Media and Conflict Resolution

Analyzing the use of Entertainment-Education
media interventions in conflict situations

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Introduction

“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.”

Media and conflict

The relationship between war and mass media has been studied extensively. In most cases, scholars examine the destructive use of media as a powerful instrument for war promotion and war propaganda. Examples are studies describing the use of early mass communication channels by the Allies in the First World War, the extensive propaganda machinery in Nazi Germany and, more recently, the abuse of mass media in Rwanda and former Yugoslavia to incite civil war. As a result, knowledge about the involvement of media in the onset and continuation of intergroup conflicts around the globe is abundant. In contrast, much is unknown about the use of media to prevent intergroup conflict. Although radio and television have long been considered as potential agents of social advancement and national integration, academic knowledge about the involvement of media in conflict resolution has remained deficient.

Conflict resolution is defined as the indigenous capacity of a society to manage conflict without violence, as a means to achieve human security. The notion that mass media could contribute to this process was first proposed shortly after World War II. Triggered by the widespread use of propaganda in the war, early psychology research explored how the media could play a role in reducing prejudice and conflict by communicating anti-prejudice messages. Soon after, however, psychologists drifted away from the subject. Although the field of communication took over the study of media effects, the potential impact of media on conflict resolution remained relatively unexplored until today. According to Paluck, the number of studies measuring the impact of media on conflict

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5 Ibid., 5.
resolution has remained “very small”. Bratić concludes that “the literature about the positive impact of media in conflict appears deficient”, and “considering the established academic interest in media and conflict, it is surprising that there are very few academic studies, journal articles or academic conferences devoted to media involvement in peace processes”.

**Media for conflict resolution**

Despite the lack of academic interest in the relationship between media and conflict resolution, the idea of using media to foster conflict resolution kept inspiring practitioners from international government agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Over the past fifteen years, the number of media interventions aimed at conflict resolution has increased. Specialized organizations have been established, ready to implement media interventions in conflict areas all around the world. For example, the Dutch NGO Press Now was founded in 1993 to support independent media in former Yugoslavia that offered an alternative to the propaganda and hate speech of the state media. At present, the organization supports over hundred projects throughout the Balkans, Eastern Europe, the Caucasus, Central Asia, Africa and the Middle East, including print media, TV, radio and internet. In Zimbabwe, Press Now supports the weekly newspaper The Zimbabwean Limited since 2005 with training and resources. More recently, the foundation launched radio station Dabanga in Darfur, an initiative of Sudanese journalists to provide independent news and relevant information to the population of Sudan.

According to Howard et al., Press Now exemplifies the majority of media interventions aimed at conflict resolution. The main goal is stimulating the development of independent, reliable and diverse news media in conflict-stressed societies. Most interventions focus on the traditional role of journalism as the watchdog of democratic governance, monitoring human rights and holding government representatives accountable. Training journalists in non-partial, balanced reporting, providing communication technology and promoting legal protection for journalists are key priorities. Howard et al.: “The news media, or journalism, remains in the forefront of peacebuilding initiatives because at its best, it is the safeguard of democratic governance.” However, in recent years the focus has become wider. Especially in post-conflict situations, governments and NGOs came to realize that the promotion of legitimate news coverage is not enough to overcome years of hostility and alienation

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11 Ibid., 493.
15 Ibid., 8.
between groups and prevent renewed conflict.\textsuperscript{16} Transferring factual knowledge appeared non-sufficient to reduce prejudice and dismantle longstanding distrust between people.

Therefore, media projects aimed at conflict resolution have increasingly used the full potential of media. Instead of just promoting the development of professional news media outlets, media interventions have become pro-active facilitators of social change, intending to change public sentiment in favor of conflict resolution.\textsuperscript{17} For example, journalists in conflict areas are increasingly trained to make conflict resolution part of their professional goals. Media professionals are not only objective observers or information-carriers, but should facilitate critical dialogue in society to enforce reconciliation.\textsuperscript{18} In academic literature, this view of journalism is referred to as ‘transitional journalism development’ or ‘peace journalism’. Conflict resolution is perceived as an important, ‘extra’ professional value of journalists.

**Entertainment-Education**

Moreover, governments and NGOs increasingly produce their own media programs to promote reconciliation and reduce intergroup prejudice. Far from conventional journalism, these programs are specifically designed to influence the attitudes, beliefs and perceptions of audience members.\textsuperscript{19} The producers try to educate the audience about reconciliation, issues and factors behind the conflict, opposing views on the conflict, transitional justice, the role of stereotyping et cetera. The eventual goal is to reduce intergroup tensions and prevent renewed conflict. Often, these interventions are adapted to popular culture by using entertaining media formats such as television soap operas, music videos or talk-shows. By using popular media and an entertaining style, topics of conflict and peace can be addressed and the audience can question its own attitudes without information overload. In other words, these media interventions are designed to educate audiences while entertaining them in order to facilitate social change. In communication literature, this strategy is known as ‘Entertainment-Education’.

The Entertainment-Education strategy has proven its value on a variety of issues such as disease prevention, family planning, empowering women rights and fighting illiteracy. As mentioned above, Entertainment-Education interventions are designed for a specific audience and with a specific purpose. Therefore, in contrast to other types of media interventions, the effects of Entertainment-Education messaging can be measured relatively easy. Research shows that (1) Entertainment-Education interventions are popular as measured by audience ratings and (2) entertaining formats increase the power of the educating message. However, most studies have focused on so-called ‘first


\textsuperscript{17} Idem.

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., 11.

\textsuperscript{19} Ibid., 12.
order social changes’, defined as “small shifts in knowledge, attitudes and practices without any fundamental shift in one’s value system”. In order to contribute to conflict resolution, Entertainment-Education interventions need to bring about ‘second order social changes’, which involve “a fundamental, transformational shift in one’s values and beliefs”. At present, despite the increased use of Entertainment-Education in conflict areas, the number of effect studies measuring these second order changes in audience members is small.

**Research questions**

In this thesis, the use of Entertainment-Education in conflict areas will be analyzed to answer the following questions:

1. *Can* Entertainment-Education interventions contribute to conflict resolution?
2. If they can, *what* makes Entertainment-Education interventions successful in conflict resolution?

In order to answer these questions, the current thesis is divided in two parts. In the first part, existing literature about the Entertainment-Education strategy will be analyzed. Knowledge of the goals, design and evaluation of this type of media intervention is necessary to understand the potential of Entertainment-Education in conflict areas. The roots of the Entertainment-Education strategy will be traced, basic characteristics of Entertainment-Education interventions will be discussed and different theories behind the design of interventions will be analyzed. Furthermore, the specific use of Entertainment-Education in conflict situations will be evaluated and relevant effect studies will be discussed to answer the research questions.

