IN SEARCH OF PEACE MEDIA: EXAMINING THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN PEACE DEVELOPMENTS OF THE POST-COLD WAR CONFLICTS

A dissertation presented to
the faculty of the
College of Communication of
Ohio University

In partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
Doctor of Philosophy

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June 2005
This dissertation entitled
IN SEARCH OF PEACE MEDIA: EXAMINING THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN PEACE
DEVELOPMENTS OF THE POST-COLD WAR CONFLICTS

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In Search of Peace Media: Examining the Role of Media in Peace Developments of the Post-Cold War Conflicts (268pp.)

Director of Dissertation: David Mould

Abstract: This study analyzes media projects designed to contribute to the development of peace. Therefore, it examines post-Cold War mass communication projects developed in direct response to violent conflicts initiated by a party that is not involved in the conflict. The practical effort is named “peace media.”

The review of the literature from the fields of media effects, propaganda research, peace studies and communication for development offers a broad spectrum of studies pointing towards a common conclusion: mass media/communication indeed have the potential to affect populations in a variety of ways. The rhizomatic approach by Deleuze and Guattari was used as the theoretical foundation to the methods employed in the study. As a result, in-depth interviewing, text analysis and a quantitative effects assessment were used as the methods of inquiry. In order to fully understand the rhizomatic foundation of peace media, this study examined three kinds of data: interview transcripts, texts describing peace media projects and the quantitative data of audience effects conducted by practitioners.

Thirteen conflict sites in 18 countries generated a total of nearly forty peace media projects. The analysis begins with the description of the actors and practitioners responsible for peace media projects (who). It continues with an examination of media approaches to peace development (what), followed by a description of the beneficiaries
of peace media (whom). The last two segments discuss the means of communication (channels) and examine the effects of peace media and the most effective utilization of such practices (effects).

The study concludes that the impact of media is both substantial and limited. Because action or behavior is dependent on many outside variables and because these variables contribute to the end result as much as any form of communication initiative, only the true integration of media within peacebuilding strategies can insure a significant move toward a peaceful society. In order for this to happen, the following four components need to be integrated in the media plan for conflict transformation: journalism, entertainment, advertising and regulation. The final chapter of the dissertation presents a set of recommendations for the future practice.

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Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my dissertation committee members who guided my work and made this dissertation possible. Their ideas and advice were instrumental in formulating the theoretical concepts and methodological procedure for my dissertation. Most importantly, I would like to thank Dr. Mould who constantly provided sound advice and a greater vision. I appreciate his hard work on the drafts and his suggestion that improved my work.

This dissertation is for my family. My parents, Mirko and Dragica, and my brother Aleksandar are my inspiration in life. Their love gave me strength to accomplish my goals. I am greatly indebted to my wife Kimberly. This work would not be possible without her versatile skills, patience and love. Final thank you is for my motivational force, my reminder of all things that matter, my daughter Anya.
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In May of 1992, I was 17 years old and the war in my native Bosnia was only in its beginnings. I remember those first two months of war not because I want to, but because the fear attached to those memories is too intense to be erased. A few scenes remain deeply imbedded in my mind; one is the night I helped my father block the door of our Sarajevo apartment with the kitchen table and barricade ourselves in from what we feared was coming from outside. At the time, we could not see or hear what was happening outside, but we were responding to a particularly dramatic television broadcast that suggested that hordes of armed men were converging on our city. That night we stayed awake, partly because of the uncomfortable floor we were sleeping on, partly because of grenade attacks, but mostly because we were glued to the radio, expecting information about the battle ahead of us.

After I left Bosnia, I often recalled the times when such information was more important than some of our most vital needs. Often times any information about my family members, developments in the conflict or peace negotiations was as important as our own security. Most of the time, such information was supplied by mass media channels (mostly battery-powered radio) because the movement of people was highly restricted, and electricity and phones were cut off in the early stage of the conflict. Accurate information was often the scarcest commodity of invaluable importance. Due to my personal experience from the Balkans, I came to realize the importance of media in the formation of the environment that led to all of the Balkan conflicts. Mass media were
on the forefront of the dispute; as they reported on the hostilities, they became hostile tools that spread opposing ideologies.

This lesson sparked my interest in the role of communications during conflicts. In the beginning, I was amazed by the power of propaganda to sway the opinions of the masses during war. As I began to read about the role of media in violent conflict, it became apparent that most of the readings inevitably focused on the abuse of media during this time. It was almost impossible to find an analysis that praised the use of media in conflicts. Upon my arrival at Ohio University, the field of Communication for Development offered a broad examination of the positive pro-social uses of media in developing countries. Unfortunately, none of the media projects exclusively concentrated on the eradication of violent conflict. This is when I decided to examine the role of media in the reconciliation processes of post-Cold War conflicts.

It was logical to me to turn to my native Bosnia for an examination of post-conflict media, specifically looking for examples where media may have helped people move beyond violence into reconciliation. I was very happy to find out that not only were there such examples but that there were many of them across the country. Some people hypothesized that if media played a part in the formation of a conflict, they should effectively contribute towards the creation of peace. Media projects designed to promote reconciliation emerged all over Bosnia. In 2000, I was lucky to become a part of a major project, a new television channel set up by the international community to convey the benefits of the Dayton Peace Agreement from 1995 to Bosnian audiences.
This experience helped me realize the potential of media to contribute toward peace in the region. At that time, I heard about the radio project Studio Ijambo, a radio studio that was employing and reconciling Tutsis and Hutus in post-war Rwanda. Shortly after, I learned about the Sesame Street project in Israel/Palestine that attempted to promote tolerance and understanding among Israeli and Palestinian children. What was happening was a very unusual and rare combination of circumstances. These were events that were developing in extraordinary conditions: the creation of new mass communication projects intended to address the tumultuous consequences of violent conflict. At that moment, my passion for the subject became the subject of my academic inquiry.
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Good Friday of 1998 will remain a special day in the history of the two European nations of Britain and the Republic of Ireland. On that day, one of the longest conflicts in modern history seemed to have ended when the political parties of Northern Ireland negotiated a political settlement known as “the Good Friday Agreement.” Northern Ireland’s most current three decades of “troubles” seemed to have ended in a settlement between the Catholic and Protestant representatives. The final step towards the acceptance of the Good Friday Agreement was to be a referendum. There was significant animosity toward the agreement on both sides, and for some time it seemed as if the agreement would not gain enough support from the citizenry. The British government decided to ask for help from an unlikely source – McCann Erickson, one of the world’s leading marketing organizations. McCann Erickson’s response was to develop a media campaign emphasizing the benefits of the Good Friday Agreement. A month later, the agreement received the support of 71 percent of the people from both sides of the community (Ark Survey, 1998). It is impossible to gauge the campaign’s direct influence on the people’s decision to support the agreement. However, it was documented that the advertising campaign played a role in the acceptance of the political agreement, leading to a peaceful resolution of the conflict (O’Neill, 1998).

At about the same time, the conflict in the Middle East between the Israelis and Palestinians was escalating. One piece of good news was research stating that certain improvements were observed in the attitudes of future generations, especially in children
who reported watching the Israeli-Palestinian version of “Sesame Street” called “Rechov SumSum/Shara’a SimSim” (Cohen, 2002). The program was a project of Sesame Workshop, the creators of “Sesame Street,” which has provided many hours of educational programming to children across the world. This time Sesame Workshop was producing a program for a society where violent conflict was deeply ingrained. They developed a show with the goal of improving tolerance between the two communities. The results were very encouraging; children generally reported improved levels of tolerance and acceptance of the other group in conflict (Cohen, 2002).

In Rwanda, during the 1994 conflict, Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (Free Radio-Television of the Thousand Hills) was believed to have been one of the main influences that prompted the local Hutus to commit atrocities against the Tutsi community. At the same time when messages inciting violence were broadcast on the radio, the killing of 800,000 people occurred in less than 100 days. After the war, building on the prominence and believed potency of radio in Rwanda, a few people decided to use the medium to influence the population as Radio Mille Collines had, but with a diametrically opposite goal—peace reconciliation. Studio Ijambo (Wise Words) was established in neighboring Burundi in 1995. The main objective of the studio was to produce a variety of messages that could contribute toward peace development. Under the slogan “Dialogue is the future,” the studio has produced media content such as social affairs, news programs, dramas, documentaries, children’s programs, etc. Most of their programs directly address the roots of the regional conflict.
The three examples above are illustrations of the implementation of media into a conflict environment. The history of the 20th century will prominently chronicle the relationship between world wars and mass media. One obvious outcome of the relationship is the exploitation of media for war promotion or war propaganda (e.g. the skillful use of early mass communication channels by the Allies in World War I and the cruel manipulation of media by Nazi Germany). It does not come as a surprise to find a close association between media and violence in each conflict of the last decade. Several analyses even attribute to the media an instigative role in inciting violence (Thompson, 1999; Des Forges, 1999; Kirschke, 1996).

Assuming media have played an important role in the inciting of violence, it seems logical to examine the prospects for the reverse perspective – media’s contribution to violence cessation or conflict resolution. In other words, if media are often found to be enablers of forces that lead to violent conflict, their role and contribution in the development of peace needs to be examined. While media have been prominent contributors to every post-Cold War conflict (Price and Thompson, 2002; Allen and Seaton, 1999), their role in the post-conflict peace development has not been as prominent. However, in the last few years, there appears to be evidence of media engagement in peace development due to the achievements of international government agencies and non-profit organizations. Cases of the successful use of mass communication channels in the recovery of post conflict societies have been documented in Bosnia, Burundi, Cambodia, Croatia, Israel/Palestine, Macedonia, Northern Ireland, Rwanda, Sierra Leone and other countries. These projects are based on a common
rationale to peace development and provide innovative illustrations of the positive uses of media in peace processes.

It is disappointing to find a lack of academic interest in this subject. Considering the established academic interest in media and conflict, it would seem logical to find considerable academic literature on the role of media in peace developments. However, there are very few academic studies, journal articles or academic conferences devoted to this topic. The lack of interest and the resulting gap in literature is described in the compilation of peace media projects by Van Geelen (2002):

It is good to note at this point that the majority of publications are written for and by active practitioners in this field. The reason for this is that although there is a lot of practical experience with media and peace building, academic effort in analyzing the practices and effectiveness of media interventions is still in its infancy. (p. 3)

To address this gap in academic literature, I propose a study that examines projects where media have been used in peace development. The primary research question considers the possibility that media can contribute to conflict resolution and transformation. While practitioners’ accounts suggest plausible media effects, and practical experience reveals encouraging beginnings, this study employs academic research explore the possibility of beneficial media employment for social development.

Currently no study has attempted to bring together the variety of practical peace media projects for detailed analysis and evaluation. Examples like those from Northern Ireland, Israel/Palestine and Rwanda exist only as isolated practitioner reports on the web sites of different organizations. Furthermore, the projects were never compared in an attempt to uncover similarities or differences. Needless to say, the projects lack a
unifying platform, and it is unknown whether they share similarities in methodology. Most of the time, a “quick fix” approach with short-range goals is preferred to a comprehensive program with a long-term strategy. Additionally, although the methodical use of media in peace processes around the world holds huge potential, the effects of media are usually taken for granted.

Therefore, this study collects diverse media projects from different parts of the world and compiles them into a cohesive unit with the purpose of exploring similarities in methods and results. This study in essence is a meta-analysis of previously conducted practices, projects, documents and primary research. It intends to analyze the results, summarize the best practices and propose the development of comprehensive media methods in pursuing peace. It is apparent at this point that there is a need for integration and interrelation of best practices. It is my belief that an analysis of the projects and their integration will result in the emergence of a common set of practices and ideas about how the practical efforts can be improved.

Another important question that I will address is the absence of cooperation between political scientists and communication researchers. To this point, conflict resolution has been a domain of political scientists, and communication experts have not been involved in conflict resolution or peace building processes. Most of the communications experts have yet to recognize the possibility of positive media engagements in the promotion of peace. Combining political science and mass communication, this study hopes to become the first interdisciplinary effort towards engaging media in peace development. Therefore, my proposition implies a need for the
intersection of efforts from both disciplines and more active engagement from mass communication researchers.

Finally, this new integrated approach has never been given an umbrella term. It has been known under several names with each name implying a difference in approach and methodology. Thus, one of the main goals of this study is to unite the effort under the concept of “peace media,” as it aspires to unify different projects and methodologies into a cohesive field of academic research.

Background: What are “Peace Media?”

The term “peace media” is an ambitious label proposed to define the application of a range of mass communication channels and techniques to advance peace in an area of conflict. The term peace media should be understood as a compound that combines the two terms. Specifically, the “peace” component of peace media stems from the area of conflict resolution. Conflict resolution is a young sub-discipline of political science that was formally organized in the second half of the 20th century (Miall, 2000; Mitchell, 2003). Conflict resolution has since been developing in several directions, all aiming at the common goal of bringing peace to societies engaged in wars and conflicts. Therefore, peace in this sense is best defined in opposition to conflict and violence; it is not understood in general terms or as a synonym for development. The “media” component assumes processes of mass mediated communication, including modern electronic and print communication but also more traditional and region-specific mass communication such as street theater, graffiti etc. This study acknowledges the importance of other forms of communication (i.e. interpersonal communication) and remains open to the inclusion
of such practices toward peace development. However, this study investigates only mass communication efforts, and for this reason limits the communication to mass communication projects. There are numerous studies that examine the role of communication in social conflicts (Korzenny and Ting-Tommey, 1990), however, they are mostly concerned with the interpersonal aspect of communication in negotiations, diplomacy, mediation, etc.

Furthermore, several criteria have been determined in this study to help identify projects that are described as peace media. The criteria that make this application of media in conflict distinctive are:

1) A recent history of armed conflict/violence in the region

The definition of peace media implies the existence or recent occurrence of armed conflict or violence in the region. This distinction is made in order to differentiate between peace media and socially responsible democratizing media efforts. Even though peace media may assume the agenda of the socially responsible theory of the press as proposed by Seibert, Peterson, and Schramm (1963), peace media cannot be reduced to the notion of social responsibility. Many media projects working toward the democratization of states in transition (e.g. the Czech and Slovak Republics) have definitely contributed toward peace in general. Furthermore, media often help deal with issues of social inequality, exploitation and repression (negative peace), and as such contribute toward positive peace, represented by social cooperation, participation and participatory democracy (Tehranian, 1990). These are the goals of media projects known as alternative media, community media or citizens’ media (Rodriguez, 2001). However,
these projects have primarily been designed to address social inequality, and though they may contribute to social development, they are not designed in a response to imminent violent conflict. The projects to be considered in this study had to have been executed in a country involved in violent conflict.

2) Post-Cold war period

The second criterion is temporal. I have decided to concentrate on the post-Cold War-era for the following reasons: Only in the last twenty years have mass media equipment and technology become affordable and portable, allowing the establishment of new media sources as an immediate response to a conflict. The last decade of the 20th century has also witnessed the emergence of a different type of conflict. The post-Cold War era has seen a shift from inter-state to intra-state conflict – the conflicts among national groups within nation-states. The intra-state conflicts of the 1990s in Rwanda and Bosnia drew attention to the correlation between the so-called “hate media” and killings in these countries (Thompson 1999; Metzl, 1997b). It was precisely this “hate media” that reminded the international community of the historical impact of Nazi propaganda. Reemerging “hate media” placed an increasing responsibility on the First World governments and the United Nations and encouraged the development of new conflict-handling techniques such as the use of media in the promotion of peace. This study does not suggest that peace media projects did not occur before the Cold War. However, post-Cold War peace media are easier to recognize and make the analysis more manageable. Therefore, the projects considered for this study must have happened after 1990 and must
have been recorded before the end of summer 2003 when the research phase was concluded.

3) Involvement of a third party

The third criterion for peace media is that it cannot be an effort organized, developed and exclusively controlled by one of the sides in conflict. There are several grey areas that elicit questions over whether projects qualify as peace media. Several well-known examples of media projects, including Voice of America, Radio Free Europe or even the recent American engagement in media development in Iraq, negate this third condition, and for the purpose of this study cannot be classified as peace media. A party directly involved in the conflict cannot be exclusively responsible for a peace media project. The presence of a third party is what distinguishes peace media from sophisticated propaganda.

4) Intentional purpose

Peace media projects are designed to address violent conflict in a particular region. In other words, only specific programs aimed at transforming conflict qualify as peace media. This excludes projects and media channels that are already operating and producing media content in the region of conflict but are not doing anything exceptional in response to the violent conflict. An example of such media may be the BBC World Service broadcasting in Afghanistan that has existed in the region for a long time but has not particularly altered its coverage in order to promote peace development in Afghanistan.
To summarize, this study defines peace media as post-Cold War mass communication projects that are in direct response to violent conflict. Furthermore, peace media are designed or initiated by a party that is not directly involved in the violence. This study does not examine interpersonal conflict of a non-violent nature known generally as social conflict. Peace media are not incidental projects that happen spontaneously in conflict. They are intended ideas that are developed in response to imminent violence.

From Propaganda to Peace Media – Terminology

The idea of peace media may have originated in the early 1920s. Soon after the initial studies on propaganda, social scientists such as Lasswell (1927), Lippmann (1925) and Bernays (1928) hypothesized that if media had been powerful in persuading people to support war, then they may also be used for desired social advancement. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge where the idea of peace media may have originated and how closely related it is to propaganda studies.

Although social scientists hypothesized about the positive role of propaganda, literature rarely addresses the positive influence of mass communication. This idealistic belief in the ability of social scientists to understand and use “propaganda” for good rather than evil is often neglected. Lasswell and Lippmann both believed that in the hands of a “specialized class” propaganda had its place and purpose. Lippmann’s cynicism with the public as a “bewildered herd” and Lasswell’s disillusionment with “democratic romanticism” share a common solution — management of public interests by the responsible elite (Lasswell, 1927; Lippmann 1922, 1925). Bernays (1928) goes a step
further to suggest that the intelligent minority should utilize such management in promoting international peace. Even John Dewey (1939) argues for persuasion when he claims that democracy is “persuasion through public discussion carried on not only in legislative halls but in the press, private conversations and public assemblies” (p. 139). Even if this is where the idea for peace media may have originated, the modern understanding of the effort hardly coincides with the ideas of the forefathers of communication research.

The contemporary version of peace media became a part of public discourse sometime in the early 1990s, mostly in response to a new wave of propaganda from the wars in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda. These ideas did not come from the sides involved in the conflict, but rather from the parties interested in eradicating conflict. Oddly enough, they talked about the same techniques, channels and methods used to mobilize people to fight each other but instead employed them to stop people from doing so. At about the same time, some practical applications of such efforts could be found in the early peacekeeping mission of the United Nations in Namibia and Cambodia.

Initially, the term “propaganda for peace” was mentioned in an op-ed article in the New York Times, written by Keith Spicer (1994, December 10), former chairman of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission. In an interview with Spicer (personal communication, January 28, 2004), he recalls the time when he first started contemplating the idea:

On a visit to New York, I went to talk to some U.N. peacekeepers, with this idea, I put this idea to them, I said: Why don’t you include, (in every peacekeeping mission and in every area of world where there is a risk of conflict) why don’t you start planning to have some kind of media help, that would make sure that the
truth is getting out. Here, I am not talking about propaganda. I am talking about truthful propaganda, to counter hate propaganda. So it’s really out of frustration that I did that.

This is the earliest public record that mentions the new use of media in conflict. Spicer, who is now the director of the Institute of Media, Peace and Security with the United Nations’ University for Peace, simply wondered whether the U.N. could “mobilize airwaves” and use “electronic peacekeeping” to stop the ethnic wars of Bosnia and Rwanda (1994, September 3).

A few years later in 1997, a few journalists and media experts gathered in the United Kingdom at the Conflict and Peace Journalism summer school to discuss the evolving nature of journalism in time of conflict. Headed by Johan Galtung, a leading expert in peace studies, this group examined the role of journalism and media in conflict situations and the possibility of positive journalistic contributions to peace development. Their idea came to be known as “peace journalism” and their suggestions to journalists in conflict scenarios were bold and straightforward:

Peace journalism consciously adopts an agenda for peace believing it to be the only genuine alternative to an – unacknowledged or otherwise – agenda for war. It maps the pre-violence conflict, identifying many parties and more causes, thereby opening up unexpected paths towards dialogue and peace making. Peace journalism humanizes all sides of the conflict and is prepared to document both deceit and suffering as well as peace initiatives from all parties (Transcend, 1997, p.1).

“Peace journalism” today is most prominently promoted by the BBC journalist Jake Lynch who organizes workshops and seminars across the world on this topic. In cooperation with Johan Galtung, Lynch compiled a number of suggestions (see p. 166) for the new journalistic approach to covering conflicts (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2000).
In the meantime, the United Nation peacekeeping missions in Cambodia, Croatia and Bosnia have been utilizing media in an attempt to further peaceful resolution of those conflicts. The United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) should be credited with the original comprehensive plan that engaged media in the Cambodian peace implementation. Jamie Metzl, one of the UNTAC human rights officers, published an article in *Foreign Affairs* in 1997 in which he proposed the concept of “information intervention” to accompany the already well-established notion of humanitarian intervention (Metzl, 1997a). Information intervention was mainly concerned with the harmful impact of hate radio. Metzl claimed that the need for unbiased information in conflict is central to the suppression of violence and pondered the use of jamming the broadcast messages inciting hatred.

“Lifeline media” is another name for this type of work, and is used by the Swiss non-governmental organization Media Action International (MAI) (Hieber, 2001). MAI issued the publication *Lifeline Media: Strengthening Populations in Crisis through the Media* about developing media projects in conflict situations around the world. The publication mentioned “humanitarian information” and “conflict resolution media” as the terms that frequently occur in the literature describing media for peace development.

It is important to notice that in each of the examples above, media appear as a single component of a comprehensive political process of peace development. Therefore, it would be a mistake to assert that the media can contribute single-handedly to peace. Media are a necessary but not a sufficient element of peace development; they can only aid in the problems of communication, not address the deep-rooted causes of conflict.
The role of media, as Lippmann suggested in the 1920s, is not to substitute for inadequate social organization and institutions. Media can be only as strong as social institutions and processes. Just like pro-war propaganda did not single-handedly cause the war, peace media cannot single-handedly end a conflict. In order to be productive, media need to accompany the institutions in their pursuit of peace building (Lippmann, 1922).

The study is divided into six chapters. The introductory chapter describes the significance of the study, outlines the subject matter and proposes goals and objectives. The second chapter surveys the historical background and discusses studies that informed this research. It includes a review of four areas of literature that provide a strong foundation for this new kind of research. These are media effects, propaganda studies, communication and development, and peace studies. The third chapter describes the methodology used in the study. The rhizomatic approach by Deleuze and Guattari was used as the theoretical foundation for the study of peace media. Therefore, triangulation of three kinds of data was employed. The data consisted of interview transcripts with selected practitioners, texts describing peace media projects and the quantitative audience research conducted by practitioners. Chapter four describes the conflicts, their backgrounds and major media projects. The analysis is presented in chapter five and it is organized based on the elements of Lasswell’s communication model: Who says What to Whom through what Channels with what Effects? The final chapter presents a set of recommendations for future practice and a potentially new area of mass communication research.
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review section of this study is designed to be one of the major contributions to the practical effort. Practitioners implementing projects in conflict situations rarely attempt to examine the results of academic inquiry. Realistically, they are focused on implementation and do not have access to scattered academic evidence. One example of this problem can be found in the practitioners’ reports which often contain assumptions of powerful and direct media effects. It is not uncommon to hear that media have been directly responsible for wars in Rwanda and Bosnia. Almost every examination of the role of media starts with the statement that media lead to war (Price and Thompson, 2002). On the other hand, some practitioners assume that media must have the similar ability to deliver messages inspiring peaceful conflict resolution.

There is little evidence to support this position and it vastly overstates and simplifies the problem. Without trying to deny media’s influence in initiating violence, this study examines academic literature in order to determine the conditions under which this can occur. Ultimately, this review attempts to synthesize the academic literature to improve the understanding of both concepts – media and peace.

In an attempt to explore previous research on the topic, several academic fields need to be investigated. As previously mentioned, the idea of peace media resonated with Lasswell, Lippmann and Bernays at the beginning of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century. However, efforts to organize this idea into a coherent practice has been lacking, thus the support in the literature is at best scattered. The literature that can support peace media practice is
spread so widely among mass communication studies and peace studies that nothing short of a comprehensive research of both fields would bring any sensible results. Furthermore, the literature encompasses several sub-fields of inquiry within each area. On the mass communication side, it includes an examination of media effects, propaganda research and communication for development practices. On the peace studies side, the political science literature examines violence formation, conflict resolution and peace development. Therefore, a multi-dimensional literature review examines several academic disciplines: media effects, propaganda, peace and conflict studies, and communication for development.

Media Effects

The fundamental issue to be addressed in this part of the study is the contemporary understanding of the impact that mass communication channels have in a modern society. This study takes into consideration the development of the media effects theories through the 20th century. As pointed out by McQuail (1994), media effect theories start with the powerful effects phase of the 1920s, continues with the first empirical tests that led to the limited and moderate effects theories and evolved into the rediscovery of powerful effects. In order to understand the potential of how media can contribute toward peace, a historical examination of media effects is necessary. Media effects theory can help us understand how an audience best learns from the media. It further explains a variety of conditions where media are more or less effective. Finally, research conducted in both World Wars reveals how the impact of media may be
different during armed conflict. All these issues should help guide the contemporary implementation of peace media projects in societies in conflict.

Propaganda-Related Literature

In the absence of literature on the relationship between media and peace, there is one field that can be investigated for its apparent commonalities – the literature that describes the relationship between media and war. The role of media in promoting war objectives has been regularly studied in the field of propaganda research. The role of media in World War I and World War II pointed to the powerful effects of mass persuasion for political purposes (Lasswell, 1927; Bernays, 1928). After World War II, the study of propaganda briefly diminished (Ellul, 1964) only to reappear in response to the Vietnam War (Hallin, 1986; Strobel, 1996). The latest phase of research acknowledges the survival of propaganda despite the free flow of information and the proliferation of news sources and channels (Chomsky and Herman 1988; Taylor, 1995). Extensive research in this field appears to be a good springboard for the development of peace media theory. In order to understand the way media can be used to promote peace development, it is logical to investigate the propaganda literature.

Peace Studies

In order to understand how media may influence peace development, it is crucial to examine the field of peace studies. This literature of peace studies entails a comprehensive attempt to understand the complex nature of conflicts, their causes, resolutions, possible prevention and reconciliation. The layers of peace development research consulted and reviewed here are located in studies of peace building, peace

Communication for Development

Communication for development is one branch of academic research that embraces the potential role of media in positive social development. It has a relatively short history, but is nonetheless rich with examples of practical media application in different aspects of social development. Communication for development is based on the hypothesis that people act when they are informed and motivated. Some of the original studies that described the use of audio-video media for diffusion of innovation and transfer of knowledge confirmed this hypothesis (Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada, 1998). Communication for development utilizes known communication techniques to further social development. Social marketing is the technique that utilizes advertising and marketing to promote attitudinal change. Using entertainment to educate people about development is a technique called entertainment education. (Servaes, 1989; Nariman, 1993; Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada, 1998).

Media Effects Literature Review

The traditional media effects theories hold enormous potential in providing theoretical support for peace media. Any application that engages media in promoting a specific type of behavior would be unsubstantiated without a thorough analysis of how the media affect people.

The question of media effects has been at the focus of mass communication studies ever since its development in the 1920s. Defined as a “relationship between the
media content and its audiences,” (Newbold, 1995, p. 119) media effects have been both confirmed and disputed throughout the history of mass communication studies. Even today, after many years and many studies, there is little agreement among the scholars in regards to the magnitude of effects or even the appropriate way to approach the problem (McQuail, 1994). Contending theories of mass communication effects have been one of the hallmarks of mass communication studies.

Incappable of complete integration, all attempts to provide a comprehensive overview become chronological descriptions of developments in the field (McQuail, 1994; Baran and Davis 1995; Lowery and DeFleur, 1995). In this kind of environment, a synthesis of media effects theories into a single theory has yet to emerge. These conditions, even though not necessarily detrimental to mass communication studies, have prevented integration of media effects with other academic disciplines, i.e. conflict resolution. The best answer to the question “what can media do to help us defeat the conflict?” posed by peace studies experts could be answered by their mass communication colleagues in the following way: some media messages may influence some people under some conditions.

Working within these parameters, it is best to look at the types of media messages, people (audience) and conditions in the environment when media have the most powerful impact. Schramm and Roberts (1977) identified three factors — the audience factor, message factor (mass media), and situation (environment) — for their analysis of mass communication effects. For the purpose of this study, these factors are examined through the prism of a conflict situation.
Audience

At the end of World War I, analyses of mass communication assumed the highly powerful influence of media during the war (Lippmann, 1922; Lasswell, 1928; Bernays 1928). Reflecting on the power of government-controlled propaganda, scholars envisioned mass communication as a means to take societies in the directions desired by the elite (Lippmann, 1922). Informed by stimulus-response psychology, those social scientists believed that mass media stimuli can control and persuade the entire audience to behave in a certain way. The dominant belief of that time, based on little empirical research, painted a picture of a monolithic, vulnerable audience that is passively absorbing media messages.

With the introduction of empirical research came doubts about both the direct effects of media and the passivity of the audience. Countering the dominant view, Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet (1944) initially suggested that the mediated message is often relayed to the audience through “opinion leaders.” In the early 1950s, Barelson et al. (1954) and Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955) explained that in informal social relationships, leaders gain information from the mass media that they filter down to other, less active people. They also described the audience’s use of media as a selective process (Katz 1980; Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955). Consequently, their perception becomes rather selective, thus contributing to selective exposure, selective perception and selective retention.

Building on this research, Katz and Lazarsfeld concluded that people actively attend to and select messages that fit their preconceptions. This was later restated as the
reinforcement role of media — the theory that media do not change as much as they reinforce already preexisting audience beliefs (Klapper, 1960).

In the 1950s, it was found that audience activity depends on the existence of specific needs. Herzog (1944) and Barelson (1949) concluded that media are often consumed in a response to a need. This “uses and gratification” model helped us understand that the audience is much more active than was believed in the early stages (Katz, 1959; Blumler & Katz, 1974). The next few decades were spent in a debate over whether the audience was more passive or active. McQuail (1994) suggests that the balance seems to be on the active audience side despite new challenging claims from Gerbner (Gerbner et al. in Bryant and Zillmann, 1986) and Noelle-Neumann (1984) that ascribe the powerful impact to the media, thus reviving the concept of the “helpless audience.”

The question that needs to be raised here concerns the impact of conflict on the audience and the audience’s reaction to the media in the conflict. What is known about people in conflict is a matter of common sense; they are scared, feel uncertain and vulnerable. At the same time, their need for information increases rapidly. Information from the media can play a decisive role in obtaining a certain level of security. Information about the possible threats, the direction and level of violence, even basic information about supplies, is often shared through the media. An anecdotal example of the increase in need for information is the attacks of September 11, 2001. At that time, several major internet news service capacities were overwhelmed (i.e. the CNN website
experienced ten times the traffic from the day before), phone calls flooded the major phone companies and TV ratings sky-rocketed (CNN, 2001).

In the model that describes the ability of media to set the public agenda, McCombs (McCombs, 1994) identifies this situation as a “need for orientation” and claims that the higher the need for orientation, the stronger the impact of media on its audience. In other words, at a time of conflict, the range of uncertainties in the environment increases the audience’s need for information, which subsequently makes them more vulnerable to the influence of media. Gerbner (Gerbner et al., 1986) comes to the same conclusion in his study of “heavy viewers,” when he claims that people more prone to share the imagery of the television are the ones who tend to watch more TV. In such a situation this need for information creates a disproportionate number of heavy viewers, dependent on the information. Ball-Rokeach and DeFleur (1976) claim that the more people rely on the media supply, the more influence media have in their environment.

On the other side of the argument, Krugman (1965) suggests that when there is a high degree of involvement in a given issue, media tend to be less influential. McCombs agrees when he claims that agenda setting has little effect with the “obtrusive” issues — ones that can be experienced personally without the media interference. However, my direct participation in a Bosnian war did not help me understand the war beyond what was happening in my immediate surrounding. The war within society, though an obtrusive issue, is still to a large extent an enigmatic event for the majority of its people. Very few occurrences of great importance happen in front of one’s eyes. My need for
orientation was at its highest because I needed the media account of the larger context (political negotiations, battles in the rest of the territory, humanitarian help etc.) to satisfy my need for orientation. Those overall occurrences determined the development of the war more than actual violent events nearby. In other words, the need for orientation during the war prevails over its partially obtrusive nature.

The uses and gratification model explains how and why audiences use the media. It shifts the focus from the study of media to the study of audiences. It looks at the social and psychological origins of needs and how they determine the use and expectation of the media.

In terms of audience, we have learned that what they bring to the media interacts with what media brings to them (Katz, Blumler and Gurevitch, 1974; Herzog 1944). No longer can we perceive the audience to be atomized and vulnerable to the influence of media, but we see them as active individuals and groups with specific needs, values, intellectual capabilities and personal characteristics. Therefore, these personal attributes of the audience determine to a large degree the way a message is received (Cantril, 1940; Hovland et al., 1949). For example, from the research on *Why We Fight* films from World War II, we learn that a better-educated and more intelligent audience can learn more from the media content. They are also more likely to engage in more thorough analysis (Hovland et al., 1949). If it is likely that the audience will be exposed to the other side of an argument, both sides of the issue should be presented. Two-sided arguments also seemed to be more appealing to this demographic, while the less educated audience seemed to have been more easily persuaded by one-sided messages. Those
kinds of messages are also better received in cases where the audience already agrees with the message. However, the two-sided arguments were more persuasive than ones that oppose the initial argument (Hovland et al., 1949). This means that in a post-violence environment, where groups’ conflicting beliefs and opinions are expected, when media becomes free and versatile, “peace media” should present two-sided arguments. This also goes for the intelligent and better-educated population, such as journalists, community leaders and local politicians — in other words, opinion leaders.

From research conducted by Hovland and his colleagues, we understood that people can obtain both information and attitudes; but this does not necessarily happen simultaneously. Even though these are closely intertwined, information gain does not necessarily lead to attitude change. This information is invaluable to practitioners evaluating peace media projects who may be too quick to conclude that media have failed if they do not produce attitudinal or behavioral change. In some cases, contributing to cognitive knowledge is the only achievement of the media project. It was also found that people attend to information that fits their preconceptions (Klapper, 1960; Lazarsfeld et al., 1944). In terms of conflict, people may reject or may not even hear information that is not in accordance with their beliefs. This coincides with findings from Bandura’s social learning theory (1986), which states that people will learn the best from the behavior that they understand to be beneficial. It is very easy to present peace as beneficial and to evoke people’s preconceptions, which favor peace over war and conflict.
Environment

When Albert Bandura introduced his social cognitive theory, he claimed that human personality is influenced by interaction among the environment, behavior and the person’s cognition and emotions (Bandura, 1986). These factors are in a bidirectional interacting relationship where no single one is predominant but all influence each other. In a conflict situation, one of these factors—environment—can be isolated in an attempt to examine its influence on audiences. An important question to be answered here deals with what we know about the conditions in the conflict environment and how the environment impacts the media and audiences.

Mass communication research was institutionalized immediately after World War I and a great deal of research was carried out in response to the propaganda of both World War I and World War II (Bernays, 1928; Creel, 1920; Doob, 1935; Lasswell, 1927). Scholars also continue to examine the use of media in the World War II (Ellul, 1963; Zemen, 1964; Thum and Thum, 1972) and Cold-War conflicts (Hallin, 1986; Jowett and O’Donnell, 1998; Chomsky and Herman, 1988). Thus, we should be able to describe the conflict media environment condition with a great deal of accuracy.

One of the first studies of media effects was Hadley Cantril’s analysis of reactions to the War of Worlds (Cantril, 1940). The reaction to this radio broadcast of the H.G. Wells’s dramatized play that described a Martian invasion on Earth helped provide insight into the importance of environment and its relation to effects. In this monumental analysis, Cantril quotes listeners’ responses to the reasons they panicked and started fleeing their homes. One of the chapters of Cantril’s book, “Being in a troublesome
world, suggests that one reason for the panic had to do with the recent war fears and the possibility of a foreign attack or invasion. Historical conditions at the time of broadcast, namely Nazi politics in 1938, produced uncertainty, which consequently greatly influenced the way people behaved upon hearing the broadcast. This tells us that a conflict environment, full of uncertainty and insecurity, is an environment that facilitates media effects to a greater degree. It is also safe to assume that if the conflict environment facilitates uncertainty, then the need for orientation is rather high and media effects are more powerful (McCombs, 1994). From a development perspective, Cambridge (2002) argues that in a time of stress, consumption of media increases, thus increasing the effects of media.

What we know about the areas of conflict in general is that media systems are underdeveloped and rarely diverse. It is not uncommon to see just a few news sources dominate the media environment (e.g. at the time of conflict in Rwanda, there was a single national radio broadcaster and two weekly newspapers, *Imvaho* and *La Relèvè*). In his study on cultivation, Gerbner (Gerbner et al., 1986) explains that in countries with homogenous and repetitive television content, the opportunity for media to cultivate a set of beliefs is more predictable and consistent. Noelle-Neumann (1984) came to a similar conclusion when she explained how consonant media content generates a dominant opinion that silences the opinion of a minority for fear of isolation. A war environment reinforces a monolithic, unified response to reality and contributes to a crowd mentality. It is the ‘spiral of silence’ that best depicts a war situation – an environment in which prevalence of the majority opinion leads to the suppression of alternative expression
(Noelle-Neumann, 1984). This explanation outlines two different directions for media development during conflict. Firstly, if the consonant content of media highlights the conflict, the proliferation of new and different voices is the way to counter homogeneity. Preferably, if there is an opportunity to build a new media system, such a system ought to be saturated with the images and messages that emphasize the benefits of a peaceful society.

