Sinalo et al. (2020) underscored the importance of addressing conflicting messages children may receive from different sources that contribute to negative behavioral and mental health outcomes. Notably, survivors and génocidaires' children who participated in Peace Education engaged in more political discussions with their peers than children who did not participate from both households. This suggests that the intervention may have provided children with the requisite skills and impetus to engage in conversations outside the family related to genocide events and reconciliation.

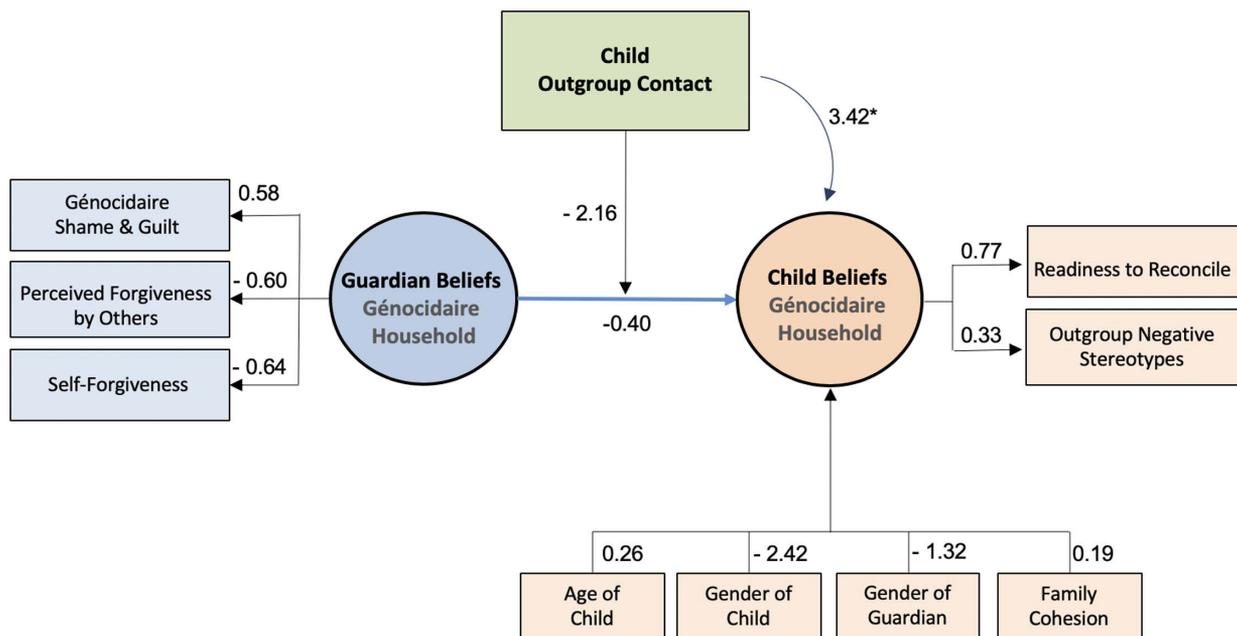
The lack of evidence for child-guardian congruence in outgroup attitudes, however, does not minimize how family socialization shapes the formation of children's views—especially given how child obedience in Rwandan households generally signifies family honor and is believed to encourage children's prosocial behavior in society-at-large (Green, 2020). This was evident in our finding that in survivor households, children's positive views toward génocidaires were strongly associated with more cohesive family units. Moreover, children in génocidaire households where guardians participated in CFP endorsed more positive perceptions of survivors. The different forms of family influence in survivor and génocidaire households may be attributed to several considerations that warrant further examination. Most notably, génocidaire family relationships fractured by guardian imprisonment and conflicted by guardians' harbored shame and anger about their past potentially sustained a "spiral of silence" and avoidance in open family

conversations about survivors and the genocide. However, it is plausible that their participation in CFP and the subsequent process of self-forgiveness and sense of being forgiven by those they harmed during the genocide tacitly shaped their children's views of survivors (Kang et al., 2020). Children may have intimated less intergroup conflict from observing and experiencing how their guardians cultivated relationships with survivors whom they have directly harmed during the genocide.

This provided compelling empirical support that intergenerational transmission of prejudice may be *indirect*, such that family conflict and parenting strains are conceivably attributed to the lingering effects of the genocide and subsequent economic hardships (Berckmoes et al., 2017; Kang et al., 2016). It is also noteworthy that guardians' silence about their experiences of the genocide can also convey consequential viewpoints about outgroups (Berckmoes et al., 2017). Taken together, our findings imply that the attitudes adopted by children reflect their group identification and that their views of survivors and génocidaires may not necessarily overlap with their parents' experiences. Children in postgenocide Rwanda, as Berckmoes et al. (2017) so aptly described, "were not passive recipients of the legacies passed on by older generations" (p. 15). As such, family-based peace programming that is tailored for children and their guardians who directly experienced genocide events warrant consideration. Such an intervention approach, for example, can be drawn and potentially adapted from a well-established family-group intervention designed to strengthen guardian-child communication in families affected by HIV in the U.S. (McKay et al., 2004, 2007), South Africa (Baptiste et al., 2006), and Thailand (Nestadt et al., 2019). The intervention format

Figure 4

Model 9. Guardian Beliefs About Forgiveness Did Not Influence Their Children’s Beliefs About Outgroup When Considering Child Outgroup Contact as a Moderator (Standardized Parameter Estimates Shown)



Note. CFI = 0.999, TLI = 1.000, RMSEA = 0.0001, and SRMR = 0.02. See the online article for the color version of this figure.
 * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

of meeting with guardian–child dyads as a group for a brief psychoeducation on select topics relevant to intergroup conflict followed by separate discussions with guardians and children can concurrently address the experiences of guardians independent of their children and strengthen family relations and communication. Given our findings, adapting a form of this intervention merits exploration.