In the second part of this thesis, a relevant case example of the use of Entertainment-Education in conflict areas will be studied in detail: the Rwandan radio soap opera *Musekeweya*. This radio soap opera was specifically designed to foster reconciliation in Rwanda, a country that copes with the effects of the 1994 genocide in which more than ten percent of the population was killed. In this thesis, a closer look will be taken at the background and design of *Musekeweya*. In contrast to many Entertainment-Education productions in the field, the producers of *Musekeweya* use scientific research methods to measure the effects of the intervention. These effect studies provide further knowledge about the specific use of Entertainment-Education in conflict areas and have interesting implications for future Entertainment-Education interventions.

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21 Idem.
In summary, both a literature review and a case study will be conducted to answer the research questions. The answers will be formulated and discussed in the concluding section of this thesis.
PART I

1 Entertainment-Education

1.1 Pilika Pilika
Every week, three million Tanzanians tune in to listen to the radio soap opera Pilika Pilika (“Busy Busy”). The show, modeled on the British soap opera The Archers, is set in a fictional Tanzanian village called Jitazame, a traditional community with representatives of most local cultures. Pilika Pilika is produced and performed by local people, but is not a typical Tanzanian entertainment show. In contrast, the soap opera was launched in 2004 by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to spread educational messages about relevant issues in rural livelihoods, such as hygiene issues, community water management, gender issues and local rights and responsibilities. For example, in one episode key character Mawazo fell into his poorly maintained pit latrine and had to walk for hours to the river because the water pump in his village was broken. For this storyline, the scriptwriters consulted the NGO WaterAid to weave messages about hygiene, water management and sanitation into the plot. Furthermore, WaterAid provided experts for the discussion program broadcasted after Pilika Pilika, in which the issues raised in the soap opera are explored in detail through the views of rural children, farmers and a panel of experts. WaterAid sees its partnership with Pilika Pilika as a “cost effective way to engage with communities that are otherwise beyond our reach, helping to empower those most in need to find solutions to the basic challenges of daily life”.22

1.2 Definition
Pilika Pilika is a clear example of an Entertainment-Education media intervention. Entertainment-Education, in literature also referred to as “Infotainment”, “Edutainment” or “Enter-Educate”, is the process of purposely designing and implementing a media message to both entertain and educate, in order to increase audience members’ knowledge about an educational issue, create favorable attitudes, shift social norms, and change overt behavior.23 In other words, Entertainment-Education producers consciously incorporate educational content in entertainment formats such as drama serials, theatre, video clips and music to acquire social change at the individual, community, or societal level.24 According to Singhal et al., Entertainment-Education can enforce social change in two ways. First,

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anticipated effects can be located at the individual audience member. Entertainment-Education can influence members’ awareness, attitudes and behavior toward a socially desirable end. An illustration of this effect is provided by the abovementioned episode of Pilika Pilika, which aims to change the way individual Tanzanians in rural communities deal with hygiene issues in their own home. Second, effects of an intervention can be located in the interpersonal and socio-political sphere of the audience’s external environment. In this case, Entertainment-Education functions as a vehicle of social change at the system level: Entertainment-Education as a social mobilizer, agenda-setter or advocate. For example, the popular South-African soap opera Soul City, which deals with the issue of domestic violence, was a key factor in speeding up the implementation of domestic violence legislation in South-Africa. Community action by listeners enforced the government (system level) to address a society-wide problem.

In this chapter, the Entertainment-Education concept will be further explored. First, the history of Entertainment-Education will be reviewed briefly, with special interest in the pioneering work of Miguel Sabido. This Mexican television producer started to design Entertainment-Education interventions in the 1970s and had a major impact on producers worldwide. After his groundbreaking work, the Entertainment-Education concept was embraced by many countries in the world, mainly in developing regions in Africa and Asia. In the second part of this chapter, practical and theoretical characteristics of these interventions will be discussed in detail.

1.3 Roots
The first recognizable Entertainment-Education intervention dates back to 1944, when Australian Broadcasting Corporation launched the radio soap opera The Lawsons. Other ancient examples of Entertainment-Education were the famous BBC-serial The Archers (1951) and the Peruvian television soap opera Simplemente Mariá (1969). At that time, communication scholars were not involved in the production of these interventions. In contrast, according to Singhal et al., “theorizing about Entertainment-Education was yet to begin”. It was the Mexican script-writer and producer Miguel Sabido who first integrated theoretical notions into the practice of creating educating entertainment programs. Sabido deconstructed the various elements of Simplemente Mariá to understand the machinery behind its success and connect it to theories from various disciplines, like psychology, drama theory and communication studies. Central in Sabido’s theoretical framework is Albert...

29 Idem.
Bandura’s social cognitive theory.\(^{31}\) This theory, which will be discussed in detail later, has since dominated most theoretical writing and research about Entertainment-Education.\(^{32}\) One reason is the natural fit that seems to exist between Bandura’s theory and the concept of Entertainment-Education. In social cognitive theory, positive and negative role models are assumed to have large impact on thoughts and behavior of other people. Yet another, equally important factor is the success Sabido had with the Entertainment-Education programs he produced in the 1970s, all strongly relying on social cognitive theory.\(^{33}\)

In the early 1970s, the Mexican government launched a national self-instruction program to fight illiteracy. People who were skilled at reading were urged to organize small self-study groups in which they would teach others how to read with instructional materials specifically developed for this purpose. However, the response on the appeal of the government was disappointing.\(^{34}\) Therefore, in 1974 Sabido was asked to produce a television soap opera to reach, enable and motivate people with illiteracy problems. One year later, *Ven Conmigo* (Come With Me) was launched.\(^{35}\) The main storyline of the soap focused on the daily life of members of a self-instruction group. Casting was a key factor for success: the most popular soap actor performed as the positive role model of the literate who teaches the illiterate members of the group. The illiterate characters reflected different segments of the Mexican population to enhance viewers’ involvement with the actors. Furthermore, prior to the launch of the soap, population surveys were conducted to reveal demotivating barriers that dissuaded people from enrolling into the national program. In *Ven Conmigo*, illiterate characters show how to overcome those barriers and eventually beat illiteracy. The strategy worked: enrollment into the national illiteracy program was 99,000 in the year before the serial was launched. During the year of broadcasting *Ven Conmigo*, enrollment increased to 900,000, almost ten-folding the number of participants.\(^{36}\) The success of *Ven Conmigo* prompted Sabido to continue producing drama serials on Mexican television. Besides illiteracy, other themes were explored, including family planning (*Acompáñama*, 1977), women's rights, responsible parenthood and adolescent sexual education.\(^{37}\) Striking is the finding that Sabido’s soaps achieved viewer ratings consistent with ratings of conventional, non-education soap operas. In general, subsequent evaluation research indicated that his

educational soaps successfully increased viewers' awareness and acceptance of their respective messages.\textsuperscript{38}