One of the main criticisms of Lazarsfeld’s research of the 1940 election campaigns (Chaffee and Hochheimer, 1985) focuses on his methodology of measuring media effects in an environment where two political campaigns were competing with information that was often contradictory. What Lazarsfeld did not take into account was that the media net effect is a zero-sum effect, “all those effects favoring the winning candidate, minus those favoring the loser” (Chaffee and Hochheimer, 1985, p. 273). These environments are characterized by competing, contradictory information that negates and denies each other. A conflict environment is hardly like the election environment. Audiences in conflict are often exposed to heavily one-sided messages with little exposure to the opposing information. This is why it is invaluable to understand that the minimal effects of a bipartisan (election) environment may not translate into a more complex conflict environment.

On the contrary, Ball-Rokeach and DeFleur (1976) account for the increase of dependency on the media by suggesting that such dependency is most obvious in two situations a) when these media supply information central to the needs of the audience and b) when some sort of instability increases uncertainty and ambiguity. There can
hardly be any arguments that a war environment entails both of these conditions. Thus, the authors conclude, increased dependency on the media further increases its effect on the audience.

In terms of social relations, conflicts tend to occur in societies that are in nature more traditional than modern. The society of the post-World War II U.S embodied some of the conditions (e.g. lack of modern media, community relations) that are common in traditional societies. At the time The People’s Choice study (Lazarsfeld et al., 1944) was conducted, social groups and social ties played an important role in the distribution of news. In such a society, the greater influence of opinion leaders and social interactions are more prominent, hence, the two-step flow model may be more appropriate (ibid, 1944). For peace media practitioners, this means that opinion leaders and interpersonal interaction must be considered in planning for a successful media project. To sum up, a conflict environment brings about the conditions of uncertainty, insecurity and “silence” that enhance the effects of media. This realization can serve as a great opportunity for the forces of good rather than evil to take advantage of such conditions and promote peace through the media.

Media/Messages

Generally, media can influence any process of social change in two directions. As suggested by Kurt Lewin (1958), one can pursue social change either by aiding the forces in the desired direction or by suppressing the forces of the opposite direction. Translated into a conflict environment, peace reconciliation in a society can be achieved by either suppressing the actors and processes that fuel the conflict or by supporting their peaceful
counterparts. Such should be the role of media institutions in transition towards conflict reconciliation.

One direction in media development would be to eliminate the media practices, messages and resources that may have enabled the conflict to flourish. The majority of conflicts in the last fifteen years have been characterized by a very close association between media and violence (Price and Thompson, 2002). It would be logical to assume that media can benefit the peace process through the repression of the opposite force — war propaganda. This has been done in many cases of conflict such as when radio broadcasts in Rwanda were banned (Metzl, 1997a; 1997b) or when transmitters of Bosnian nationalistic stations were taken down (Thompson, 1999). Nonetheless, this study is mostly concerned with discovering appropriate methods to aid the forces of peace. It is interesting that a large volume of literature exist on how media lead to conflict, but very little on the role of media in directing peace development. Nevertheless, it is understandable that until we can claim that media can have a positive social influence, all we can do is suppress what we believe are the negative forces.

There is no single way that media affects its audience. Unfortunately, almost a century after the first mass communication analyses we know more about the limitations of media than about their capabilities. On one hand, media does not have the power to directly inject a certain behavior into people’s brains as was once believed (Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955; Klapper, 1960). Then again, the effects of the media are neither minimal nor negligible. Even though media are almost never the sole agent of change,
they are a prominent factor in complex social systems that induce change (Severin and Tankard, 1992).

In the last 80 years, especially between 1930 and 1980, a number of studies yielded a variety of explanations of how media affect audiences (De Fleur and Dennis, 1998; Lowery and DeFleur, 1995). The clearest way to describe media effects research is to present the chronological development of the studies and theories. After the early mass communication analyses of the use of media in World War I, the concept of all-powerful media was clearly the dominant paradigm (Lasswell, 1927; Lippmann 1922, 1925; Bernays 1923, 1928) What the authors of the post-war period described as direct, powerful effects of propaganda was suddenly perceived dangerous in a time of peace. The potentially manipulative nature of propaganda caused many to have second thoughts about its utilization. This produced a dominant effect paradigm that is best summarized by the hypodermic needle metaphor, which states that media has a power to “inject ideas, attitudes, and disposition towards behavior into a passive atomized and extremely vulnerable audience” (Gitlin in Boyd-Barett and Newbold, 1995). In the 1920s, the Payne studies helped explain the influence of movies in constructing audience reality (Lowery and DeFleur, 1995). Movies can provide models for behavior, influence attitudes and shape interpretations of reality.

Along the same lines was the research of the effects of movies on World War II soldiers by Hovland in his research on the Why We Fight series. The series of U.S. films were a propaganda effort by the U.S. government hoping to persuade the draftees about the necessity to join the war in Europe. However, the results were slightly different
(Hovland et al., 1949). Hovland concluded that movies could successfully transfer a large amount of informational content effectively to a large number of people in a short time. Although the films succeeded in increasing soldiers’ cognitive knowledge of the war, there was no evidence to show the movie’s decisive influence on attitudes and motivation. Furthermore, he speculated that source credibility is important in obtaining immediate change, but has less impact in the long term. Over time, the audience remembered parts of the message even though they could not remember the credibility of its source. Therefore, the implications of these findings for a conflict environment are the following: a) negative propaganda fueling hatred may be remembered even if it comes from a questionable source and b) the results of peace media’s influence may not immediately result in a behavioral change because informational gain does not translate into a change in behavior.

A similar conclusion was underlined in a landmark study by Klapper (1960), which claimed that media are involved in an interplay of social, behavioral, environmental and other factors that induce change only as a set of complex variables. Klapper’s (1960) paradigm-changing study states that:

Mass-media ordinarily does not serve as a necessary and sufficient cause of audience effect, but rather functions through a nexus of mediating factors and influences. These mediating factors render mass communication as a contributory agent in a process of reinforcing the existing conditions. (p. 8)

Klapper’s study appeared after the series of studies that were hoping to find empirical evidence but failed to show direct and powerful effects. However, Gitlin (1995) explains that those studies relied on short-term experiments and surveys, neglected the measurement of cumulative effects and focused on behavioral rather than
on cognitive effects. He states that the effects were so narrowly defined that they were likely to show at most only slight effect changes. Many subsequent studies focused on cumulative effects over a longer period of time and explored conditions under which the effects were more likely to happen.

Lippmann (1977) originally focused on how people respond not just to the real environment but also to the environment and experiences with which they do not have any immediate experience. He named this the pseudo-environment and claimed that it existed in the form of “pictures in our head.” Gerbner et al. (1986) agreed and suggested that in modern society, TV is the most significant contributor to this pseudo-environment or, as he phrased it, the “symbolic environment.” It is through this environment that media are able to cultivate thoughts and attitudes. People have been known to acquire knowledge and behavior through modeling and imitation (Bandura, 1986). The question to be asked here is: if this symbolic environment is saturated with images of peace instead of conflict, can such a media source cultivate peace in a society? The answer would probably be affirmative; however, Gerbner suggests that the result of such an effort should happen through cumulative (repetitive, long-range, consistent exposure) effects on the cognition rather than short-term effects on behavior. Based on this analysis, it may be more important that peace messages are present across the media environment in all genres and characters rather than in an isolated persuasive effort. In his theory called “mainstreaming,” Gerbner predicts that heavy viewing will override differences in perspective coming from other variables (i.e. political preference, nationality etc.) This gives us hope that an audience that is very involved in a shared media experience that
promotes positive messages of peace is more likely to overcome inherited differences that may have caused the conflict.

Another way to acquire a positive effect from media could be in the form of social learning (Bandura, 1986). Social learning explains that people acquire behavior by observing and then store those observations as a guide for future behavior. Similarly, media messages are capable of evoking semantically related concepts. This effect of media known as priming indicates that an idea expressed in the media can activate an idea in the audience that is similar in meaning. Many examples in meta-analyses by Andison (1977) and Chachere (1991) show that witnessing violence increases the likelihood of aggressive behavior (Jo and Berkowitz, 1994). However, there are conditions under which priming is most likely to happen: the meaning of the message must be interpreted as intended, interpretation must be worthwhile and justified and there needs to be a positive identification with the character. Assuming that these conditions are met, there is no reason why a pro-social behavior cannot be primed in the quest for peace.

The agenda-setting model, by Shaw and McCombs (McCombs, 1994) presents another approach to the study of media effects. It does not argue that media have power to inject attitudes and behavior into people. On the contrary, it stipulates the scope of their thinking. Media do not tell us what to think, but rather what to think about (Cohen, 1963). In other words, the public often comes to share an agenda similar to the one that media present to them on a daily basis. McCombs admits that real-life events determine the media agenda more than any other factor. However, he acknowledges the influence of
politicians, journalists and journalistic practices. This would imply that if the events in the environment are violent then conflict-oriented media would mirror this as their own agenda. This is where the importance of a gatekeeper or the news editor comes into play. Gadi Wolfsfeld’s analysis (1997) of Northern Ireland newspaper editorials shows how editorial practices pursued the agenda of peace while maintaining journalistic integrity and professionalism. He examined Catholic and Protestant newspaper editorials during the peace negotiation in 1998. Out of 152 editorials, only two were opposed to a peace agreement. Editors in Northern Ireland apparently felt little need to provide a balance between proponents and opponents of peace. This finding is especially surprising given that these editorials were written during periods of violence, when the process appeared to be in danger. It is possible that these practices followed the social responsibility role of the press, explained by Seibert et al. in 1963. The social responsibility of journalists is the professional sense to represent diversity of opinion. In addition, the journalists are accountable not only to their audiences but to the government that reserves the right to criticize the media. There is no doubt that the agenda of social responsibility would facilitate the agenda of peace development.

Marshal McLuhan (1964) sees media’s importance in form rather than content. McLuhan’s statement that “media is the message” asserts that the important effect of the medium comes from its form, not the content. Translated into a conflict environment, the form of media at a time of peace rebuilding can be more powerful than the actual message. Therefore, media institutions may be the place where the reconciliation or transformation of conflict should begin. The fact that there can be a medium that can be
listened to, watched or read by all sides involved in conflict may be more important than any specific story or message. Moreover, if this media project employs journalists from both communities, such a change in form, according to McLuhan, is more important than the message to the audience.

In summary, even though we are still unsure about the impact of media on behavioral change, we know about the potential of media to influence the beliefs, opinions and attitudes that eventually translate into action. We know that media impact people in both the short and long term. This impact is dependent on a variety of variables. Media have powerful effects under the right circumstances when appropriate communication techniques are used (Severin and Tankard, 1992). We have seen that a conflict environment is a situation that gives media more prominence and that certain techniques are more likely to impact the audience. Media effects are considerable and must not be ignored in the effort to transform a society of conflict into a society of peace.

Propaganda Studies Literature Review

Most studies that explore the relationship between wars and media focus on the exploitation of media for war promotion. The frequent hypothesis in the literature claims considerable impact of media on the promotion of war and then assumes the impact of media on the promotion of peace, conflict resolution or conflict prevention. Therefore, this study will examine the recent evolution of this relationship between wars and media, while proposing the development of comprehensive media practices to employ mass media in peace processes.
Firstly, in order to understand the potential for the positive use of media in conflicts, it is crucial to pay detailed attention to the literature that describes the evolution of propaganda in the last century. The literature confirms that propaganda is not just a 20th century phenomenon and that it has been used and debated as far back as Ancient Greece. From a historical point of view, prior to the development of mass media, the leaders with great powers lacked a true mass audience channel. Napoleon, Caesar and Alexander the Great were considered the ancestors of modern propagandists, but their influence was limited to the spread of their doctrine through coins, art monuments and cultural performances (Jowett and O’Donnell, 1999). The word “propaganda” originated in the sixteenth century during the Counter–Reformation when Pope Gregory XV established the Congregation to Propagate the Faith (Taylor, 1992). Today, the word “propaganda” implies a negative, pejorative connotation. Webster’s dictionary (Merriam-Webster’s collegiate, 1985, p. 942) defines it as the “spreading of ideas, information, or rumor for the purpose of helping or injuring an institution, a cause, or a person.” Definitions of propaganda vary from the notion of a general, mostly neutral organized process of persuasion to the making of a deliberately one-sided statement to a mass audience (Lasswell, 1927) and notions of manufacturing consent (Lippmann, 1928) or cognitive engineering (Bernays, 1928) to the perspective of falsehood, desire for power, Machiavellianism, crooked in intent (Cole, 1996; p. 17). Jowett and O’Donnell (1999) define this active process of persuasion as a “deliberate, systematic attempt to shape perception, manipulate cognition, and direct behavior to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist” (p. 6).
However, in *Webster’s Revised Unabridged Dictionary*, 1913 edition, propaganda is described as “any organization or plan for spreading a particular doctrine or a system of principles” (p.1148). Furthermore, according to the *Encyclopedia Britanica*, 1911 edition, propaganda was understood as an organization or association for the spreading of particular beliefs or opinions and referred mainly to religious persuasion (The Encyclopedia Britannica, 1911). The negative connotations, as can be seen from these two documents, are entirely absent from the early understanding of propaganda. Propaganda of that time, at worst, was nothing more than a neutral concept and as such resembles the Ancient Greek view of persuasion as a form of “rhetoric” (Taylor, 1995).

Propaganda evolved and became a powerful tool of mass persuasion with the emergence of mass channels of communication, newspapers in the 19th and radio and television in the 20th century. In the 19th century, the newspapers and magazines played a significant role in the American Civil War and the Spanish-American War of 1898 (Jowett & O’Donnell, 1999). More importantly, World War I was a crucial period in the development of organized political persuasion. For the first time, the governments and ministries of almost all nations involved in the war consolidated their efforts in the pursuit of the most successful techniques for mass persuasion. The new technology allowed for mass-produced print materials, newspapers and movies to reach a wide audience, while government endorsement provided national credibility and an orchestrated effort. The ability to influence the people on a mass level is what distinguished propaganda from the ancient kind.
The British government should be given credit for providing the first example of propaganda organization. The War Propaganda Bureau and its successors would later be modeled by the American and, much later, Nazi efforts to consolidate public opinion and support for war. The British focused their propaganda on multiple agendas. The support at home for entering the war was low. This promoted the government to focus on boosting morale in relation to conscription, gaining support of neutral countries and countering German arguments (Ward, 1989). Its use of the press, posters, pamphlets and films accompanied organized lectures, patriotic clubs and rallies in support of the armed conflict (Jowett and O’Donnell, 1999). Despite being elected on a peace platform in 1916, President Wilson helped institutionalize propaganda in the United States. Two weeks after the U.S. entered the war in April 1917, Wilson established the Committee of Public Information (CPI), popularly known as the Creel committee (named for George Creel, the head of the committee). The Committee’s activity aimed at achieving political consensus and social cohesion in support of the United States’ engagement in combat, which was unfavorable at the time. Activities of the Committee included newsletters, press releases, a pamphlet series and live speakers (“four minute men”). Later the Committee expanded its domain to motion pictures (Cole, 1998). The success of American propaganda is attributed to the Committee’s decision to employ the techniques that Americans manage best — salesmanship. Creel’s approach is best explained in the title of his book *How We Advertised America* where he confesses that:

there was no part of the great war machinery that we did not touch, no medium of appeal that we did not employ. The printed word, the spoken word, the motion picture, the telegraph, the cable, the wireless, the poster, the sign-board – all these
were used in our campaign to make our own people and other peoples understand the causes that compelled America to take arms. (p.5)

These accomplishments would become valuable lessons in the future war plans of both democracies and tyrannical regimes. The triumph of the Allied propaganda was presented by the Nazis as an excuse for the German defeat. Taylor (1995) describes German propaganda inadequacy, poor organization and lack of coordination as a part of the problem leading to their defeat. Even Hitler paid tribute to the power of the Allied propaganda in *Mein Kampf* where he devoted two chapters to the subject of propaganda and lessons that could be learned from World War I (Taylor, 1995). Contemporary authors concluded that the success of Allied propaganda had both highly valuable and detrimental consequences. Firstly, the ancient phenomenon of propaganda was finally institutionalized, thus enabling scientific, empirical examination. Secondly, the claim of direct media effects triggered increased interest in the emerging field of mass communication.

A few authors published landmark research in the 1920s describing effective employment of mass media in conflict; Lasswell (1927) wrote *Propaganda Technique in World War I*, Lippmann (1922, 1925) explained the phenomenon of public opinion in *The Phantom Public* and *Public Opinion* and Bernays (1923, 1928) wrote about both issues (*Crystallizing Public Opinion* and *Propaganda*) helping to establish the field of public relations. What the authors of the post-war period described as the direct, powerful effects of propaganda were perceived as dangerous in the time of peace. The potentially manipulative nature of propaganda caused many to have second thoughts about its utilization.
The post-World War I writers such as Lasswell, Lippmann and Bernays reacted strongly to what became an organized effort of persuasion on a mass scale. Their reports of the many instances of governmental control of information flow and deception triggered, quite rightfully, negative connotations about the phenomenon of propaganda. Nonetheless, the authors never entirely rejected the potential of propaganda in the “old” definition of the word. Prior to World War I, the word lacked the commonly assumed negative connotation.

It is quite possible to recognize the idea of peace media effort in Lasswell’s sincere proposal from 1927:

Let us, therefore, reason together,…and find the good, and when we have found it, let us find out how to make up the public mind to accept it. Inform, cajole, bamboozle and seduce in the name of the public good (Lasswell, 1927, p. 5).

Lasswell proposed that instead of mobilizing a community’s animosity against the enemy, methods of reconciliation could possibly be “mobilized” in an effort to bring peace and harmony to the community. Trying to build on the practices and methods of efficient propaganda, this new effort challenged the notion that propaganda is inherently detrimental and innately malicious. Taylor (1995) presumes admirably when he states that if the history of propaganda in the twentieth century appears to be largely of abuse, it does not follow that this has always been, and always will be, the case.

On the other side, Lazarsfeld and Merton address this issue with a little more skepticism (Lazarsfeld and Merton, 1971). Reacting to media developments during World War I and World War II, they presented a grimmer scenario in their claim that:
It is widely felt that the mass media comprise a powerful instrument which may be used for good or for ill and that, in the absence of adequate controls, the latter possibility is on the whole more likely (Lazarsfeld and Merton, 1971, p.555).

Thus, the period between the wars was marked by the skillful adaptation of propaganda in support of Nazi ideology. The worst-case scenario of propaganda skeptics came true when Joseph Goebbels practically applied theoretical predictions of post-war social scientists. Goebbels masterminded the most effective effort of mass persuasion, heavily relying on propaganda messages in motion pictures and radio broadcasting. Aware of the importance of media, Goebbels controlled the press school for journalists and had a hold over radio broadcasting (Cole, 1998). He induced the industry to produce affordable radio sets, installed loudspeakers in public places and sent “radio wardens” to monitor the use of those radios (Jowett & O’Donnell, 1999). Between 1933 and 1942, the German radio audience increased from 4.5 to 16 million (Thomson, 1977).

The Nazis mastered the use of slogans and bold-colored visuals, but most importantly perfected the use of town rallies arousing emotional frenzy and support for their leader. Furthermore, the town rallies were then reproduced in Nazi newsreels and shown to audiences all over Germany. This kind of propaganda was exceptionally persuasive, as manifested by the historical persistence of the symbols such as the swastika in popular culture more than 50 years later (Jowett & O’Donnell, 1999). The most malignant impact of such powerful propaganda techniques was an orchestrated effort against the Jewish minority. The vilification of Jews was the central theme of all propaganda efforts. It was perpetuated through vicious racial stereotyping and an open promotion of hatred. Such themes were prominently featured in most speeches,
newspapers and pamphlets, but nothing was as notorious as *The Eternal Jew*, a movie that compared Jews to rats.

The effectiveness of U.S. propaganda during World War II pales by comparison with Nazi propaganda. This could be attributed to post-World War I congressional opposition to propaganda in the U.S. and thus the weakened scientific research of the once popular 1920’s topic. The Institute for Propaganda Analysis, formed in 1937, was meant to be a continuation of the propaganda studies with a goal of educating the American public about propaganda. Though widely read, the newsletter it produced called *Propaganda Analysis* ceased publication in 1939. The Institute followed the same path shortly thereafter (Sproule, 1997; Rogers, 1997).

Post World War II mass communication research is characterized by several changes. Studies of persuasion replaced propaganda research. The studies of media effects seemed to have emerged as the new focus of communication research. Qualitative research of communication effects was replaced by statistical and quantitative research dominated by surveys and experiments. All these developments helped marginalize the study of propaganda after World War II. Ellul (1964) accuses American social scientists of abandoning the topic and characterizes this period as “intellectual surrender” of the phenomenon of propaganda.

Furthermore, post-war mass communication research avoided the direct examination of the relation between media and conflicts. This could be attributed to the lack of major conflicts between nation states. The question of the role of media in conflict was raised again in response to Vietnam War; however, the approach to analysis was
s slightly different this time. The popular belief of the time was that newly developed watchdog journalism, free of government control, could defy governmental propaganda (Hallin, 1986; Strobel, 1996).

Prior to the Vietnam War, media were in support of the government goals and rarely challenged its policy. Once the need to engage in the war was established, media willingly accepted censorship and submitted their reports to governmental control. During the Korean War, media remained in alliance with the government. The censorship became formal as the public support for the war withered. Television came of age during the Vietnam War and directly delivered horrifying images of war to the American public. Because formal censorship was never imposed, reporters’ vivid accounts of the battles (e.g. Tet Offensive) greatly impacted American public. This seemingly unrestricted coverage of the war was believed to have greatly contributed to the erosion of public support for the war and the withdrawal of the American troops from Vietnam. However, both Hallin and Strobel concluded that even if it seemed that the media were free of propagandistic influences, they operated in accordance with the administration and they barely impacted government policy. Both authors claim that media followed the agenda set up by the government, not the other way round. The same assumption was made 30 years later in reference to another debate about the popularity of the new 24-hour cable news programming best represented by the Cable News Network (CNN). Soon after the first Gulf War, but especially after the operation in Somalia and the infamous incident in Mogadishu, the influence of media coverage on government policy in general was a prominent issue. Leading proponents in this debate were prominent journalists Nik
Gowing and Steven Livingston. Gowing (1997) suggested that the evidence of the power of media to make an impact on a conflict is unsubstantiated. In the cases of Burundi, Rwanda and Bosnia, he found little evidence that international media led to a dramatic change in policy. Lindsey Hilsum, who covered the Rwandan genocide, confirms she was not able “to stop the smallest part of it. At the time I could only watch and survive” (1995, p.148). Gowing concludes that media, as well as governments, are significantly limited in their ability to prevent conflicts. They can only point to it and report on it. Livingston confirms this in his analysis of the so-called CNN effect — the ability of the global network to influence government policies. Not only was this impact found to be limited and indirect (Jacobsen, 2000; Livingston, 1997; Strobel, 1996), but CNN was used as an extended arm of government to further spread propaganda when it employed U.S. military analysts during the NATO invasion of Kosovo (Hammond and Herman, 2000; FAIR, 2000).

The Vietnam War has clearly prompted governments around the world to understand the possible impact of seemingly unrestricted media that do not follow their war agenda. Known as Vietnam syndrome, the lesson of the Vietnam era was a need to manage the access to information during conflict. Taylor (1992) and many others suggest that it was the British who learned the most from the Vietnam syndrome when they applied “an information vacuum” to their operation in the Falklands War in 1982. They managed to control information about the war partly due to the remoteness of the conflict and its scale. Taylor explains how the government managed to keep the media out of the way in their later military engagements:
The British, in other words, had apparently found an antidote to the ‘Vietnam Syndrome’ and the Americans duly went about applying it in the Grenada and Panama operations of 1983 and 1989 when, quite simply, the media were kept well and truly away from the action even though it was taking place in America’s very own back yard. (p.4)

At the same, it became clear that the new emerging media (e.g. the 24-hour coverage of CNN) were unwilling to accept restricted access to the military operations. The government realized that it was impossible to keep the advancing technologies (e.g. camcorders, satellite phones etc.) out of the conflict coverage. Therefore, a press pool system — a small group of invited reporters accompanying troops in combat — was organized and encouraged to share the information with the rest of the media. Introduced during the Panama conflict, the press pool became prominent during the first Gulf War. The United States’ intervention in Iraq is the one conflict situation that produced the most comprehensive body of literature on war and media (Lee, 1998; MacArthur, 1993; Taylor, 1992; Strobel, 1997). According to the experts, the success of “Desert Storm” propaganda comes from the fact that the perception created by the live television coverage (mainly through the press pool reporters and briefings) implied a publicly open and unmanaged war agenda. Despite the seemingly abundant numbers of images from the Gulf, Griffin and Lee (1995) show that the choice of these topics and images strongly favored the American side in conflict.

Nationalistic wars of the 1990s (Rwanda, Bosnia and Sierra Leone) pointed to the dangerous impact of the new electronic media and the correlation they may have had with the dissemination of hate messages and consequent killings (Des Forges, 1999; Kirschke, 1996; Onadipe and Lord, 1997; Thompson, 1999). This type of propaganda was
connected with some of the most vicious genocidal campaigns in the history of humankind. The cases of the Bosnian and Rwandan wars confirmed the malicious effects of media in wars that could only be compared to the brutal Nazi propaganda of anti-Semitic hatred. The Rwandan *Radio-Télévision Libre des Milles Collines* played a crucial role in initiating the slaughter of more than a half a million people in less than one hundred days. The broadcast messages explicitly calling for the murder of the Tutsi population were believed to have contributed to the massacre (Des Forges, 1999; Metzl, 1997a; Kirschke, 1996; Allen & Seaton, 1999). After the conflict, the International War Crimes Tribunal made formal charges and arrested the radio employees for their contribution to the massacres. Bosnian electronic and print media helped promote ethnic conflict when they began promoting the ideology of nationalism. While the explicit broadcast of hate messages was rare, the cumulative impact of biased coverage fuelled the hatred over a long period of time (Buric 2000; Sadkovich, 1998; Thompson, 1999). Taylor and Kent (2000) describe the role of nationalist media in the Bosnian conflict as facilitators of war. The media development in the conflict simply followed the textbook propaganda principles.

A question to be asked at this point is about the ability of media to influence the development of conflict. Gowing (1997) suggests that a direct cause-and-effect relationship between media coverage and conflict deterrence is just a part of conventional wisdom and lacks rigorous analysis. Despite such a call for action back in 1997 (Gowing, 1997), the majority of papers on the topic start by assuming such a correlation without ever addressing the evidence for such claims. On the other hand, war propaganda seems
to be in rather good shape. Only recently, research showed that the American public shared deep misunderstandings in relation to the war in Iraq. In the *Washington Post* poll in August 2003, 69 percent of Americans believed that Saddam Hussain was personally involved in the attacks of September 11 (Milbank, D. and Deane C., 2003, September 6). Needless to say, such evidence was never documented. Also, researchers at the University of Maryland found that 60 percent of Americans shared at least one of the following three misconceptions: 1) evidence of links between al Qaeda and Iraq have been found (48 percent); 2) weapons of mass destruction have been found (22 percent) and 3) world public opinion was favorable to American intervention in Iraq (25 percent) (PIPA, 2003). These findings confirm the rather pessimistic belief that even free and independent media are still susceptible to the influence of government propaganda. It is unlikely that an official report, such as the one by Creel in 1920, will emerge describing the government’s role in creating favorable context in support of the war. It is unlikely that the contemporary media will admit an open collaboration with the government during wars. Though the ties did not disappear, they are not transparent but rather subtle. Chomsky and Herman (1988) attempt to describe the propaganda metamorphosis as a new kind of influence coming from the “filters” of media ownership, the need for advertising, the reliance on government for crucial information or the ideology of contemporary society.

Over the last eighty years, propaganda evolved gradually together with electronic mass media. The current research has confirmed the ability of media to influence people in war and conflicts. The examples from the World Wars, the Vietnam War, and civil
wars of the last decade all suggest considerable media influence among populations in conflict. On the one hand, this powerful potential of propaganda to sway the minds and actions of people matches the direst predictions of an Orwellian type of society. It appears as a potential threat to the individuals who can be manipulated into action against their collective interests. In contrast, it is safe to hypothesize that propaganda techniques and methods could be utilized for a righteous cause — peace development. Reiterating Taylor’s earlier prediction, media have the potential to be utilized rather than abused in a conflict. Media can spread the message of cooperation and coexistence as well as spread the message of hatred.

Peace and Conflict Studies Literature Review

Even though armed conflict has been a common occurrence in history, only recently has conflict research become organized into a cohesive discipline with recognizable practices. This field, still without a universally accepted name, emerged from political science research in the second half of the 20th century. This was a logical historical development considering the major violent conflicts of the first half of the century and the emerging threats of the Cold War. Not only did the world’s major powers find themselves at war with each other twice in the first half of the 20th century but attempts to address international conflicts failed together with the League of Nations, the organization established to eradicate wars. In the meantime, another dispute prompted the superpowers to develop nuclear weapons and steered most of the world’s nations towards the Cold War.
A broad analysis of research regarding peace suggests that this field is based upon the study of its binary opposite – conflict. In other words, the fundamental nucleus of peace research is represented by the study of conflict. Namely, the field of conflict resolution could be regarded as the foundation of peace studies. The first peace studies were the interwar works by Pitrim Sorokin, Quincy Wright and Lewis Richardson (Ward and Gleditsch, 2002). These authors are often credited with the original empirical studies about conflict in the U.S. Additionally, the launching of the *Journal of Conflict Resolution* in 1957 was followed by the establishment of several research centers for conflict resolution across the world (Stanford and Michigan University in the U.S., the Peace Research Institute in Oslo, Norway, and the Richardson Institute in the U.K.).

Perhaps due to geographical disparity, philosophical differences or the short history of the subject, the field of peace studies has not come close to consensus. In the literature, it is not uncommon to encounter terms that complicate a reader’s understanding of conflict or peace studies: conflict transformation, conflict management, conflict resolution, conflict reduction, conflict containment, conflict mitigation etc. (Mitchell, 2003). At the outset, this terminological diversity represents a much larger methodological disparity among peace scholars. Such academic differences are best embodied in the argument over the definition of peace (Galtung, 1969; Rapoport, 1992; Nicholson, 1992). Miall (2000) lists six meanings of peace to indicate the various schools of thought in the field of peace studies. He goes on to point out that three fundamental studies of peace by Galtung (1962), Rapoport (1989) and Burton (1990) largely disagree on the definition of peace and the scope of peace research. To a large degree, this debate
initiated the launch of specialized research that focused exclusively on peace and conflict research. Lederach (1997) sees the field as a combination of the realist-oriented field of international relations and innovative younger sister conflict resolution. To this day however, there are no clear parameters that distinguish peace research from the broader field of political science. Therefore, a need for a unified approach, a general theory and distinctive field is obvious. However, since the issue was brought up by Boulding (1962), this void has yet not been filled (Sandole, 2003).

However, a comprehensive review of the literature reveals certain commonalities in key terminology that may offer a skeleton of a unified analysis. These commonalities (core concepts) are evident in the two fundamental texts by Jeong (2002) Peace and Conflict Studies and Barash and Webel’s (2002) An Introduction in Peace and Conflict Studies (Ryan, 2003). Such core concepts as “negative” and “positive” peace, “direct” and “structural violence,” “conflict resolution,” “conflict transformation” etc. seem to emerge as key components of all of the studies under review. Sandole’s approach is compatible with these findings and is summarized in three categories (Sandole, 2003). He suggests that conflict can be examined in terms of (a) its roots and causes, (b) conflict itself and (c) conflict intervention perspective. Such a distinctive grouping provides a structure to peace studies and, to a certain degree, enables the integration of the current field with other disciplines (i.e. mass communication).

However, several problems arise with the attempt to integrate the findings of mass communication research with peace and conflict studies. Firstly, both fields face a
significant problem — the incompatibility of the environments where the research is conducted.

Effects studies have been predominantly the domain of the North American scientific community. This means that the studies that informed the effects paradigm have been conducted primarily on North American soil. Furthermore, most of the empirical research that influenced mass communication field happened in post-World War II America. This was a time of relative economic prosperity and societal progress as a result of the development of a free market economy. A transparent legal system, open electoral system, freedom of speech, free and diverse media institutions are just some of the features that shaped the environment of such a society. The environment of the American democratic system presumes values and resources that have to be considered to have influenced the audience effects research.

On the other hand, lack of these values and resources in the developing world is exactly what brings some of the population to a violent conflict. Most conflict environments are nothing like post-World War II America. Issues such as the lack of freedom of speech, corrupt legal systems and the absence of transparent institutions are often at the root of conflicts. It would be I not to assume that different conditions have had significant impact on the social reality and therefore the research. In other words, media effects in Erie County, Ohio by Lazarsfeld et al. (1944) or in Decatur, Illinois, by Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955) may significantly differ from effects in Palestine or Sierra Leone. The question becomes increasingly difficult when a regionally specific theory of media effects is applied and assumed to have same effects in a different society. This
issue of validity cannot be underestimated, as this is where media effects and peace studies differ the most. The possibility for integration is greater with the examples from communication for development studies. Such practices and emerging theories are diverse not only in geographical application but in the origins of research. The research that influenced communication for development emerged under the influence of American schools of communication. However, its application has been greatly shaped by scholars from Latin America, India and Africa.

Secondly, the room for integration of both disciplines is very limited. There is hardly any more consensus among social scientists examining conflict than there is among mass communication scholars. Both of the fields are at a point where universal findings and cohesive explanation are unlikely to emerge. Therefore, a more realistic approach to the question of integration should deal with how mass communication and peace studies can complement each other. Firm conclusions that depict approaches to violent conflicts have already been acknowledged and recognized by the field’s theorists and practitioners. We also know more about conditions and variables under which media influence societies. What is needed is the intersection and interaction of outcomes from both areas of research. This review aims to examine the interplay of those concepts. It combines what is known about media effects with the core concepts of peace and conflict research. The result of such a practice should offer a firm theoretical base for peace media efforts.
*Relations between Core Concepts of Peace Studies and Mass Communication*

The key component of all peace analyses has always been the definition of peace. In order to understand the concept of peace, it is necessary to look at conflict and understand its underlying principles. It is ironic that any attempt to approach the issue of peace has to start with the study of its binary opposite — conflict. Defined simply as a pursuit of incompatible goals, conflict can incorporate violence; but violence, as we commonly know it, is not a necessary or sufficient part of a conflict. While conflict is over incompatible goals, violence is directed at doing harm to the other. No one better described this relationship than Johan Galtung. Galtung’s (1964) editorial in the first *Journal of Peace Research* launched a fervent debate in the 1960s and 1970s over the intended focus in studying conflict and peace (Ryan, 2003; Galtung et. al. 2002). The field of conflict resolution would be unthinkable without the contribution from this Norwegian scientist who many consider the founder of academic peace research. The concepts proposed by Galtung — such as direct, structural and cultural violence, his contribution toward defining positive and negative peace; his distinctions between peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding have become milestones in the field. Galtung is probably most famous for introducing the concept of positive peace. Until Galtung’s editorial, peace was defined as the absence of violence. Assuming this definition, to bring peace was simply to reduce or control the violence. While negative peace deals exclusively with the manifestation of violence, not its causes, a positive peace is more than the absence of violence. It is embodied through the pursuit of social justice within and among social groups in conflict. It assumes the fair and equal
distribution of power, which ought to result in a more sustainable and long-lasting peace.

To explain the approach to a positive peace solution, Galtung (1969) introduces three concepts of violence.

- Direct violence is what we generally interpret as physical harm to other people.
- Structural violence is the type of violence that results from social inequality, repression and power inequity in a society. It is manifested in different kinds of social injustices, repressive institutions and institutionalized prejudice.
- Cultural violence is another invisible form of violence maintained by cultural institutions that justify direct violence. It is best described as a violence that occurs in the symbolic sphere of our existence (symbols, flags, hymns, speeches but also all kinds of texts produced in and by the media).

Direct violence is visible, while cultural and structural violence are invisible. If direct violence inflicts harm to the body, then cultural violence is responsible for harm to the mind. Cultural symbols have been perceived as powerful tools that not only incite conflict but also disseminate discrimination. Cultural institutions are the carriers and creators of cultural norms. One of the institutions that can powerfully perpetuate cultural conflict is the media. Other institutions include organized religion, but also public opinion, myths, traditions, etc. It is within this framework of cultural violence that we can talk about the influence of media in conflicts and consequently peace. The suppression of direct violence, on the other hand is within the domain of political negotiation. Cessation of structural violence requires the elimination of structural injustices, but cultural violence requires the attitude change, which is where peace studies could benefit from
mass communication studies. This is the intersection. My proposal for the successful handling of conflict argues for the transformation of the three types of violence through the additional dimension of influence — the media. It is exactly within the domain of the three levels of violence, proposed by Galtung, that media can contribute toward the transformation of conflict. Cultural violence is the most obvious example that lends itself to straightforward media intervention. If the cultural violence happens in the “symbolic sphere of our existence” we ought to ask what else but media has so much power to influence the symbolic environment. It is within the domain of cultural violence that media can contribute the most toward conflict resolution or peace development.