Second, children’s positive attitudes toward outgroups in both survivor and génocidaire households were shaped by their frequent interactions with the outgroup. Our findings extend a decade of respected studies mostly conducted in North America and Europe that demonstrate the promise of improving intergroup attitudes with contact-based interventions (Beelmann & Heinemann, 2014; Cameron et al., 2011)—filling a significant lacuna in our understanding of how contact affects children in African regions. Consistent with previous studies, we found that repeated direct contact with outgroups and indirect interactions with acquaintances of outgroups were associated with more positive intergroup attitudes. Coexistence in geographically dense rural areas rendered such informal interactions possible in Rwanda. On the contrary, children’s formal participation in the Peace Education did not directly influence their intergroup attitudes—suggesting that not all forms of interactions carry the same outcome. The structured peer discussions aimed to critically evaluate bias and prejudice toward outgroups coupled with experiential activities (e.g., visits to the Kigali Genocide Memorial and participation in annual events commemorating the 1994 genocide) perhaps were less impactful because children were already socialized in integrated and natural contexts (Vezzali et al., 2017). In our study, this was further evidenced by children’s more frequent discussions about politics with peers (compared with

family) in survivor and génocidaire households. Children in survivor and génocidaire households may form and navigate their perceptions of outgroups differently. As previous research suggests, children in minority groups may respond to intergroup contact differently than those in majority groups (Feddes et al., 2009). Children of génocidaires may perceive and experience social exclusion due to their family members’ involvement in the genocide and subsequent imprisonment (Rutayisire & Richters, 2014) and may withdraw and temper their engagement more. Especially given the communal fabric of the Rwanda society and the Gacaca court hearings, the identities of survivors and their direct offenders were publicly known which heightened how génocidaire families perceive public scrutiny. Although beyond the scope of this study, our understanding of how such contact-based interventions work would benefit from a formal evaluation of program process, outcomes, and pathways to change.

Limitations

Several methodological limitations of our study are noteworthy. First, our cross-sectional design did not capture the fluid relationship between child and parent attitudes nor the formation of intergroup attitudes over time and across historical contexts. Our understanding of how patterns of intergroup relations independently evolve for children and different guardians (i.e., parents, grandparents, extended relatives) would benefit from longitudinal and ethnographic studies that draw a more nuanced understanding of how lived experiences preceding, during, and immediately following the genocide indelibly shape intergroup interactions. Moreover, prospective studies would be more conclusive in determining the

directionality of the influence between guardians and children. Second, poor reliability of select measures (i.e., perceived social norms of génocidaires, readiness to reconcile with survivors) tempered our interpretation of findings. Although the sole use of Cronbach α to determine reliability has been a questionable trend in studies conducted in Africa (Agbo, 2010), the results of CFA indicated convergence of the models on which our findings were based—providing an alternative assessment of reliability (Clark & Watson, 1995). Third, our findings were potentially biased by sampling from select groups of génocidaire and survivor households (Straus, 2017). Génocidaires who fled the country, for example, knowing their guilt and culpability were presumably excluded from our study. As such, our findings were conceivably more representative of “ordinary perpetrators” with less privileged means to flee the area and generally were more fearful and morally ambivalent about their actions (Loyle & Davenport, 2020). Self-selection bias should also be considered with Peace Club participants who may be more comfortable with group interactions and interested in engaging peers from outgroups. Fourth, social desirability bias may be heightened in the context of the government’s narrative of a unified national identity—*Ndi Umunyarwanda*, meaning “I am Rwandan” (rather than Hutu, Tutsi, or Twa). As such, participants may be less forthcoming about their perceptions and interactions with outgroups. Finally, we did not collect information about the guardian and children’s length and degree of participation in the interventions nor did we gather information about the nature and length of participation in previous peacebuilding programs which we did not organize. As such, we cannot conclusively determine if the intervention confounded the relationship between guardian–child intergroup attitudes.

Despite these limitations, the absence of a reciprocal relationship between guardian and child intergroup attitudes in our study suggests that despite the atrocities that occurred 27 years ago, survivors and génocidaires’ memories and experiences of the genocide and their subsequent regard for members of outgroups remain siloed from their children’s formation of these ideas. Rather than being passively shaped by their guardians’ experiences, a new generation of viewpoints is being formed and reformed by formal and personal relationships within and outside the family.

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