The success of Mexico’s theory-based Entertainment-Education interventions soon attracted the attention of foreign governments. In 1984, the Indian television soap opera \textit{Hum Log} (we people) was launched, which focused on women rights and family planning. During the 18 months of its broadcast, the soap opera attracted 50 million viewers, which at that time was the largest-ever audience for a television program in India.\textsuperscript{39} According to Poindexter, about 70 percent of the frequent viewers changed their attitudes on topics like job opportunities for women and reducing family size.\textsuperscript{40} In 1987, \textit{Tushauriane} (Come with Me) went on air in Kenya. The government, worried about continuing population growth in Kenya, wanted an Entertainment-Education intervention with a focus on family planning. To reach as much people as possible, the television soap opera got its equivalent on radio: \textit{Ushikwapo Shikamana} (When Assisted, Assist Yourself). By the time the two drama serials ended, family size had dropped from 6.3 to 4.4 children and contraceptive use increased by 58 percent. It is not clear what portion of change was inflicted by the Entertainment-Education interventions, but viewer and listener surveys indicate that both soap operas were popular. More than 200 episodes of \textit{Ushikwapo Shikamana} were broadcasted.\textsuperscript{41}

The abovementioned Entertainment-Education interventions all relied heavily on the pioneering work of Sabido. During the 80s and 90s, his theoretical framework kept inspiring producers worldwide. According to Singhal et al., over 200 Entertainment-Education interventions have been implemented since the mid-1980s. “Today, a map of the world would show Entertainment-Education almost everywhere”, the authors conclude.\textsuperscript{42} Thus, Entertainment-Education has become a popular agent for social change in the last two decades. Furthermore, while countries around the globe adopted Entertainment-Education as an instrument to achieve social change, producers adopted new methods, theories and applications to incorporate into their designs. Although Sabido’s pioneering work kept inspiring Entertainment-Education producers, they have found new ways of designing powerful interventions. These fresh insights have resulted in increasing differences between Entertainment-Education interventions worldwide. Differences that need to be examined to fully understand the practical choices producers have to make in the design of their interventions.

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{41} Idem.
\bibitem{42} Singhal, A. et al., \textit{Entertainment-Education and Social Change; History, Research, and Practice}, 8.
\end{thebibliography}
1.4 Characteristics of modern interventions

Modern Entertainment-Education interventions vary widely in design and application, depending upon the situation-specific intent of the production. Singhal et al. discern four main dimensions on which the differences between interventions are most pronounced.\(^{43}\)

1. Entertainment-Education interventions vary widely on the size of the target population. For example, the Indian soap opera *Hum Log* was broadcasted on national television and reached millions of viewers.\(^{44}\) In contrast, many Entertainment-Education street theatre interventions reach only a few hundred people per performance. Therefore, intended audience reach is an important factor in deciding what kind of intervention is used.

2. Entertainment-Education interventions differ on the extent to which formative research and theoretical frameworks are used in the design. Formative research is a “method of analysing target audiences to determine their needs, desires, behaviours, and media usage in order to develop understandable, high-quality, culturally appropriate characters and storylines.”\(^{45}\) Some interventions, like *Soul City* in South Africa, conduct extensive formative research in order to optimize message design. Furthermore, the producers incorporate principles of social psychological theories and communication theories into the design.\(^{46}\) Other Entertainment-Education interventions incorporate little formative research or theoretical frameworks and rely on common sense and creativity of the producers.

3. Entertainment-Education interventions vary widely on the so-called ‘intensity’ of educational messages and their ability to deliver ‘dose effects’. Sometimes, an intervention is limited to a few dialogues in an existing entertainment program (intensity-level is low). For example, the Dutch television drama serial *Costa!* incorporated dialogues about safe sex in the serial.\(^{47}\) In this case, the educating messages are added to a media program which main goal is to entertain. In contrast, other interventions use a high intensity level of the educational messages. In the Oral rehydration therapy (ORT) television spots in Egypt, the educating messages about oral rehydration are predominant (intensity level is high).\(^{48}\) Furthermore, the television spots were broadcasted on a daily basis. Egyptians were repeatedly exposed to the


\(^{46}\) Usdin, S. et al., ‘No Short Cuts in Entertainment-Education; Designing Soul City Step-by-Step’, 154.


same educational message to increase the power of the message. In contrast, the exposure of an audience to an educational message in live street theatre is often a once-in-a-lifetime experience. In other words, these interventions have different dose effects.

4. Entertainment-Education interventions are shaped by the context in which the intervention is applied. Producers of Entertainment-Education interventions face special challenges and resistances in media-saturated countries such as the United States.49 This could partly explain the finding that Entertainment-Education interventions have been applied “mainly in the developing countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia”.50 In societies where the media landscape is not yet saturated, it is easier to reach large target audiences by use of mass media. In contrast, reaching large audiences in media-saturated countries requires multi-level Entertainment-Education strategies. Therefore, the context determines in part the choices producers have to make to optimize effects.

Of the abovementioned areas of difference, the extent to which Entertainment-Education producers use theoretical frameworks and formative research in their design attracts special attention from communication scholars. Since Miguel Sabido incorporated theoretical frameworks into his designs, Entertainment-Education producers worldwide have continued to rely heavily on theoretical principles. As Sood et al. (2004 p118) conclude, “the majority of entertainment-education programs is characterized by researchers and creative talent working together to create programs and to explain when and why they work and when and why they fail”.51 Thus, the use of theories in designing interventions not only serves as the backbone of many interventions, but allows researchers to measure the expected effects of an intervention too. In the section below, several theoretical frameworks will be explored. Which theories inspired Entertainment-Education producers worldwide? Which theoretical constructs are capable of explaining the effects of interventions? And from which disciplines do producers borrow useful insights? Finding answers to these questions is necessary to understand the practical choices Entertainment-Education producers make in order to maximize the power of their interventions.

1.5 Theories
Theories behind Entertainment-Education interventions represent diverse disciplinary fields, such as (social) psychology, sociology, communication and dramatology. Sood et al., after evaluating all theory-based interventions between 1990 and 2004, concluded that the different theories and theoretical constructs fall into seven distinct categories, which will be discussed below.

50 Singhal, A. et al., Entertainment-Education and Social Change; History, Research, and Practice, i.
1.5.1 Steps/Stages Models

Many interventions are based upon theories that focus on the steps or stages individuals pass through in the process of adopting and maintaining new behavior. For example, DiClemente and Proschaska’s stages of change model states that true behavioral changes can only occur when individuals move through five distinct stages: precontemplation, contemplation, preparation, action and maintenance. In the precontemplation stage, an individual is unaware of or in denial of the behavioral options available to him/her. In the contemplation stage, the individual begins to think about their behavior and the way they can change it. During the next stage, preparation, the individual commits himself to change and figures out how to acquire this change. Preparation is then followed by action: the individual actually changes his behavior. In the final stage, maintenance, the new behavior is performed consistently and steps are taken to avoid relapsing into the old pattern. According to the stages of change model, changing risky behavior (such as smoking) requires that individuals pass through all five stages.