Throughout the conception of mass communication studies — from Lippmann (1922) to Gerbner et al. (1986) — an emphasis was placed on the role media play in creating this “symbolic sphere of our existence;” or as Gerbner and Lippmann called it “pseudo-environment,” “second-hand environment” or “symbolic existence.” Therefore, if media do help create this environment, then they should be able to tackle the problem of cultural violence on this level.

A symbolic environment today, understood as everything but first-hand experience of our physical environment, is almost entirely composed of media’s representation of reality. Newspapers, magazines, television, radio and the internet are almost solely responsible for the way we interpret “the other” today. Inherently, media are responsible for good or bad interpretations of the things outside our immediate perception. In wars, media frame our enemy for us (e.g. Saddam Hussein, Slobodan Milosevic etc.). My proposal argues for the deliberate and carefully orchestrated use of
media that depict and frame images of peace. This media effort transforms cultural violence into the culture of coexistence. The symbolic environment is to be filled with positive representation of the other, reduce the fear of the unknown, and promote the issues of social justice and equality. The culture of peace can be achieved through the use of professional and unbiased journalism, exchange of cross-cultural entertainment, sports and culture, but also active persuasive attempts that point out the advantages of peace over conflict.

Structural violence is often inherited by the social institutions that perpetuate the conflicts. Prejudice and inequality can be embedded in the structure of an institution, its employees, practices and organization. If we consider media to be one of the important social institutions, structural violence can be eliminated by the actual reform of the media institution. What this means is that the restructuring of public or private radio-television systems or newspaper corporations contributes toward the elimination of practices that perpetuate structural violence. An example of such practice is the public radio-television system of Bosnia. During the war the system was divided along national lines. Both sides controlled their media and employed loyal journalists who disseminated hatred through propaganda messages, and as such maintained a powerful resource of cultural violence in the conflict. After the war, this public institution went through reform that reflected the peace agreement and constitution of the state. This meant that the ethnic wings were reunited, warmonger journalists and prejudiced editors were fired, young, peace-oriented replacements were brought in, and the management of the system became transparent and accountable to the public. Such a restructuring not only changed the content of
broadcasting but also served as an example of peace-oriented restructuring. This change of structure is an excellent example of a needed societal reorganization. Media as one of the most transparent social institutions provided an example of peaceful reform and restructuring.

The contribution of media toward the elimination of direct violence is most challenging, but, not impossible. We need to turn to Galtung again for his analysis of what constitutes and precedes direct violence. He argues that the necessary and sufficient elements of such violence is “conflict,” defined as contradiction of incompatible goals, and “polarization,” defined as a reduction to two groups: Self (exalted to supreme) and Other (dehumanized). As a remedy, Galtung suggests conflict transformation and depolarization (Galtung, 2002). Depolarization is to be accomplished through re-linking positive attitudes, while conflict transformation requires creativity, empathy and non-violence. It has been shown that media can contribute toward creating attitudes. The whole industry of advertising specializes in manufacturing attitudes that may translate into behavior. Media can do much to reduce the tension between Self and Other by showing the other in a similar light to self; depicting people with the same types of problems, equally damaged by the conflict, sharing similar interests and positions. Seeing the other in the same light as one sees oneself empowers people to think empathetically. In such an atmosphere, direct violence is less likely to emerge.

Another level of conflict analysis that could possibly be integrated with mass communication can be found among the proposed categories of Sandole’s model of peace and conflict research (Sandole, 2003). Sandole proposes the initial level of analysis to be
conflict roots and causes. Issues at the center of a dispute are known as root causes of conflict. It is difficult to list the wide variety of conflict causes. They are diverse, complex and often intertwined, long and short term. Sandole (2003) cautions against the compelling tendency to attribute violence to a single cause. Nevertheless, conflicts have been known to revolve around tangible needs (i.e. natural resources, territory), but more often over intangible factors such as identity, beliefs, security etc. (Burton, 1990). Such conflicts, called identity-based conflicts, are particularly hard to resolve because they deal with unmet human needs. There is little media can do to help people achieve tangible needs, however, intangible needs are often subjects of perception. Such intangible needs are non-material and are often created as a particular set of beliefs. We have learned that media contain the ability to greatly influence the beliefs and perceptions of its audience. It is again within this role that media are able to influence root causes of conflict and contribute to a peaceful resolution.

At this point, it is safe to say that the literature offers a thorough analysis of the conflict and to a certain degree a consensus on the causes of conflict. However, so far we have not come close to a consensus on how to successfully intervene in a conflict. The literature offers a broad mosaic of approaches. They vary from conflict prevention to conflict mediation, from conflict management to conflict settlement, from negotiation to conflict transformation. The ultimate goal of this review is to identify those types of interventions and discuss the capability of media to contribute to the process.

Galtung and others agree that if the causes of a conflict can be isolated and approached before the beginning of direct violence, violent manifestation of conflict can
be avoided. Such is the aspiration of conflict prevention — a method of conflict handling concerned with responding to the emerging causes of conflict. The most vocal supporter of such an approach to conflict management has been the former U.N. Secretary General Butros Butros Gali who outlined the benefits of preventive diplomacy in his report *Agenda for Peace* (Gali, 1992). In such cases, conflict is handled before the violent outbreak has a chance to develop. Preventive diplomacy (categorized as track one or official governmental diplomacy and track two or unofficial, informal diplomacy) occurs in direct negotiations among the parties in conflict. Preventive diplomacy happens when the conflict parties indirectly communicate with each other through the media. Often the parties in conflict communicate their views to journalists knowing that the message is going to be heard by the other side. In this role, media is a facilitator in the communication (Sparre, 2001). However, media are known to contribute more actively toward another important area of diplomacy — public opinion. When diplomatic measures are carried out in public and utilize media to communicate with the governments but also their people, we talk about public diplomacy. The important question is whether the media can serve as more than just a passive channel for such indirect communication, or if media scrutiny and the examination of conflict issues can facilitate a positive outcome of this public diplomacy. The role of media in forming public opinion and creating the context for the public debate has been recognized (Strobel, 1997) and should serve as a base for media intervention at this stage of conflict.

Once the conflict moves to its violent stage, prevention has ended and different approaches are needed. Burton (1990) distinguishes between conflict management,
settlement and resolution. Conflict management assumes that resolving conflict is an unrealistic expectation. This approach is concerned with the management and containment of conflict. The end of the conflict is to be achieved through a political agreement. The process is to be managed by a powerful third party — a state or a powerful institution — that hopes to hand over the conflict issues to political and social institutions. An example of such an approach to a conflict is the peace agreement for Bosnia, facilitated by the U.S. administration in Dayton through a political agreement of involved parties.

Another approach to handling conflict is conflict settlement. Similar to conflict management, conflict settlement insists on negotiation and bargaining as the main means of agreement. Agreement is to be achieved through compromise. None of the parties involved in the conflict completely achieves its goals. Rather, in order to gain something they need to give up something. The third party plays a crucial role in this kind of negotiation. Often, it has to use all available power, including threats of military intervention, to push the parties towards settlement. Such is the example of negotiations held in Rambouillet in 1999 between Serbs and Albanians over their conflict in Kosovo. The sides were brought in and threatened with violent reprisal if they refused to sign the agreement.

These two approaches leave the media with highly limited maneuvering space. The conflict is handled at the highest political level, often in secrecy, and without much public participation. Media’s role in such case is reduced to endorsing the agreement and informing the public about the benefits of such a solution.
Conflict resolution, the third approach to conflict handling was developed as a response to the previous two methods. It is important to note that conflict resolution developed as a response to the increasing number of post-Cold War ethnic conflicts within a nation state. This type of conflict, known as intra-state conflict, differs significantly from international conflicts because the predominant cause is the issue of identity. Burton argued that not all conflicts are over tangible interests and are therefore impossible to resolve by compromise (Burton, 1990). He argues that it is impossible to compromise the fundamental needs of security and identity. Azar (1990) labeled these problems as deep-rooted and described such disputes as protracted social conflicts. Conflicts of this type are usually over the denial of fundamental needs such as security, identity or recognition (Burton, 1987; Kelman, 1997). The approach to solving these conflicts is comparable to the problem-solving solutions. It is important to understand that the solution is not a zero-sum outcome. It should be approached by careful examination and analysis of the positions and interests, and achieved through change in political, social and economic levels of society (Miall, 2003).

Conflict transformation, the newest approach to conflict handling, extends the conflict resolution approach and has yet to be distinguished as a separate resolution technique. Conflict transformation argues that sustainable peace needs more than the rethinking of positions and interests (Miall, 2003). The complete transformation of such positions, relationships and conditions is required (Vayrynen, 1991). This approach insists on a long-term process whose end goal is social justice. Unlike other approaches, conflict transformation perceives conflict as a positive force whose appropriate
transformation can lead toward social change. Conflict transformation critiques previous methods because they fail to approach the resolution of direct, structural and cultural levels of violence. Furthermore, the simple resolution of a conflict does not necessarily lead to the elimination of injustices (Lederach, 1997). An example of positive conflict transformation was pioneered in post-Apartheid South Africa. The population of this country managed to move from a racially oppressive system toward a highly functional system of power sharing, though economic and social inequalities remain.

Conflict transformation rejects the involvement of a powerful third party as the main domain of political discourse. Many contemporary conflict approaches emphasize empowerment and engagement of the non-elite officials, people at the grassroots level and representative organizations (Kriesberg, 1992; Lederach, 1997). Lederach proposes the active involvement of the entire population as the main pillar of conflict transformation as shown in the pyramid (See Figure 1):

At the top, Lederach argues for the engagement of leaders and political representatives, also known as track one diplomacy, where high-level mediators initiate negotiations among the highest level of leadership. The level below consists of the middle-range leadership represented by ethnic and religious leaders, academics, etc. These groups are involved in problem-solving and conflict resolution. The bottom of the pyramid is the grassroots level. These are local leaders, NGO representatives, refugee leaders and influential people in the community. They are involved in grassroots training, promoting tolerance and suppressing prejudice. Lederach introduces the pyramid of
involvement in conflict transformation as a response to historic conflict resolution approaches where the conflict has been settled among the elites, behind closed doors.

Figure 1: The pyramid of conflict actors (Lederach, 1997. p.39)

The contribution of mass communication can be considered at each level of the pyramid. Each of the three targeted groups can be approached with a specifically designed mass communication intervention. In terms of the top leadership, media can
help by performing the role of watchdog. Media can make sure that the process of negotiation at this level is as transparent as possible and faithful to the needs of the people on the lower two levels. Lasswell described this as the surveillance function of communications when he suggested that media should be collecting the information that society needs to know about and to which they must respond (Schramm, 1997).

The middle level, also known as opinion leaders, is the informed audience who actively uses media but also often creates and contributes to media. Often these are journalists, political activists and public figures — people with prominent influence in newspapers, television and radio. Proponents of conflict resolution and transformation believe that the failure to transform or address conflict conditions is what leads to the eruption of its violent stage (Azar and Burton, 1986; Galtung, 1996). It is hard to imagine a more appropriate venue where conflicts can be addressed and transformed publicly in a non-violent fashion than through the media. Media at this level serve as a platform of peaceful discourse. They provide a means to address the conflict causes in a nonviolent forum. The middle level leadership is thus given a chance in the media to publicly handle the issues at conflict. Such practice facilitates peaceful resolution as it provides an example for the grassroots level and puts pressure on the top leadership.

The grassroots level is the largest group that is normally on the receiving end of mass communication. Most of the peace media messages are aimed at this group; they are the true target audience of media. However, media have an opportunity to transform the conflict if they are people-oriented (Galtung, 1995). Galtung suggests media that focus on the suffering of common people on all sides and that identify all evildoers will evoke
empathy and promote understanding, thus humanizing the sides in conflict. If the tragedy of war and its disastrous impact on common people from all sides is accurately represented, people are less likely to support such atrocities. Audience consent is crucial because it usually ratifies and endorses a specific handling of the conflict. The media objective at this level is to gain support for the peaceful resolution of a conflict and to represent the public by accurately depicting all people affected by war. Simply put, media can facilitate the peace process not just by transferring messages to the people but also by representing the people.

Communication for Development Literature Review

No other discipline offers more possibility for the integration of the three disciplines (media effects, propaganda research and peace studies) than communication for development. Defined as a “planned use of strategies and processes of communication aimed at achieving development” (Bessette, 1996, p 1.), this field itself is a result of interdisciplinary integration. Such a synergy is the result of the pragmatic merging of two separate fields (communication research and development studies) into one. Though the idea has been known for centuries, the practical application of communication for development came into existence in 1960s (Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada, 1998).

In the last five decades, three different paradigms directed the evolution of communication for development (Cambridge, 2002; Singhal and Sthapitanonda, 1996; Servaes, 2001). They came to be known as modernization, dependency and alternative models. What changed the focus from one paradigm to another was the definition and understanding of the notion of development. The interaction of historical, political and
societal developments in the last half of the twentieth century influenced the ideas that shaped and formed all three development paradigms.

In the context of rebuilding the post-World War II society, development was framed as an entirely economic issue. It was launched in response to the relative success of the Marshall Plan after World War II. The Marshall Plan, designed exclusively for Europe and Japan, set more than just an example of development. Due to its success, it became a prescriptive accomplishment to be replicated. Development according to this model is narrowly understood as economic growth measured by gross domestic product, per capita income, higher living standard, etc (So, 1990). Initially, development was defined in terms of modernization; more specifically it assumed a specific direction — industrialization (Melkote, 1991). For a long time, such a characterization of development remained a model regardless of the regional application. What that meant was that the model of advancement was to be framed within the context of economic theory as a change in several aspects of social life; change from traditional to modern society, from authoritarian to democratic governing, from agricultural to industrial society (Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada, 1998). The institutions that came to epitomize this paradigm were the economic giants that shaped the economic development of the entire developing world (i.e. World Bank and the International Monetary Fund). Improvement in economic indicators was considered a means and an end in this version of development. The entire course of development was influenced mainly by economists.

The first criticism of the modernization paradigm for social development focused on its narrow definition. Development at the time was largely defined in terms of
economic improvement, and almost no attention was given to other social advancements. Communication’s role in development was in accordance with the nature of modernization ideology. It was meant to be a unidirectional, top-down approach that was supposed to inject the Western ideas into non-Western societies in the shortest time possible (Singhal and Sthapitanonda, 1996).

The main failure of the modernization paradigm was the inability to recognize differences in the context and experiences of the less developed countries (Servaes, 2001). Leftist scholars leaning toward the left side of the political spectrum, mainly in Latin America, began scrutinizing the dominant belief that modernization unavoidably leads to development. They even proposed that the advancement of the countries in the North was related to the underdevelopment of the “Third World” (Singhal and Sthapitanonda, 1996). Paolo Freire (1970) proposed that communication should not be narrowed to a sender to receiver transfer of knowledge, but be reconceptualized as a tool that fosters development. It should play a role in politicizing and social organizing. Influences of socialism only strengthened the argument for development as it sharpened the theory and practice (Cambridge, 2002).

Ultimately, the criticism highlighted new problems with the modernization paradigm. However, the dependency paradigm still defined development in economic terms. In addition, little attention was given to the importance of media programming and the notion of participatory development (Tehranian in Korzenny and Ting-Toomey, 1990). Previous models of development failed to acknowledge differences in cultures and values. Additionally, no attempt was made to assess the needs of people and include such
input in the design of messages. It was believed that the underdeveloped population had nothing valuable to contribute towards the design and implementation of development (Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada, 1998). The dependency proponents concluded that the unfair condition of the global market only perpetuated underdevelopment. They proposed disassociation and complete self-reliance as the best approach to development.

Communication scholars suggested a transformation of the international media society to a new system of communication – the New World Communication Order. Such a change was meant to encourage a more balanced flow of information, increasing the importance of local media sources especially in reporting about their own affairs (Hachten, 1996).

The alternative paradigm was a response not only to the over-reliance on economic structures as the source of development but also to the oversimplification of development in the dependency perspective (Singhal and Sthapitanonda, 1996). Servaes (1989) argued that both perspectives overlooked the internal capabilities and domestic motives of countries under development. Issues such as corruption of local leaders and overwhelming social inequalities were not given any attention by the dependency scholars.

The alternative paradigm led to the contemporary understanding of international development. What have been taken into account are the conclusions and experiences of scholars of all three paradigms but most importantly a new understanding of development. Firstly, there is now a common understanding that development is endogenous to each society (Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada, 1998). On the other hand, there is hardly any consensus regarding the terms and approaches to development. What seems
to be accepted universally is that development involves social change. Already in 1962, Rogers referred to development as directed social change while Chambers reduced it to a simple notion of “good change” (Cambridge, 2002). Cambridge concludes that at the beginning of the 21st century we recognize development as a “complex, integrated, participatory process, involving stakeholders and beneficiaries and aimed at improving the overall quality of human life…” (p. 144).

Communication is central to the idea of change. Without communication, the idea of development would not progress from the point of origin (Singhal and Sthapitanonda, 1996; Mowlana, 1997). In practical terms this may mean obtaining the critical information that can help prevent AIDS, or helping make decisions about reproductive health (Cambridge, 2002). People can change their attitudes, opinion and behavior in a response to new knowledge gained through some kind of communication. For the interdisciplinary effort of communication for development, the end result of the process is the changed behavior of the audience.

If the development is dependant upon changed attitude and behavior, communication has often been a key ingredient needed for such change. Communication is most effective when it is designed in response to research on audiences and when the implementation channels and messages are coordinated (Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada, 1998). The alternative paradigm suggested that the best change is achieved if people participate in decisions that affect their lives. Participation or participatory development thus became the central component of contemporary communication for development. It assumes involvement of the beneficiary of change in every stage of development
intervention: defining the problem, designing the response, implementing and evaluating (Cambridge, 2002). The participatory approach became concerned with change in social structures as much as with a change in behavior.

Effectiveness of the message can further be improved when the message is designed and pre-tested in cooperation with the intended audience. Additional improvements can be achieved if frequent adjustments of the message are made based on the feedback during the process (Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada, 1998).

The conclusion of most scholars and practitioners is that there is no universal way to development. However, a few specific strategies have been identified in the literature as the most obvious success stories. These are social marketing, entertainment education, public awareness campaigning and advocacy (Cambridge, 2002; Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada, 1998; Piotrow et. al., 1999).

Social marketing does more than provide a successful strategy; it helps organize the field of communication for development in a strategic application (Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada, 1998). Just like the entrepreneur aims to provide a product to answer a commercial need of people, social marketing correspondingly addresses socio-economic needs and uses communication channels to outline a solution to the problems. Social marketing enhances the effectiveness of the communication process by realizing that messages have more impact if they are delivered as a response to a specific segment of the audience. Audience segmentation is the term borrowed from marketing to address the existence of different needs across fragmented societal groups. This strategy has been
successfully employed in health development interventions, especially with family planning and reproductive health (Piotrow et. al., 1999).

Entertainment education is an approach that recognizes the prevalence and importance of entertainment in commercial media but uses the genre to deliver a message of pro-social content (Nariman, 1993; Sabido, 2004). What we know about this approach is best described by Singhal and Rogers (1999) who suggests that there are multiple factors that determine the effectiveness of such communication projects:

- Audience characteristics
- Organizational factors
- Media environment
- Infrastructural factors
- Program-specific factors

Some of the factors have already been acknowledged to play a key role not only in entertainment-education but also in the entire field of mass communication. The importance of audience characteristics (i.e. norms, beliefs, media exposure) has already been proven invaluable in the creation of intended messages. Organizational factors and media environment are two factors that ought to be used to inform the design of the communication message. Research, both quantitative and qualitative should consistently be employed for needs assessment and as an evaluation tool. Infrastructural and program-specific factors are the fourth and fifth components that take into account the specificity of the region and the distinctiveness of resources. As a result, communication effort develops suitable strategy adjusted to the region.
It has been recognized for some time that the process of behavioral change is complex and hierarchical. The five major steps (knowledge, approval, intention, practice and advocacy) have been acknowledged by scholars of communication, psychology and sociology to be intermediate stages that most individuals experience when going through behavioral change (Piotrow et. al, 1999). It appears obvious from the findings that the media role is most appropriate at the initial knowledge stage of supplying the information. It is from this perspective that the scholars recognized another successful strategy of media — public awareness campaigning. A public awareness campaign is a carefully orchestrated and coordinated plan of action that provides new sets of information in support of the desired social change. The ability of media to contribute to public and individual awareness has been manifested in a variety of situations. Therefore, public awareness campaigns have been regarded as the most effective strategies of communication for development (Cambridge, 2002; Piotrow, 1999)

Media advocacy encompasses mobilization of wide-ranging media practices aimed at affecting public opinion on an issue pertaining to development. It can include the utilization of mass communication and interpersonal communication channels. Unlike entertainment-education, it strives for a change on the social rather than the individual level.

*Peace as Development*

During the short history of communication for development, a variety of the issues that constrain development have been addressed. Some of the most frequent and acute obstacles have been within the realm of health development and prevention,
poverty, family planning, etc. However, little attention has been paid to violent conflict as a major obstacle to development. Tehranian’s chapter in *Communication for Peace* seemingly addresses the issue of communication, peace and development, but avoids violent conflict, while the entire book barely even considers the contribution of mass communication to peace development (Tehranian in Korzenny and Ting-Toomey, 1990). It is hard to imagine a more destructive force to development than violent conflict. Physical violence and armed combat ruin not only the infrastructure but also the brains and souls of people involved in violence. Conflict is a major destructive force that can impede development.

In the history of the field, every time a definition of development changes, a new paradigm is assumed. Without trying to propose a shift in paradigm, I hope to broaden the definition of development by simply including another concept that is often overlooked. Therefore, it is crucial that a definition of development concerns itself with the problem of conflict. In their seminal book *Communication for Development*, Fraser and Restrepo-Estarada broadened their definition of development by adding the possibility of media channels and techniques to resolve conflict. There can hardly be a more important issue to a conflict society than the topic of peace. Furthermore, for societies in conflict, it may be useful to reduce the complex notion of development to peace development in the short term. Peace is a prerequisite to development and therefore should be approached as a primary goal of any communication effort.

Another optimistic sign in research in both fields is that the most current definitions of development and peace are starting to resemble each other. They begin to
overlap at the proposed conclusions of what peace and development should aim to achieve. The end result to both development and sustainable peace is the issue of social justice, though both fields may have different ideas of what this means (Galtung et al., 2002; Vayrynen, 1991; Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada, 1998). What is needed now is extrapolation of the communication for development practices and their appropriate application in peace and conflict studies.

Conclusion

The review of the literature from the four fields (media effects, propaganda research, peace studies and communication for development) offers a broad spectrum of studies pointing towards a common conclusion: mass media/communication indeed have the potential to affect populations in a variety of ways. The experiences of the last century indicate a duality of such impact regardless of intent. The ability to corrupt the living experience has been shown through propaganda employment. On the other hand, mass communication facilitated many improvements in the quality of life and work regardless of geographical region (from American farmers to Bangladeshi poor). Of particular concern is the impact of mass communication in times of war. The evidence points to heightened influence and importance of all forms of communication during such times. Such a conclusion can be disheartening, but its acknowledgement may help inform an effective approach to the development of peace.

Two general conclusions can be drawn about the role of communication during times of conflict. Since the use of mass media has proved detrimental to humans in some cases, a knee-jerk response would be to prevent such activity. In this approach,
censorship and strict regulation of broadcasting signals have been attempted with varying
degrees of success. Short of such a dramatic attempt to extinguish communication,
communication in the opposite direction may be a more appropriate approach. The
communication processes and techniques need not be different, especially if they have
proven effective. What has to change is the intent of the communicator. The purpose of
communication should improve, not degrade the situation. There is no doubt that the
most effective development will be achieved if those two directions are combined into a
single approach. This is the premise of peace media. Though it obviously includes all the
techniques, channels and process of communication, it does not refrain from using the
non-communicational, political features (such as regulation of licenses, legal enforcement
of communication order) to further objectives of peace.

Rich experience with studies of communication has further helped us understand
its most effective utilization. Media effects helped explain the environment, audience
characteristics, and kind of messages that are most influential. Communication for
development practitioners expanded on this research when they concluded that in
applying communication towards a desired change, certain techniques will bring the most
of desired results. Media for peace ought to exploit the wealth of experience from both
fields in order to design and deliver the messages most likely to elicit peaceful outcomes.
Cessation of violence does not mean the end of conflict. Instead, cessation of violence is
an opportunity to begin to resolve conflict through peaceful means, and communication,
including mass communication, can provide means to conflict resolution.
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

The methods used in this peace media study are grounded in Deleuze and Guattari’s (1987) rhizomatic theoretical approach. In *A Thousand Plateaus*, Deleuze and Guattari evoke the notion of the rhizome, an underground root-like stem of a plant (such as grass) that sends its roots and shoots out horizontally rather than vertically like a tree. Consequently, the rhizomatic approach calls attention to a decentralized structure, without a hierarchical organization or:

- finite networks of automata in which communication runs from any neighbor to any other, the stems or channels do not pre-exist, and all individuals are interchangeable, defined only by their state at a given moment—such that the local operations are coordinated and the final, global result synchronized without central agency (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p.17).

In terms of organization, peace media operate as a decentralized network of individual projects without a hierarchical organization. Since there is no central agency in control of peace media, local operations are run individually without the obvious link to other projects. However, they are connected horizontally by at least three elements:

1. each project was launched in response to violent conflict
2. each project utilizes media
3. each project assumes that media can affect peace

Like the shoots of a rhizome, peace media projects sprout across the world, within the context of a specific violent conflict. They are defined and evaluated separately without relation to equivalent international peace projects or general peace developments in an individual society.
Background to the Rhizomatic Peace Media

As I explained in the preface, my research began as an extension of a personal experience with the violent conflict in the former Yugoslavia and the role of media within it. However, other regions in conflict around the world (e.g. Northern Ireland, Macedonia, Rwanda and Sierra Leone) also produced examples of successful media employment, which prompted me to broaden the inquiry. After careful examination of those media projects, it was apparent that they shared similarities in goals, approaches and execution.

The rhizomatic nature of the project was evoked when the connections of matching rationales among the applications and the heterogeneous use of media was recognized in the projects. The two basic principles of the rhizomatic approach, connection and heterogeneity, are evident in the practice of peace media (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). While the projects share a common rationale to peace development, they embrace heterogeneous approaches in their application based on the differences of conflict environments. Depending on the particular values and conditions of each violent conflict, peace media may employ a variety of channels (e.g. radio, television, print material, etc.), a variety of content (informational, entertainment, advertising, etc.) and either media development or media control.

This led to my decision not to conduct a study of a single conflict and its media but rather a rhizomatic study of media in conflict with various regional applications. This
amalgamation of two concepts into a single phenomenon evoked the rhizomatic nature of the study.

While the practice of peace development through the media became apparent in almost all the current conflicts (e.g. Bosnia, Cambodia, Kosovo, Northern Ireland and Rwanda) academic databases such as “Eric” and “ComAbstracts” showed no entries for a search on “peace” and “media.” Even the Yahoo search engine did not offer any hits consisting of these two terms. In practice, projects occurred within the framework of specific national post-conflict reconstruction of institutions, infrastructure and organizational change. The media projects were isolated from those in other regions and a connection to similar efforts of any kind was lacking. While the peace media applications were existent, they were untraceable because they were not conducted under a specific unanimous framework. Upon seeing similarities among the projects, I began the analysis of post-Cold War conflicts while attempting to approach the practice as a distinctive and peculiar phenomenon, under the label “peace media.”

Two reasons prompted such an approach to peace media. Initially, it was necessary to examine such a specific use of media in the context of violent conflict separately from other pro-social utilization of media in non-violent environments. This implied that peace media were regarded as a specific combination of events that owes its uniqueness to the interaction of extraordinary conditions — the specific use of media under the specific, tumultuous circumstances of conflict. This research views the two components as an inseparable, compound term.
Also, such an approach helped the study avoid a few potential pitfalls. Firstly, by looking at peace media as a rhizomatic compound I was able to conduct truly interdisciplinary research that combined the distinctive fields of political science and mass communication. The rhizomatic approach invites multiple theoretical angles of different disciplines. The potency of peace media is in its interdisciplinary nature. Without such an integrated approach, this study would be just another political science analysis of regional conflict intervention. On the other hand, it could be seen as an extension of the social responsibility model of the press. Indisputably, peace media depend on both disciplines. However, in order to truly explore the interdisciplinary aspect of the problem, it needs to be presented as an integrated rhizome with individual applications across the globe.

Finally, the integrated nature of rhizomatic peace media evokes a thematic rather than a regional study. It is fair to admit that my cultural heritage and experiences highly influenced the selection of the topic. The Balkan conflict provided numerous examples of peace media projects. It could be argued that the Bosnian conflict environment by itself could provide enough substance for a study on peace media. However, a single sprout of the rhizome cannot represent the entire foundation. Therefore, a study based on a single conflict situation would not be sufficient as a basis for a generalization about peace media. Rather, this type of study would be a descriptive analysis of the regional use of media in one type of conflict. In order to establish the significance of peace media, the research needs to be diverse in terms of conflict type, geographical location, etc. This is likely to happen if the study is centered around an extended rhizome that has its
applications in different geographical territories. This is another reason why it is important to approach peace media in rhizomatic fashion.

This study also faces obvious limitations. Typically, only after a new phenomenon becomes widely accepted is it granted extended examination. This study is not attempting to do more than present the extent of the practice, identify the components of the process and suggest the most evident best practices. Modestly, it hopes to lay the foundation and set certain boundaries. Further investigation will need to be devoted to specific practices and regions.

Strategies of Inquiry

The rhizomatic nature of peace media was crucial in determining the strategies of inquiry. The rhizomatic structure is decentralized yet interconnected and can be seen as a map with “multiple entryways” (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 12). This structure had a decisive impact on the methodological approach to the phenomenon of peace media. If peace media projects exist as a practice in several regions of the world, the research can begin at any one point and connect with any other entryway. While my research started in Bosnia, other points of entry emerged in true rhizomatic fashion. These entry points emerged through the snowballing method. Often used when respondents are hard to locate, the snowballing technique relies on the respondents sharing their contacts with similar interests or expertise (Flick, 1998). It involves the conscious pursuit of references mentioned by preliminary interviewees.

There is no doubt that direct observation of the practice would have been the preferable strategy. However, such a choice was not feasible because post-Cold War
conflicts are scattered geographically and have been happening for the last 15 years. Short of direct participation in all those situations, the gathering of primary accounts was the next most appropriate alternative. Primary sources were scarce at the beginning. My internship with OBN served as my initial entryway into Bosnian media and into the conflict and presented the opportunity to interact with professionals working on diverse media projects promoting reconciliation. This rhizomatic approach to peace media led to new interview opportunities, written accounts and primary audience research surveys. The names of organizations and individuals dealing exclusively with the problem became familiar and printed texts and reports in addition to surveys of conflict audiences were made available to me. New types of data demanded new kinds of methodological analysis. Thus, the study had to become a combination of several methods of inquiry. The decision to gather qualitative (interviews, analyses of the texts) and quantitative data (audience surveys and questionnaires) came as a natural progression in the research. It became clear that peace media are best explained by using a variety of resources.

Thus, the study combined three methodological procedures. First and most important were interviews with experts and practitioners. Secondly, available texts were collected; these included, but were not limited to, practitioner reports, evaluations, conference reports, academic articles and web-page documents. Finally, primary research conducted by local organizations (mostly surveys) was acquired during and after the interviews.

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1 One part of this inquiry that can definitely be described as primary research was my experience in Bosnia, because I experienced and participated in some of the peace media projects. I undertook an internship with OBN television station, a project established as a peace media effort. This experience prompted my research and remains the foundation for the inquiry to come.
Almost five years of research revealed an abundance of information regarding this phenomenon. What was missing was a comprehensive analysis of best practices rather than individual regional studies. In order to compile an extensive list of related media projects and integrate them into a comprehensive model, an all-embracing inventory of information was required. The collection has been accomplished through the triangulation of research strategies (interviews, text analysis and survey analysis)

The Interviews

The primary strategy and also the most essential component of the inquiry has been in-depth interviewing. The interviews were the initial step that most frequently led to the other two sources of information (texts and surveys). Sometimes, the bibliography of the texts or audience surveys yielded additional interview subjects. Also, the snowballing method led to further interview participants and additional texts. The technique, which uses initial contacts to develop a further database of resources, proved to be a critical method of research due to the fact that official databases were non-existent and practitioner reports were mainly unpublished. Moreover, there was little collaboration among individual projects within a country. In the beginning, I had to rely on the trail of personal networks among practitioners in the field. The selection of interview participants greatly depended upon this method of inquiry.

In the initial stages, interviews focused on current and past practices, experts and organizations. Some preliminary research was conducted to determine the level of subjects’ engagement in peace media. It is important to note that not every interview or conversation was fruitful. The initial unstructured conversations were conducted with

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2 The list of all the interviews conducted in this research is available in References: Section 2.
journalists, reporters and the management of the OBN network in Bosnia. Due to this experience, I was able to identify a small group of experts who, at the time, had been engaged in the application and study of media projects in the region. While working for the OBN project, I had the opportunity to talk to the executive director of the television station and to the producers, journalists and technicians. Some conversations and personal recommendations helped me gain access to government officials who in turn identified additional sources and shared official documents and research. I met with more than twenty people in Sarajevo, usually visiting their offices, but often in restaurants and coffee shops in downtown Sarajevo. The conversations had a casual tone. My local experience, dialect and informal setting helped the interviewees relax and speak of their personal experiences in detail.

Because the Bosnian reconstruction efforts were highly internationalized, my research quickly became international at least in terms of the interview participants. In one preliminary interview in Sarajevo, a graduate student from Vienna University and an employee of the major media think tank suggested I interview international experts Gadi Wolfsfeld, Ross Howard and Jake Lynch. This suggestion led me to consult the international experts, who had experience with multiple world conflict sites. Their varying experiences with projects from around the world helped expand my research and connect projects from various conflicts. My research therefore grew from a regional study of Bosnian conflict media into a study of conflict media phenomenon.

Over time, the list of possible resources grew to include not only individuals but organizations dealing exclusively with peace media. Snowballing uncovered a number of
international independent scholars and journalists such as Gadi Wolfsfeld, Mark Thompson, Jake Lynch, Keith Spicer, Ross Howard and Jamie Metzl as well a few independent organizations in the United States (Search for Common Ground), Canada (Institute for Media Policy and Civil Society) and Switzerland (Swiss Peace, Media Action International). The experts have contributed to the field in a variety of ways: Mark Thompson edited a book called *Forging Peace*, Jake Lynch launched a program that teaches journalists about “peace journalism,” Keith Spicer argued for the utilization of what he labeled “propaganda for peace.” The interviews with the international experts happened over the phone. Therefore, I managed to establish an email correspondence with them to schedule phone interviews. I taped all of the conversations and ended up talking to people in Canada, France, Rwanda, England, Israel and the United States.

It was important to me that these interviews were conducted in a way that empowered experts to share their knowledge and practical experience. The purpose of the interview was to explore and gather material that provides a richer and deeper understanding of peace media. This type of interview, also known as an unstructured interview (McCracken, 1988; Rubin & Rubin, 1995) employs a series of open-ended questions. The interviews are in-depth “conversations” between the interviewer and interviewee. Such interviews give the respondent a chance to influence the direction of the interview. In addition, respondents were encouraged to express their narrative in their own words, voice and language. This adds another dimension to understanding the phenomenon in a way that questionnaire data does not. However, this does not imply a lack of purpose or direction for the interview. Based on the general interview guide
The interviewees shared their experiences while the interviewer ensured that the conversation tackled five previously determined question areas. Having in mind the five elements of the communication process, the following research questions provided an outline for the conversation.

- Who are the agents, initiators and executors of media for peace?
- What kinds of messages are they communicating?
- Which mass media channels are they using?
- Who are the target audiences of these projects?
- What are the effects of the efforts?

**Peace Media Texts**

The five research questions were also used in the analysis of the texts and surveys. Just five years ago, it was almost impossible to find texts devoted to the topic. In the last few years, a handful of reports became available; e.g. an edited book by Mark Thompson and Jamie Metzl, a couple of journal articles by Gadi Wolfsfeld, conference papers and reports by Gordon Adam at Our Media Conference, Michiel van Geelen’s thesis project, and web documents such as Transcend reports by Jake Lynch and Johan Galtung. All the texts were identified as a result of snowballing, either through conversations with initial sources or through the crosschecking of bibliographical references. The criterion for the selection of the texts was that they had to exclusively deal with the idea of peace promotion through media. In the beginning, resources were scarce, however, every new publication’s bibliography offered a couple of new names and corresponding texts. In the absence of real-time, in-person observations of the
projects, these reports became an important complement to the information gathered in the interviews. An additional value of these texts was that they were not only observations; they included interpretations and evaluations of the projects and techniques. While my primary research with practitioners was enlightening, learning from others’ primary research immeasurably aided my understanding of the topic. Their true value became evident when they were used in combination with the interviews and audience research empirical data. Such a cross referencing of data greatly benefits the study.\(^3\)

**Peace Media Surveys**

It was impossible to conduct primary research of media effects because most of the conflicts occurred a decade ago. Therefore, the study relied on audience research conducted at the time. The surveys were obtained from interview participants, usually after the interviews. Initially, many of the surveys were considered internal documents, intended for organizational evaluation of the projects, and most were not publicly available. Fortunately, most interview participants were willing to share this data because they were interested in the results of this study and wanted to contribute to the best of their ability.