1.5.2 Social Psychological Theories

These theories suggest that individual perceptions, beliefs or values lie at the heart of behavioral change. Undoubtedly the most influential social psychological theory is Albert Bandura’s Social Cognitive Theory, which was used by Miguel Sabido in the first theory-based interventions in Mexico and has been used extensively ever since. Bandura coined the notion of ‘self-efficacy’ as the most powerful force behind human behavior change. Self-efficacy is defined as the beliefs in one’s ability to carry out a certain action. Individuals feel no incentive to act or persevere in the face of difficulties unless they believe they can produce desired effects by their actions. In order to acquire behavioral change, Bandura states, one needs to increase the level of self-efficacy in audience members. Mass media can increase self-efficacy by social modeling, e.g. learning from the successes and failures of others. In Entertainment-Education interventions, popular soap characters teach audience members that they have the ability to change their behavior (increased self-efficacy) and that their changed behavior will lead to positive results (outcome expectancy). According to Bandura, media programs have the power to influence the goals and aspirations of individuals, increase self-efficacy and alter outcome expectations favorably. Furthermore, Bandura states, media interventions can increase ‘collective efficacy’, defined as people’s belief “that they can solve the problems they face and

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52 Sood et al., ‘Theory behind Entertainment-Education’, 123.
55 Ibid., 81.
improve their lives through unified effort”. Media programs can increase people’s shared belief in their collective power to realize the futures they seek.

1.5.3 Psychological Models

Although psychological models are closely related to social psychological theories, they delve deeper into “the specific psychological processes individuals undergo when exposed to an entertainment-education program”. For example, Petty and Cacioppo’s Elaboration Likelihood Model discerns two paths of information processing in individuals: the central path and the peripheral path. Central path processing means people think carefully about the information presented in the message and elaborate on it in a conscious fashion. According to Petty and Cacioppo, central path processing leads to stable and sustained attitude and behavioral change. In contrast, when people are not motivated and/or unable to process the message, they use the peripheral information path. When people do not understand the message or undergo the message passively, peripheral processing is more likely. Behavior change as a result of peripheral processing is unstable and likely to change after receiving a new message. Therefore, message design in Entertainment-Education interventions should be aimed at central path processing by the audience to insure lasting behavior change. Listeners’/viewers’ engagement and identification with characters could be a powerful tool to acquire this goal.

1.5.4 Drama Theories

Insight into the creative development of Entertainment-Education interventions is offered by drama theories. In these theories, “the roles that people play and/or the scripts they follow in their daily lives are examined”. An example is Kincaid’s Conceptualization of Drama Theory. Kincaid states that individuals pass through the stages of scene setting, problem build-up, climax, conflict, resolution, and implementation of new collective action. Central in Kincaid’s model is confrontation, which is most prominent in the stages climax and conflict and is often very emotional. Emotion is the motivational force that drives the characters into conflict and, eventually, to its resolution. Entertainment-Education interventions should use emotion, Kincaid states, because “by means of involvement and identification, the confrontation and emotional response of the characters generates a corresponding emotional response in the audience. The empathetic emotional response in the audience is the motivational force that induces members of the audience to reconceptualize the central problem.

58 Ibid., 127.
59 Ibid.
60 Ibid., 128.
depicted in the drama and to resolve it in a similar manner in their own lives”. According to Kincaid, emotional binding between story characters and audience members is often underscored in theories of Entertainment-Education.

1.5.5 Audience-Centered Theories
In this set of theories, the way audiences react to an intervention is examined. For example, in the Uses and Gratification Theory, audience members are seen as active media users who use the media to gratify or satisfy certain needs. In the case of Entertainment-Education, needs such as “entertainment (to seek fun, excitement), escapism (to forget about one’s worries or problems), information (to learn about the world and others), identity (to find others like oneself to identify with), social interaction (to have topics to talk about or do with others) and so forth” could be fulfilled. The more the intervention meets the needs of individuals, the stronger and more enduring is the post-exposure effect. Audience-centered theories provide producers necessary tools to measure audience reactions to interventions.

1.5.6 Contextual Theories
Under the header Contextual Theories, Sood et al. group quite diverse humanistic and critical perspectives. Contextual Theories provide useful insights in the relationship between media and public. An example is Walter Lippman’s agenda-setting hypothesis. The agenda-setting hypothesis states that the media determine which issues are important and which issues people should attend to. Following Lippman’s statement, Bernard Cohen concluded in 1962 that the media do not determine what people think, but do strongly influence where people think about. Nowadays, scholars state that the relationship between the media and the public is transactional: it is not only the newspaper which decides where the public talks about, it is also the public which decides what the newspaper writes about. However, Sood et al. conclude, “Entertainment-Education interventions can influence the public agenda by focusing on certain key issues”.

1.5.7 Hybrid Models
Often, Entertainment-Education producers use more than one theory. In hybrid models, elements from different perspectives are combined to maximize the power of the intervention. For example, the producers of Soul City created a unique ‘model of behavior change’ in which several theories are

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64 Ibid., 131.
67 Idem.
incorporated in one model. Using hybrid models, the intervention can be evaluated on different levels.\textsuperscript{58}

In summary, the abovementioned theories share the common notion that they were used by Entertainment-Education producers around the globe to design interventions and measure the effects of their efforts. Since the mid 1980s, over 200 interventions have been applied worldwide, and the popularity of Entertainment-Education as an intervention strategy has not evaporated in recent years. In the next chapter, we will take a closer look at the use of Entertainment-Education in a quite specific area: conflict resolution.

\textsuperscript{58} Sood et al., ‘Theory behind Entertainment-Education’, 132.
2 Entertainment-Education & Conflict Resolution

2.1 Exploring new applications
Over the past decades, the Entertainment-Education communication strategy has proven its value on wide range of issues. Especially in health communication, the use of Entertainment-Education media interventions has been successful. Entertainment-Education encouraged people to stop smoking, avoid HIV infection, use anti-conception, improve hygiene facilities and use antenatal care services.69 Furthermore, Entertainment-Education has been used effectively to promote women rights, increase literacy and educate audiences about environmental issues. The Soul City serials, discussed at the end of the preceding chapter, demonstrated that Entertainment-Education media interventions could even be a powerful tool in reducing spousal abuse.