The survey component of the study focuses on the target audiences of peace media projects. It is concerned with the interpretation of the peace messages and general attitudes towards them. In other words, it attempts to measure the effects of the peace media communication efforts. Not all the surveys were conducted using matching methods. As a matter of fact, the surveys vary in their objectives as much as media projects differ from each other. However, prerequisites to behavior change such as

\(^3\) The list of all the texts obtained in the research is available in References: Section 3.
audience awareness of the project, knowledge gain or recollection, audience perception of credibility and attitude change were measured. These were common categories that could be measured in most projects, and provided a common ground for analysis.

A difficult issue with this data is the appropriateness of the methodology and the external validity of non-peer-reviewed, unpublished audience research. Relying on any kind of secondary research carries risks because it is impossible to guarantee that the research was methodologically sound. Nonetheless, the research documents contain detailed interpretations of the methodology, and the reputation of the organization conducting the study (Search for Common Ground, Sesame Workshop, Gallup’s research unit in Bosnia) provides reassurance in the results.4

These multiple methods correspond with the principles of rhizomatic inquiry. The rhizomatic approach assumes methodological flexibility. Just like the rhizome’s unpredictable networks under the surface, the methods of peace media had to count on the departure from preconceived routes. While the interviews with the practitioners of peace media appeared as an appropriate entryway into the rhizome, a variety of qualitative and quantitative data emerged to describe peace media more comprehensively. Therefore, the model of mixed methods was evoked to account for use of both quantitative and qualitative data collection and data analysis (Creswell, 1998; 2003; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003). Specifically in this study, the integration of approaches is illustrated in the combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches and in the collection of three types of data resources (experts’ interviews, publications and audience surveys). As stated before, the main goal of the study is the exploration of media’s

4 The list of all surveys obtained in the research is available in References: Section 4.
contribution to peace, to provide a general model of best practices and suggest improvement to the future practical efforts. In such a case, the choice is almost inevitably one of mixed methods (Creswell, 2003):

A mixed method design is useful to capture the best of both quantitative and qualitative approaches. For example, a researcher may want to both generalize the findings to a population and develop a detailed view of the meaning of phenomenon or concept for individuals. In this research, the inquirer first explores generally to learn about what variables to study and then studies those variables with a large sample of individuals (p.22).

This research examines peace media as a new entity that is then subjected to a typical descriptive analysis. The results are summarized in a set of recommendations for improving the practice. While qualitative research encourages extensive examination of new phenomena, quantitative research seeks to generalize the results (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Though the combination of the two approaches is perceived as incompatible by some researchers (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), mixed methods encourage such combination (Creswell, 1998; Patton, 1985).

Triangulation of Approaches and Data Sources

One of the mixed methods strategies that has been widely practiced is triangulation. This study employs the concurrent triangulation strategy, which means that qualitative and quantitative data collection happens at the same time (Creswell, 2003). The concurrent triangulation strategy is the most frequently used model of mixed methods and it combines two types of data, qualitative and quantitative, in order to corroborate (cross-validate) the findings. Furthermore, the triangulation of the three types of data sources (interviews, texts and surveys) is used to diversify the data, which provides the thick description of the subject.
To a great degree, the subject of inquiry determined the strategy itself. I never tried to impose triangulation on it. Much has been written about the practice of triangulation in mass communication literature (Denzin, 1970; Campbell and Fiske, 1959). Initially, the triangulation of quantitative data originated as a practice in the social sciences; however, it is not uncommon to see it utilized today in other disciplines. The literature suggests four types of triangulation – triangulation of data, investigators, theory and methods. Additionally, triangulation is used for several different reasons; the main reason, as explained by Denzin (1970), is to strengthen the inquiry by providing a combination of methods, and/or data. This is done in order to increase the validity of the research (quantitative research) or credibility (qualitative research). Several forms of research or data are expected to strengthen the analysis because the topic is examined through multiple lenses of inquiry. Because one method might be prone to error, employing triangulation should reduce the possibility for error.

Additionally, the reasons for using three types of data are similar to those explained by Creswell (2003). He suggests that often the problem itself calls for the specific approach to inquiry. This is the case with my study. While conducting my primary research, I came to realize that the phenomenon presented itself in three forms of sources — oral accounts of practitioners, texts by experts and audience surveys. Using one of the information sources exclusively would not have accurately represented the entire phenomenon.

This research faced the problem of validity. One shortcoming was its inability to gather primary accounts from all of the world conflict sites. In addition, most of the
media projects examined here ended in the mid-1990s and it would not be feasible to conduct primary audience research based on the memory of the projects from the past.

As I had to rely on the primary research of organizations, the interviews with professionals/experts and the texts both served as supplemental evidence to the surveys. The texts and surveys then acted similarly, as they diversified the data from the interviews. The text analyses provided important data in the absence of real-time investigation. These texts consisted of reports, evaluations, conference reports, academic articles and web documents.

Selection of Countries and Media Projects

The broad targets of peace media efforts are individual violent conflicts. Usually situated within the boundaries of one or more nation states. Because peace media projects are generally crafted for specific national conflicts, the nation state becomes the primary focus of peacebuilding missions.

In order to compile the most comprehensive list of post-Cold War countries in conflict, I referred to “The Penguin Atlas of War and Peace” (Smith, 2003) and the “Encyclopedia of conflicts since World War II” (Ciment, 1999), the most current overviews of contemporary conflict. The first publication also helped define the problematic characterization of the term “war,” as it suggests that events recognized as wars or armed conflict entail all of the following:

- Open armed conflict
- At least two parties
- Centrally organized fighters and fighting
• Contestation over political power and/or the control of territory
• Continuity between clashes
• A minimum of 25 battle deaths in a 12-month period in the context of a total
dearth toll of at least several hundred (Smith, 2003).

Similarly, peace media are defined by four criteria that distinguish this practice from standard mass communication processes:
• A recent history of armed conflict/violence in the region
• Post-Cold War period
• Involvement of a third party
• Intentional purpose

Therefore, this study examined only post-Cold War mass communication projects developed in direct response to violent conflicts initiated by a party that is not involved in the conflict and intended to respond to imminent violence.

The table of wars at the end of publication by Smith (2003) includes a list of 88 countries. All the wars listed showed some sort of activity during the period between 1990 and 2002. Not all of the wars are still very active. However, the publication purposefully refers to wars as suspended rather than terminated.

In terms of my research, these 88 countries had potential to represent the extensive sample of locations where peace media were utilized. There is no doubt that media played a significant role in most of these conflicts and may have also contributed to peace. Nonetheless, not all of the 88 countries produced peace media projects for several reasons.
Firstly, an analysis of these countries and their media would have been simply overwhelming unless the study was a statistical, strictly quantitative analysis. Secondly, research that relies on the snowballing sampling method does not usually reveal every individual project. While it falls short of tracking every single case of peace media, the method tends to produce the significant, most distinctive projects. This is a shortcoming of the research method that inhibits the generalization of results. However, it is safe to assert that the number of projects collected and analyzed in this research represents an extensive sample. Thirdly, some of the states included in the list are unlikely to produce peace media projects. For example, projects in the United States, Canada, France (all on the Table of Wars) would hardly qualify as peace media because those countries have been involved in wars outside their territory. Therefore, media projects aimed at peace development are unlikely to emerge within those states. Other conflicts are of a very low intensity (the publications’ definition of conflict refers to all of the places with 25 deaths a year). For that reason, some of the countries are unlikely to have any major media projects that would be exclusively aimed at peace development.

Having in mind the limitations mentioned above, conflicts were analyzed in 18 countries. The complete list of all countries and projects studied in this analysis is presented in Table 1. Such a list is the result of a further reduction of the Table of Wars list by Penguin Atlas, when another requirement — the existence of a known peace media project — is added to the six classifications of war. It is important to mention that
### Table 1: List of countries in conflict and major peace media projects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries and regions in violent conflict</th>
<th>Peace media projects and efforts conducted in a response to the conflict</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Angola</td>
<td>Search for Common Ground production studio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambodia</td>
<td>Radio UNTAC, regulation efforts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central African Republic</td>
<td>Radio MINURCA, Radio Ndeke Luka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>“Medios par la Paz” – organization of journalists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia/East Timor</td>
<td>Studio Moris Hamutuk, comic book “Geng Bola Gembira”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel/Palestine</td>
<td>Sesame Street program – “Rechov SumSum/Shara’a SimSim,” the Common Ground News Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>STAR radio, Talking Drum Studio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Ireland</td>
<td>McCann-Erickson’s “Good Friday Agreement” campaign, regulation of commercial press</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>Radio soap opera in Casamance region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>Talking Drum Studio, UNHCR campaign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>Radio Voice of Hope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia (former SFRY): Bosnia, Macedonia, Kosovo</td>
<td>TV OBN, Radio FERN, “Postujes li Zakon” (Respect the Law), Dosta je (It’s enough) and Koliko jos? (How long) campaigns, regulation efforts (Bosnia); Nashe Maalo TV series, peace agreement media campaign (Macedonia); Radio Blue Sky Kosovo, Project SPEAR, regulation efforts (Kosovo)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
more than one peace media project came out of each region. For example, Bosnia, as the original region of my research, produced most of the examples for the study. Therefore, the number of peace media projects is higher than the number of countries studied.

Interpretations-Analysis

Finally, the study integrated quantitative and qualitative analyses during the interpretation stage. This is the most common approach to the interpretation of mixed method techniques (Creswell, 2003). If we understand peace media to be a mass communication process, it is reasonable to identify the basic elements of the process. This study uses the framework developed by Lasswell (1948) who concluded that the process of communication could be explained by a model that describes: “Who says what to whom through what channels with what effect?” (Lasswell, 1948). This model has been an ingredient of every discussion on communication processes; even though its linearity has been disputed, the elements of the model serve as pillars of mass communication research. Therefore, this study hopes to: describe the variety of players in the field responsible for the different projects (who), examine the types of approaches to peace development (what), look at the beneficiaries of such activities (whom), explore and understand the means of communication and messages being sent (channels), and, most importantly, measure the effects of such communication (effects). Therefore, this study examined and identified the Who, What, Whom, Channels and Effects.

Who – The study identified examples of media involvement in post-Cold War peace processes, the places where the projects occurred, their chronological time frame and the actors (individuals and organizations). Though the organizations involved in the
implementation of media projects are incredibly diverse, commonalities make the analysis possible.

What – This element of the analysis provides a detailed description of all of the media for peace projects examined in the study. Every media project is a result of a complex set of circumstances. As a result, media are used in a variety of ways. Different media formats and activities are based on the specific conditions in the conflict environment.

Whom – This section is divided into two sections. In the first, all the conflict regions where peace media projects were utilized are described as the targets of peace media. The second section provides a more detailed analysis of the targeted demographic groups. The effectiveness of mass communication has been known to improve by carefully segmenting the audience based on age, gender, ethnicity, etc. Therefore, the peace media projects focus on several different target audiences.

Channels – There is no doubt that the system of sending the peace messages to the audiences is no less important than the message itself. The question of an appropriate mass communicational channel is of crucial importance to a well-designed peace media project. The choices to be made in selecting the appropriate channel are specific to each conflict region. Sometimes, the channel may be one that is perceived as outmoded in industrially advanced societies (e.g. street theater).

Effects – The next segment of the research measures the effects of the peace media efforts. In essence, this set of questions tests the effectiveness of the peace media by measuring the impact on target audiences. This is achieved by looking at known
components of media effects that influence behavior (e.g. audience awareness of the media projects, knowledge gain as a result of the media projects and change in attitude).

Finally, potential improvements to the practice of peace media are presented in the conclusion. The effectiveness of each individual peace media project was considered in hopes of finding the most productive patterns. The conclusion features a set of 11 recommendations drawn from the analysis that considered the effects and best practices supported by the theoretical background.

**Conclusion**

In order to understand the rhizomatic foundation of peace media, this study combines three types of research methods: in-depth interviewing, analysis of the texts and quantitative effect assessment. Such a combination is of crucial importance for the following reasons. The subject under investigation is complex and diverse and while the projects exist internationally, they are connected by the common rationale of peace development. The practice has been in use for a long time and a variety of projects exist in the field. A missing component is a comprehensive analysis of best practices or a study that would approach the general idea rather than a single regional application. The focus is on the compilation of the most extensive set of data that describe the practice. For this reason, triangulation of multiple data sources is necessary. Therefore, the primary goal of the study is in-depth explanation of the peace media as mass communication process.
CHAPTER 4: OVERVIEW OF CONFLICTS AND PEACE MEDIA

In order to better understand the environments that produced peace media efforts, it is necessary to understand the history and background of the disputes causing conflicts. The following chapter (Chapter 5) is arranged according to the elements of Lasswell’s model of communication: “Who says what to whom through what channels with what effect?” This chapter begins with the analysis of the third element of the model — “whom.” The primary targets of peace media efforts are the countries in violent conflicts, and individual countries comprise a part of the element titled “whom.” Because the background to the conflict is essential in understanding the first two elements – “who” and “what” – the elements are presented out of order. The other parts of the element “whom” are the specific audiences differentiated according to their gender, age, social status, etc. Demographically segmented audience groups are considered to be a secondary segment of the element “whom.” Therefore, these two segments are presented separately.

The following is a short summary of each region under investigation (in alphabetical order) and its conflicts. The primary sources of information are the Penguin Atlas of War and Peace (Smith, 2003) and the “Encyclopedia of Conflicts since World War II” (Ciment, 1999).

Angola

The conflict in Angola is rooted in the years that led to its independence from colonial rule by Portugal in 1975. The conflict over control of the country started when the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), National Front for the
Liberation of Angola (FNLA), and the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) fought for control of the government. Each party was backed by international powers; the pro-socialist MPLA was supported by Soviet Union but was caught in the middle between the U.S.-supported FNLA in the north and the UNITA in the south, supported by South Africa. The war continued despite the withdrawal of foreign influence and an unsuccessful election attempt in 1992. The U.N. intervention, the demilitarization of UNITA and the formation of a unified government pushed the country closer toward peace in 1995. Despite the intermittent successes, violence continued until 2002 when a ceasefire agreement suspended the violent combat.

The media projects in Angola have predominantly been the domain of the international NGO, Search for Common Ground. There were several projects by the organization that produced hours of programming promoting peace: two soap operas, a program for women in conflict and a popular peace song by local pop-artists. Another significant effort deals with training journalists and building relationships between the media and public institutions as Kendra Parks, Program Associate with Search for Common Ground, explains:

In Huambo, south of the capital in the country, we have been working with some groups there, both the civil society groups and the journalists, who are all mostly working for the government radio. We were trying to link them up together so that media people in these countries that are so closed for the media realize that civil society can be used as a source, as a way of getting good information, and knowing what’s going on rather than always going to government officials. Also, we tried to explain that they can go to people in the street and that is it o.k. to broadcast their opinions too. We also try to get the civil society to utilize the media to get out their message (personal communication, July 22, 2004).
Cambodia

Though the Cambodians and the Vietnamese share a long history of conflict, war in Cambodia started in response to U.S. intervention in Vietnam in 1970. At the time, U.S. and South Vietnamese forces invaded Cambodia in their pursuit of communist forces. However, the Khmer Rouge guerillas, affiliated with the communist bloc, fought typical guerilla warfare and managed to seize power in 1975. Their governance was a severe domestic repression that resulted in the mass killing of 2 million people. Even though Vietnam overthrew the Khmer Rouge in 1978, the violence continued until 1991. The U.N. managed to sponsor a peace agreement and organized the first free elections in 1993. The elections marked a stable and decisive transition to normalcy. However, while the support for the Khmer Rouge continued to decline, the violence did not end until 1998. The remnants of the Khmer Rouge forces finally surrendered and the war was suspended.

Cambodia was the setting for perhaps one of the original projects that utilized media in peace building. This was the first use of peace media by U.N. peacekeeping operations. Radio UNTAC (The United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia) is one of the oldest peace media projects. This radio station had a mandate to prepare the country for the first democratic elections in 1993. In 1992, it became clear to the United Nations that the free elections would be impossible without the free and unbiased exchange of information. Therefore, the U.N. established a radio station in order to explain its mission, the peace accord and accompany the subsequent democratic election. According to Price (2000) radio UNTAC was created as;
a widely acclaimed alternative source of credible news and information that many credit with helping to create the environment that made the 1993 elections possible and led to a 95 percent turnout despite efforts by the Khmer Rouge to terrorize the populace into rejecting the polls. As the first broadcast station under a U.N. peacekeeping mission, Radio UNTAC pointed out the necessity of widely accessible news and information as a key component of a transitional environment. By all accounts, Radio UNTAC was popular and trusted, giving Cambodia, for the first time, a widely available source of nonbiased news and giving political parties and candidates access to the media for the 1993 polls (p. 21).

The first elections were a huge success in terms of turnout. The footprint of the station included 97 percent of the population with an estimated 6 to 9 million listeners a day at its peak (Mei, 1994). When the station became the most popular radio station in the country, it broadened its format by adding music, entertainment and unbiased news and information programs. Despite its success, it was forced to close because the UN pulled financial resources and the station never managed to recover.

Thanks to the success of the radio station and the decisive voter turnout, each subsequent U.N. peacekeeping mission has included some sort of mass communication effort accompanying the peacebuilding mission. U.N. peacekeeping operations in Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Bosnia, Ethiopia, East Timor and Kosovo all incorporated a radio station in their mission.

Central African Republic

The proximity of the Central African Republic (CAR) to the war stricken regions of southern Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo have not left this highly underdeveloped country in peace. Since its independence from France in 1960, it has seen riots, mutinies and coup d’état attempts from different military groups in the region. The United Nations eventually entered in 1998 to establish their mission, supervise the
peace and presidential elections. Despite the presidential election in 1999, violence has continued.

The two peace radio projects in CAR can practically be understood as one. Radio MINURCA (Mission des Nations Unies en RCA) was established in the capital Bangui by the United Nations mission. The station was the most-listened-to in the region before it was closed in 2000 as a result of the U.N.’s decision to move the equipment to neighboring Sierra Leone. Radio Ndeke Luka (Bird of luck) managed to continue with identical programming and return the audience of its predecessor. Created as a project of the Swiss NGO, Fondation Hirondelle, Radio Ndeke Luka covers the Bangui region with an FM signal. Also, a short-wave transmitter covers the entire Central African Republic, northern Democratic Republic of Congo, southwestern Sudan and border areas in Chad and Cameroon. The station also provides training to local journalists. The mission and the goals are similar to two sister projects in the neighboring countries: Radio Agatashya in Rwanda and Radio Okapi in Democratic Republic of Congo.

Colombia

The region of northern South America has been conflict-ridden for two centuries. In 1819, the Colombian confederation with Ecuador and Venezuela manage to overthrow Spanish colonial rule and establish Gran Colombia. Only ten years later, the confederation was abolished and internal disputes over power and control of territory became the root cause of the Colombian conflict. In addition, conservative and liberal movements were at the center of disputes that led to two civil wars: the first at the beginning of the 20th century and the second from 1948 to 1957. In an attempt to end the
civil war, the two parties formed the National Front, a governmental alliance, and banned all other parties. This decision, in addition to the unequal distribution of land and wealth, further ignited the dispute, resulting in warfare between numerous guerrilla groups and the government in 1965. The most prominent guerrilla groups, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and National Liberation Army (ELN), managed to recruit more fighters than the Colombian government. Narcotic production added another dimension to the war as it provides a major source of revenue in the region. Negotiations between the government and the guerillas ended in 2002 and the country has returned to sporadic violence.

The only peace media program in Latin America known to the author comes out of Colombia. The organization of journalists known as “Medios par la Paz” (Media for Peace) is responsible for a series of activities aiming to end the conflict in Colombia. Focused mainly on training and educating journalists, the organization has also helped the Colombian journalists who are often the targets of violence due to their investigative reporting.

Indonesia / East Timor

A former Dutch colony, Indonesia is a state of 225 million people, 300 languages, incredible cultural diversity and homogeneous religion (85 percent of population is Muslim). In 1965, only two decades after its independence, General Suharto came to power and maintained a military authoritarian regime for 32 years. In 1976, Indonesia invaded the Portuguese colony of East Timor and incorporated it as a one of the provinces. After the fall of Suharto in 1998, several provinces expressed strong
secessionist ideas and wished to pursue independence. The conflict over East Timor culminated in 1999 when a referendum for its independence prompted anti-independence militia backed by elements of the Indonesian army to go on a rampage. The end to militias’ killing spree was brought by the U.N. intervention and subsequent elections that established a new, independent government. A number of other regional conflicts are powered by ethnic and religious differences, and the desire for the provinces to be separate and independent.

Media in Indonesia have been involved in the regional peace process to some extent. Because the conflicts are in relatively small areas, a unified national approach to media is lacking. There are three known projects that have been established in direct response to the conflicts in East Timor and Aceh. Studio Moris Hamutuk is a production studio set up to promote reconciliation between East Timor and Indonesia. Studio Moris Hamutuk is a somewhat similar project to Studio Ijambo in Rwanda and Talking Drum Studio in Liberia and Sierra Leone. Set up by Fondation Hirondelle, the studio is actively pursuing reconciliation in East Timor by providing independent and credible information. Studio Moris Hamutuk, unlike Studio Ijambo and Talking Drum Studio, focuses exclusively on news programs, current affairs, documentaries and interviews. It favors informational coverage of political events over entertainment formats.

A project utilizing an entertainment format in peace promotion is “Geng Bola Gembira” (The Happy Football Gang), a comic book produced to promote tolerance among children affected by the conflict in the Aceh region. Also, training efforts aimed at educating journalists have been organized by several organizations across the country.
Internews Indonesia, funded by governments and international donors, facilitated training for journalists based on the principles that media can promote dialogue and cooperation. Aiming to encourage the production of balanced, accurate and objective journalism, this project concentrated on print, radio and television journalists. It also went beyond training and provided some support in production, equipment and advice on legal aspects of the media environment.

Israel / Palestine

For the last fifty years, the Palestine region has been plagued with violent conflicts. The root of the conflict rests in the disagreement over the territory of Palestine claimed by both the Israelis and the Palestinians. First occupied by the Ottomans, later by the British, the territory was heavily contested by the Arabs and the Israelis after the Second World War. The first war started a day after Israelis proclaimed independence in 1948. Since that time, Israel has fought five wars with neighboring nations, but none of them has been as persistent as the internal civil war with the Palestinian population. In response to the conflict in 1948, 80 percent of Palestinians left their homes (Smith, 2003). In 1967, Israel occupied the Palestinian territories of Gaza and West Bank and since then, the cycle of violence has continued. While the Israelis militarily occupy the area of Gaza and the West Bank, the Palestinians pursue their fight through a combination of stone-throwing protests or “intifada” and a series of suicide attacks. The Israeli military often engages in politically motivated assassinations, house demolitions and military repression. This cycle of violence was interrupted several times by political negotiations between the Israeli government and the Palestinian Authority. None of the peace
processes have resulted in permanent peace and the conflict is currently continuing without feasible resolution in sight.

It is remarkable that despite the long lasting conflict in Israel/Palestine, very few media projects contributing to peace could be found. One project is a children’s entertainment program aimed at promoting peace. This is a local version of Sesame Street named “Rechov SumSum/Shara’a SimSim” (Israeli and Arab name for Sesame Street). The most likely explanation for such a shortage of programming may be the imminence of violent conflict as explained by Gadi Wolfsfeld (personal communication, February 19, 2004):

Frankly, I think that all of these (“Rechov SumSum/Shara’a SimSim) are cute but not very effective. You can’t talk about these small stories of Jew and Arabs getting along because you might have to talk about, number one, ending the conflict, number two, ending the massive amount of information that are convincing the people to the other. In the midst of conflict, it is really hard to talk about peace journalism. During the conflict, media is very powerful but in a wrong direction.

Only recently have there been some additional efforts and individual projects in relation to the conflict. The Common Ground News Service (a SFCG project) was established as a news agency to provide neutral information to both sides in the conflict. This service presents accurate and balanced coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, employs local and international experts and provides syndicated articles, analysis and op-ed pieces. Supported by the European Community and UNESCO, the service operates on a non-profit basis.

Since 1996, various organizations for educating journalists (e.g. The Institute for Further Education of Journalists (Fojo), USAID and Internews) have done some training
of Palestinian journalists by offering two 15-week courses. SFCG has been involved in training and also created an award program that recognizes journalism that contributes toward common understanding and dialogue. Training journalists has recently been conducted by several different NGOs, while the preliminary plans for a radio and television soap opera have been under way (SFCG, 2004c).

Liberia

Liberia has been independent since it was established by freed American slaves in 1847. Indigenous military leaders who overthrew the government and established a dictatorship in 1980 challenged their long political dominance and power. The next decade resulted in an 8-year-long civil war during which no effective government was in place. Factions of different rebel groups fought each other until the military victory of the strongest rebel group, the National Patriotic Front headed by Charles Taylor. In 1995, a peace agreement was signed and Taylor was elected president. The government continued to fight rebel groups from the north of the country. The conflict persisted until 2003, when the international community pressured Taylor into exile and all-party peace talks began.

Liberia has been the site of two very successful media projects. Established by Fondation Hirondelle, Star Radio has been on the air since 1997 in the capital Monrovia, Liberia. With the emphasis on accurate and unbiased news reporting, the station relied on local journalists who broadcast in 17 languages by both FM and short-wave. Despite the constant outbreaks of violence, STAR Radio stayed on the air for three years. Unfortunately, the station was closed in 2000 by the government. Needless to say, such
action provoked condemnation from the international community and vigorous protests by the U.S. government. The Liberian government denied any allegations that the station’s freedom of speech had been abused.

Talking Drum Studio (TDS) is another production studio founded by Search for Common Ground. In 1997, a staff of 30 production experts in Liberia had produced the typical peace-oriented content emphasizing news, public forums and dramatization. One of the main radio projects of the Liberian TDS, the drama, “The Refugee,” was also performed as street theater. The Liberian production studio was established to produce programs of all genres. The studio produced hours of information programming but some of the most popular programs were the entertainment oriented soap-operas that dealt with the imminent consequences of violent conflict.

Northern Ireland

The conflict in Northern Ireland dates back to the 12th century when the English first tried to conquer Ireland. Ever since, the English and the Irish have been in conflict over control of the island. The religious division between the two nations amplified the conflict. While the English and Scottish settlers were mainly Protestants, the Irish remained predominantly Catholic. In 1925, partition was agreed. The Catholics in the southern part of the island gained independence when the Republic of Ireland was established. The six northern counties, Northern Ireland, remained under British control as part of United Kingdom. While the Catholics became the overwhelming majority in the Republic, the Protestants maintained a two-third majority in Northern Ireland.
The conflict rekindled in 1969 in Northern Ireland. The minority Catholic population faced constant discrimination by the Protestant majority. The British army was called in to restore order, but the violence continued despite its presence. Paramilitary groups on both sides carried out the attacks. The Irish Republican Army (IRA) fought against the Protestant paramilitaries, but frequently targeted the British army, police and civilians. The army, police and the Protestant paramilitaries carried out their attacks against the Catholics. A total of more than 3,000 people were killed in the following three decades. The conflict was suspended in 1994 when the IRA declared a ceasefire. A political settlement was reached in 1998 in the Good Friday Agreement. Since that time, the violence has diminished, the IRA has begun decommissioning its weapons, and a new assembly with devolved powers was created. Despite the setbacks, such as the temporary suspension of the assembly in 2002, the progress toward peace in the region has been remarkable.

Media contributions to the most recent peace developments in Northern Ireland (1998 – 2002) have been different from the rest of the conflict sites. Unlike most of the conflict regions, Northern Ireland enjoys a fairly advanced system of commercial television, radio and press and well-established public broadcasting system – British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). Therefore, Northern Ireland has not seen the creation of new media outlets specializing in peace programming or training in peace journalism. Instead, the already established media structures on the ground came together in support of the most recent peace agreement. The most prominent contributions to peace development happened through the established journalists and conventional channels of
communication. Gadi Wolfsfeld, professor at Hebrew University of Jerusalem explains this unique position of media in Northern Ireland:

I argue that in Northern Ireland, because of particular circumstances, the media was actively promoting the peace process and everyone knew it. Those who were opposing the peace process, those in favor of peace process and the journalists themselves all agreed that the media had a clear interest, and I am talking about all the media, the Protestant, the Catholic and the national, they were definitely mobilized to help peace. If there was one reason why this happened then it would be because many people on both sides were supporting the Good Friday Agreement (personal communication, February 19, 2004).

Despite the apparent lack of exclusive media projects in support of peace, a few practices and procedures were created in support of the Good Friday Agreement. One such example is the advertising campaign developed by the global marketing leader McCann-Erickson which aimed to persuade the people about the benefits of the peace agreement. The mass media campaign presenting the favorable aspect of the agreement utilized marketing techniques to present peace as a benefit to both communities. Another practice that has significantly shifted the media focus toward reconciliation is the commercial pressure on media in Northern Ireland. As Wolfsfeld explains, the overwhelming support for the Good Friday Peace Agreement by the individual sources and media outlets came out of a common commercial interest. Namely, the corporate owners of the Irish News and Belfast Telegraph understood that one way to sell their paper to the “other side” would be to stop insulting them.

Rwanda / Burundi / Democratic Republic of Congo

The former Belgian colonies of Rwanda and Burundi were governed by the Tutsi minority before gaining independence in 1962. A year earlier, the majority Hutu population overthrew a Tutsi king and ever since the two ethnic groups have been in a
power struggle in both states. The most recent outbreak of violence was ignited by an incident in 1994. A plane carrying both states’ presidents was shot down in Rwanda and both ethnic groups blamed each other for the attack. Rwanda went through one of the most atrocious periods of violence in the entire 20th century, when 800,000 people were killed by Hutu militia in three months in 1994. Shortly after, the counter attack of the Tutsi-led Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) brought the Tutsis back into power. Since 2000, relative stability has been established as a result of a stringent government by the RPF military leadership. In Burundi, 300,000 people were killed in 1993 after the first democratic elections failed to produce a stable government. The unstable government was replaced in a military coup while fighting and ceasefire intermittently continued until the second democratic election in 2003.

The resource rich Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire), the largest African state, has also been consumed by violence since it became independent in 1960. In 1965, Mobutu Sese Seko took power and ruled the country for over twenty years. The Democratic Republic of Congo did not manage to escape the consequences of the neighboring conflicts in Rwanda and Burundi. In 1997, refugees from the two countries and neighboring Ugandan forces in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of Congo began an uprising that brought Laurent Kabila to power. Conflict continued when the Rwandan and Ugandan forces turned against Kabila, who was backed by Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia. During the next four years, a half a million people were reportedly killed in fighting while two million died from preventable diseases and starvation.
Although the conflict in Rwanda produced one of the most notorious hate-radios, Radio Télévision Libre de Mille Collines (RTLM) most of the peace media projects were centered in Burundi. Steven Pasternack, professor of journalism at New Mexico State University, explains:

After the RTLM, the government was extremely hesitant to allow any private radio, because RTLM is one of the worst examples of broadcasting in history in terms of creating a genocidal mood... So after the conflict there was no media in Rwanda whatsoever. Radio Rwanda, the state radio, came back fairly soon. It became the only radio station and it became very bland. Its tool according to its leaders became national unity and national development and national reconciliation. The goal of the state media there is obviously to promote the goals of the government. And this government, which call itself the government of national reconciliation and national unity is expressed strongest through the radio (personal communication, April, 19, 2004).

This is why the most significant media project in this region came out of Burundi. Established by SFCG, Studio Ijambo (Kirundi for “wise words”) has set up a model for production of peace-oriented media content not only in the region but throughout the African continent. Studio Ijambo is one of the three production studios established to produce a variety of content contributing toward peace development. This production studio was established in 1995, in direct response to the neighboring Rwandan genocide. Under the slogan “Dialogue is the future,” the studio produces social affairs, news, dramas, documentaries and children’s programs. Most programs directly address the roots of the regional conflict. One of the most efficient methods employs a popular format – the soap opera. The most widely-listened-to soap opera, Umubanyi Niwe Muryango (Our Neighbors, Ourselves), features neighboring families who overcome daily conflict tribulations. The studio currently produces 24 programs a week. These are usually broadcast on five different state and private radio stations. The studio was set up
not to compete with local stations but rather to supply them with pro-social, peace-oriented media content. Its popularity inspired the creation of comparable studios in other conflicts (i.e. Studio Moris Hamutuk, East Timor, Talking Drum Studio in Liberia and Sierra Leone). Studio Ijambo later became a center that trained and supported journalists from the entire region and as a result contributed toward the formation of a new radio station. Studio Ijambo journalists recently launched Radio Isanganiro (Crossroads Radio) as another outlet for its programs.

Another radio project, Radio Agatashya (“The swallow that brings hope”), was one of the earliest peace media projects established in response to the conflict in the wider Great Lakes region of Africa (Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Uganda). Launched in 1994, it went on the air in the Bukavu region in Zaire (Democratic Republic of Congo) in response to the regional conflict between Hutus and Tutsis. It covered the African Great Lakes region, eastern Congo, Rwanda and Burundi. In terms of listenership, the station reached over 4 million listeners through the FM radio signal. Fondation Hirondelle managed the radio station from 1995 but after two-and-a-half years of broadcasting, Radio Agatashya was forced off the air by a violent uprising. The foundation relied on local journalists; out of 80 employees only two were non-African. At its peak, it broadcast in five local languages for eight hours a day. The station gained a reputation as a trustworthy source of information because it placed an emphasis on the quality and impartiality of its news. Its charter claims:

It [Agatashya Radio] places its reliance on the factual exactitude and neutrality of the information… Agatashya Radio observes strict political neutrality and seeks to remain independent in the eyes of all in the execution of its programs and the choice of its collaborators. It avoids all useless controversies and gives particular
care and attention to any rumor or information likely to arouse a movement of panic in the population (Fondation Hirondelle, 2004, Agatashya Radio Charter, para. 3).

Similarly, Radio UNMIR (United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda), was a UN project launched in Rwanda in 1995. Envisioned as a project to help refugees, the station broadcast for only one year with mixed success. The station was forced to close after a year when the UN mandate in Rwanda ended.

Radio Okapi, named after a rare giraffe-like African animal, is another successful radio station from the region. Radio Okapi, a joint venture of Fondation Hirondelle and the UN mission, started broadcasting from Kinshasa, capital of the Democratic Republic of Congo in 2002. It broadcasts in five languages, from ten studios across the country under the slogan “Okapi – peace frequency, Okapi – voice of dialogue, Okapi – 100% Congolese” (Howard, Rolt, Veen & Verhoeven, 2003, Part 2.). Focusing on information, news, local reports, and music, the station is an important tool for the UN mission. Just like its predecessor, Agatashya Radio, it caters to almost one million refugees, broadcasting in local languages, but also collaborates with the UN mission. Proudly proclaiming to be one hundred percent Congolese, the station became one of the most popular sources shortly after its launch. What is interesting with this radio project is that it represents an example of the productive relationship between two of the largest peace media organizations – Fondation Hirondelle, which set up the radio, and the SFCG, which provides a number of programs for the station.

Assistance to local journalists was another form of support to local media. The need for organization of news distribution was addressed by creation of a news agency.
The Hirondelle News Agency was set up to cover the Rwanda genocide trials at the International Criminal Tribunal, in Arusha, Tanzania. The agency currently produces about one hundred reports a month. It has its own broadcasting studio, provides training for local journalists and audio reports for radio broadcasters (e.g. Voice of America, BBC). One important component of the reconciliation in both Rwanda and Burundi entails a form of catharsis through the prosecution of war criminals. For this purpose the international tribunal and locally organized courts conduct hearings of the people responsible for the genocide in Rwanda. The news agency brings particularly important information regarding the tribunal, which consequently helps Rwandans deal with the past and aids in the reconciliation and recovery.

Senegal

Senegal gained independence from France in 1960. In 1982, it formed a confederation with Gambia that was dissolved seven years later. Around this time, two crises within the country produced two low-level conflicts in which hundreds of people died. A border dispute with neighboring Mauritania began as a conflict over grazing rights. Conflict also broke out in the Casamance region with a separatist dispute between the minority Dioula and majority Wolof ethnic groups. The two groups reached an agreement in 2004, which suspended the violence in the region.

The only peace media project recorded in Senegal was initiated in response to the conflict in the Casamance region. A radio soap opera revolved around a love story between a man and a woman from the ethnic groups involved. Their conflict with their
relatives on both sides and the stereotypes in the society were used to address the wider conflict in the region.

Sierra Leone

Civil war in Sierra Leone started in 1991 and was suspended eleven years later. Largely seen as an uprising over control of the diamond trade, the conflict was infamous for its cruelty and terror. The amputation of extremities, rape and the involvement of child soldiers made this conflict one of most violent outbreaks in the post-Cold War era. The rebel Revolutionary United Front (RUF) was defeated in 2002 by a joint operation between UN and British forces.