Spurred by these positive results, practitioners wondered whether Entertainment-Education media interventions could foster conflict resolution as well. In recent years, numerous interventions have been designed and applied in conflict situations around the globe.70 The exact scale of the practice is unknown. Although several academic scholars published lists of Entertainment-Education interventions aimed at conflict resolution in articles or handbooks, a complete and up-to-date historical overview is absent. Bratic: “No academic study has attempted to bring together the variety of peace-oriented media projects, and, therefore, the full scope of the practice is unknown”.71 Moreover, much remains unknown about the effects of Entertainment-Education interventions. Paluck: “Each year governments, organizations and corporations pour millions of dollars into anti-prejudice public service announcements, print and internet publications, and television and radio programming. But despite the high stakes of this investment – social, economic and political – the number of studies estimating the impact of these media interventions in the world is very small.”72 This notion is shared by Bratić, stating that practitioners who implement Entertainment-Education projects in conflict situations regularly fail to examine the effects of these interventions on a particular conflict: “Practitioners and authors assume that if media can motivate people into conflict, they must also have the power to exert influence in the opposite direction, thus promoting peace”.73

72 Paluck, E., Reducing intergroup prejudice and conflict with the mass media: A field experiment in Rwanda, 15-16.
This assumption is widespread in articles and reports, but the authors rarely provide decent scientific evidence. Both Bratić and Paluck conclude that more experimental field research is necessary to find a definitive answer to the most basic questions concerning Entertainment-Education interventions – can they contribute to conflict resolution? Furthermore, what makes Entertainment-Education interventions successful in conflict resolution? Current knowledge is insufficient to provide clear answers to these questions. However, taking a closer look at relevant literature about the use of Entertainment-Education in conflict resolution provides some clues about the answers and future directions of research. In this chapter, we will first discuss theoretical considerations about the specific nature of this type of Entertainment-Education intervention. Entertainment-Education for conflict resolution can only be successful if interventions do not only influence the behaviour of audience members, but also their deeper values and beliefs. This notion has implications for both the design of interventions and the evaluation tools measuring the effects of the intervention. Second, existing effect studies measuring the impact of Entertainment-Education interventions in conflict situations will be examined.

### 2.2 Second-order change

In their book *Change: Principles of Problem Formation and Problem Resolution*, Watzlawick, Weakland et al. provide a theoretical framework for understanding social change. According to them, social change can be classified as “first-order change” or “second-order change”. First-order change "occurs within the given system which itself remains unchanged". In second-order change, the system itself changes. In other words, "second-order change is change of change". This dichotomy of first- and second-order change has been explicated by scholars from several fields. For example, intercultural communication scholars argue that when people adapt to a new culture, two types of modification occur: behavioral modification and value modification. When someone learns to bow appropriately in front of a Japanese business colleague, behavior modification occurs. However, after years of living in Japan, if someone’s fundamental values about the importance of showing respect have changed when one bows, value modification has occurred. Behavior modification without value modification represents first-order change; value modification, which is more fundamental and transformational, represents second-order change. Along similar lines, historians distinguish first- and second-order changes in technical development. According to Moursund, most technical inventions tend to amplify what already exists, representing first-order change. For example, an

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74 Bratić, V., ‘Examining Peace-Oriented Media in Areas of Violent Conflict’, 489.
78 Idem.
electric typewriter is replaced with a word processor with a memory. In contrast, the invention of the steam engine is an example of second-order change, fundamentally changing the way mechanical power is created and bringing far-reaching social changes in terms of societal production and consumption. Second-order change is non-linear, causing a fundamental transformation from one state into another. Second-order change requires greater creativity and prolonged investment of time and contact by social change agents. In contrast, “first-order change is incremental, involving a linear progression to do more or less, better, faster or with greater accuracy”. In behavioral change, first-order effects are often short-lived and do not change the underlying causes of behavior.

Rao et al. use the theory of first- and second-order changes to discuss the impact of media interventions for social change. According to them, most effect studies measuring the impact of Entertainment-Education programs have focused on first-order changes, defined as “small shifts in knowledge, attitudes and practices without any fundamental shift in one’s value system”. However, Entertainment-Education can also bring about second-order changes, where both behavioral and value modification are desired (for example in the case of violence prevention). According to Rao et al., it is therefore important that practitioners understand the processes through which second-order changes occur. After analyzing an Indian Entertainment-Education radio soap opera called *Taru*, which was designed to foster greater acceptance between people from different castes, Rao et al. offer several insights in the role of Entertainment-Education for second-order social change, which will be discussed below.

2.2.1 Overcoming doubts and fears

For second-order change to occur, just learning new behaviors through media modeling is not enough. It is only the first step. Audience members have doubts, inhibitions and fears performing the newly-learned behavior. “These doubts need to be clarified, and fears overcome, before they can think of performing them in their own social context.” Discussion, dialogue and conversation among audience members regarding the content of the media intervention is useful to overcome doubts and fears and provide a sense of collective efficacy to act. Discussing the media content can enhance people’s confidence in joint capabilities to accomplish set goals and withstand opposition and

81 Ibid., 3.
82 Ibid., 8.
83 Ibid., 10.
setbacks. Furthermore, having the support of family members and other community members is a critical part of embarking on second-order change.\(^{85}\)

2.2.2 Reframing

For second-order change to occur, a new critical action should be introduced which reframes an existing reality. As a result, the existing problem does not carry the implication of unchangeability. For example, residents of townships in South Africa were inspired by the *Soul City* pot banging episode (discussed in the preceding chapter) to intervene in local domestic abuse situation. “This critical collective action, previously unknown, helped reframe the role of neighbors in addressing spousal abuse.”\(^{86}\) Furthermore, Rao et al. note that this collective action is often preceded by mental rehearsal of how the actions could be implemented in the local cultural context. Audience members need to think about acting in the ‘here’ and ‘now’, providing a new definition of an old circumstance. Again, discussion and dialogue about the actions is important.\(^{87}\)

2.2.3 Amplification

When a second-order change gains legitimacy, amplification should occur. Amplification is defined as “the spread of a second-order change from one context to another with the necessary modifications to fit the new context”.\(^{88}\) This leads to a routinization of the new norms, values and actions in society. In order to succeed, the solution communicated by the intervention should be culturally compatible with the intended audience. “In summary, when audience members attend to Entertainment-Education, they can learn new ways of dealing with existing problems. When they talk about these new possibilities with other listeners or family members, they clarify in their minds how these new ways relate to their local circumstance. These discussions create a climate of social support and collective efficacy for audience members to consider taking a certain critical action. The performance of the critical action is preceded by mental rehearsal as audience members reframe existing realities into culturally-acceptable interventions. When such interventions gain social acceptance, they find legitimacy, and are routinized through a process of amplification.”

It is important to note that Rao et al. continually stress the active role of the audience. For second-order change to occur, audience members need to participate in the process. Interventions aimed at second-order change should therefore foster discussion and dialogue between audience members. According to Rao et al., the main purpose of Entertainment-Education interventions should not be to change others, but to offer a ‘new’ story and a set of ‘new’ ideas for the audience members to

\(^{87}\) Ibid., 11.
\(^{88}\) Ibid., 12.
explore and consider. Following this conclusion, Rao et al. state that impact studies should focus on second-order change, measuring the long-standing effects of Entertainment-Education on the deeper values and beliefs of audience members. In the next paragraph, we will take a look at existing effect studies of Entertainment-Education interventions in a specific type of second-order change: conflict resolution.

2.3 Impact studies

Entertainment-Education interventions are evaluated with both qualitative and quantitative methods. The vast majority of impact studies focuses on quantitative surveys, with supplemental information provided by qualitative techniques such as ethnographies, focus group interviews or observation. These conclusions, drawn in a broad review of Entertainment-Education interventions in different areas, also hold for the specific area of interventions aimed at conflict resolution.

2.3.1 Self-report surveys

Most studies measure the impact of conflict resolution interventions with self-report surveys, often supported by (high) audience ratings. A perfect example is the evaluation of Tuyage Twongere, a radio soap opera broadcasted in refugee camps in Burundi and Tanzania. The project aims at reconciliation by giving refugees a voice on issues of concern to them and stimulate dialogue between Burundians in the camps and those at home. After six months of weekly broadcasts, producer IRIN Radio conducted an audience survey in which nearly thousand respondents in refugee camps and in Burundi answered a questionnaire. The results showed that 64 percent of people in the refugee camps and 40 percent of Burundians listen to the show regularly. Among frequent listeners, 97 percent said they liked the show because it is “educational, informative and/or entertaining”, 86 percent said “they have learned something positive about family relations, life skills, the plight of refugees, HIV/AIDS, hygiene, or other issues” and 23 percent of listeners in Burundi reported that the soap opera increased their understanding of refugees and made them feel more positive about refugees. From this survey, IRIN concluded that the project was “on track in terms of its objectives”, among others by “contributing to the ‘rapprochement’ of divided Burundian communities”. Another example of the way Entertainment-Education producers measure project outcomes is a 2002 evaluation of the Vozes Que Falam and Coisas da Nossa Gente radio soap operas, produced by Search for Common Ground and

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90 Ibid., 24.
broadcasted in Angola. Both soap operas aim at conflict resolution. The impact evaluation consisted of a one-time interview with randomly chosen citizens of Angola. The results show that 80 percent of the interviewees listened to at least one of the soap operas, 91 percent of them “noticed an increase in their conflict resolution and prevention capacity”. However, only 32 percent of the interviewees was able to identify the theme ‘conflict resolution’ as part of the soap.

2.3.2 Qualitative methods
Besides these quantitative measures, researchers use qualitative methods too. Often, both methods are combined. For example, an impact study measuring the impact of various Entertainment-Education programs produced by Studio Ijambo (Great Lakes Region, Eastern Africa) used both quantitative and qualitative methods to measure. In this study, the researchers describe conversations with staff members of Studio Ijambo about audience reactions to the program Heroes, broadcasted in Burundi. The staff claimed that following the program, they had received many phone calls from listeners who had participated in the civil war in their country. Audience members often expressed regret about what they had done, while also contributing stories of other people who saved many selflessly.

2.3.3 Results
The abovementioned examples are exemplary for the vast majority of effect studies of conflict-oriented Entertainment-Education programs. As the methods used to measure the impact of interventions are quite similar, so are the results. Without exception, these impact studies (often conducted by NGOs who design the intervention) indicate that Entertainment-Education interventions can be valuable tools in conflict-sensitive areas. The argument is two-fold. First, Entertainment-Education interventions appear to be very popular, as measured by audience ratings. Results indicating that over 80 percent of the population can be classified as frequent listener are quite normal. For example, three surveys conducted since 1999 show that between 80 and 90 percent of the population of Burundi listens to the radio drama Umubanyi Niwe Muryango. These high audience ratings indicate that audiences respond well to the ‘entertainment’ part of Entertainment-Education interventions. Second, audience surveys show that Entertainment-Education interventions are also successful in conveying the ‘educational’ message to the public. For example, 82 percent of Burundians who listen to Heroes and Umubanyi Niwe Muryango report that the interventions helped in promoting peace and reconciliation. As stated above, more than 91 percent of frequent listeners to

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the Angolan radio dramas *Vozes Que Falam* and *Coisas da Nossa Gente* “noticed an increase in their conflict resolution and prevention capacity”.\(^{98}\) Another radio show produced by Search for Common Ground, youth program *Sangwe*, seems to be effective too: 64 percent of listeners stated they thought *Sangwe* was “very successful in bringing Burundi youth together”.\(^{99}\) Concluding, research findings from observational studies indicate that Entertainment-Education interventions aimed at conflict resolution are able to do what they intend to do: to both entertain and educate.

### 2.3.4 Methodological constraints

But how trustworthy are the abovementioned results? Paluck, in a review of effect studies, warns for too much optimism. According to her, McGuire’s classical 1986 essay on “the myth of media impact” would apply very well to the current Entertainment-Education evaluation methods.\(^{100}\) In his essay, McGuire concluded that evaluations of media influence often suffer from a) poor measures of exposure to the media program, b) poor measures of the outcome of media exposure and c) poor measurement of a causal relationship between the program and the outcome. According to Paluck, these harsh conclusions could apply to the non-experimental, observational evaluation designs used in current impact studies.\(^{101}\) For example, an important flaw in observational designs is the absence of random assignment to a ‘treatment group’ (the audience). “Without random assignment, researchers wind up measuring outcomes among people who choose (or report choosing) to be in the audience, which introduces a selective exposure bias”.\(^{102}\) In other words, without random assignment it is unclear what was responsible for measured change. Was it the intervention, or were other, unobservable factors at play? Furthermore, Paluck notes, length of exposure to the intervention is often measured poorly: “Researchers rely on participants’ reports, an untrustworthy practice not only because of people’s poor recall, but because people may be motivated to misreport. In poor countries participants might believe that a negative answer will end the interview and any potential recompense, and in rich countries people might believe a negative answer will end the interview and set them free to continue their busy way”.\(^{103}\) Paluck also warns for self-presentational biases in questionnaires. She refers to a Liberian study measuring the impact of a yearlong reconciliation program. In this study, one participant said “[the program] made me forget about the war”, while another said “I have now decided to accept all rebels as my brothers and sisters”.\(^{104}\) The absence of proper pretest or control groups makes it impossible to account for self-presentational biases. In other words, it prevents

\(^{100}\) Paluck, E., *Reducing intergroup prejudice and conflict with the mass media: A field experiment in Rwanda*, 23.
\(^{101}\) Idem.
\(^{102}\) Ibid., 26
\(^{103}\) Idem.
\(^{104}\) Idem.
researchers from drawing valid conclusion about the causal relationship between the program and the answers on questionnaires.