Based on the success of the similar operation in Liberia, Sierra Leone’s media have benefited from the Talking Drum Studio (TDS), the production center responsible for media content of all kinds. Launched in September 2000, a large studio in the capital (Freetown) and two smaller regional studios (Bo and Makeni) engaged in production of peace content for the entire region (Parks, personal communication, July 22, 2004). These programs were aired by 18 partner radio stations in addition to the national broadcaster. Just like its counterpart in Liberia, TDS focuses on diverse formats of programming – a variety of news and information programming, children’s news programs and soap operas for women. Informational programming advocates journalism that values expert opinions, issues over personal values and the reduction of sensationalism. The internal management strategy of the studio is guided by four principles: staff balance, professionalism, collaboration and media partnership (Howard et al., 2003).
The studio decided not to be a competitor with the local media channels and therefore it never established its own radio facility. Instead it works in partnership with the local stations and government-owned media. It is particularly interesting to see that despite the difficult conditions in the country, the studio has been able to claim remarkable successes. Kendra Parks speaks of the media strategy in Sierra Leone:

“We’ve got listenership rates that were amazing, eighty five percent across the country... We partner with lots of different stations. So in Sierra Leone we have 18 station partners. We produce the programming in Freetown and then we have two small studios in Bo and Makeni and then they send programming to all the different radio stations. So it’s a lot of recording on the cassette and send that out by car and distributing it to different radio stations, or in some cases the radio stations come and pick up the cassette (personal communication, July 22, 2004).

The studio was very responsive to the needs of two groups especially affected by the war in Sierra Leone – women and children. For that reason, radio news programming by children and radio shows for women were produced. Sierra Leone has also been a ground for another mass media campaign aimed at refugees. The campaign was launched by UNHCR in order to promote repatriation efforts and safe return of refugees to their homes.

Sudan

Another country of great ethnic and religious diversity, Sudan has continuously been in violent conflict since it gained independence in 1956. The main point of contention has been the conflict between the mainly Muslim North and Southern Animists and Christians. The current conflict is over control of territory and its resources and it involves the government forces of the Muslim North and the southern rebel Sudanese People’s Liberation Army (SPLA). Peace negotiations between the government
and SPLA broke down in 1994. The conflict is still ongoing despite the numerous attempts for peace talks⁵.

The sole media project aimed at promotion of mutual understanding and communication in Sudan is the radio Voice of Hope. Set up by Dutch radio NCRV (Nederlandse Christelijke Radio Vereniging – Netherlands Christian public broadcasting corporation), Radio Voice of Hope aimed to become the first radio broadcaster in southern Sudan. On the air since 2000, the radio station has been trying to improve information flow in the region. One third of its coverage contains news and information programs while the rest of the time is devoted to educational content. However, the slim air time (several hours every other day) and lack of programming in local languages have not gained the station wide popularity. Even though it has been on the air since 2000, the conditions in the field have not earned the station significant reputation. It is hard to estimate the impact of the broadcasting and its popularity at the moment.

Yugoslavia (former SFRY)

The ethnic groups in Yugoslavia have a history of conflict as the region has always been a site of territorial contest. The Slavs who occupied south-eastern Europe from the sixth century converted to Christianity upon their arrival to the Balkans. In the South, the Slavs accepted Eastern Orthodox Christianity while the northern groups became Roman Catholics. The Ottoman Empire occupied most of the region between the fifteenth and the nineteenth centuries. During that time, a significant part of the Christian population converted to Islam. Despite the religious differences the population shared a

⁵ The government and rebels signed a peace agreement in January 2005. Conflict in Darfur, the western region of Sudan, is ongoing. It has caused the deaths of tens of thousands people.
common language and an aspiration toward independence from the Ottomans in the south-east and Austro-Hungarians in the north-west. After the First World War, the region was united in a Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, the major ethnic groups at the time. The Second World War resulted in a victory for the communists who downplayed ethnic and religious differences and established a federal communist state of six republics: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia. The demise of communism resulted in the loss of the central authority that kept the republics together. The central issue of dispute was the disintegration of the former communist state of Yugoslavia and the transition of its six federal units into independence. Slovenia and Croatia expressed the desire for independence. Serbia and Montenegro favored the reformed but unified federation. This dispute resulted in several armed conflicts which started in 1991. Conflicts progressively moved from the north (Slovenia in 1991) to the south (Macedonia in 2001) and in the end, all six federal republics were at war during this time.

*Bosnia and Herzegovina*

The bloodiest war occurred in the ethnically most diverse republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The republic was composed of all three major ethnic groups: Bosniaks (Muslim), Serbs (Orthodox Christians) and Croats (Catholics). The Serbs and the Croats each hoped to split Bosnia and join their “mother-states” Serbia and Croatia. The Bosniaks fought against those secessionist movements while trying to pursue independence for the country and the union of all three ethnic groups. Between 1992 and 1995, more than 150,000 were killed in the civil war between Serbs, Bosnians and
Croats. The Dayton Peace Agreement ended the violence in 1995. The United Nations and other international organizations took over political and military administration of the country. Since then, the violence has ended and a power-sharing government of all three ethnic groups has been in place.

Bosnian media have been given a prominent role and a responsibility to facilitate reconciliation. As a result, a number of small and large scale media projects were undertaken. Because all three sides in conflict utilized radio and television broadcasting to further their strategies and demonize their opponents, it was imperative to develop and promote unbiased media structures. For that purpose, new national television (Open Broadcast Network, OBN) and radio networks (Free Exchange Radio Network, FERN) were created. Radio FERN was established in 1996 by the Organization for Cooperation and Security in Europe (OSCE) and the Swiss Government. Its original mission was to provide coverage of the first post-war Bosnian elections. Later, it became a state-wide radio broadcaster providing news, information and music programs. Its popularity increased dramatically in 1999, when it became the only nationwide radio station and increased the amount of interactive programs to encourage dialogue between former enemies. Before it ceased its operation in 2001, FERN was one of the most popular radio stations in the country. Unlike many other projects, the equipment and employees of the station were integrated into a new network; Radio FERN transferred most of its operations to the newly established public broadcaster in 2001.

Unlike radio, television projects have been few and far between. However, the television project OBN (Open Broadcast Network) in Bosnia gained attention as one of
the most ambitious projects in all of the post-war regions. It is the only television network project established to promote the goals of the Dayton Peace Agreement. In 1996, the international community decided that an independent broadcaster was needed to combat the propaganda of the national TV stations. These stations were very powerful in spreading the messages of hate and conflict even though the ceasefire was in effect. Therefore, the international community expert group, headed by the Open Society Institute from New York, came up with a concept for a completely new and impartial television station. There was no shortage of funds and support. During the first year of operation the station was given $10.2 million in funds and equipment (Poucher, 2001). At the beginning the station was able to provide reliable information, a valuable commodity at the time. However, it never managed to compete with the popularity of the nationalistic broadcasters in the region. Bad management, low ratings and the withdrawal of international funding led to bankruptcy. It is projected that $20 million was invested in five years before the project was abandoned (Poucher, 2001). Today the station has been privatized and now operates as a commercial television project.

Zoran Udovicic, president of Media Plan Institute, Sarajevo, Bosnia, explains the rationale behind the decisions that led to the development of OBN and FERN:

The idea was that the international community would stop the armies from fighting, bring sixty thousand peacekeepers, make new OBN television and FERN radio and support about a hundred small radio and television stations. This was supposed to bring democracy to Bosnia... We wanted the national television system across the entire country, so that information can be shared among the former enemies. The information was to be free from bias and hatred and balanced at the same time. 80 million DM was spent on the development, but in the election nothing had changed (personal communication, July 15, 2003).

Because the election of 1996 brought no significant change in the power
structure, more media projects were employed in order to reduce political tensions.
Several media campaigns involving multiple media channels were created to focus on the major obstacles to peace. Therefore, ““Postovanje”” (Respect), Dosta je (It’s enough) and Koliko jos? (How long) campaigns addressed the refugee repatriation and property return issues. In the meantime, reform of the pre-existing media structures became a priority of media development. This was done directly through training, education and assistance to local journalists. On a broader level, the process of broadcasting regulation began with the foundation of the Independent Media Commission (IMC). Among other tasks, IMC was attempting to outlaw messages inciting hatred. It was also in charge of allocating frequencies and licenses. In addition to those efforts, former ethnic broadcasters were transformed into the Public Broadcasting System (PBS).

**Kosovo**

The most recent phase of conflict in Kosovo began in the 1980s during the communist regime. At the time when Kosovo was constituted as a province of the Serbian federal republic, ninety percent of its population were ethnic Albanians (Muslim and Catholic). When they requested more control over their province, the Serbian regime removed their autonomy and began repressing them. In 1995, the Albanian Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) began violent attacks against the government and the local Serbs. Failure to reach a political settlement culminated in 1999 when the Serbs refused to sign the agreement sponsored by the international community. In response, NATO conducted a bombing campaign of Serbia. The Serbs responded by expelling one million Albanians from Kosovo. After the NATO bombing ceased, Albanians returned to Kosovo
and forced the entire Serbian minority out of the province. Since 1999, the United Nations has restored peace and attempted to supervise an extremely volatile conflict.

Media in Kosovo responded to the conflict more or less in the same fashion as the media in the Bosnian conflict. The United Nations, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the international governments insisted on the creation of a national television and radio system and strict regulation of hateful expression. Regulatory efforts in Kosovo also followed the experiences and models from Bosnia. Radio Blue Sky, a project intended to facilitate reconciliation, was originally developed as an independent radio station in 1999. This model of radio broadcasting, already tested in Africa, was successfully applied and in short time achieved a popularity that prompted the UN to secure the prominent position for the station. The United Nations media experts invited radio Blue Sky to transform its independent radio station into a public broadcaster in July 2000. The radio Blue Sky became the second network of Radio Television Kosovo. The significance of this merger may in fact be that this example demonstrated a good model of integration of peace media into a sustainable broadcaster (Fondation Hirondelle, 2003).

Along the same lines, the project SPEAR (Support Programming for Emergency Assistance by Radio) was an attempt to provide assistance to journalists from both communities to produce pro-social programming. More of a one time project than a studio, Project SPEAR was a product of Media Action International (MAI). Aimed at the three neighboring countries sharing an ethnic conflict (Macedonia, Kosovo (Serbia) and Albania), the project resulted in three separate radio program series developed in each
The projects were aimed at displaced persons and refugees from Kosovo. The opening humanitarian radio broadcast was launched in Albania followed by Macedonia and then Kosovo. The Kosovo program “In the Name of Humanitarianism” was developed by a multiethnic team composed of Albanian, Serb and international journalists. It utilized the local radio broadcasters on both sides of conflict at the time when the need for humanitarian information was at its peak in both communities (Hieber, 2001).

**Macedonia**

Much like in Kosovo, ethnic Albanians pursued the struggle for extended rights within the newly independent Macedonian republic. In 2001, encouraged by the war in Kosovo, the Albanian minority started attacking government forces provoking counter-attacks. The conflict was suspended the same year following heavy political pressure from NATO and the European Union. The war between the ethnic Albanian minority and the Macedonian government which resulted in nearly 200 casualties was suspended by agreement in 2001. In order to encourage greater participation and protection of the Albanian minority, several amendments to the constitution were implemented. Violence has stopped and the electoral process has been fully functioning.

Macedonian media have not been the subject of a wide-ranging strategy of development. Instead, several individual but unrelated projects have been conducted. One such project is “Nashe Maalo” (Our Neighborhood). Envisioned as a television series for children, the program became an enormous success and continued as a street theater performance, puppet theatre and magazine, and was finally released as a CD soundtrack.
In addition to the training of journalists, the most noticeable media project in Macedonia has been the mass media campaign in 2001. With the assistance from the International Republican Institute, an extensive information campaign was designed in support of the 2001 peace agreement. The campaign emphasized the benefits of the agreement and contributed towards the normalization of relations between the antagonists.

Conclusion

This chapter outlined the boundaries of the study by describing 13 conflict sites in 18 countries that produced the peace media projects discussed in this research. The conflict sites on four continents generated a total of about forty peace media efforts and represented an assortment of conflict types (e.g. intra-state, inter-state, low-level conflict, guerrilla warfare, high-intensity wars). Even though other peace media projects exist in other conflict areas, the listed projects illustrate the scope of the practice sufficiently.
CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS

The idea to organize this chapter into five elements of the communication process came to me during the initial phase of my research in Sarajevo. When I contacted Nikola Gaon, public information officer for the OCSE mission to Bosnia, he asked that we meet at a coffee house in downtown Sarajevo. I expected such a request because almost all my interviews in Bosnia took place in small outside coffee shops in the downtown area. Bosnians frequently socialize over espresso, and during the day these outside gardens are packed with people of all ages. I was hoping to learn about the “Postovanje/Respect” campaign, whose goal was to emphasize the need to respect refugees’ rights to return and reclaim their property. I wanted to know who was behind the campaign, what the main messages were and how they were hoping to influence their audience. As we were waiting for our espresso, I learned about the organization and the need for such a message at the time the refugees were returning. With the coffee came two small sugar packets imprinted with the logo of the “Postovanje/Respect” campaign. I still remember this campaign for its clever way of reaching its audience. It placed great emphasis on the unique channel of communication, clever targeting of its audience and its ability to affect the cultural context. Not only has such advertising been a very effective way of reaching the audience, it also has been an effective way to insert the message into the context of socialization, thus making it more likely to be a subject of conversation. This made me think about the importance of other elements of the communication process, namely channels, audiences and the effectiveness of the message.
Therefore, this chapter examines in detail all five elements of Lasswell’s communication model. It begins with the description of actors and practitioners responsible for peace media projects (who). It continues with the analysis of media approaches to peace development (what), followed by a description of the beneficiaries of peace media (whom). The last two segments discuss the means of communication (channels) and examine the effects of peace media and the most effective utilization of such practices (effects).

Who

Every communication process, whether interpersonal or mass, requires an instigator, the original point where the intention to communicate occurs and where this intent is contemplated. Multiple factors outside the instigator’s control direct and influence its intent. Nonetheless, the origin of communication affects the process considerably.

The parties responsible for peace media are diverse in terms of their function. The organizations and individuals behind these projects are often responsible for financing, producing, managing and actually distributing the messages. However, it is not unusual that these roles are shared among several organizations. For example, a foreign government financially supports a project that is produced by a non-governmental organization (NGO) which uses local broadcast partners to get the media content to the audiences. Regardless of the organization’s size, international or local character all the organizations actively pursuing the practice are described in the analysis. This section of the analysis introduces some widely known organizations (e.g. the United Nations) but
also lesser known NGOs and associations. The list of all organizations included in this analysis is presented in the Table 2.

Table 2: Organizations and their areas of activity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organizations</th>
<th>Areas of activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The United Nations organizations (UN peacekeeping missions, UNHCR, UNESCO)</td>
<td>Cambodia, Bosnia, Kosovo, Rwanda/Burundi/DR Congo, Sierra Leone, Indonesia/East Timor, Central African Republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National governments and government organizations of the following countries</td>
<td>U.S.A., Switzerland, Netherlands, Canada, Denmark, Great Britain, Sweden, European Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Search for Common Ground (SFCG)</td>
<td>Rwanda/Burundi/DR Congo, Sierra Leone, Angola, Macedonia, Israel/Palestine, Liberia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media Action International (MAI)</td>
<td>Kosovo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Media Support (IMS)</td>
<td>Research and support in Africa, the Middle East and North Africa, Asia, central Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internews</td>
<td>Indonesia (assistance in 34 countries around the world)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Panos Institute West Africa</td>
<td>West Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medios par la Paz</td>
<td>Colombia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sesame Workshop</td>
<td>Israel/Palestine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fondation Hirondelle</td>
<td>Kosovo, the African Great Lakes region, Liberia, the Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of Congo, East Timor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Institute for Media, Policy and Civil Society (IMPACS)</td>
<td>South East Asia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)</td>
<td>Bosnia, Kosovo, Macedonia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual practitioners</td>
<td>Jake Lynch, Keith Spicer, Ross Howard, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In order to gain the most comprehensive insight into organizational structure and practices, the analysis examines the parties through the projects that they conducted in conflict areas. These findings are integrated with an analysis of the parties’ goals, mission statements and procedures. Information about the parties was obtained mostly through interviews and articles, but also from the organizations’ web sites. Despite the diversity of parties, projects and techniques, the analysis reveals certain recurring patterns.

*The United Nations – The Architects of the Practice*

United Nations (UN) agencies across the world have employed media to some degree in almost all of their post-Cold War efforts. The UN agencies best known for their use of media in conflict are the UN peacekeeping missions. Beginning in 1989, the UN peacekeeping mission in Namibia, the United Nations Transitional Authority Group (UNTAG), started using media channels for the first time to promote peace. Later on, the missions in Cambodia (1992) and Croatia (1992) expanded on the work from Namibia. These became the first missions to establish their own radio and television networks and use visual and print materials to promote peace. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) pointed to the importance of communication system and its relation to development in their famous McBride report in 1980. The report called for a new world information and communication order based on more equitable distribution of information between the continents and also intended to strengthen peace and understanding among nations. Another UN organization that had an interest in using media is the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNHCR actively utilized media in several communication campaigns that aimed to facilitate the repatriation of refugees in conflict zones.

The United Nations peacekeeping missions can be credited with the original application of peace media in their operations across the world. The roots of those efforts can be traced to the UNTAG mission in Namibia which employed production of print and audio-visual materials to explain the goal of the mission and report on daily events. The United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) broadened the scope of its activity to include publishing guidelines for free and responsible reporting, established an association for local journalists and developed a regulation agreement for fair access to media during the 1993 election campaign. However, the most significant project and most likely the first to employ radio for peacebuilding on a large scale in the post-Cold War era was the UN’s radio station in Cambodia. Since the UN peacekeeping operations in Namibia and Cambodia experimented with the use of mass communication, it is not surprising that the organization continued with the integration of media in most subsequent peacekeeping operations. In collaboration with the Swiss NGO, the Fondation Hirondelle, the UN peace keeping mission has also operated Radio Okapi in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The latest United Nations mission in Kosovo has made headway in terms of media development. In response to lessons learned from the conflicts in neighboring Bosnia and Macedonia, the head of the Kosovo mission requested a media needs assessment before the soldiers were even on the ground. As a result of the assessment of the media environment, the UN then asked the Fondation Hirondelle to set up a production studio and a radio station called Blue Sky in 1999.
(Fondation Hirondelle, 2003). Other UN radio projects include Radio UNAMSIL (United Nations Assistance Mission in Sierra Leone) in Sierra Leone, and Radio UNTAET (UN Transitional Administration in East Timor) in East Timor. Today the only remaining UN radio projects in operation are Radio MIR in Bosnia (Peace radio) and UN radio in Ethiopia and Kosovo (Marston, 2002, Mei, 1994).

The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has been the branch of the UN responsible for its media activities since 1980. Since that time, more than nine hundred media projects around the world of all kind have been funded. In 1992, UNESCO started a program “UNESCO SOS MEDIA” which aimed to utilize media in conflict and war regions. The program began in the former Yugoslavia and then continued to Rwanda, Burundi, Angola and Indonesia. UNESCO has also helped with the Common Ground News service in Israel/Palestine (UNESCO, 2004).

In Bosnia, UNHCR managed the TV program bank that supplied 300 hours of programming to local media for several years after the peace agreement (Howard et al., 2003). UNHCR also contributed to the development of independent media in the post-violent Bosnian society and directly supported project SPEAR (Support Programming for Emergency Assistance by Radio) in Kosovo. In the Great Lakes region of Africa, the organization initiated a multi-channel media campaign to facilitate refugee repatriation (UNHCR, 1998). Operating mainly in the refugee camps, the UNHCR used all forms of communication including radio and video commercials but also loudspeakers and microphones.
The United Nations and its agencies have been key players in the development of peace media practice. Most of their post-Cold War peacekeeping missions have incorporated a media component. This new practice serves as a testament to the significant media effects in conflict. Most of the UN missions continue to expand their use of media in peacebuilding.

*The Nation-State Governments – The Main Source of Financing*

The governments of nation states, which are not directly participating in conflict, have been the most important support of nearly all post-Cold War peace processes. Though not always publicly, Western state governments often stand behind peace negotiations as well as the enforcement and implementation of agreements. Their role is no different when it comes to the implementation of peace media projects.

The British government is involved in a variety of projects around the world, mainly through its agencies and departments. The most prominent government agency, the British Department for International Development, has been involved by directly supporting projects such as Nashe Maalo in Macedonia, Project SPEAR in the Balkans and Talking Drum Studio in Liberia. It has also been recognized for publishing a guide for practitioners titled, “Working with the Media in Conflicts and other Emergencies,” (Department for International Development, 2000), which describes a variety of media techniques, activities and regions of engagement. Similarly, through its Northern Ireland Office, the government has been involved in a project that utilized advertising for nearly ten years to promote peace in Northern Ireland.
The Canadian government through its International Development Agency (CIDA) has been involved in a number of conflict sites around the world. Its engagement is what inspired the partner organization IMPACS (the Institute for Media, Policy and Civil Society) to provide assistance to the local media. Through organizations such as IMPACS and Media Peace Institute, the Canadian government provided financial support for the media projects in conflict areas. Also, Canada claims to be the first government that made media and peacebuilding a foreign policy priority (IMPACS, 2002, Howard, personal communication, February 5, 2004).

The Danish government has been dedicated to the development of media projects, especially in Southeastern Europe. It is reported that between 1999 and 2003, an organization within the Danish Foreign Ministry had been funded with 8.3 million euros in order to help develop media in the region (Spurk, 2002). Also, the government is the main donor to International Media Support (IMS), an organization that has been one of the major actors in the development of peace media projects (IMS, n.d.). Two regional media experts interviewed for this analysis Keith Spicer (personal communication, January 28, 2004) and Ross Howard (personal communication, February 5, 2004) confirmed that this direct financial support had made the IMS one of the most reliable, efficient and professional research organizations in the field.

The Swiss government has also contributed financially on several occasions. It funded radio for peace in Angola, Liberia, Bosnia, Democratic Republic of Congo and Kosovo, programs in Bosnia, Macedonia and an independent Bosnian television network (Open Broadcast Network). A division of the Foreign Ministry, the Swiss Development
Cooperation, is predominantly responsible for funding and financial activity. The Swiss government is also a partner in several bilateral projects in the Balkans. Spurk (2002) estimates that 4.2 million euros were invested in media assistance in the conflict areas during 2002.

The United States government has been involved in many projects around the world. It provides support through organizations such as the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) or its subdivision the Office for Transition Initiatives. In Bosnia, it played a major role in financing the Open Broadcast Network (OBN) donating $8.65 million in five years. In addition, donations were made in the form of transmission links, studio equipment, logistical support and training. The government has also demonstrated the ability to support projects indirectly, by funding the non-governmental agencies (e.g. Internews) who then directly contribute to specific projects. Such is the case with the International Research and Exchange Board (IREX) in Bosnia and the International Republican Institute (IRI) that became involved in an advertising campaign aimed at aiding the passage of the peace proposal through the referendum in Macedonia.

Some other European governments have been active donors to the media projects in conflict environments. The Swedish government, through its Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), contributed over 9 million euros in 2001. The same year the Dutch government contributed an estimated 15 million euros (Spurk, 2002). The Dutch government was also involved in Sudan by funding the peace radio station Voice of Hope.
The European Union as an organization has also contributed to media projects in conflict environments. Their program, “European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights” funded Project SPEAR, supported training and development of independent journalism in the Middle East and also funded other organizations developing different peace media projects (e.g. Search for Common Ground in Sierra Leone).

What can be concluded is that governments from the industrially advanced West are mostly responsible for financing mass communication activities contributing to peace. This can be attributed to the fact that conflicts usually occur in less industrially developed societies, which are usually aid recipients. In addition, most of the underdeveloped world is financially incapable of funding such operations.

Less apparent are the motives for this type of investment. It is only fair to assume that in addition to philanthropy and altruism on behalf of the governments, some security and foreign policy motives are the driving forces behind the efforts. It is likely that the position of the financier puts the governments in the position to exercise control over the process to a certain degree. More importantly, some governments exercised their ability to direct the shape of peace media developments. For example, having financial responsibility to fund the Bosnian TV project OBN gave the U.S. government an opportunity to have an effect on its management. In the case of OBN, the U.S. exercised its financial muscle when they abandoned the failing project in favor of a more commercial alternative. Such a decision led to its marginalization and the station faced bankruptcy before it was bought by a commercial media conglomerate. There is no doubt
that the flow of financial support determines which projects stay alive and which ones die. Keith Spicer speaks about these problems as he encountered them directly:

Even ten years later, it is very hard to approach a major donor and talk to them about the media. Their eyes just glaze over it. They don’t understand the idea. They don’t understand that wars and conflicts start with an idea in somebody’s head that is transmitted to other people’s heads. What they do see is throwing a lot of money at something they can understand, like peacekeeping soldiers, like economic aid, like building monuments, schools or something like that. But not building bridges in people’s heads. The political and administrative culture in the aid-giving world is still many years behind this phenomenon (Spicer, personal interview, January 28, 2004).

Despite such obstacles, there are a few reasons for optimism. The commitment of the donors to the practice has been fairly consistent. This may be a result of the donors’ recognition and belief in the ability of media to contribute to the resolution of conflicts. Often, the aid given to peace media projects comes from the budget designed for foreign aid. Despite generous contributions, it is not known what percentage of foreign aid is spent on the peace media projects. However, a reason for optimism could be in the general enthusiasm of development agencies to allocate large amounts of financial resources to this particular cause. Most projects have secured their funding from this fairly stable resource – annual budgets of foreign governments. Therefore, it is promising to see that even though mass communication efforts require substantial funds, the flow of financial donations have been steady. All things considered, the situation concerning funding is rather optimistic – a fact which should encourage practitioners and spark interest among researchers.
Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have been the most active proponents of peace in most conflicts in recent years. The most active organizations are involved globally, and are often engaged in multiple conflicts. NGOs do not work for profit, which helps them build a good reputation and enhances their credibility. Additionally, the fact that they are not aligned with any political party or government in conflict is often emphasized in their field operations. The following is a summary of the most notable organizations in the field:

Search for Common Ground (SFCG) is a Washington, D.C.-based organization established in 1982 to deal with the problem of violent conflicts. One of its main operations is the production and broadcasting of media content contributing toward the transformation of violent conflict. It is interesting that the SFCG subscribes to the conflict transformation approach to peace, which argues for appropriate and extensive transformation of conflict leading to social change, rather than conflict eradication. The organization employs almost 400 people in four continents mainly in the production and dissemination of media content. It proudly acknowledges participatory engagement of local populations as one of its core principles (80 percent of the staff are local nationals). Funding for the organization’s efforts is provided by nation-state governments (60 percent comes from the European governments), foundations, businesses and non-profit organizations.

Some of SFCG’s notable projects are the radio studios in Burundi, Liberia and Sierra Leone. They produce news/information and entertainment programs and provide
training for African journalists. In Angola, training was provided to almost 500 journalists in 20 workshops. Democratic Republic of Congo, Macedonia, Morocco and many other countries are journalists’ training grounds for SFCG. In the Middle East, in addition to training, SFCG operates a news agency which provides a reliable news service for the Israeli/Palestinian region. SFCG was one of the first organizations to successfully employ soap opera and drama genres in conflict zones as a tool for attitudinal change. Over time, the production of all media content came to be guided by four principles of operation.

1) establish radio studios engaged in program-making, rather than broadcast radio stations, in order to reduce the risk of being shut down in hot conflict zones; 2) collaborate closely with local stations, international NGOs, and private businesses involved in media activities; 3) build and maintain a politically and ethnically balanced staff; and 4) establish and maintain impartial and ‘non-conflictual’ production techniques (Howard et al., 2003, part 1, section 3, p.8).

This framework of principles is a highly regarded and often-copied model of engagement that came out of years of practice. SFCG’s long history of engagement in conflicts all over the world has gained the organization the reputation of being the most prominent expert in the field of peace media.

Fondation Hirondelle (Swallow) is an organization of journalists set up to respond to the problems with conflict media. Based in Lausanne, Switzerland, the foundation partners with major international non-government organizations and is funded by the governments of Switzerland, the European Community, the United States, the Netherlands, Sweden, Britain, France, Germany, Japan and Canada. Their mission statement reads:
In particular, it [Fondation Hirondelle] should aim to strengthen independent local media, where these exist; to rebuild them where they have been destroyed; and to establish them where they do not exist. This priority should be spelled out clearly and unequivocally in any mandate given to an intergovernmental organization (Fondation Hirondelle, 2004, Media for Peace and Human Dignity, para. 10).


One of the practices that distinguishes this organization from other agencies is their proactive cooperation with partner agencies in the conflict environment. They have worked with the UN missions in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Kosovo and also with SFCG.

Media Action International (MAI) was established by professional journalists in Berne, Switzerland in 1998 as a non-profit organization primarily focusing on information dissemination in areas of conflict. The primary goal of the organization was to provide relevant and reliable information during humanitarian crises. Emphasis was placed on objectivity and impartiality as the main pillars of reporting. The organization maintained their missions in Bosnia and Kosovo but it ceased to exist in 2003 due to financial problems. However, a major analytical report (“Lifeline Media”) by its co-founder Loretta Hieber represents a valuable legacy because it may be one of the first attempts to analyze the media projects in order to examine their future practical and theoretical implementation (Hieber, 2001).
International Media Support (IMS) is an association based in Denmark. Set up as a collaboration among several prominent Danish organizations and a few international agencies, this organization undertakes an extensive range of activities in conflict areas. Their main goal is to contribute to peace development by supporting press freedom, professional journalism and peace media in general. Though it only employs three full-time staff members, the organization uses the expertise of other agencies and individuals around the world. In terms of operations, the IMS (n.d.) has clearly established four main areas of interest:

- Media needs assessment missions in conflict regions
- Immediate logistical and financial support to those media
- Building conditions for cooperation between the media, development organizations and political institutions
- Analytical interpretation and evaluation of lessons learned (IMS, n.d.)

The entire budget for these efforts comes from the Danish government through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Unlike similar organizations working in this particular field, IMS is not involved in the creation of new media stations or the production of media content. Rather, this organization provides a very important component that others rarely focus on – research, assessment and evaluation of the conflict environments from the media perspective. It is commendable that the organization is involved in five world regions (Africa, the Middle East and North Africa, Asia, Central Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean).
“Medios par la Paz (Media for Peace) is a Colombian non-profit organization. Started in 1997 by local journalists and professionals, the organization felt responsible to respond to biased reporting by the media that perpetuated the conflict in Colombia. Providing journalists with the tools to approach conflict in a more constructive way became the focus for the organization. A clear agenda for peace was established as a result of meetings with owners of media, discussion groups of journalists and a series of workshops. The organization worked on establishing archives, an information network and publications for journalists in conflict areas. “Medios par la Paz,” instead of promoting conflict, attempts to show how media can contribute to the peace process. One of the most prominent projects is the publication of a dictionary that lists 600 words signifying conflict or peace connotations in their attempt to “disarm the language” (Howard et al., 2003).

The Panos Institute West Africa is a non-governmental organization based in Dakar, Senegal. Its founding organization, the Panos Institute, has a number of branch organizations around the world that work on development of media capacity. The Panos Institute West Africa, now an independent organization, is active in fifteen West African countries. Its mission statement declares production and the strengthening of media as the main focus of its effort. The most prominent project of the institute is the radio soap opera in Senegal.

The Institute for Media, Policy and Civil Society (IMPACS) is a not-for-profit organization based in Vancouver, Canada. The organization has three main focuses, one of which is the International Media Program. This program develops democratic media
not only in countries in conflict but also in other countries (IMPACS, 2002). Closely working with the Canadian government, IMPACS has provided training for journalists, carried out assessment missions in a few regions of conflict and has published articles about the role of media in peace-building. The media program is funded by the Canadian government through the Canadian International Development Agency and the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. In Cambodia, IMPACS supported democratic media developments by providing knowledge and skills to local journalists. The projects in Cambodia were the result of the assessment by IMPACS that identified a major need for the training of radio journalists. Another project by IMPACS brought together journalists from India, Pakistan, Nepal and Sri Lanka in attempt to promote dialogue and provide training. An outcome of the meeting was an improved cooperation and creation of a hate terms glossary.

Internews is a U.S.-based non-profit organization working to support media across the world. One area of their work is media in conflict regions. Internews has offices in almost thirty regions of the world and provides media support through training, production support, legislation, technical support, legal support etc. For example, Internews Indonesia offers training, production and technical support to the troubled region. The organization is funded by a combination of donor support, including business, government and non-profit organizations.

Sesame Workshop, formerly the Children’s Television Workshop (CTW), is the well-known producer of the famous children’s program “Sesame Street.” Their contribution towards peace development became apparent in their project in
Israel/Palestine. Between 1995 and 1998, CTW introduced a local version of their puppet characters who educated Israeli and Palestinian children about the importance of reconciliation and tolerance. The production had to be conducted as two separate projects because the two sides could not agree on a single production. The characters, each speaking their own language, interacted by visiting each other at their own “streets” (Machlis, 1998, April 17)

Other organizations and agencies have been involved with a variety of media projects. Their role may not have been central in the projects, but they are worth mentioning as the supporters of the effort. Open Society Institute, Institute for War and Peace Reporting, Baltic Media Center, Medienhlife, Cimera, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in Bosnia, Kosovo and Macedonia all have specific connections with the practice or the theory of peace media. There are also organizations that are actively engaged in conflict regions but they may not specifically use media projects for peace development. Such is the example of the BBC World Service radio soap opera in Afghanistan, Radio Netherlands Africa engagement in Benin, or the Soul City project from South Africa.

Even though the above mentioned organizations have been active in this field only in the last fifteen years, their work provides a firm basis for optimism. The oldest organization, Search for Common Ground, was founded as recently as 1982 and the oldest project dates back only to the early 1990s. This suggests that the organizational effort is in its relative infancy. Only ten years ago, the number of non-governmental organizations working in this field amounted to less than half of a dozen. Today, new
organizations are emerging and the established ones are assuming new projects with more experience and improved efficacy. More than ten years of practical projects have resulted in improved performance and a wealth of lessons learned. What is impressive is that the organizations have established their own niches; SFCG specializes in the production and design of media, Fondation Hirondelle has perfected a model for a peace radio station, IMS and IMPACS are experts in assessment and research. Each individual specialization thus uniquely contributes to the formation of a comprehensive practice. This well-positioned, practical segmentation of the field confirms the theoretical recommendations for properly conducted and successful media intervention. The practice seemed to have followed the methodological advice of the recommended communication intervention that suggests stages such as assessment, design, implementation and evaluation. An example of such practice is the UN collaboration with Media Action International (MAI) and Fondation Hirondelle. The United Nations peace keeping mission in Kosovo initially asked MAI to conduct the assessment of the media in Kosovo and then worked towards transforming the Fondation Hirondelle radio station into a public radio broadcaster. Even though some of the organizations collaborate to complete this entire cycle, more collaboration between the organizations would certainly be welcome.
Others – Individual Practitioners and Enthusiasts

Some of the most valuable projects in peace development have been undertaken by individuals and enthusiasts whose passionate belief and commitment to social development has made a difference in the most remote parts of the world. Academics and educators such as Yablon and Katz (2001) have been engaged in an Internet project in Israel that aims to improve the relations between Israeli and Arab high school students. Working with sponsor organizations such as The British Council and the BBC, Annabel McGoldrick and Jake Lynch have conducted a number of training projects. They have been known to promote “peace journalism” which encourages a focus on issues from the peace perspective and acknowledges an agenda of peace in their reporting. Another experienced journalist Ross Howard has championed a model of journalism suitable for regions in conflict, and has taught a number of courses on “conflict sensitive reporting” in Sri Lanka, Nepal, Rwanda and Burundi (Howard, personal communication, February 5, 2004). Enthusiasts like Debra Latham, station manager of Radio for Peace International or Keith Spicer, Director of the Institute for Media, Peace and Security at the University for Peace in Paris, France are just a few among many committed to this kind of work. They have been instrumental in launching the University for Peace, the UN supported project in San José, Costa Rica that is beginning to approach the topic academically. News media employees – editors, journalists and reporters – also belong to the list of numerous disciples of social justice, many of whom gave their life to the peace cause.
Now that the instigating peace media parties are better defined, it is necessary to examine the nature of their practice. What needs to be studied are the ways that these organizations are using mass communication in conflict environments, particularly the most common methods and techniques as well as the most effective approaches and their tangible results. An examination of diverse geographical regions, conflicts and communication practices reveal evident differences in methods, focus and level of success. The following categories represent an extensive inventory of procedures and techniques. Not all of them are equally utilized in all regional conflicts. It is more common to find just one isolated peace media project than an integrated set of procedures. The efforts can be grouped into the following three areas.

1. Production of peace oriented content – information and entertainment
2. Campaigning and peace-oriented advertising
3. Regulation of conflict media environment

*Production of Peace Oriented Content – Information and Entertainment*

Production of content is the most diverse and creative practice of peace media. It entails creating a completely new set of programming aimed at particular issues identified as obstacles to peace. In terms of predominant media genres, information programming is most common, followed by programming designed for entertainment.
Most of the projects analyzed in this study rely predominantly on the genre of news production. Currently, there are several different approaches in regards to news media in conflicts. Many are concerned with the direction news media takes in conflict environments and there is very little consensus about the best approach.

The underlying dilemma lies in the theoretical differences about news reporting in the conflict environment. There are two major schools of thought and associated approaches to the issue. On one side are the proponents of peace journalism, arguing that standard journalistic procedures only contribute to conflict escalation and that a different approach to journalism is needed in a conflict situation. They go further to suggest that news media in conflict ought not to aspire to be neutral but align with the forces of peace.