Paluck concludes that Entertainment-Education interventions should be evaluated with experimental field research in order to better understand the relationship between interventions and conflict resolution. Paluck: “Progress on this complex issue will stagnate without rigorous field research to restart the discussion.” Therefore, she conducted an extensive field experiment in Rwanda, measuring the impact of radio drama *Musekeweya*, which is broadcasted weekly and features messages about reducing intergroup prejudice, violence and trauma in two fictional Rwandan communities. Paluck compared a group of frequent listeners to a control group who listened to a health radio soap opera and measured listeners’ personal beliefs (regarding the program’s educational messages about violence, prejudice and trauma etcetera), perception of social norms (depicted by characters in the soap) and elements of actual behavior. Paluck concludes that *Musekeweya* “changed listeners’ perception of social norms and their behaviors changed with respect to intermarriage, open dissent, trust, empathy, cooperation, and trauma healing. However, the radio program did little to change listeners’ personal beliefs.” The characteristics of Paluck’s study will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, which focuses on *Musekeweya*. For now, it is important to note that Paluck’s study is groundbreaking, because it provides some of the first clear scientific evidence of the impact of Entertainment-Education interventions on conflict resolution processes.

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PART II

3 Musekeweya

“In Rwanda the radio was akin to the voice of God, and if the radio called for violence, many Rwandans would respond, believing they were being sanctioned to commit these actions.” 107

3.1 Rwanda

It is called “the land of thousand hills”: Rwanda. Land-locked between Congo, Uganda and Burundi, Rwanda is a relatively small country in Eastern Africa, with an area of only 26,338 km² and an estimated population of 10 million people. 108 According to the UNDP Human Development Index, Rwanda ranks amongst the least developed countries in the world at place 165 out of 179 countries. 109 In 1994, the mountainous green landscape of Rwanda formed the stage of a genocide in which over 10% of the population (>800,000 people) and 75% of the Tutsi ethnic minority were killed in less than hundred days, mainly by members of the Hutu ethnic majority. In July 1994, the genocide ended when the Tutsi-led Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) took over control by invading the country capital Kigali. Since then, the RPF has been in power in Rwanda. Nowadays, the country is struggling with the consequences of the 1994 genocide. Victims and perpetrators in the civil war have to live side by side in densely populated Rwanda, each individual coping with the physical and mental scars left by the war. Although Rwanda never relapsed into civil war after 1994, tensions between the Hutu and Tutsi population are still prevalent, albeit mostly under the surface. Therefore, government and NGOs support initiatives aimed at reconciliation. One of these initiatives is Musekeweya, a radio soap opera broadcasted weekly on Rwandan national radio station.

In this chapter, we will focus on Musekeweya as a textbook example of an Entertainment-Education intervention aimed at conflict resolution. Before analyzing this Entertainment-Education intervention in detail, a brief history of the 1994 genocide will be provided, with special interest for the devastating role the media played. As we will see, the genocide still has a major influence on current daily life in Rwanda. Therefore, some knowledge of Rwanda’s history is essential to understand the context in which the intervention is applied. In the second part of this chapter, Musekeweya will be discussed in detail: information about Musekeweya’s historical background, the

context in which the soap is broadcasted, the target population, theories behind the design, formative research and the actual message design will be presented. Furthermore, with the extensive knowledge about Musekeweya’s characteristics in our minds, existing evidence about the impact of the soap opera will be presented at the end of this chapter. Impact studies conducted by the producers will be analyzed, as well as academic evaluations by outsiders. The results of these evaluations provide some of the first clear evidence of the impact of Entertainment-Education on intergroup prejudice and conflict.

3.2 1994 Genocide

3.2.1 The conflict

3.2.1.1 Hutu, Tutsi and Twa

The history of the 1994 genocide and its consequences for current daily life in Rwanda is “a long story with complex roots” and “many contradictions”, Gérard Prunier states in his monumental work The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide (2002).\(^{110}\) The genocide can be traced back to the end of the nineteenth century, when the first white men arrived in Rwanda. At that time, the sloppy hills of Rwanda were inhabited by three different groups: the Hutu, the Tutsi and the Twa. The Twa, a pygmy people, have always been a geographically and culturally marginal minority (2-3% of the population) in Rwandese society. However, the three groups lived side by side, spoke the same Bantu language and often intermarried. In other words, they were culturally and linguistically homogenous.\(^{111}\)

Politically, the state and state institution were in a gradual process of centralization, instigated by the Tutsi-led government. Contradictions in the country had to do with centre-periphery contradictions more than with racial issues between Hutus and Tutsis.\(^{112}\) There is no historical evidence for massive violence between Hutus and Tutsis before the turn of the twentieth century.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the first European explorers entered Rwanda. They observed the Tutsi government, which in the latter half of the nineteenth century steadily increased control over agricultural production throughout the country, at the expense of the Hutu and Batwa population (for an extensive review of this process, read Prunier (2002)). European observers, “given the almost obsessive preoccupation with ‘race’ in late nineteenth-century anthropological thinking”, concluded that the Tutsi were the “superior race” in Rwanda.\(^{113}\) Early explorers, missionaries and later colonizers idealized the Tutsi’s tall, thin bodies and often sharp facial features. These intelligent Tutsi cattle-herders “were obviously of a different racial stock” than the majority of Rwandan citizens: Hutu peasants who cultivated the soil and physically resembled the rather bold, muscular look of the

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\(^{111}\) Ibid., 5.

\(^{112}\) Ibid., 21.

\(^{113}\) Ibid., 5.
neighboring Bantu people (Uganda). Early writings about Rwanda show that the Europeans thought that the Tutsi were from a distinct racial stock, originating from other parts of Africa or the rest of the world. In fact, there is some ground to assume that the original Tutsi population migrated into Rwanda from countries to the north (e.g. Ethiopia). However, Prunier notes, this doesn’t imply any physical or intellectual superiority over the Hutu natives, as the Europeans eagerly concluded.

3.2.1.2 Hutu coup

The subjective, racist European opinion about Rwandese social groups became a “scientific canon” which had a major impact on the natives in Rwanda, and furthermore conditioned deeply the views and attitudes of colonial powers. First Germany (1885-1919) and later Belgium (1919-1959) promoted the power of the central state, thereby exacerbating social tensions within Rwandan society. For example, Belgium openly supported the “Tutsification” of the ruling elite and the increasing power of the Tutsi minority. Slowly, Tutsi domination over the Hutu and Twa population was institutionalized. Prunier: “The result of this heavy bombardment with highly value-laden stereotypes for some sixty years ended by inflating the Tutsi cultural ego inordinately and crushing Hutu feelings until they coalesced into an aggressively resentful inferiority complex. If we combine these subjective feelings with the objective political and administrative decisions of the colonial authorities favoring one group over the other, we can begin to see how a very dangerous social bomb was almost absent-mindedly manufactured throughout the peaceful years of abazungu [white man] domination.”