On the opposite side are the advocates of the professional journalism approach, advocating that high journalistic standards and devotion to objectivity are sufficient and the only appropriate measures to be undertaken by journalists. They object to implications that journalists should declare even a slight partiality, no matter how noble the cause may be.

Basically, at the center of the debate there is a simple problem with the role of journalists and reporters in conflict. It becomes a dilemma of whether the media ought to cover the conflict or take part in it.

This to a large degree is an oversimplification of the discourse currently boiling in the field among practitioners. However, the two positions demonstrate the extreme poles

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6 Many authors and projects use different descriptors and labels for this practice (news media, journalism, information programming, etc.). However, news production is chosen not as an opposing term but as an interchangeable synonym with the above mentioned labels.
of this discourse. The entire spectrum of the debate is best described by Ross Howard who describes five approaches to journalism in the area of conflict; rudimentary journalism (on one side, as the equivalent of professional journalism), journalism development, transitional journalism, media-based journalism and intended outcome journalism (in place of peace journalism) (Howard et. al., 2003). Many journalists and practitioners consulted in this analysis fall in between the two ends of the spectrum.

*The Role of Journalism in the Time of Conflict and Peace*

When Shinar (2000) examined the way media cover peace in conflict societies he uncovered the two opposed discourses – war discourse and peace discourse. However, the relationship is highly disproportional; war discourse dominates an embryonic peace discourse. The reasons for such disproportion are manifold. Shinar finds the main problem to be the low news value of peace stories. It barely comes as a surprise to anyone that stories regarding peace do not generate as much interest as stories describing disorders, conflict and disputes. Gadi Wolfsfeld (2004b) explains this disproportion in his study of media in conflict:

While conflict can be considered the *sine qua non* of news, peace and news make for awkward bedfellows. A successful peace process requires patience, and the news media demand immediacy. Peace is most likely to develop within a calm environment and the media have an obsessive interest with threats and violence. Peace building is a complex process and the news media deal with simple events. Progress toward peace requires at least a minimal understanding of the needs of the other side, but the news media reinforce ethnocentrism and hostility toward adversaries. (p. 2)

Another contemporary constraint of the news media is that it operates within an industry that is increasingly becoming commercially oriented. As the components of larger media corporations, even news production is expected to become a profit-earning
business. Therefore, news reporting is under pressure to attract the largest audience. News media thrive on conflict – conflict as a concept in general generates a larger audience than peace. Commercial pressures and the race for better ratings do not favor peace coverage and are more likely to emphasize the conflict.

_Peace Journalism_

Partly as a reaction to the above mentioned constraints and partly as a result of the disappointment with mainstream coverage of ethnic conflicts in the 1990s, the idea of “peace journalism” emerged in the late 1990s. Sacred journalistic values of objectivity and detachment pursued in the conflicts in Rwanda, the former Yugoslavia and Sierra Leone left many reporters feeling helpless. Martin Bell, a veteran BBC war reporter, stirred up the journalistic world when he requested a reform in the practice. He proposed “journalism of attachment,” which he described as journalism “that cares as well as it knows” (Transcend, 1997, Bell vs. Simpson, para. 9.). Bell plainly explained that in some situations it is impossible not to take sides and argued that journalists ought to take the side of victims in conflict.

In 1997, a summer school at Taplow Court in Buckinghamshire, UK, gathered academics, journalists and students from around the world. Their discussion of contemporary reporting concluded that information as a product of journalism was hardly free of bias. A critical examination of reporting from previous conflicts prompted them to dismiss the ideal of objectivity and detachment as practically unattainable. Responsibility was placed on the political and market forces that forestall “the innocence” of information (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2000). These limitations worsen in times of conflict
due to established news values in which the stories of conflict triumph over the peace narrative. As a result of this meeting, the participants expanded on Bell’s proposition and acknowledged a need to accept and declare the agenda of peace in conflict reporting. A rather detailed distinction between the old way of reporting and the newly proposed approach was drawn by many supporters of peace journalism. The most prominent suggestion for change came from one of the most well-known conflict experts, Johan Galtung, who outlined a peace journalism approach in comparison to what he calls war journalism (See Figure 2).

Furthermore, Western professional journalism claims that the reporting of the facts is its main priority. While this type of journalism successfully gathers the facts, it often neglects the processes and the environment in which these facts are being created. Jake Lynch (personal communication, February 14, 2004) pointed to a major distinction between the two journalistic approaches:

A convention in news reporting is that the event is news and the process is not news, and inevitably the issues of structural violence manifests themselves in aspects of process.

For these reasons, the problem of structural violence as well as the process of peace development is barely ever on the agenda of the mainstream media. Instead, discourses with higher news value – the ones of war, trivialization and ritualization (Shinar, 2000) – dominate the reporting. Lynch (personal communication, February 14, 2004) adds that conventional journalism has a concealed agenda masquerading as objectivity and empiricism and that such an agenda favors violence. Therefore, if the
### PEACE/CONFLICT JOURNALISM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. PEACE/CONFLICT- ORIENTATED</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>explore conflict formation, x parties, y goals, z issues. general win/win orientation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open space, open time; causes and outcomes anywhere, also in history/culture.</td>
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<tr>
<td>making conflicts transparent</td>
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<tr>
<td>giving voice to all parties; empathy, understanding</td>
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<tr>
<td>see conflict/war as problem, focus on conflict creativity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>humanization of all sides; more so the worse the weapons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proactive: prevention before any violence/war occurs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>focus on invisible effects of violence (trauma and glory, damage to structure/culture)</td>
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<tr>
<th>II. TRUTH - ORIENTATED</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>expose untruths on all sides / uncover all cover-ups</td>
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<tr>
<th>III. PEOPLE - ORIENTATED</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>focus on suffering all over; on women, aged, children, giving voice to the voiceless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>give name to all evil-doers</td>
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<tr>
<td>focus on people peace-makers</td>
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<tr>
<th>IV. SOLUTION - ORIENTATED</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>peace = nonviolence + creativity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>highlight peace initiatives, also to prevent more war</td>
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<tr>
<td>focus on structure, culture, peaceful society aftermath: resolution, reconstruction,…</td>
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### WAR/VIOLENCE JOURNALISM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. WAR/VIOLENCE - ORIENTATED</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>focus on conflict arena, 2 parties, 1 goal (win), war general zero sum orientation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>closed space, closed time; causes and exits in arena, who threw the first stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>making wars opaque/secret</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;us - them&quot; journalism, propaganda, voice, for &quot;us&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see &quot;them&quot; as the problem, focus on who prevails in war</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dehumanisation of &quot;them&quot;; more so the worse the weapon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reactive: waiting for violence before reporting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>focus only on visible effect of violence (killed, wounded and material damage)</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>II. PROPAGANDA - ORIENTATED</th>
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<tr>
<td>expose &quot;their&quot; untruths / help &quot;our&quot; cover-ups / lies</td>
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<tr>
<th>III. ELITE - ORIENTATED</th>
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<tr>
<td>focus on &quot;our&quot; suffering; on able-bodied elite males, being their mouth-piece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>give name of their evil-doer</td>
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<tr>
<td>focus on elite peace makers</td>
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<tr>
<th>IV. VICTORY - ORIENTATED</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>peace = victory + ceasefire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conceal peace-initiative, before victory is at hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>focus on treaty, institution, the controlled society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leaving for another war, return if the old flares up</td>
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Figure 2: Peace journalism and war journalism (Transcend, 1997, Appendix A)
change is not going to occur in the war-oriented structures, it ought to happen in a
different approach to journalism.

One journalist who agrees with the principles of peace journalism is Dusan Babic
from Bosnia. A well respected and experienced author, Babic (personal communication,
July 21, 2003) came to the conclusion that media should take an active role in fostering
the spirit of tolerance and reconciliation. He encourages the media to look for examples
of tolerance, coexistence and people being good neighbors to each other. During the
interview, he spontaneously picked up the current copy of the most prestigious daily
paper in Bosnia, “Oslobodjenje,” and pointed to the text on the front page. While he said
he admired an article on the second page as an excellent example of good journalistic
coverage of political events, on the front page he found a story that exemplifies what
journalists ought not to do. He read out loud the portion from the front page article and
got visibly upset. In the article, the author simply uses a quote that describes the other
side in the conflict as “genocidal, Nazi-like and evil.” Even though the quote had been
taken from an organization’s press release, Babic could not accept that such language
should ever be reported in the media and suggested that “this is an example to be used in
the school and training of journalists of why neutrality simply does not work” (personal
communication, July 21, 2003).

Even though the journalist neutrally and objectively reported on what had been
said, the quote was so hateful that the front page article simply minimized the impact of
good journalism that may have been exhibited by the second page article.
Galtung proposes that peace journalism be oriented towards notions of peace, truth, people and solutions (Transcend, 1997). One way to go about producing truthful peace stories that focus on solutions and people is to focus on positive stories as was done by Studio Ijambo in Burundi. Their journalists produced “more than 150 programs about people who risked their lives during a time of crisis to save the life of people of another ethnic group” (Slachmijlder and Nkurunziza, 2003, p. 16.). Such coverage resulted in a phone-in follow-up program where listeners contributed with their own stories of others that have helped them during the violent conflict. “Battiseurs de la Paix” (Peacebuilders) is a similar program that tells inspiring stories of individuals and groups working for peace in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

**Professional Journalism**

On the other side is the group of professional journalism proponents who suggest that the news media inherently facilitate conditions that support a peaceful society. To a large degree, professional and ethical journalism, if operated within democratic discourse, contributes to a free exchange of information, informs and educates the citizenry, thus enabling them to become better equipped with knowledge and participate in the political process. Consequently, citizens under those conditions are in the best position to contribute toward social (peace) development.

Thus, professional journalists help the peace process by simply being there to facilitate the dialogue between the parties, citizens and the government. One of the best examples of the professional journalists’ influence during the peace process is the case of the press in Northern Ireland. Simply because journalism of this kind has a long history
and a strong position in the society, no other organizational attempts were ever made to change the course of journalism in Northern Ireland. Yet, the journalists were instrumental in facilitating dialogue between the adversaries. This was done indirectly by releasing political statements and messages through the media, which were received by the other side. Such practices called “megaphone diplomacy” enable the media to strengthen the dialogue (knowingly and unknowingly) and still maintain professional integrity (Sparre, 2001). This practice is an everyday routine of professional journalism.

Jadranko Katana (personal communication, June 30, 2003), the news director of information programming for OBN echoes those convictions. He has a clear idea about what journalism should stand for, regardless of conflict or peace:

> The motive of reconciliation is not an appropriate model for journalism. The only motive is to tell what happened, without private commentary or inclination, just raw information… Reconciliation is to be done by somebody else; religious organizations, legal representatives etc. Our job is to convey the information whether you like it or not. And that’s it. The only way to somehow approach reconciliation was to present a neutral piece of information in the sea of propaganda messages, information free of a particular point of view other than journalistic standards.

When the Good Friday Agreement was signed in Northern Ireland, the professional news media played an important role in promoting the agreement thus facilitating its adoption in the referendum. Wolfsfeld (1997) found overwhelming support for the peace agreement in the editorials of the daily newspapers. Public and commercial media did not feel obligated to balance “pro” and “con” points of view. In terms of television and newspaper coverage, O’Neill (1998) found that:

> the BBC gave 68 percent of its coverage to “Yes” campaigners and 32 per cent to the “No” camp; Ulster Television gave 72 percent and 28 percent respectively; the
Belfast Telegraph gave 78 percent to Yes and 22 percent to No and the Irish News
gave 74 percent and 26 percent respectively. (p. 16)

It is no surprise that the agreement passed in the referendum by a similar
percentage. The news media were mobilized to promote peace, due to very particular
circumstances; partly their own commercial interest, partly their convictions, but
definitely without the imposed journalistic agenda of peace. It served as an example of
the best performance of professional journalism toward peace.

My experience with these converse versions of journalism leads me to believe that
neither is ideal when applied in their extreme version. Both models have noticeable
flaws. The peace media model was originally created and developed by Western
journalists and experts as a response to how Western media had covered ethnic conflicts
in the 1990s. In that respect, peace journalism is more of a reaction to BBC and CNN
coverage than advice to the local conflict media. Even though Jake Lynch (personal
communication, February 14, 2004) explains that peace journalism adapts to the regional
preferences and cooperates with local journalists, the underlying rationale of this concept
is based upon the Western standards and conventions that are hardly in accordance with
conflict environments. Peace journalism is a reaction to the empiricist objectivity
convention, epitomized by a BBC style of journalism. However, the third world media
are unlike Western media, and may not need peace journalism as much as BBC and CNN
may. The peace journalism model also has a problem with credibility. Anytime
journalists proclaim their agenda and loyalty to any kind of cause, their reporting is
perceived with disbelief.
Professional journalism, on the other hand, fails to acknowledge that journalism in a conflict environment cannot operate the same way it does in its native, democratic environment. Professional journalism in times of conflict quickly becomes just another victim of violence and destruction. When it neglects the new conditions in the field – where safety is minimized, freedom of expression can cost lives, the ability to gather required information is diminished and a chance to paint an objective picture is reduced to a minimum – professional journalism finds itself out of place. In such conditions, professional journalism simply cannot operate to its fullest potential. The news media, according to the professional journalism model, are to construct the raw reality and then convey it to the audience objectively. However, this kind of reality is saturated with violence, destruction, disorder and abnormality. If this is to be objectivity transferred to the audience, such a picture would hardly facilitate a peaceful resolution.

Another problem with the professional media in societies without violent conflict is that media are aggressively competing with each other. In those circumstances, sensationalism tends to dominate the coverage. For this reason, some media practices encourage coverage that stirs the social order because such reporting attracts a larger audience. This may not be as detrimental in a peaceful society as it could be in a conflict society. Gadi Wolfsfeld (personal communication, February 19, 2004) explains it using this metaphor:

If there is no fire then what the wind does is not so important. But if there is a fire, then the nature of the wind – how strong, which direction it is blowing – can have a major effect on what happens to the fire.
The Middle Ground Approach

Now that the problems with peace and professional journalism are identified, the question remains whether a combination of these models may be the most suitable approach. If the two models are considered to be too extreme in their absolute, polarized, extreme ends of journalistic practice, a middle ground may be the most informed option.

It is also important to note that many post-Cold War conflict agreements applied a “middle ground” approach to the equivalent political model of governance for societies emerging from conflict. That model is known as consensus democracy. As explained by Reljic (2001), the preferred model of governance today is democracy. Though societies should aspire to participatory democracy with majority rule, a transitional model of power sharing consensus democracy is often introduced in conflict societies as a compromise between the need to authoritatively supervise the conflict antagonists and the desire to apply contemporary Western democracy standards. Much like with governance, media may need to set immediate goals and long-term aspirations. The long-term plan, without a doubt, should become a version of the libertarian, strictly professional media system. Most of the Western democracies exercise the libertarian combination of commercial and public media sources. Such a system is a result of gradual development within the specific circumstances of those societies. It would be unrealistic to expect such a system to develop overnight in societies that have undergone violent conflict. In the meantime, short of strict authoritarian control of the media, a more socially responsible journalism may be an appropriate transitional model that would accompany the political equivalent, known as consensus democracy.
Howard (personal communication, February 5, 2004) proposes something that can be perceived as the model of middle ground – a modified version of journalism that he calls “conflict sensitive journalism.” Howard refuses to turn the journalists into the protagonists of peace. However, he suggests improvement in sensibility toward the conflict environment, sources and goals in reporting. He finds it problematic that the journalists are involved in almost every conflict yet they know so little about basic conflict resolution. Some awareness in terms of responsibility and increased sensitivity are absolutely necessary. Howard’s proposition emphases the three conventional journalistic values essential in conflict reporting: accuracy, impartiality and responsibility. This is not far from the model of social responsibility, outlined by Seibert et al. in 1963, which provided a general set of guidelines that ought to be embraced by journalists. Informativeness, truth, accuracy, objectivity, and balance are the key principles emphasized by the proponents of socially responsible journalism (Seibert et al., 1963). Thus, the central component of the middle ground model revolves around the notion of journalistic responsibility as the fundamental agenda. Not only is this an important journalistic guideline regardless of the geographical region, but such emphasis becomes especially important in conflict societies.

Also, Wolfsfeld clarifies journalistic social responsibility as an obligation to prevent conflict, which is no different from journalistic obligations such as preventing crime or increasing people’s awareness about how to prevent illness (personal communication, February 14, 2004). Most often such responsibilities are already within most journalists’ agendas.
Therefore, an agenda of social responsibility ought to guide conflict journalism and news reporting. It is a form of journalism that acknowledges the critique by the peace journalists but falls short of assuming the activist role of peace promoter. On the other side, it is aware of the inadequacy of professional journalism in conflict but aspires to create the conditions that would allow such a model to develop gradually in the future.

It is very encouraging to note that both the practitioners’ recommendations and summation of best practices adhere to the values and principles of social responsibility as proposed by Seibert et al., Howard and Wolfsfeld. Though these principles of socially responsible media are implicitly considered, most of the peace media projects are concerned with news production that focuses on providing responsible and reliable information to the audience. Responsibility is the overarching concept that can be understood to embody the proposed notions of socially responsible reporting (accuracy, truth, objectivity and impartiality).

At the same time, responsibility in reporting is often one of the vital needs of the post-conflict populations. This need is a result of what happens with information dissemination during conflicts. Information tends to get corrupted when it is manipulated by warmongers, who abuse it to gain political support. Reliable (responsible) information becomes a rare commodity during violent conflicts. With the termination of violence, the news media’s tainted reputation often needs a makeover. With the purpose of reinstating the public trust, news producers highlight the importance of accuracy in gathering and disseminating information.
The most rudimentary service that is often needed in the time of post-conflict recovery concerns basic information about where to find food and water, how to take care of sanitation, etc. Information of this kind is vital in a crisis situation, especially to the refugees on the move or in the camps. This explains the high ratings and the importance of Radio Agatashya. This station realized the basic needs of its primary audience – refugees. Therefore, it catered to such needs and soon became the most listened to and respected source of information.

Another byproduct of violent conflict is the disorder created by its impact: means of communication are often disrupted, people driven from their homes and separated from their families, and violence around them threatens everyday existence. The need for information is not only felt by the refugees but by the population impacted by the violent conflict. What is needed at this time are basic reliable details about safety, displaced and disconnected persons, news about the areas with which there is no direct communication, the occurrence of violent acts etc. Reliable information of this kind is crucial in minimizing the impact of the disorder produced by violence. This type of broadcasting has often been the focus of peace media reporters. Almost all the radio projects in Africa, Europe and Asia have been concerned with this kind of broadcasting.

*Entertainment Programming*

Less controversial are the practices where media practitioners are in the position to proactively support peace. This is done within the media genre of entertainment programming. Entertainment has frequently been utilized in social development in the
practice known as entertainment-education, achieved by the successful amalgamation of educational messages and entertaining media content.

Entertainment programming currently dominates contemporary electronic media. News production programming is a small fraction of the 24-hour media cycle. Using the example of broadcasting in the U.S., cable news channels and network nightly news programs quantitatively represent just a fraction of the broadcasting hours of the American media. That is why it would be insufficient to rely solely on the news media as the only messenger of peaceful conflict resolution. Having entertainment programming on board in support of peace greatly enhances the media’s ability to impact the environment.

Furthermore, this genre of programming does not require neutrality and objectivity. Known as intended outcome programming (Howard, personal communication, February 5, 2004), this type of production can openly support peaceful outcomes, and unlike journalism, maintain its credibility.

It does not come as a surprise to find a range of entertainment programming that was exclusively produced with the intent to promote peaceful outcomes to conflicts. So-called soap operas or radio dramas, as they are known in radio broadcasting, have successfully featured cleverly embedded peace-oriented plots. By far, this is the most popular entertainment format featuring peace messages. Soap operas have been created for multiple conflict settings and the popularity of the format is a global phenomenon: “Menteng Pangkalan,” Indonesia's first ever radio drama is broadcast three times per week on over 135 radio stations all over Indonesia, from Aceh to Papua. “Il-Dar Dar
Abuna” (Home Is Our Home) is currently being produced for Gaza and the West Bank population. Liberia’s “Today is not Tomorrow” produced by TDS was rated the most popular dramatic program among the targeted population. The Panos Institute West Africa has been involved in production of a radio soap opera in Senegal. Besides the regular dramatization, this interactive program included audience participation via telephone. Following the main feature, audience letters were read on air. This project placed a special emphasis on the participation of local people in writing, producing, and acting, and worked in close cooperation with the local broadcasting company. The Angolan radio soap operas, “Vozes Que Falam” (Voices that Speak) and “Coisas da Nossa Gente” (Things of Our People) are prominent examples of SFCG production. Their aim was to address issues at the center of Angolan conflict and outline an approach to peaceful resolution.

Typically, these programs depict everyday realities of average families. Their living experiences are dramatized while they deal with the consequences of violent conflict. Such is the case with the most popular radio drama in the Great Lakes region of Africa. “Our Neighbors, Ourselves” by SFCG is set in one of the rural hill areas and centers around a Hutu and a Tutsi family who live next door to each other. The drama depicts the complexities of the conflict through the relationships between these families.

Another entertainment format similar in content to the soap operas is dramatic programming for children. Children’s programming is the special segment of content production currently undertaken by the SFCG in Macedonia, Burundi and Liberia and also by Sesame Workshop in Israel/Palestine. The most widely recognized is the program
titled “Nashe Maalo” (Our Neighborhood) from Macedonia. “Nashe Maalo” is a
television series program that also includes a variety of accompanying activities: theatre,
puppet theatre, magazine, parent-teacher guide, music CD and knowledge quiz. This
program, aimed at children between the ages 7 and 12, cleverly incorporates the theme of
multi-ethnic tolerance and respect into a typical children’s adventure. The additional
activities help the show further promote the values of the series to its target audience.

The Israeli/Palestinian version of Sesame Street known as “Rechov
SumSum/Shara’a SimSim” is aimed at children between 3 and 7 years of age. Currently,
the program is shown on three television stations in the region; Jordanian Television,
Ma’an Channel in West Bank and Gaza and HOP! Channel in Israel (Sesame Workshop,
2004). The project utilized well-known methods of education through play and puppetry
in order to bring the children from both communities together to teach about respect,
tolerance and cooperation. The follow-up survey of the effects of the program showed
some positive results among this age group. However, the production was not an easy
process. It took three years for the first episode to air and many times the two ethnically
divided teams could not agree on a mutual approach (Machlis, 1998, April 17). Such a
division resulted in a production of two separate shows in two languages (Arabic and
Hebrew). Furthermore, each show had its own Muppet characters that lived on the two
separate streets. In the crossover segments characters visit each other, try to break out of
the stereotypes and promote tolerance.

Another original idea that managed to intertwine the message of peace in an
innovative and nontraditional mass communication channel used the format of comic
books. Cartoon books designed for the children of Burundi, Bosnia, and Indonesia have been employed to engage youth and to help them understand the process of tolerance and reconciliation. The Indonesian comic book “Geng Bola Gembira” (The Happy Football Gang) is a story is about five teenagers from different backgrounds who create a football team and begin many interesting adventures (SFCG, 2004d). Messages of tolerance and respect for differences are intertwined with humor and creative production. Another example of peace messages intended for children comes from the Bosnian program “Ovaj i Onaj u borbi protiv korupcije” (This and That). Producers chose to use a cartoon program to combat the corruption that was one of the main obstacles to the implementation of the peace agreement.

Music and pop-culture personalities have also been engaged in peace promotion. Music seems to be one proven way to promote messages of peace. In Angola, the SFCG managed to bring together the most popular local musicians from the two warring sides to record a peace song. “A Paz E Que O Povo Chama” (People Are Calling for Peace) featured 35 popular Angolan artists who created an anthem for peace. The song received significant air time and was well known by radio listeners. The popularity of the song is best seen through an example from the community of Malembo, in Cabinda province. At the community ceremony, the community members sang the song that they memorized from listening to the radio (SFCG, 2004a).

Street theater also has had a rich history of pro-social engagement. The author was a spectator in a theater adaptation of “Romeo and Juliet” in Sarajevo, Bosnia, which
ended in strong support for world peace when the actors performed John Lennon’s peace song “Imagine” in Hebrew, English and Bosnian.

Because of their pervasiveness among media genres, entertainment formats are an absolutely crucial aspect of peace media because they have the ability to deliver messages to the widest spectrum of an audience. Furthermore, a large proportion of the audience may not be impacted by news programming. For example, children are rarely interested in the content of news shows. Traditionally, news programs are the domain of an older male audience. Therefore, a significant proportion of viewers, listeners and readers may not be exposed to peace messages on traditional news programs.

Entertainment, on the other hand, is equally popular among all demographic groups. It has the potential to deliver a message to all demographic groups in a way that news programs cannot. This is why the entertainment industry must not be ignored and ought to become a partner to the news producing component of peace media. Only through the comprehensive employment of peace messages in both entertainment and news programs can we begin to organize the field of peace media.

*Campaigning and Peace-Oriented Advertising*

The most overt types of peace promotion are information and advertising peace campaigns. These campaigns are usually designed to address either the issues obstructing the peace or issues inflaming the conflict. The techniques used in peace advertising campaigns in many cases resemble those used in commercial advertising. The impact of commercial advertising can hardly be disputed in contemporary society. Even though its impact may not be direct and easily perceptible, annual expenditure on advertising is the
best evidence of its potency. Therefore, it is not surprising to see peace practitioners using such techniques in the promotion of peace. Besides, the idea of using advertising for the advancement of developmental challenges has already been tried in social marketing.

This is the case with the two campaigns used in Northern Ireland and Macedonia. Both employed a typical advertising operation in the promotion of political peace agreements. The agreements to end the conflicts in both countries were reached by the adversaries through intense negotiations far from the public eye. In order to become legitimate, the agreements reached at the political level had to be ratified in national referenda. In the case of Northern Ireland, the international advertising firm McCann-Erickson was contracted to develop a series of public service announcements (Finlayson and Hughes, 2000). These announcements were meant to promote the agreed document and eventually endorse the acceptance of the Good Friday Peace Proposal. In Macedonia, the Republican Institute was in charge of a similar effort. A multi-media campaign pointing to the benefits of the peace agreement was launched in Macedonia several months before the referendum. Both peace agreements ended up being approved in the referenda.

With help from the marketing experts from McCann-Erickson and the International Republican Institute, pro-agreement campaigns were developed. Not much has been revealed to the public about the campaigns because their success depends on confidentiality and discretion in regards to strategy. However, in the document leaked to the press during the media campaign to accept “The Good Friday Peace Agreement,”
Tom Kelly (1998), Northern Ireland Office (NIO) director of communications
highlighted a strategy for a successful campaign. In terms of the message content:

The message needs to be clear, simple and direct. It needs to prioritize its key messages, and keep repeating them at every opportunity, to reinforce the big picture, even while it deals with the detail. It should be a message that is not afraid to recognize and build on the public’s desire for peace, and uses that, in parallel with the progress in the Talks… (p.2)

In terms of the overarching process, the document reveals wide-ranging, carefully orchestrated procedures. Kelly called for both quantitative and qualitative research of the audiences’ concerns as well as monitoring media coverage. He proposed segmenting the audience in terms of demographics (Unionists, Nationalists, first-time voters, “middle class silent majority”). Much like these demographic segments, the document suggested that the media were another target group of the campaign. The campaign suggests identifying and targeting “the champions” – church and community leaders who have the ability to influence the opinion of the citizens. Finally, special focus is paid to the internet as a highly influential channel of information.

Along the same lines, the peace campaign in Macedonia was the result of a carefully planned promotional effort. The International Republican Institute carried out extensive research, mostly in the form of surveys, before the government launched its campaign. The results of the research informed the creation of public service announcements that were supposed to show the benefits of the peace agreement to each side in conflict. The announcements produced in the Macedonian language focused on stability and security as the main benefits to the Macedonians while the Albanian announcements emphasized extended civil rights to the Albanian minority as the result of
the agreement. The outcome of the referenda in Northern Ireland and Macedonia were heavily in favor of the peace agreements. It would be an exaggeration to attribute the positive outcomes of the referenda solely to the impact of the campaigns on public opinion. Such causation would be impossible to prove even though the correlation between the campaign’s goals and the voters’ intentions is apparent.

Slightly different are the marketing campaigns in Bosnia and the African Great Lakes region. Unlike the two previous examples, both campaigns isolated the issue perceived to have been one of the major obstacles to peace. The return of the refugees and repossession of their original homes and property were identified as the most pertinent problem of the conflict period. In Bosnia, a comprehensive campaign consisting of television, radio, print and non-traditional advertisements was launched in 1999. “Postovanje” (Respect) and “Dosta je” (It’s enough) were the most prominent campaigns in Bosnia. The “Postovanje” campaign was a combined effort of several organizations – The Office of the High Representative (OHR), the OSCE Mission to Bosnia and UNHCR. The campaign was designed to promote respect for law in relation to the rights of refugees to reclaim property and return to the places where they lived before the war. The Bosnian conflict resulted in a large number of displaced people occupying houses and homes that were deserted as a result of the violent conflict. The campaign “Dosta je” expanded “Postovanje” and aimed to address the most prevalent obstacles to the peace process – the return of refugees and reclamation of property. Both campaigns utilized an impressive variety of mass communication channels: TV and radio spots, large billboards, posters, print ads, leaflets, and some nontraditional communication strategies
(specially designed sugar packets, folders, matches and diskette holders). The campaigns were followed by a TV series “Koliko jos” (How Long). Thirty five minute long stories about people affected by the displacement were broadcast on public television channels from March to May 2001. The effectiveness of the campaign was measured only in the form of audience awareness and thus proclaimed a success due to the overwhelming public awareness and campaign recognition.

The UNHCR campaign in the African Great Lakes region has also been considered a significant contribution to eradicating conflict obstacles in the region. Having an incredibly high volume of people exposed to the campaign messages can be considered a major success by itself.

In Sierra Leone, the problems with repatriation were acute. The decision to integrate mass information activities in a repatriation strategy was made in 1997. UNHCR (1998) employed a mass communication effort:

a campaign to provide the refugees with objective and accurate information relevant to their repatriation and reintegration so that they shall be able to make the decision to repatriate in full knowledge of the facts. (Review of UNHCR Mass Information Activities, para. 134.)

The campaign utilized existing radio stations but also employed meetings with refugees in the camps, and the distribution of leaflets and posters. As an additional component UNHCR arranged that refugees could visit the homes they deserted in order to reinforce the campaign messages. The campaign was not entirely completed due to the change of circumstances (i.e. violent outbreaks).

Another UNHCR campaign aimed at repatriating refugees occurred between 1995 and 1996 in the Great Lakes region of Africa. This time Rwandan refugees were
displaced in neighboring Congo, Tanzania and Burundi. The UNHCR admitted that the
original employment of the campaign was rather ad hoc, with the initial information
being communicated via loudspeakers and microphones in the camps. In time, the mass
information activities became more organized and were transmitted through radio (mostly
Radio Agatashya), the UN radio UNMIR and other state and local radio stations.
Eventually, in order to improve credibility, UNHCR developed video segments in which
they filmed approximately sixty examples of successful repatriation of refugees to their
homes. This information campaign was shown in the camps to about one million refugees
in the three countries. It was carried out with the help of local and international NGOs
including Fondation Hirondelle. It was reported that more than 1 million dollars were
spent in two years and that over 700,000 people viewed the video material (UNHCR,
1998).

The strategies of effective campaigning and advertising are currently the domain
of a specialized commercial industry that understands the theory and practice of the most
effective product promotion. The promotion of peace may appear to be a slightly more
complicated task. In terms of pro-peace marketing, the practice is not concerned with
promoting tangible products. However, commercial advertising is most often concerned
with the promotion of non-tangible concepts and images related to the marketed product,
and deals with identifying the positive product attributes and accentuating product
benefits. Promoting peace through marketing (social marketing) applies those concepts to
the conflict environment and advocates the benefits of peaceful resolution over violent
conflict. In two cases analyzed in this study, commercial agencies were asked to identify
and promote the benefits of political peace agreements. The validation of the agreements to end the conflicts in Northern Ireland and Macedonia depended upon their passage in the referenda of their citizens.

Even though the direct relationship between the marketing efforts and consumer behavior in commercial retail has been very hard to prove, the industry is not showing any signs of recession. Actually, the economic projections show the opposite inclination. Therefore, there should be little doubt in regard to efficacy of the marketing technique and despite modest evidence of its contribution to peace development, the practice ought to be expanded. Marketing needs to be considered a potent format of communication. Another excerpt from the leaked documents from Northern Ireland states that the impact of the peace message would be greater if multiple formats deliver the message (Kelly, 1998). Marketing of peace needs to be considered as a strategic ingredient of the comprehensive peace media practice.

Regulation of the Conflict Media Environment

Even though the ceasefire or cessation of direct violence marks a decisive step in transforming conflict, sustainable peace depends on the eradication of additional forces that are destructive to the peace development. More often than not, those destructive forces known as cultural and structural violence continue to exist in the media institutions and within media. Nowhere else is evidence of structural and cultural violence more palpable than in the media. Even though a political agreement may bring an end to physical violence, inciting and hateful messages tend to prolong the culture of violence.
The structure of the media industry and messages that stimulated the violence during the conflict only perpetuate conflict further.

The transformation of structural and cultural violence in the media may be achieved by setting up a new media system parallel to the one that operated during the conflict. This system would reflect the post-conflict peace culture while developing a new set of institutional standards. Most of the projects described in this analysis are concerned with such efforts – the orchestration of media outlets in a joint effort that contributes to peaceful transformation of conflict. While this may be the most optimal scenario, its implementation is an immensely complicated procedure.

This is why a comprehensive peace media strategy should be concerned with transitional conditions and a comprehensive picture of the entire conflict environment. One such proposal came from Jamie Metzl, a pioneer of peace media from the Cambodian conflict. While labeling the initiative as “information intervention” he described practical media engagement in conflict as a twofold activity (Metzl, 1997a). While he suggests that the intervention with information in a conflict is necessary at the same time he calls for “intervention against certain kinds of information being produced” (Thompson, 2002, p.42.).

There is no doubt that the peace media effort ought to be concerned with the communication techniques and practices that best contribute to a conflict transformation. On the other hand, the most obvious contribution to a short-term goal would require the elimination of the detrimental impacts to peace – the media inciting conflict. If the cessation of direct violence is achieved by a political agreement, the transformation of
cultural and structural violence ought to emerge from a strict regulation of conflict media. Furthermore, the establishment of new media structures usually requires a significant time commitment. In contrast, violence ridden society often needs a quick response from the media. Therefore, before media are even organized to facilitate peace development proactively, minimizing the impact of violence-inciting conflict media may be the primary target. A critical component of peace media that has been widely underreported and underutilized concerns the regulation of the media environment in times of conflict. Western-oriented journalists and practitioners regard the idea of regulation suspiciously due to past experiences in which regulation was used as an excuse to interfere with journalistic freedom. However, the regulation of media in conflict situations is not only desirable but necessary. Even though this type of activity is not a media project per se, its effect on the media environment must be taken into account.

The most overt form of regulation in a post-Cold War conflict was in post-genocide Rwanda. The first post-violence Rwandan government reacted harshly to what was believed to be the impact of the hate radio Radio Télévision Libre de Mille Collines (RTLM) by banning all forms of radio broadcasting. During the ten years following the genocide, the only station allowed to broadcast was the government controlled radio. Less blatant forms of regulation could be observed in Cambodia, Bosnia and Kosovo. In Cambodia, the UNTAC Information Division initially conducted an assessment of the media in the pre-election environment. Findings suggested that a media code of conduct and guidelines would be the most beneficial step to prevent chaos in the media environment. Media monitoring was organized as an attempt to enforce media conduct.
Once the code was established and monitoring was launched the Information Division found ample evidence of violations. However, the enforcement mechanism was lagging far behind the will of the international community to regulate the media environment. No legal measures were ever taken against the violators even though the visits by UN Information Division officers attempted to make an impact with the local broadcasters (Marston, 2002).

The case of Bosnian media shows why regulation has a crucial role in conflict environment. Peace media in the country failed to make more significant impact when in direct competition with already established media sources (i.e. national broadcasters). Regardless of how biased those media may have been, the objective information of peace media failed to attract larger audiences. More needed to happen. The libertarian belief that people will make the right choice when they are presented with the appropriate option was countered by the nationalist media that did not lose support despite many independent and progressive media voices. The media strategists failed to understand that pluralism requires much more than the saturation of the environment with new media outlets. What was overlooked was the strength of the indigenous nationalist media (e.g. Serbian television (SRNA) and Croatian television (HRT)) sources that were giving people what they wanted to hear, regardless whether it was hateful, wrong or biased. Also, because the objective information lacked appeal new and more objective media outlets failed to gain significant audiences. In the end, strict rules had to be enforced that disarmed the propagandists and penalized irresponsible broadcasting.
The most successful regulation attempt so far has been conducted in response to nationalist media in the Bosnian conflict. Best described as trial and error, the regulation strategy managed to completely eliminate hate speech from the Bosnian media. The success is even more significant when the number of stations broadcasting in Bosnia is taken into account. At one point after the peace agreement was signed, Bosnia reached the world’s highest number of broadcasters per capita. In 2001, 210 radio and 71 television stations were registered in a country of 4 million people (Udovicic, Jusic, Halilovic & Udovicic, 2001). It is astounding that such a prolific media environment was put under control in a relatively short period of time. The most important event that contributed to the containment of prolific hate speech in Bosnia was the establishment of the regulatory agency. The first regulatory body, the Media Election Commission, created in 1997, was succeeded by the Independent Media Commission which was then transformed into the Communication Regulatory Agency in 2000. Among the agency’s biggest accomplishments was the introduction of broadcast licenses, which regulated the media environment and set criteria for the introduction and implementation of the Broadcasting Code of Practice. Also “Standards for Professional Conduct for the Media and Journalism” put an emphasis on fair reporting, avoiding inflammatory language, accurate and balanced information (Chandler, 1999). The impartial financial sanctioning and consequent pressure on the three most notorious media violators were the most significant accomplishments following the conflict. Firstly, Serbian Radio Television (SRT) was forced to sign the agreement with the representatives of the Office of the High Representative (international government body) in which they agreed to refrain from
inflammatory language and provide broadcasting time for the alternative views and the
High Representative. Months later, after a failure to comply with the agreement, the
NATO stabilization force, SFOR, occupied four SRT transmitters following the request
of the High Representative (Odobasic, personal communication, July 13, 2003). Control
over broadcasting was given to the opposition group with the alternative political view.
The next target of the law became the hard-line Bosnian Croat television called Erotel. In
February of 2000 transmitters of this TV station were seized due to the station’s
proclamation of ethnic hatred and its programs were cut off the air. Such resolute actions
turned out to be the best warning to the rest of the media which voluntarily accepted the
rules and become fairly tolerant and open-minded outlets (Odobasic, personal
communication, July 13, 2003). Another favorable development was a creation of an
ombudsman position aiming to protect Bosnian public interest and ensure media
freedoms (Halilovic, personal communication, July 29, 2003).

A clear demarcation of rules and guidelines is especially important during a
conflict transformation. Short of direct censorship of all media, the best approach to
reduce the impact of hate media is through well-defined regulation efforts. Regulating
media space is nothing more than a customary democratic procedure that establishes fair
and equal guidelines for all media outlets. It can be defined in terms of journalistic
responsibility as described by Krug and Price (Krug and Price, 2002) following their
experience from conflict in Kosovo:

journalists have a responsibility, where a democratic state is not fully functioning
and where violence is a regular means by which differences are resolved, not to
infringe the physical rights of individuals to increase social tension; where those
duties are violated, the authority has the right to discipline. (p.155)
Though the language may appear harsh from the liberal-democracy point of view, regulation of conflict media is barely different from already recognized democratic practices. By developing a “Broadcasting code of practice,” pursuing extensive monitoring of media and enforcing strict sanctions for violators, media in Bosnia and later in Kosovo have become significantly more accountable to democratic standards. An example of this headway can be seen in an example of Bosnian media. In 1999, over 100 sanctions were issued against different Bosnian media outlets for a variety of violations. Four years later, the number of sanctions dropped to only 16 for the entire year (Odobasic, personal communication, July 13, 2003). Few countries benefited more from the implementation of strict regulatory practices as did Bosnia. When asked to name the most significant development of the post-conflict media development, almost all of the interviewed experts pointed to the regulation of the media environment (Jusic, personal communication, June 22, 2003; Babic, personal communication June 30, 2003; Udovicic, July 15, 2003). At the same time Bosnian citizens saw direct benefits from such actions. While the complaints about harmful media messages in the beginning came exclusively from monitoring agencies, 80 percent of all complaints today come directly from the citizens (Odobasic, personal communication, July 13, 2003). These data suggest that not only do the media need time to become more socially responsible, but that citizens’ feelings of responsibility grew correspondingly. It is a good example of how regulation helped the media become more responsible, which in turn resulted in a sense of greater responsibility among citizens.
Regulation of media in Kosovo is the most recent and most organized form of post-conflict regulation (Krug and Price, 2002). The recommendations of Peter Krug and Monroe Price, based on their experience from Bosnia and Kosovo resulted in a module of media regulation. This module proposed direct supervision of media content accompanied by a strict code of conduct for media. Influenced by the successes and mistakes from the neighboring conflict in Bosnia, the UN mission in Kosovo imposed a strict regime for both print and broadcast media. It further set a goal to ban any form of hate speech that may appear in the media (Krug and Price, 2002).

Finally, one of the most important milestones in the future of conflict media regulation may be the case of Rwandan RTLM and Kangura (Wake Up) newspaper. This case centered on the indictment of Hutu journalists for their hateful propaganda during the conflict. The two founders of RTLM and the editor of Kangura were convicted by the International Criminal Tribunal in Arusha, Tanzania. The court, set up by the United Nations, found the journalists guilty of inciting ethnic hatred thus contributing to the killing of 800,000 people. The significance of such a decision is immense. Firstly, the negative impact of media during the Rwandan conflict was legally upheld. Secondly, this case has now established a precedent in international law and could be used to hold the media accountable for the crimes during the war. It will hopefully discourage future abuse of media in conflict. More importantly this is an important milestone that justifies regulation of the speech inciting hatred in the conflict media environment.

While regulation is often imposed as a set of laws and guidelines, a different form is possible in some conflict environments. The experiences of Northern Ireland and
Bosnia show that the forces of market economy are able regulators of commercial media. Market economy operates on the principles that a larger market brings larger profits, thus putting the commercial media outlets in competition. While the Northern Ireland newspapers were clearly sectarian during the times of conflict, significant changes are occurring today. Both Catholics and Protestants used to read the newspapers that reflected their own beliefs. Following the latest peace agreement, the corporate owners of several media outlets calculated that their newspapers would make better profits if they could appeal to the entire population. Several changes at the very structure of the most prominent newspapers resulted in more inclusive, non-sectarian reporting. Driven by commercial interest, media on both sides managed to change the media landscape in a very positive way (Palmer, personal communication December 15, 2003; Wolfsfeld, personal communication, February 19, 2004).

Commercial interest was the primary motive that united the Bosnian radio stations in a single network of broadcasters. BORAM network became a symbol of cooperation by integrating stations from the three ethnic regions. Belonging to the larger network meant that a single broadcaster was able to earn a larger share of the marketing revenues because the signal of the network covered the entire state of Bosnia (Katana, personal communication, June 30, 2003). For the first time, national and ethnic interests were superseded by commercial ones, thus clearly promoting cooperation as the main condition of peace.

The commercialization of the media market creates another positive force that ought to be used in peacebuilding efforts. At any given time, independent of the
structured imposition of peace agreement, there are natural developments that can facilitate the development of peace media. The commercial interests of media can be one of these forces. Commercial orientation seeks maximization of audiences, regardless of ethnic or any other characteristics. This brings isolated markets, peoples and groups together, which only furthers chances for peace transformation.

Media regulation helps peacebuilding both directly and indirectly. Regulating the media environment minimizes irresponsible, hate-inciting reporting. Secondly, by providing another specific set of rules, regulation tends to contain the disordered, which is so common to the conflict environment. Order and rule of law are integral components of a stable peaceful society. By enforcing the laws among the media outlets, regulation indirectly contributes toward an orderly and stable society.

All four efforts – information programming, entertainment programming, advertising/campaigning and regulation – need to be united and integrated into a peacebuilding plan. Peace promotion is different from any other communication process where the adoption of behavior is the final goal. Peace promotion requires the adoption of its goals among the entire population, unlike AIDS prevention, or product marketing which can claim successes when a segment of population adopts a specific behavior. Increase in AIDS prevention by 10 percent or a purchase spike from zero to ten percent are measurable results for those efforts. Peace promotion is a zero-sum game – it is all or nothing. While it takes a lot of people to make peace it only takes a few to start a war. Some of the conflicts have been kept alive by the involvement of only a few hundreds (e.g. IRA in Northern Ireland). For peace to prevail absolute consent is the requirement.
This is why the effort is hard to achieve and why it needs a complete integration of all aspects of society, including media. Media are far from being able to do it alone.

**Whom**

The audience for media projects represents an essential component of sustainable peace development. In order to maximize its potential in the peace processes, the audience has to become more than a passive recipient of information – it has to assume the position of an informed public. Shimon Peres (1994), the former prime minister of Israel, describes the importance of an informed public in times of conflict through an example from the Israeli/Palestinian conflict in 1992. He suggests that the peace process in Israel and Palestine had three parties in negotiations – the Israeli negotiators, the Palestinian negotiators and the public. Because the audience was well informed, it became the third party in the negotiations between the Israelis and the Palestinians. A public that is exposed to reliable, diverse and unbiased information is capable of inserting itself through public opinion as a relevant party at the negotiating table.

The second part of the audience analysis deals with the segmenting of audiences based on their demographic characteristics. It has been noted that mass media messages can be more effective if they are designed for a specific audience group rather than for a homogenous all-inclusive population. Therefore, it is useful to examine which groups were selected as primary audiences for the media projects.
Children

Children have been one of the most vulnerable groups affected by conflicts and violence. The war in Sierra Leone has been especially cruel to youths who were often recruited and forced to join the armed forces. This particular conflict is known to have produced one of the highest number of child soldiers ever recorded. As a response to this problem, post conflict recovery in Sierra Leone focused on youth and children’s programming. Golden Kids News was a program designed by Talking Drum Studio in which children were in almost complete control of the production including the selection and reporting of the daily points of concern. Studio Ijambo has also had a major impact on the youth sector in Burundi. Surveys indicated that their programs aimed at youth were listened to by about thirty percent of the population (SFCG, 2004b). Macedonian and Israeli children’s programming are two other examples. This particular audience group will play an important role in the future of any peacebuilding effort because they will grow up to represent the future public opinion. This is why an investment in positive relationship building among children of all groups can be an invaluable investment in the future.

Women

As non-combatants, women are a group in conflict that is stripped of influence, thus making them victims of violence and oppression. Peace media efforts therefore aim to empower women to take a more active role during peacebuilding. The Liberian program called “Woman” describes roles of the women in the peace process (SFCG, 2004e). In Sierra Leone, “Salon Uman” is a program that aims to raise issues pertaining
to the status of women in the rather conservative society (SFCG, 2004f). Especially after violent conflict, the problems of violence and discrimination against women are exposed as issues of importance. To communicate these messages, the women are frequently addressed through the use of soap operas. The Angolan section of SFCG produced a soap opera dealing with the role of women in the local refugee resettlements. In December 1997, Rwandan women launched a radio program on Radio Rwanda, the only radio station after the conflict in this country, to raise the issues of concern that they were facing including inheritance problems, and crimes and rapes committed against women during the war.

*Refugees*

Refugees are one of the most frequent target audiences as they are often highly affected by violent events. Programs that target these groups deal with issues of resettlement, return and reconciliation. The Sierra Leone program “Home Sweet Home” sponsored by the UNHCR addressed such problems. One million refugees and displaced persons listened to Radio Agatashya throughout the Democratic Republic of Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda and Burundi. The need for information was crucial at the time, especially in the refugee camps in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The programs provided vital information about water, food, and sanitation and helped reunite families dislocated by war. Radio projects in Africa such as Radio Okapi, Star Radio, Radio Ndeke Luka and Project SPEAR in Albania and Macedonia were concerned with needs of the numerous refugee groups in the region. The projects offered a range of valuable information regarding displaced persons, dislocated families, health issues and
humanitarian aid (food, clothes and sanitary supplies) (Slachmijlder, & Nkurunziza, 2003; Fondation Hirondelle, 2000; 2003; 2004a).

Journalists

The position of journalists during conflicts is rather peculiar. They are directly affected by violence when they are reporting on it, but their reporting also affects the political aspects of conflict that often determines the direction of violence. This makes them one of the most influential groups in conflict. For these reasons, many media projects target journalists directly. Training and assistance to journalists frequently becomes the precursor to the major peace media strategies. Examples of such efforts are abundant. Journalists were targeted in radio programs by the Angolan SFCG, specifically in explaining their role in the national dialogue toward reconciliation. “Medios par la Paz” (Media for Peace) project in Colombia was mainly directed at journalists and media professionals. The project suggested that instead of contributing toward further polarization, journalists could become active proponents of peaceful resolution. Similarly, in Macedonia, journalists were taught about the importance of non-inflammatory reporting during and after the violence. Training was organized for journalists from three ethnic newspapers and a radio station, emphasizing commonalities rather than differences among the groups. In Indonesia, the main target of the workshops was better reporting of politicians’ press conferences, where journalists obediently scribe every utterance of their political leaders. Indonesian journalists were taught how to reduce hours-long speeches by local politicians to a two minute, unbiased report (SFCG, 2004c; Howard et al, 2003)
Public Institutions

Public institutions are another target of peace media projects. If the media are given a chance to report in an unbiased and professional manner they may influence the decision making process of organizations and political parties. Often described as “the watchdog role,” this role of media can keep institutions in check, making them more accountable and transparent, thus halting dishonest practices detrimental to the public good. The fearless reporting of radio UNTAC in Cambodia, radio FERN in Bosnia and many individual journalists certainly contributed toward the greater accountability of the political decision makers during conflict.

Other groups have been identified as unique audience categories and appropriately targeted by a variety of mass media messages. Such is the example of “Troway Di Gun,” the Talking Drum Studio program hosted by ex-combatants who target the fellow ex-combatants in order to help them reintegrate in society.

Segmenting the audience is a process that is widely practiced in conflict areas. Carefully designed messages aimed at a specific group are found to be more likely to spark the interest of that particular audience group as they are responding to an identified need. On the contrary, programs aimed at the universal audience have also been used. However, the limited conclusion of this research has found such messages to be less effective.
Channels

The issue of the appropriate channel of communication seems to be one of the least difficult questions to answer. Even though the choice of a channel requires an assessment of the environment and available technologies, the options are usually determined by conditions within the conflict area, e.g. electricity penetration, literacy, poverty. Low electricity penetration and poverty often eliminate television as a medium for information dissemination. Low literacy, multi-lingual environment and poverty often work against written media as the primary option for mass communication. There is no doubt that the radio has been the primary channel of choice, followed by television, print and non-traditional channels of communication.

There is no doubt that television is currently considered to be the medium able to have the greatest impact on an audience. Such confirmation comes from the experience of Western societies. However, the problem with this assertion lies in the fact that conflicts do not tend to occur in this geographical region as frequently as they do in the less industrially advanced world. An exception is the Bosnian case where television played a much more important role than any other medium. A former radio producer from Bosnia, Boro Kontic (personal communication, June 25, 2003) describes a meeting with the local audience that aimed to discuss the annual program scheme for public radio and television broadcasting. The meeting started with an audience participant’s proclamation: “We like the radio but now let’s talk about TV.” Kontic remembers that the rest of the seven hour meeting never came back to discussion about radio (Kontic, personal communication, June 25, 2003). This again is an atypical situation because Bosnia before the war had an
advanced television system for a non-Western, communist country. This is why the peace media efforts in Bosnia relied mainly on television programming. For the same reason, the High Representative (the highest executive power) had passed a regulation that all television and radio stations were obliged to give a certain amount of time to information campaigns. This was an ideal environment for the authors of information campaigns who managed to build on the favorable media regulation. Ninety one percent of the Bosnian audience saw the campaign “Postovanje” (Respect) on television. More people saw the campaign on television than in any other form: TV ninety one percent, radio sixty one percent, posters fifty three percent, billboards sixty five percent, newspapers fifty six percent, sugar packets sixteen percent, leaflets and posters thirty percent (Mareco Index Bosnia, 2000). This could explain why the international community insisted on the OBN television project as the central component of post-war media strategy in Bosnia. On the other hand, peace projects in Rwanda did not face the dilemma about the appropriate channel of communication. Such a decision was made for them because less than 1 percent of Rwandans owned a TV set (Mpambara, personal communication, June 25, 2004). The situation in the rest of the conflict areas of the African region is only slightly better.

Because television is not widely used in many regions, radio is indisputably the primary choice of most peace media projects. It is still the central source of information for most of the African continent. Radio can overcome the problems that newspapers may have: low rates of literacy, distribution, great language diversity and expense. Radio crosses all those boundaries and transcends the barriers of distance and transportation. In

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7 Statistics on TV ownership in Rwanda are not currently available
addition to being the most popular mean of mass communication, radio is often the most economically viable media channel for peace media coordinators. It is relatively inexpensive to operate and it does not require as much equipment as a television station. The organizational costs of running a radio station can be rather low. This is why the medium is so popular with the initiators of peace media. Radio also has distinct advantages for an audience. It can be run without electrical outlets, which makes it portable and easy to use. Batteries are cheaper than electricity and some countries also use wind-up radios that do not require batteries. Radio is the most efficient way to reach people in isolated rural areas. Also, radio has the highest impact with the illiterate audience.

Apart from being rather inexpensive to own, radios can in many instances be supplied in the form of humanitarian aid. The UN missions have contributed such aid on many occasions. Radio Voice of Hope has also distributed 2,000 radios to local community leaders in southern Sudan. When the UN started its mission in Cambodia, a Japanese NGO collected and distributed close to half a million used and new radios. Radio has been the most important media channel in many conflict sites around the world (Cambodia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, Liberia, East Timor etc.). In the Rwandan crisis, radio was the predominant source of information for many refugees (see Figure 3). Figure 3 is an analysis of the surveys conducted in the Rwandan refugee camps that show the actual sample of 191 people surveyed about their sources of information.
Ines Mpambara, co-director of Rwanda’s School of Journalism, explains the importance of radio in the everyday life of Rwandans even after the terrible misuse of the medium during the genocide:

Radio is the part of life of Rwandans. When you see people coming from their villages coming to sell their things in the city, they are wearing their stuff, food, and the radio. When you look at the people that were killing during the genocide, they had a machete in one hand and the radio set in the other hand. When people are working, the radio is the part of their life. (personal communication, June 25, 2004)

There is no doubt that radio has been the medium of choice in this era of peacebuilding. The question that needs to be raised is whether the radio will remain as popular in conflict societies as greater access to other forms of media increases. Radio
faced some credibility problems in the Great Lakes region. In this case, the refugees were struggling to believe the conditions on the ground because they could not see them for themselves. For that reason, cross-border visits and videos were introduced in order to reinforce the message from the radio programs (UNHCR, 1998).

Newspapers and magazines have surprisingly been underutilized in terms of their active role in peacebuilding. There is no doubt that peace has been very actively debated and discussed in newspapers and weekly magazines. Journalists have been one of the major messengers of reconciliation and peace. The most notable examples are those from Northern Ireland and Bosnia. However, none of the newspaper or magazines projects were found to devote as much space to peace messages as other channels of media. This is not to say that the channel does not have the potential to carry such messages. Rather, the utilization of newspapers in the peace process is occurring indirectly through training and support of individual journalists. Individual journalists are usually the ones that take the roles of peace journalist while the newspapers refrain from a complete association with the peace agenda.

One channel that is underutilized but has significant potential has been used in Bosnia. These campaigns displayed the message in every available medium. My favorite example of a clever use of a medium comes from an already mentioned experience during one of the Bosnian interviews. The decision to use the sugar packet with the campaign logo and the message took into consideration cultural norms. This was a perfect opportunity to grab the attention of the most desirable age group (18-44), which is also the most affluent one. However, the survey numbers are not as favorable for the
sugar packets. Compared to television and radio ads which carried 91 percent and 61 percent recognition respectively, the sugar packets did not do as well (16 percent). What is missing from the research is what most rating surveys fail to note – the quality of the message reception and what is done with the message after its reception. Hypothetically, if the research about Bosnians’ use of message had been conducted, it is my assumption that while a higher number of people received the ad from electronic media, those that noticed the ad over coffee may be in a better position to talk about it. Drinking afternoon coffee in Bosnia is a social event, and it always involves at least two people. It would be important to get the message during this kind of discourse rather than introduce it passively in a form of a commercial. This anecdotal example only shows that less advanced channels of communication should not be underrated and that the traditions and customs of a society need to be acknowledged and incorporated in a campaign design. Other unorthodox methods and channels need to be explored, especially in the traditional societies without electronic communication channels. Leaflets, posters, billboards, wall paintings and theater are just some of the underutilized channels that have great potential. Though these isolated channels may seem obscure, it is the prevalence and cumulative impact of the messages that makes the impact. The ability to expose the audience to the message in multiple environments and situations may significantly increase the effectiveness of the message.

Effects

The extent of mass communication effects has been one of the most disputed issues in the study of mass media. There is hardly any consensus on the matter. However,
this has not prevented attempts to measure the media’s impact. The problem gains another dimension once concerns about the appropriate way to measure media effects are taken into account. Also, apart from affecting the individual members of an audience, media can have an impact on institutions and contribute to the formation of social norms and public opinion.

*Non-Quantitative Evidence of Effects*

Countless media projects have been implemented in conflict regions without an attempt to formally measure any kind of impact. The reasons are multiple. One of the most common is lack of funding for extensive field work and professional interpretation of the data. More often than not, these projects do not have a budget for any type of summative or formative research. For example, The Panos Institute was unable to carry out an evaluation of its project in Senegal because of lack of time and resources. Secondly, the regions in conflict are still unsafe, and violence may still be daily occurrence. These conditions make even routine activities such as transportation or communication very challenging. In such conditions it is practically impossible to carry out extensive research. Finally, it is not uncommon in conflict circumstances that an implemented media project concludes abruptly and unexpectedly. This was the case with Radio Agatashya, which was closed by violent attacks, and STAR radio, which was ordered to close by the government. For these reasons, media projects often fall short of anything but informal feedback usually in the form of anecdotal stories and reactions to a broadcast. Kendra Park (personal communication, July 22, 2004) of Search for Common Ground confirms the difficulty that the organization has had with measuring the impacts:
The evaluation process for this type of work is pretty new. So, it’s just really difficult, it’s so hard to measure some of this stuff…I wish there was a magic answer for it because this is what we are having problems with. And also, we have good stories of people saying that, ‘I listened to this program, therefore I did this because of it.’ But they are all so anecdotal.

In the absence of formal research, the only available accounts are anecdotal accounts of the audience. This form of feedback is, however, equally informative and provides a more detailed description of the audience’s experience. Examples of these so-called anecdotal reactions are profuse. Asgede Hagos (2001) recalls his conversation with the staff of Studio Ijambo who talked about the reactions to the magazine show “Heroes.” The show featured stories about people who saved members of the opposite ethnic group from the killings, while often risking their own lives. The staffers claimed that following the program, they received many phone calls from the audience members who participated in killings between 1993-1996. They often expressed regret about what they did, while also contributing the stories of others who saved people selflessly.

An example of the listeners’ feedback to the broadcast of Radio Voice of Hope in southern Sudan involved a young man’s reaction to the station’s broadcast:

It is good when we hear on the radio from other cultures with whom we fight. Then I begin to understand them better: when they talk about the same traumas that we have been through, or when we hear them singing about peace, or telling old stories for young people about morals and life. In fact, I think, if everybody could have a radio in southern Sudan and we heard from each other, we would understand each other better. This will bring peace. (Heselmans, 2003, p.20)

Similar is the reaction of a refugee from the Great Lakes region. There, UNHCR was involved in an information campaign for refugees about conditions for return to the original homes. In a response to the UNHCR (1998) videos that showed successful repatriation stories, one refugee claimed:
…it took me one year and a half to decide, and I hesitated because I believed that people were killed on return. My children also believed that. Until we saw a neighbor on one of the videos, we thought he had been killed, but he hadn’t. So we decided to return. (para. 165)

**Quantitative Effects**

The most obvious way to gauge the impact of any project would be to investigate the audience size or the number of people receiving the messages. From the aspect of commercial media this assessment is known as “ratings” or the audience estimate for an individual program or the station. This measurement is one of the easiest to accomplish and therefore is most frequently conducted. The ratings and audience share have become a matter of interest to an entire specialized commercial industry. The quantitative estimates of program audiences are more readily available and more frequently conducted. On the other hand, the effectiveness of information campaigns is measured far less frequently than the ratings of the electronic media (at least this is the case with the non-profit information campaigns). Fortunately, a few reports documenting the impact of information campaigns in conflict regions were made available for this project.

However, the shortcoming of ratings is that they do not explain what the audience does with the message or if the message has any impact on the audience. Ultimately, the goal of peace media projects would be to affect the behavior of individuals and institutions to a degree that would make violence an unacceptable option. Again, media messages have not been found to have direct impact on such a behavior, even though they are known to affect the process of the formation of such behavior. As the literature review of media effects from Chapter 2 suggests, media messages have a considerable capacity to influence the attitudes, beliefs, perceptions and opinions which in turn directly
shape the behavior. This is why an assessment of attitudinal change, for example, can be very beneficial in predicting the change in behavior. Unfortunately, those assessments are harder to conduct and require more rigorous methodological criteria. On account of the complexity and unpredictability of the conflict environment, these assessments are rarely undertaken.

Despite these hindrances, a fair number of assessments (primary audience research materials conducted in the conflict zones) have been acquired for this study. The methodologies used to measure the effects vary in many ways. Moreover, the results come both in quantitative and qualitative form. This makes the analysis of results rather challenging. Therefore, the results cannot be compared but rather complement each other. Having in mind the shortcomings of incompatible methods this section offers a best estimate but not a precise calculation of the effects.

*Impact on the Audience - Ratings of Peace Media Projects*

A number of media organizations conducted research hoping to estimate the number of people who tuned into their programs. Most of the time, the numbers and responses provided positive results. The first survey is from one of the earliest peace media projects, dating back to the 1994 Rwandan conflict. Radio Agatashya emerged as the most popular source of information, especially among the population in the refugee camps. Refugees in eight camps listened to the programs of Radio Agatashya most frequently, while the BBC was the second choice.
Castagno (1996) analyzed the surveys conducted by Fondation Hirondelle and came to the conclusion that Radio Agatashya was the station most listened to. Also, due to its credibility, most listeners preferred it. (See Figure 4)

![Bar chart showing the most listened-to stations and programs in Rwanda in 1994 (Castagno, 1996, Stations et programmes les plus écoutés, para. 1.).]

Several peace radio stations have been praised for extremely high popularity within their broadcast areas. The peace radio station from Liberia, STAR Radio, claims a significant audience. According to a survey by Subah-Belleh Associates, 66.6 percent of radio listeners listened to STAR Radio (Okoli, 2001).
The individual programs broadcast on many regional radio stations provided by Studio Ijambo were also popular. Studio Ijambo collaborated with many stations in the region by supplying radio content of all types. It was said that 12 million people in the Great Lakes region heard Studio Ijambo programs and that 85 percent of the population in the region had access to radios (SFCG, 2004b). Studio Ijambo programs were very popular, in fact, less than 20 percent of the audience claimed that they did not listen to the programs (Hagos, 2001). More specifically, the audience seemed to have really appreciated one type of programming — the radio dramas. Based on three surveys conducted since 1999, between 80 and 90 percent of the population listened to the drama "Umubanyi Niwe Muryango" (Our Neighbors, Ourselves) regularly (Radio Netherlands, 2004). Its sister studio in Liberia, Talking Drum Studio (TDS), also produces programs that are extremely popular. TDS programs reach more than 85 percent of the population on a daily basis (Parks, personal communication, July 22, 2004). In 1999 and 2000, it was found that Talking Drum Studio had 90 percent name recognition and 75 percent content recognition (Howard et al., 2003).

Another segment of the population in Burundi is reached by the youth program called “Sangwe” produced by SFCG. Thirty percent of the entire population claimed to have listened to the program (SFCG, 2004b). Considering that that the program is aimed at the youth, the number is rather impressive. Two more programs aimed at youth claim similarly spectacular ratings. The Macedonian TV series “Nashe Maalo” was watched by 76 percent of Macedonian youth regularly (SFCG 2002). Fifty-three percent of all
children under eight watched the Israeli/Palestinian version of “Sesame Street.” (Cohen, 2002)

Less successful are the two projects from Bosnia, Radio FERN and TV OBN. Only 14.6 percent of people reported listening to radio FERN broadcasts regularly. There are many reasons for these relatively low ratings. Firstly, the penetration of the signal to the entire territory was lower than expected; almost 30 percent of the audience said they were unable to receive the signal. The second most frequent reason was that audience members had not heard of the station. Unlike its African counterparts, the two-year-old station was in tough competition with the three state broadcasters that had long-established roots and listenership (Prism Research, 1998).

In terms of ratings, TV OBN was even less of a success as its audience share lingered around five percent because of obstacles similar to that of Radio FERN (Udovicic et al., 2001). However, even with the low audience share, the network was in third place during the June through September period in 2000, following RTVBiH with 29.9 percent, and RTRS with 11.8 percent (Jusic, 2002).

The most watched OBN program in November 2001 was its nightly news program. However, the program was in 67th place on the top TV programs list, with an eight percent share, according to research by the local associate of Gallup International (Mareco Index Bosnia, 2001).

The most detailed assessment is of the two extensive campaigns in Bosnia — “Postovanje” and “Dosta je.” The first campaign was seen or heard by 72 percent of people, while 54 percent saw or heard its follow-up. It is also noticeable that the TV
series developed as a final product of the campaign was watched by 37 percent of Bosnians (Sahbaz, 2000). In the Great Lakes region, UNHCR utilized an information campaign to persuade the refugees it was safe to return to their homes. Astonishingly 700,000 people out of 2 million refugees in several camps viewed the video material designed for this campaign in 1996 (UNHCR, 1998).

Impact on Knowledge, Attitudes, and Beliefs

As mentioned before, the size of the audience listening to or watching a program is fairly easy to calculate. What is more difficult is gauging the type of impact that those messages have on the audience. How the audience reacts to the message and what kind of impact the message has on audience behavior cannot be represented by a single figure. For that reason, surveys of the audience tend to measure attributes that are likely to have a behavioral outcome. These attributes (i.e. awareness/knowledge about the program or attitude towards the program) are more difficult to obtain. Many surveys conducted attempt to measure the impact (knowledge, attitude) of their own media projects. However, each of the surveys measured the impact in different ways, asking different questions for different variables. The end results for different projects are not as easy to combine as are ratings.

Radio Agatashya provided not only information, but also useful news about life in the camps. The radio station was almost as good in providing information as the camp representatives. Radio was regarded as the second best source of information in the camps (See Figure 5). There is no doubt about how valuable this broadcast must have been and the importance of the radio in the lives of refugees at the time of crisis.
Figure 5: From which source did you get the best information on the life in the camps? (only the camps where Radio Agatashya is receivable). (Castagno, 1996, Crédibilité sources information, para. 5.) [journaux = newspapers, HCR = UNHCR, représentants = camp representatives, rumeur = rumor, personne = no one; translation by author]

The question of whether an audience understands the message in the same way as it was intended by the programmers is a topic often explored in the surveys. The general results are highly positive.

In Burundi, Studio Ijambo asked its listeners about the messages they received from listening to the programs. Sixty-three percent mentioned “reconciliation” while 53 percent said “peace” (Hagos, 2001). In Liberia, listeners were able to identify the themes of the Talking Drum Studio programs. Seventy-five percent of those polled named peace building, reconciliation and dialogue as the main topics of programming (Palmer, 1999). The listeners of radio FERN reported the objectivity of the station as the main reason for listening (Prism Research, 1998).

The “Sesame Street” project in Israel/Palestine asked if the program was teaching about mutual respect. Ninety-seven percent of Israelis and 76 percent of Palestinians said
they believed it did teach about mutual respect. Furthermore, in terms of parental satisfaction with the program, 72 percent of parents were “very or somewhat satisfied” with the program. On the other hand, only eight percent of children surveyed found the show to be unappealing or very unappealing (Cohen, 2002).

The Bosnian campaigns “Postujes li Zakon” and “Dosta je,” promoting respect for property laws and the right to return, also had an overwhelmingly positive outcome. Audience research showed that the messages came across very clearly. A majority of the audience understood the messages of the first campaign. However, not all the respondents were excited about the design of the message. Sixty percent of respondents neither liked nor disliked the message.

The four main goals intended to be communicated by the “Dosta je” campaign were among the top five interpretations by the audience. Almost 90 percent of the audience found the campaign to be accurate, useful and fair (Sahbaz, 2000). The four intended goals of the TV series “Koliko Jos” were also the top four interpretations of the audience. The two primary goals — to raise awareness of and to provoke thought on the issue — resonated with 59 and 32 percent of the audience respectively (Sahbaz, 2000).

It is interesting to comment on the data about the credibility of news sources in Bosnia. Even though TV OBN never managed to gather a large audience share, it emerged as the most important and the most credible news source in Sarajevo in 1998. It is important to note that the audiences in the state capital Sarajevo were likely to be more open to this kind of message than rural viewers because they tend to be better educated and ethnically more diverse. Both of these positives started to drop after the station was
practically abandoned by the international donors. However, in 2002, the station was still considered the third most important source of information and the second most credible (Taylor, 2002).

There are a few surveys that attempted to measure the impact of programs on audience attitudes. The published results are significant for at least three projects: “Sesame Street” in Israel/Palestine, “Nashe Maalo” in Macedonia and “Sangwe” in Burundi. The research showed significant attitude improvement in the primary audience for these shows. The most impressive statistic is certainly the attitude change among those who watched the youth program “Nashe Maalo.” Figure 6 shows the change in attitude, measured before and after watching the program. All three ethnic groups recorded an attitudinal change in terms of willingness to play with each other after watching the program.

Figure 6: Attitude change in ethnic Macedonian children willing to invite a child from another ethnic group to their home (SFCG, 2002, par. 16)
Studio Ijambo’s youth program “Sangwe” is listened to by a majority of children and youth in Burundi. Sixty-four percent of those who listened to the program indicated that they thought that it was “very successful in bringing Burundi youth together” (Radio Netherlands, 2004, Studio Ijambo, para. 5.) Similar results came from the “Rechov SumSum/Shara’a SimSim” program in Israel and Palestine. In the case of Jews and Arabs, the research asked whether the audience agreed that such a program can help the two communities get along in real life. The responses are the best evidence of the potential of such programming. The results are presented in Figure 7:

![Pie charts showing the percentage of agreement and disagreement among Israelis, Arab-Israelis, and Palestinians.](c) 1999 Applied Research & Consulting/C42

Figure 7: Can the program help the communities get along in real life? (Cohen, 2002, p. 20).

Detailed research has unfortunately not been completed for every peace media project. However, some further evidence exists that confirms the effects of peace media projects. When researchers asked the Burundian people to identify the programs that
helped them change or modify their attitude or behavior toward the other ethnic group, those that were mentioned most frequently were the radio drama “Our Neighbors, Ourselves” and the magazine show “Pillars of Humanity,” popularly known as “Heroes.” Additional surveys about Radio Ijambo’s radio drama showed rather positive results. Eight-two percent of Burundians who listened to the drama believed that this particular program helped in peace reconciliation (Hagos, 2001). The Bosnian campaigns were well liked by the audience, with only 10 percent stating that they did not like the TV series “Koliko jos” while 90 percent thought of it favorably (Sahbaz, 2000).

As for the advertising efforts to promote the acceptance of the peace plans in the national referenda in Macedonia and Northern Ireland, both peace plans passed with an overwhelming majority. It would be an overstatement to attribute this success to the advertising efforts alone. However, it can be concluded that those efforts must have contributed to the electorate’s knowledge, attitudes or behavior.

When it comes to voter recruitment and the work of Radio FERN and Radio UNTAC (Cambodia), both elections that took place after the establishment of those stations had an impressive voter turnout. Eighty-nine percent of registered voters turned out to vote in the Cambodian election (Mei, 1994), while the Bosnian elections recorded a large number of newly registered voters. Radio UNTAC is more than partially responsible for the turnout in the Cambodia’s first democratic elections. The enormous popularity of the station exceeded the expectations of even the most optimistic at the U.N. mission in Cambodia. Though hard to link the causation between the turnout and
the popularity of the station, the station’s messages seem to resonate with the voters who produced a record-breaking election turnout.

**Impact on Legislators and Other Social Institutions**

Apart from the obvious impact on the audience, many media projects have claimed a strong impact on social institutions and public figures. Some projects have contributed to setting a broader political agenda. Though evidence of such a relationship is rather anecdotal, the examples of media pressure are credible. Often times, attention to a particular problem raised in a broadcast alerted the responsible institutions and frequently led to a positive change of direction. Studio Ijambo’s reporting about the killing of refugees in 1997 prompted the Voice of America to pick up the story and indirectly contributed to the closing of the camps in 1998 (Hagos, 2001).

The survey of the Subah-Belleh Associates for the Fondation Hirondelle (2000) showed that Radio STAR in Liberia had a similar but much broader impact:

The survey went further to say that STAR Radio is used, in some instances, to test the authenticity of news from other stations and the rumor machine. STAR Radio’s fearless reporting and the availability of its program on the Internet have served as a check on malpractices and the excesses of public officials. It has also encouraged other radio stations to report fearlessly. (para. 7.)

The qualitative and quantitative information presented above represents an illustrative sample of the available effects research. Not all the peace media projects conducted effects assessments while some studies remain unavailable for analysis. Some organizations were open to an exchange of information while others perceived the research as internal documents and were unwilling to share. Effects’ reports were rather difficult to obtain, and some of them were not volunteered by the organizations. It is hard
to speculate about the results of those projects. However, from what was made available for this analysis, it is possible to conclude these projects generally seem to have fairly strong and positive effects on their audiences. There is still enough room for speculation regarding the impact of media to influence peace. A cynical person would not fail to notice that the results that are made available are probably the ones that are fairly positive; if the project were a failure there would hardly even be an attempt for evaluations. However, ratings for OBN and FERN are an example of the negative results that were made public. Though these criticisms are welcomed and they certainly contribute toward improving the practice, it is safe to assume that the evidence of the positive impact is significant enough to be continued. The shortcomings are indisputable, but they are taken into account as advice for improvement not as a negation of the practice effectiveness.

What was distinctive about the peace media efforts was that most of the projects reported in this study had overwhelmingly positive results. This is particularly interesting considering the ill-conceived reputation of media in conflicts. The projects materialized following periods of conflict when media were often abused to spread the messages of hate. Therefore, it would be fair to assume that the audience may have been skeptical in regards to media in general. In most of the current conflicts, propagandists on all sides have used media. Being submitted to propaganda where conflicting information is a daily occurrence, the audience often learns not to take information for granted. Following some of the most outrageous examples of hate broadcasts in Rwanda, the negative experience with the media could be expected to materialize into distrust of the media. Therefore, the
overwhelmingly positive results represent an even bigger success considering the context of their formation.

The Impact of Media on Violent Conflict in General – Limitations and Abilities

The conclusion shared by all the practitioners is that media have the impact to influence the development of peace in a conflict environment. This belief is based on the assumption that if media can move people to conflict, media must contain the ability to work in the opposite direction, thus promoting peace. Many articles and reports begin with such an assumption while never attempting to look for the supportive evidence in literature. Had such analysis been conducted, it would have been learned that not only are the studies that attempt to establish direct causation between the hate media and violence in short supply, but that this relationship is complex and cannot be taken for granted.

What is more problematic is that this weak correlation from the conflict environment is applied into a peace context and assumed to have the same impact. This is probably the most widespread assumption that has not yet been challenged. If one looks at the relationship between violence and media in conflict, propaganda research offers some evidence where media have contributed toward violence (Thompson, 1999; Des Forges; 1999; Kirschke, 1996). Despite being inconclusive, such evidence is most strongly supported by one of the decisions of the Rwandan war-crime tribunal that looked at the impact of media on conflict behavior in 1994. The evidence confirming the impact of Rwandan hate media on consequent killings was upheld in a court of law, thus contributing towards the conviction of Rwandan journalists for the direct contribution to genocide. This was the first time since the Nuremberg trials that people responsible for
media content were convicted of genocide for using media as a weapon of war. This may be so far the most conclusive case that confirms the direct impact of media on violence in a conflict.

Despite the many claims and the quantitative data presented above, there is still little evidence that would allow researchers to conclusively declare a similar impact of media on peace. Even if one accepts the assumption that media have the ability to escalate a conflict to its violent stage, the opposite direction — de-escalation — cannot be taken for granted. Spurk (2002) questions this simplistic reverse assumption. He states that a hate message is more likely to provoke a violent act while an attitudinal or behavioral change that promotes tolerance and understanding is at least not as straightforward. A similar argument by Wolfsfeld (personal communication, February 19, 2004) supports such an assumption and adds another vivid metaphor:

Simply put, it is a hell of lot easier to promote conflict to the media than peace. I think that a case for media leading to peace is a much more difficult hypothesis to prove than the one that media can lead to war. In other words, the idea of lowering the level of hate is clearly in any case a much more difficult challenge than raising the level of hate. Like anything else, it is easier to start the fire and burn the building than to build one.

The experience from conflicts confirms that it is far less complicated to incite people to violence. The Rwandan newspaper Kangura accomplished this most effectively by using bigoted cartoons to circumvent the obstacles of illiteracy and interpretation. Similarly, the newspaper and later radio spread the so-called “10 commandments of Hutus” an article that provided ten reasons to hate Tutsis. Both the cartoon and the article spread rumors and misinformation, carefully embedding a hateful context that would later
be used to ignite the militants to kill. It is far more complicated to design a message of peace in such an effective way.

The examples from Nazi Germany and the more recent conflict in the former Yugoslavia point toward the same conclusion. Gowing (1997) is also very skeptical about the ability of media to prevent conflict. He confirms that the positive impact of media is based on anecdotal evidence rather than serious analysis.

The underlying skepticism, prevalent among the journalists and practitioners, is best summarized by the leading proponent of the positive influence of media on peace John Galtung who puts it straightforwardly: “reporting about war brings war, reporting about peace maybe brings peace” (Hamdorf, 2000, p.4.). “Maybe” is the crucial word in the Galtung’s quote. A need to remove the uncertainties about this assumed ability is one of the two most important goals this analysis asks in the questions above.

What we know about media’s influence in conflict and peace is summarized in the literature review chapter on propaganda, effects and communication development. Briefly, the literature suggest that media is capable of having an impact on audiences; this impact can be both positive and negative. The environment of violent conflict and war enhances the audience’s dependence and susceptibility to the media, hence, enhancing the media’s impact. Having said all of this, there is a limit to this effect; the relationship between media and the formation of behavior, action or opinion is very complex. The effect of media on the formation of attitudes, beliefs and opinion is much more apparent than the effect on behavior. What determines this impact depends on the media type, form, source, environment and time but more importantly on a number of other factors in
the environment that have little to do with the media. Thus, the media impact on peace development needs to be examined through thorough and rigorous interdisciplinary research.

As an attempt to answer how media can impact peace, I propose that peace media’s effectiveness be considered through the prism of behavioral change theoretical models. If peace is understood as a positive change in behavior within the audiences participating in conflict, then the role of media can be isolated and studied for its contribution to the change. Over the last half of the century, social scientists described theoretically the impact of communication on human behavior. Though they come from different scientific disciplines (e.g. psychology, sociology etc.) they all agree in their description of the model as a process of consecutive steps. All the models of behavioral change agree on the sequential character of multiple stages necessary for sustainable change to occur. The earliest is the model proposed by Hovland et al., (1949) that establishes a hierarchy of the process: initial cognition is followed by affective response (like or dislike) and ends with behavior or action. Diffusion of innovations (Rogers, 1962) advocates five stages that follow the initial model while adding more specific stages: knowledge, persuasion, decision, implementation and confirmation. The latest model that originated in psychology suggests a model that starts with pre-contemplation, followed by contemplation, preparation, action and ends with the maintenance stage (Prochazka and DiClemente, 1983). Regardless of the specific model used to describe the behavioral change, there is consensus regarding the process. Changed behavior is the result of multiple sets of changes in cognitive and emotional facets. This is why such
findings ought to be applied to the research of peace communication effects. Not only is it prudent to consider this overwhelming scientific evidence, but also it is an opportunity to integrate the sound methodological structure to the examination of the authentic contribution of media to peace. If the steps of behavioral change were generally accepted for analysis, the following three stages would need to be considered.

*Stage One*

All three models suggest that the initial stage of behavioral change (knowledge, pre-contemplation/contemplation, cognition) deals with the supply of information supporting the desired change. A change of behavior at the initial level is instigated when a new piece of information is made available, safely transferred and acquired by the targeted audience. Applied to the problem of conflict communication, the initial objective of the peace media has to do with the accessibility of the peace media to the audience. The crucial segment of the process simply requires that the information gets to a substantial number of people affected by the conflict. The process of change simply cannot occur if specifically crafted, peace-minded information cannot find a way to the audience. In other words, the most persuasive and the best designed media content will remain ineffective if the audience does not have a chance to be exposed to it. Thus, this is why the “ratings” of the peace messages matter to a great degree.

The question becomes how to find the most effective ways to reach the widest audience. The following are just a few key considerations to improve information dissemination. As most conflicts take place in the underdeveloped world, the choice of the mass communication channel is often determined by the availability of the local
communication technology. As a result, radio has been the primary channel of choice. Thus, the primary criterion in choosing the type of project should be the accessibility of the most prevalent channel of communication.

A slightly more intrusive technique that guarantees significantly improved penetration of the message is the selection of a different communication technique — targeted advertising/campaigning. In regularly broadcast programming, the audience tends to have more choice when it comes to selecting their source of information. In campaigning and advertising, the messages are designed to seek out the audience. Campaigns anticipate audience activities and aim to intercept them to deliver the message. This is where the billboards, posters, leaflets, and also audio, video and print advertisements are used to gain maximum impact. Some campaigns that used a combination of these resources have been conducted in peace processes in Ireland, Macedonia, Bosnia and the Great Lakes region of Africa. This proactive dissemination of information often requires a delicate information balance. Blatant and overzealous imposition of information may cause an unwanted opposite reaction. The audience does not want to be under the impression that they are being pushed to make a decision without their own input. This is why the memo leaked by Kelly (1998) to the British press regarding the McCann Erickson promotion of the Northern Irish peace agreement warns that a blatant push for a certain outcome may not bring positive results:

While any overt manipulation could be counterproductive, a carefully co-ordinated timetable of statements from these people will be helpful in giving our message credibility with those they represent. It has the added benefit of providing a fresh face for that message, and ensuring that it is not only government which is seen to be selling the process. (p.2)
Once the audience has the potential to receive the information, the project needs to ensure that the audience wishes to do so. This implies that the message design, content and appeal need to be attractive. Entertainment programming has been known to have the highest appeal to the widest number of audiences. For this reason, in many cases the attractive mass appeal format (i.e. radio drama or soap-opera) is used to deliver the pro-social content. Other appealing formats such as music, theater and entertainment in information programming were found to be successful. Popular music was used in Angola and Macedonia, street theater in Bosnia, Liberia and Macedonia. The music project from Angola successfully exploited the association of the message with popular public personalities, when the most popular pop stars performed the peace song “A Paz E Que O Povo Chama” (People Are Calling for Peace).

Unlike the successful examples above, OBN television in Bosnia showed a lacked in understanding the importance of appeal. Even though the station had arguably the most reliable and professional information programming, the rest of the programming lacked appeal. Mostly because the bulk of the effort and finances were invested in informational programming, the rest of the schedule was filled with low-quality, low-appeal educational programming donated by public broadcasters around the world. The five percent audience share is a consequence of the station’s over-reliance on high-quality informational content (which comprised only about 60 minutes of the schedule a day) while the other 23 hours lacked substantial content.

Another communication aspect that can advance the dissemination of the media content has to do with the pervasiveness of the message. In today’s media environment it
is not enough to employ just a few supporting voices. Zoran Udovicic (personal communication, July 15, 2004), director of the Bosnian NGO Media Plan recalls:

During the spring and summer of 1996, the main international powers that were behind the Dayton peace agreement decided to set up an alternative system to the national television stations which was going to be different, much better, more democratic and cover the entire country. This was supposed to erase the impact of the already existing national television stations. This is how OBN and radio FERN came into being. This is an excellent idea. What was wrong was that this was the single effort. One isolated project never had a chance to combat the influence of powerful national stations.

Therefore, peace media efforts are most effective if they are integrated into more than a few isolated projects. The impact of conflict is so pervasive that it would be unrealistic to expect a positive impact from a single radio or television project. Peace messages need to be incorporated into the majority of media and would benefit from support by a wider public structure and social institutions.

Stage Two

The following steps of behavioral change models suggest that once the information is acquired, the audience tends to position itself toward the message. The three models of behavior change propose that the audience contemplates the value of the message and immediately formulates a positive or a negative response to it. The audience can either be persuaded or remain unconvinced. At this stage, the peace communication process can incorporate several techniques in message design that can assist in the formation of favorable change:

- Credibility of media source
- Consideration for local input and expertise
- Ability to select from more than a single source
Priming the messages evoking positive change

*Credibility of Media Source.* The credibility of the media source has been known to affect the audience’s interpretation of a message. The best example of the impact that credibility can have on an audience is the case of two stations from Burundi. Radio Umwizero (Radio Hope) launched in 1996, aired predominantly entertainment programming but also content provided by Studio Ijambo. The station failed to employ non-Tutsi members and earned a reputation for one-sided reporting. As a result of this decision, the station lost financial support and soon went off the air. In 2001, a new independent radio station was created in Burundi, Radio Publique Africain. The station publicly announced its decision to employ both Hutus and Tutsis, became a symbol of national reconciliation and soon became the most popular radio station in the country. Though the reasons that led to the end results for those two stations are certainly more complex, the credibility of a station can be a factor that determines success or failure.

*Consideration for Local Input and Expertise.* Hieber states that the lack of local input on the media can be another damaging factor to credibility. The Bosnian projects OBN and FERN suffered from low credibility because they were perceived as foreign projects. The lack of sensitivity to local participation is evident in the creation of the OBN (Open Broadcast Network) television station and radio FERN (Free Elections Radio Network). The names of the stations are the acronyms in English rather than the native languages in Bosnia, a country where English is not spoken. Media messages are better accepted if they are produced and disseminated by compatriots. This was not the case in the OBN project. When the U.S. expert team considered launching the station they came to
Sarajevo, Bosnia, and met with the local media experts. Boro Kontic, a radio and TV producer and a recipient of many prestigious awards, recounts his experience with this group:

Back in mid-1996, I was sitting with the officials of Open Society in Bosnia, as a host to a group of foreign experts, who were on a mission to launch a new TV network then known as TV-IN, later to be called OBN. In reply to our persistent explanations of how much more logical it would be to develop the new system within the existing network TV transmitters, which had been being built for 50 years then, we were asked not to burden our guests with our frustration. (Udovicic et al., 2001, p.1)

The same delegation of experts also visited another media practitioner Zoran Udovicic (personal communication, July 15, 2003), who was in charge of the team responsible for the coverage of the 1984 Winter Olympics in Sarajevo. He offered the services of this team to the U.S. expert group and he recalls receiving the following response:

At the time of the visit, nine out of 12 people from the Olympic Bosnia broadcast team were still in Sarajevo. The head engineer, the main expert for networking, the head manager, the engineer who knew all the transmitters by heart because he built them, the man who built a system for 52 local radio and television stations before the war, etc.. None of these people were even consulted, let alone hired on the post-conflict rebuilding of neither media nor OBN. The foreign experts came to hear what was in place, and once they found out, they never came back.

Even though most of the respondents agree that the OBN was a good idea, from the beginning its implementation as a broadcasting system was set up on the wrong premises. All the interviewees agreed that the most significant failure of OBN was the international community’s refusal to include the local experts in developing the media in Bosnia. There is a common impression that the international peace brokers did not trust anybody local. The benefits of investing and cooperating with the local population are
now fairly easy to identify. The local work force is cheaper, and they know the
environment, culture and customs in a way that a foreign expert may not. Local
engagement is at the same a time a direct investment in the region and a direct
contribution toward an improved future. In the case of the OBN, the perception of a
hidden agenda by the international community further damaged the credibility of the
station, which contributed to its low popularity.

*The Ability to Select from More Than a Single Source.* Another component that
can affect the favorable positioning toward the message is when the audience is
empowered to select the information from a variety of media outlets rather than being
dependent on a single source. An audience is more likely to respond to the information
favorably when it is given a chance to make a decision based on a variety of available
information and discuss their choices freely. Ines Mpambara, co-director of Rwanda’s
School of Journalism, suggests the following:

> Let people talk about their fears. We are giving an image that everything is going
well and we are all over each other, and we are all for reconciliation. But I want
people to hear on the radio more like I am a Hutu but...we don’t hear anymore the
words Hutu and Tutsis, we are all Rwandans and I am not sure if it’s the way to
go. As long as we don’t talk and hear about these things we are not going to
reconcile really (personal communication, June 25, 2004).

While propaganda coercively pushes one-sided information, a range of media
choices is appealing because it is rooted in the practice completely opposite to
propaganda. This way, opinions are formed not as a result of outside persuasion but
through access to the entire spectrum of information. Therefore, the peace media system
usually entails diverse discourse and a free exchange of information. Dialogue has been
often utilized to contribute to the diversity of information and constructive discourse. By
nature, it presents at least two points of view, creating a perception of free and open discourse. For this reason, discussion programming on the air often featuring audience call-in segments best creates free and open discourse and programs. “L'Arbre á Palabre” (Dialogue Tree) is such a program running in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The programmers encourage productive and non-confrontational discussions as an alternative to the violent resolution of conflict. Other examples are found in Liberia (One Step Beyond), Bosnia (Mostovi) and Burundi (Heroes). These programs bring together and encourage dialogue between representatives from all sides of the conflict. The call-in portions of the program enable and empower the common people to point toward the problems and concerns of the masses and open a discourse about those issues.

Slachmijlder and Nkurunziza (2003, p.12) explain the benefit of such programming:

Radio programs provide an invisible meeting place where the views of people whose society prevents them from coming together, shaking hands, and sharing ideas. A radio programme allows opponents to express their views in a safe environment, and then hear the responses or counterarguments in the final programme. It is a place where rumours and misinformation are buried and common ground is uncovered. It is a place where stereotypes are broken down and the humanity of the ‘other’ is discovered.

**Priming the Messages Evoking Positive Change.** Another technique known as “priming” (see p. 47) is an excellent example of how media can help the public focus on more positive attitudes within the conflict. This can be done by subtly shifting the media agenda toward positive stories or by deliberately selecting the positive stories that emerge in the conflict. One example of subtle change in the media agenda is from Israel. In 1993, during the Oslo Agreement, the question on the media agenda briefly shifted from the usual bickering to a simple question: “Is peace possible?” Wolfsfeld found this change to
be momentous even though it appeared to be marginal at first. Wolfsfeld (personal communication, February 19, 2004) explains:

Even if the answer to this question “Is peace possible?” in the end is no, the question is much less threatening than the question of “How can we protect ourselves from these people that want to kill us?”

Though the changes in reporting may have been subtle, the outcomes of such a shift may be significant. One example of a more deliberate priming of positive attitudes was a trademark of journalists in post-violent Rwanda and Bosnia. Journalists and editors often made the choice to present stories that were promoting positive change. Jadranko Katana, the OBN news director, admitted that he often preferred to broadcast stories that pointed to the commonalities instead of the differences (personal communication, June 30, 2003). In the same way, studio Ijambo’s program “Heroes” made a deliberate effort to seek out the people that helped save their neighbors during the genocide in Rwanda.

Stage Three

What has been well established in the last 80 years of media effects research is that while the direct impact on behavior is uncertain, some direct links between the ability of media to sufficiently supply the information and attitudes have been confirmed. Unfortunately, these two kinds of impact are represented primarily in the first two stages of the behavioral change models. Effects theory supplies the evidence of impact mainly on knowledge, attitudes and opinions. What all three models propose is that further stages in the process are needed for the change to be completed. This leaves us wondering what happens with the intended behavior.
The impact of the media decreases as we move from cognition to behavioral change. This is the point when the information has been acquired, the attitude toward it has been established and the audience is ready to make a decision and implement it. Here, more than at the first two stages, outside environmental conditions have a significant impact. Different variables interact to further impact the decision and its implementation, and some act as constraints that can prevent significant positive media effects. The conflict environment in particular is highly susceptible to environmental forces such as physical violence. Therefore, conflict often drives the audience toward decisions that are not always in accordance with their cognitive value systems. Other variables in the form of violence, dominant opinion or the reflex of self-preservation often guide people in conflict to conduct themselves in a way that is not in accordance with values. All of these circumstances can combine during conflict to highly affect the process of behavior formation. In the case of peace media, the environment of violence, destruction and fear can lessen the ability of media to pursue the desired change. In addition, the conditions of the conflict and the impact of violence may have a stronger impact on people than media messages may ever hope to achieve. Spurk (2002) confirms this in his analysis that states:

In pre- or post-conflict settings, media are not able to change the underlying causes of conflict. The uneven distribution of land, jobs and income might be, for example, an issue of intense reporting, but cannot be altered by the media, only by other means. (p. 18).

This is the most crucial issue for the overall practice of peace media: the integration of a media strategy within the overarching strategy of peace development is absolutely necessary to the success of peace media. This integration ought to happen equably because both practices need to realize a) their own limitations and b) their
interdependence. The peacebuilding practice needs to acknowledge that no other institutional routine can supply the desired peace oriented context the way that media can. On the other hand, media practitioners need to realize media’s limitations and dependence on external variables. Only through complete integrative cooperation can peace media perform to its fullest capacity. Howard (personal communication, February 5, 2004) comes to the same conclusion when he calls for the development of a media supportive infrastructure:

…donors and funders and those who engage in these interventions really have to pay a lot more attention to working almost as aggressively on reforming the media supportive environment, the courts, the legislators, the laws, the regulations because and I’ve seen from my own experience, one begins to wonder what’s the point of improving the professionalism of journalists or conventional methods in theory, bringing them up to a level of professionalism, and then you literally drop them back into newsrooms or into a political and social environment, in which they are at additional risk for attempting to promise or even to practice higher quality, more reliable journalism. You got to do something about improving the laws, making it possible for them to do that kind of work.

Conclusion

There needs to be recognition of the role of media as being both substantial and limited. As was seen in both the literature review and the practical examples from the field, media can contribute toward the formation of attitudes, opinions and increased knowledge and awareness by supplying information. The limiting factor is the uncertainty that this positive impact will transfer to behavior or result in action. For this to happen, a number of other variables need to be aligned with the media effort. Because action or behavior is dependent on many outside variables and because these variables contribute to the end result as much as any form of communication initiative, only the
true integration of media within peacebuilding strategies can insure a significant move
toward a peaceful society.

Evidently, all five elements of the communication process are illustrated in the
practice as Table 3 shows (See Table 3.) The research presented all elements with the
evident capacity for this specific kind of communication effort. There should be no doubt
that practitioners are determined to use media in peacebuilding. Furthermore, the decision
to utilize media in the conflict does not depend on the results of this or any other research
– practitioners made it in the field a long time ago. This may be just one of the first
confirmations and acknowledgments by an academic researcher.

It is interesting, however, that the research did not uncover a single university
program that is affiliated with the projects or even seriously involved in this type of
research. Non-profit and governmental agencies used media to promote peace in most
conflicts around the world. The practice has been acknowledged and used by
practitioners for the last 15 years. However, it is largely unreported in academic circles
and publications. There are a few regionally based academic studies that describe a
specific application of media in a country or conflict. Furthermore, rarely did the title
“university professor” occur in the list of participants in any of the workshops, panels, let
alone field projects. It should not come as a surprise that the effort was conducted without
blessing from academia and that academics have not been involved in the practice and
barely aware of it. This does not mean, however, that they do not have a lot to offer. I
hope that this research increases interest and serves as a springboard for future
engagement.
Table 3: Elements of peace media projects in countries in conflict

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Who</th>
<th>What</th>
<th>Whom</th>
<th>Channels</th>
<th>Effects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Angola</td>
<td>SFCG, UNESCO</td>
<td>Radio dramas</td>
<td>General public</td>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>Positive anecdotal evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambodia</td>
<td>UN, IMPACS</td>
<td>Radio UNTAC, regulation efforts</td>
<td>General public</td>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>No formal evaluation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>“Medios par la Paz” (Media for peace)</td>
<td>Organization of journalists, dictionary of conflict terms</td>
<td>Journalists</td>
<td>Press, print publications</td>
<td>No formal evaluation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia / East Timor</td>
<td>Fondation Hirondelle, UN, Internews, UNESCO</td>
<td>Studio Moris Hamutuk (production of news and entertainment programming), comic book</td>
<td>General public, children</td>
<td>Radio, comic book, newspaper</td>
<td>No formal evaluation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel / Palestine</td>
<td>SFCG, Sesame Workshop</td>
<td>Sesame Street program “Rechov SumSum/Shara’a SimSim,” the Common Ground News Service</td>
<td>Children, general public</td>
<td>Television, newspaper</td>
<td>Sesame Street - high ratings, positive attitude change, high satisfaction with content</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>SFCG, Fondation Hirondelle</td>
<td>STAR radio, Talking Drum Studio (TDS) (production of news and entertainment programming)</td>
<td>General public, women, refugees</td>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>TDS - 90% name recognition, 75% content recognition, 85% of population listens to programs, positive recollection of main topics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Ireland</td>
<td>British government</td>
<td>Referendum campaign,</td>
<td>Voting public</td>
<td>Television radio,</td>
<td>No formal evaluation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3 Continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Commercial Regulation of Press</th>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>The Panos Institute, West Africa</td>
<td>Radio soap opera in Casamance region</td>
<td>General public</td>
<td>Radio - Positive anecdotal evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>SFCG, UN</td>
<td>Talking Drum Studio (production of news and entertainment programming), UNHCR campaign</td>
<td>Children, women, general public</td>
<td>Radio - Positive anecdotal evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>Dutch radio NCRV</td>
<td>Radio Voice of Hope</td>
<td>General public</td>
<td>Radio - Low popularity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia (former SFRY) Bosnia, Macedonia, Kosovo</td>
<td>UN, UNESCO, OSCE, Media Action International, Fondation Hirondelle</td>
<td>TV OBN, Radio FERN, Radio MIR, “Postujes li Zakon” and “Dosta je” media campaigns, regulation efforts (Bosnia); Nashe Maalo TV series, peace agreement media campaign (Macedonia); Radio Blue Sky Kosovo, Project SPEAR, regulation efforts (Kosovo)</td>
<td>General public, journalists, children, general public (voters)</td>
<td>Radio, television, print media, non-traditional channels - FERN, OBN - low ratings; media campaigns - high awareness, excellent recollection of main themes; Nashe Maalo - positive attitude change in children</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

The initial premise regarding the ability of media to influence the development of peace has mostly been validated. More than 20 practitioners and media experts interviewed in this study shared examples of the clever and proficient use of media in conflict societies. The audience research provided numerous examples where conflict populations responded favorably to peace media projects. Texts and publications further described the best practices, methods and strategies of effective media employment. There is no doubt that the interviews with the experts, the audience research and the publications all indicate significant media contributions to the conditions necessary for transforming violent conflict. Nonetheless, the practice could be improved by a) the comprehensive efforts of multiple peace media channels and strategies and b) the orchestration of peace media practice within the overall peace development strategy.

The following are recommendations for the practice of peace media based on what I have learned from peace media projects, media experts, texts and primary research supported by the theoretical evidence from the literature review. Examples from 40 projects across the world in the form of qualitative and quantitative accounts resulted in a number of conclusions and recommendations.

1. **The capacity of media to contribute to peace development**

Perhaps the most significant lesson of the analysis is that there should no longer be any doubt regarding the value of media in a conflict environment. Media must be considered tools for transforming societies troubled by violent conflict. The most
elementary logic suggests that if the media are part of the problem that has led to violent conflict, they must be a part of the solution. What is still under question is the extent of that role and how best to achieve peace through media. This analysis only begins to examine the best approaches and suggests that further research be conducted in a) individual case studies of national peace media projects and b) further discussion regarding the best peace media practices.

2. **Integrating several media channels and practices**

   In order for media to have an impact in a society, more than a single media channel or practice is required. Peace media need to be implemented as an integrated set of measures. A single broadcast program or even a single radio station is unlikely to make a significant impact in a sea of media messages and outlets. Only an integrated set of measures developed in response to a particular violent conflict can begin to have a considerable impact. In order for this to happen, the following four components need to be integrated in the media plan for conflict transformation: journalism, entertainment, advertising and regulation. Only when these four work in concert toward the common goal of peace can we talk about peace media.

3. **The role of media in the transformation of cultural and structural violence**

   Physical hostility in the form of gunfire, heavy bombing and combat is the most obvious form of violence and is often misinterpreted as the only type of violence in conflict. Though such violence is the most destructive and obvious, cultural and structural violence can survive long after the effective ceasefire. Long-term structural and cultural violence thus become real obstacles to peace. It seems reasonable to suggest that the
cessation of physical violence is best accomplished by political parties, institutions and individuals. Though media definitely play a role in ending physical violence, the transformation of structural and especially cultural violence seems to be the most reasonable focus of peace media practitioners. This is why peace media ought to focus on the transformation of cultural violence after the physical conflict has ended.

4. **Timing of peace media intervention**

The previous point answers one of the most fundamental questions of this analysis concerning the timing of media intervention. While many agree that an effective media strategy has to be employed in all three stages of conflict (pre-violence, during conflict and post-violence) the most optimal seems to be the latter stage. It appears from the research that the post-violent conflict period is best for such intervention because violence can end even the most successful media program. Radio Agatashya is an example of a station that had to shut down in response to a violent attack. Even though the media can have an impact during the violence, they require a peaceful environment to operate to their fullest extent. Violence limits journalists in their movements and communication and puts pressure (often physical in nature) on media practitioners, thus preventing them from performing.

5. **Integrating peace media with other social institutions**

The success of peace media programs depends primarily on the readiness of institutions to end conflict policies. Media do not have the ability to execute the peacebuilding effort on their own. Legal, political, economic and other social institutions must assist in transforming the conflict. In the absence of an integrated effort, media
cannot manage structural and cultural violence. The media must be understood as an integral and important segment of peace development. Despite the ability to shape attitudes and opinions in favor of peace, media institutions remain only a segment of a conflict society. The transformation of violent conflict requires an integrated plan of action.

Ideally, the contribution of media to peace development ought to be considered during peace negotiations between the antagonists. Unfortunately, no recent peace agreements (i.e. the Dayton Peace Agreement that ended the Bosnian conflict, the Oslo Peace Agreement between Israelis and Palestinians nor the Good Friday Peace Agreement in Northern Ireland) even mention media as possible contributors to peace development. While the agreements include lengthy descriptions on the transformation of most social institutions, media development is omitted.

The need to integrate efforts is necessary because the success of the peace media effort will be assessed based on the overall success of the peacebuilding effort. If physical violence never occurs and the society transforms peacefully, media can claim to have contributed to it considerably. Even a very successful peace media project may not be able to prevent violence because the formation of violence is caused by a combination of multiple causes and conditions out of the media’s control.

6. The need for a strategy

The analysis of peace media projects and most of the interviews point toward a shortcoming common to most of the peace media projects of the last ten years. Generally, very few projects implemented presented a clear strategy of how the media ought to
develop in times of conflict. At best, this strategy can be described as an instinctual approach, at worst a victim of ad-hoc planning. All participants in the Bosnian interviews unanimously agreed that Bosnian media development was a victim of a lack of strategy. Kontic, Jusic, Udovicic, Babic unanimously confirmed that the entire post-violence media strategy in Bosnia was at best haphazard. They further agreed that OBN was most likely the biggest media project ever conceived without a comprehensive strategy of development.

Even though a few projects outlined a loosely defined plan, what seems to be missing is long-term plan for developing the entire media system. Even an imperfect strategy is better than no strategy at all. Because the process of change is strictly sequential, the media ought to reproduce models of step-by-step improvements.

What is encouraging is that leading experts agree on the need for strategy development. Phases in the development of peace media projects need to be clearly outlined and planned in advance. International Media Support, the Danish NGO, identifies three stages in their activities 1) Alert and Assessment, 2) Strategy and Action, 3) Learning and Sharing. Palmer (1999), Howard (2002) and Hieber (2001) all called for similar procedures that utilize formative and summative research, careful orchestration and design of messages, special attention to the selection of the media channel and targeted audiences, and finally some form of evaluation.

This does not come as a surprise to anyone involved in implementing communication projects in social development because such a model has been utilized for many years. Known as the “P process,” this model was developed by John Hopkins
University and has been an element of communication for development efforts.

Essentially, this process outlines a set of strategic steps: needs assessment, project design, implementation and evaluation.

Until now, only a few media projects underwent such strategic planning. Such was the case with the U.N. assessment of media in both Cambodia and Kosovo. When the U.N. came to Cambodia, the media were under tight state control. The assessment of the media environment suggested that this media system was not conducive to cooperation with the U.N. strategy. This is why a completely new radio station (UNTAC radio) emerged as the only viable option. The station was perceived as a breath of fresh air, and because it did not have ties with the government, its popularity was overwhelming.

However, it is impossible to find a single project that went through all the proposed stages of the “P process.” Not only is there a need for individual projects to assume such a strategy, but also the entire national media system ought to assume this step-by-step strategy. All broadcasting, electronic and print media sources have to be understood as a system that has to undergo a version of “P process” strategy of development.

7. **Regulating hate media is as important as producing peace media**

While the focus of most of the projects presented has been the production of media content favoring the peaceful transformation of conflict, it seems that the most important feature of the immediate post-violence conflict state is the regulation of hate media or propaganda. Reducing the level and amount of hate messages during the conflict would significantly minimize the negative impact of the media on the audience.
Even if no peace media were produced, minimizing the negative impact would translate into a relative success.

An unregulated media environment is also able to prolong the conflict by minimizing the impact of peace media projects. Peace entertainment, journalism and any other peace media programs would be most effective in an environment where sensationalist hate media do not distract the public’s attention. A system of rules and regulations and the ability to enforce sanctions or penalties is a precondition for the successful implantation of peace media. Nonetheless, regulatory efforts need to be sensitive to the specific socio-cultural conditions. While some societies may not object to strong regulation efforts (e.g. Rwanda), others believe that regulation should be left to the media market itself (e.g. Northern Ireland).

8. **Segmenting the audience**

Segmenting the audience and targeting a demographic or ethnic group is preferable to macro, universal targeting of audiences. Particular programming should target specific groups such as women, children and refugees. These groups are affected by conflict in different ways and each group should be reintegrated into a peaceful society with specifically designed and targeted messages that address their problems.

Also, audience groups with diametrically opposing opinions are unlikely to respond unanimously to the same message. If the environment offers information that is already in accordance to their beliefs and opinions, the audience is more likely to gravitate towards those messages regardless of its source. Selective perception thus comes into play and an audience is unlikely to select information (especially in a well-
saturated media system) that does not correspond with their set of beliefs. This is why a reform of already existing popular media channels may bring more results than a completely new or unbiased attempt. This why projects like OBN and radio FERN were never able to compete with the nationalistic propaganda of old ethnic media.

9. **Partnerships with local agencies and experts**

Partnerships with local agencies and experts are crucial for the success of peace media. Involvement of the local population in peace media projects has often been the most influential component of peace media projects. In Cambodia, IMPACS worked with the Women’s Media Center, The Panos Institute found a local partner in the major Senegalese broadcaster RTS, and SFCG engaged local populations and local stations and partners. In addition to the expertise of the international media experts, there is a need for a careful tuning of the programs to local traditions, customs and language. Imported ideas and programs are unlikely to be accepted if they are perceived as foreign projects lacking local sensitivity. A Senegalese soap opera was written in response to the field research of the local populations and its customs. Even then, only the first three months of the series were produced; the production was continued when the focus groups in villages provided evaluations and feedback.

Also, foreign media intervention does not last for a very long time. It usually comes in combination with the initial interest in ending the physical violence. However, after this stage, the local population is left to deal with the aftermath. When projects lack local engagement, they typically fold. A few projects completely closed or diminished
significantly with the pullout of international money and expertise (OBN, FERN, UNTAC).

10. Duplicating peace media projects

Peace media projects found to be successful in one conflict can be attempted in another conflict. However, the success of a project in one conflict environment is not a reliable predictor of its success in other conflicts. Regardless of successes in previous situations, programs need to be adjusted for each region to correspond with its language, customs, traditions and habits. Such is the example of Talking Drum Studio’s efforts that originated in Liberia but shortly after were utilized in Sierra Leone. The rationalization for this duplication comes from the fact that the two conflicts had shared causes and similar media environments. Radio UNTAC and radio FERN, were similar projects, however, they had significantly different results. The success of UNTAC and the relative failure of FERN can be attributed to significantly different media environments.

11. Need for cooperation

Cooperation between agencies, donors, organizations and practitioners is essential. There is a need for meetings, seminars and work groups where models and best practices can be shared. Due to the novelty of the practice, national experts have a lot to learn from the exchange of experiences. Besides, because of an apparent lack of any substantive written analysis, the peace media effort would greatly benefit from the practitioners’ recommendations.
These meetings could help avoid the duplication of similar projects in the same region, share know-how and hopefully map a model for the overarching media interventions in conflict situations.

A quote from Robert Karl Manoff (1996), the Executive Director of the Center for War, Peace and the News Media, provides the most eloquent summary of the problem posed in this research.

We cannot avoid asking ourselves what more can be done to reduce and prevent conflict and the suffering that attends it, but why invoke the media in this context? Because, taken together, mass media technologies, institutions, professionals, norms, and practices constitute a fundamental force shaping the lives of individuals and the fate of peoples and nations. The media constitute a major human resource whose potential to help prevent and moderate social violence begs to be discussed, evaluated, and, where appropriate, mobilized. (para. 2)

I came to a similar conclusion during my visit home in 2000, five years after the peace agreement stopped the violence in Bosnia. At this time, the situation was much improved. The only visible signs of conflict were the holes in the walls of the building where my parents lived. The building was hit with 18 grenades and countless rounds of shelling during the three years of violence. Right across the street was a renovated building now hosting a new television station. This was the Open Broadcast Network (OBN), the television station established to represent the voice of peace and stand in contrast to the propaganda of the nationalistic networks. One block north was the building of the new daily newspaper “Dnevni Avaz,” with the highest readership in the country. One block south, was the completely destroyed building of the pre-war newspaper leader “Oslobodjenje.” The paper was still published from the basement underneath the giant mound of rubble. It was said that after the peace agreement was
signed Bosnia became the country with the highest number of media channels per capita in the world. Even after five years of research and analysis, I am still hesitant to say that there was a strong correlation between such a prolific media environment and the lack of physical violence in Bosnia. While an attempt for a specific “cause and effect” study may be over-ambitious, further explanation of the relationship between media and peace is gravely needed. Therefore, it is my hope that this research will encourage discussion, evaluation, and, perhaps, mobilize efforts that may contribute toward peace developments in all societies in conflict.
References:
References are organized in four separate sections. Books, articles, and web documents are presented in the first section followed by the interviews, texts and surveys.

Section 1: Books, articles and web documents


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Section 2: Interviews


Section 3: Texts


Section 4: Surveys


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