In the years leading to the 1959 independence, resentful Hutus emancipated politically and became influential, partly because of the support from progressive Catholic church clergymen. Hutu politicians developed the idea of “Rubanda Nyamwinshi”, meaning majority Hutu ethnic rule equaling legitimate democracy. Furthermore, the Belgian authorities criticized the Tutsi government. Douma: “The Belgian authorities resented the strongly anti-colonial and communist overtones of the Tutsi independence movement and began to support the Hutu majority against their erstwhile protégés, presenting them as a mixture of backward traditionalists and revolutionary communists.” Eventually, the political turmoil resulted in 1959 in violence against the Tutsis and the first cycle of mass killings in the contemporary history of Rwanda. Around 130,000 Tutsi’s fled to neighboring countries, without knowing they would remain in exile for the next thirty years. In 1961, Belgium facilitated a Hutu coup and the new president Kayibanda declared the independence of Rwanda. In 1963, Tutsi refugees tried to invade Rwanda, but they were defeated by the Rwandan army. This event

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115 Ibid., 16.
116 Ibid., 9.
117 Idem.
118 Ibid., 75.
triggered a second wave of violence against Tutsis in Rwanda, resulting in an estimated 10,000 deaths. Furthermore, after the Hutu revolution racial politics continued, but now in favor of Hutus. The new Hutu-dominated government imposed strict ethnic quotas in schools, universities and civil services to check potential Tutsi influence. The high number of Tutsi refugees in neighboring countries increased further during the 60s and 70s because of these “purification policies”.

3.2.1.3 Tutsi Rebels

Anti-Tutsi discrimination and violence in Rwanda coincided with the formation of Tutsi rebel groups in neighboring countries, preparing to return to their country. The increasing number of rebels at the borders hardened inter-group mistrust in Rwanda, where ethnic identity became more and more important in Rwandan politics and social life. Furthermore, the Hutu government reconstructed Rwandan history in their favor. The Tutsi were still considered as ‘foreign invaders’ who had come from afar, as the first white men described them, but now this meant they couldn’t be considered as real citizens. Prunier: “Their [Tutsi] government had been grandiose and powerful: in the new version of the Rwandese ideology, it had been a cruel and homogeneously oppressive tyranny. The Hutu had been the ‘native peasants’, enslaved by the aristocratic invaders: they were now the only legitimate inhabitants of the country.” This new Hutu ideology became a powerful tool in the 80s to legitimize the increasing discrimination of the Tutsi minority in Rwanda. Fueled by the ongoing threat of Tutsi rebels ready to invade Rwanda, Hutu extremists gained more and more support for their racial views. The Tutsi became the scapegoats of Rwanda, accused of being responsible for all major problems the country faced.

In 1990, Rwanda was attacked by the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), a rebel movement consisting mostly of Tutsi refugees. Although the Rwandan army managed to recover and defeat the rebels, the attack marked the onset of civil war in Rwanda. Hutu politicians saw the threat of Tutsi rebels as “the chance to stop the erosion of their popularity and craft a new Hutu solidarity by turning against the Tutsi minority inside the country, labeling them traitors and accusing them of supporting the RPF attackers”.

Thousands of Tutsis (and Hutus opposed to the regime) were arrested and tortured. Hundreds of Tutsi civilians were massacred in a small commune. Over the next three years, there would be another fifteen such massacres before the onset of the 1994 genocide.

120 Douma, P., The Netherlands and Rwanda: A case study on Dutch Foreign Policies and Interventions in the contemporary history of Rwanda, 18.
121 Prunier, G. The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide, 61.
122 Ibid., 80.
123 Ibid., 93.
3.2.1.4 Mass slaughter

On 6 April 1994, at around 8.30 pm, the plane carrying the Rwandan president was shot on its approach to Kigali airport. Until today, it remains unclear who killed the president. However, within hours after the crash Hutu extremists took over power and ordered the mass killing of influential Tutsis and Hutus opposed to the Hutu extremists movement, called Hutu Power. A new government was installed immediately, ready to implement a ‘self-defence’ plan that included the mass killings of all Tutsi civilians in Rwanda. The slaughter of Tutsis and moderate Hutus started in the capital Kigali, the same night the plane was shot. Soon, violence spread throughout the country. Initially, the killings were carried out by soldiers and police officers, but soon many others joined in the mass slaughter. Most notorious was an unofficial militia group called the Interahamwe (meaning those who attack together), which was trained in the months preceding the genocide. At its peak, the Interahamwe consisted of approximately 30,000 members, all of them Hutus prepared to kill their fellow Tutsi countrymen with whatever weapon available, from machetes and ordinary clubs to machine guns. The highly organized and strictly planned extermination of Tutsis and moderate Hutus eventually led to the death of approximately 800,000 Rwandan civilians, more than 10 percent of the population, in just 100 days. The genocide ended half July, when the RPF captured Kigali and declared a ceasefire.

Many scholars documented the 1994 genocide. Some used a historical perspective (Prunier, 2002; Melvern, 2000)127,128, others used a more personal point of view as eyewitnesses of the genocide and its aftermath (Des Forges, 1999; Dallaire, 2004; Gourevitch, 1998; Kahn, 2000)129,130,131,132 and again others described the genocide in the light of the international community (Power, 2002; Barnett, 2002)133,134. However, all studies conclude that the genocide was the climax of a slow process of increasing discrimination, scapegoating and alienation of one ethnic group, the Tutsi minority. Furthermore, there is widespread consensus about the highly organized nature of the genocide: the onset of the mass killings was not spontaneous, but was strictly planned and prepared in detail. In the light of this thesis, one aspect of these preparations that is highlighted by every scholar as a major element of the Rwanda genocide deserves extra attention: the role of the media. The role of the media

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131 Gourevitch, P., We Wish to Inform You that Tomorrow We Will Be Killed with Our Families: Stories from Rwanda (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux 1998).
in the 1994 genocide has been documented extensively in literature (Chrétien et al., 1995; Kirschke, 1996; Temple-Raston, 2005; Thompson et al., 2007). In the next paragraph, a summary of the main developments in Rwandan media before and during the genocide will be provided.

3.2.2 Hate Media

3.2.2.1 Radio Rwanda

From the moment the civil war erupted in the early 1990s, the Hutu government realized the potential of the media in rallying Rwandans around the regime. As a large number of Rwandan civilians couldn’t read or write (according to the UNDP, the current illiteracy rate is 35.1%) and televisions were scarce, radio was the most important form of mass media in Rwanda. In the early 1990s, one in every thirteen Rwandans owned a radio. However, as most people in Rwanda listen in groups, this figure underestimates the actual audience rate which is much higher. With many people living in rural areas where movement is greatly restricted, tight government control of the airwaves enabled the Rwandan authorities to suppress crucial information about the war and the killings of Tutsi civilians. At the start of the civil war in 1990, most people were dependent on Radio Rwanda, the official government-controlled station, for news and general information. Radio Rwanda always functioned as the voice of the state, disseminating propaganda for the president’s party. The government, aware of the power of its station, shortly after the start of the war named Ferdinand Nahimana as the new director, an intellectual well-known for his anti-Tutsi opinions. Under his command, Radio Rwanda was used to directly promote the killing of hundreds of Tutsis in 1992 in a place called Bugesera, by broadcasting inflammatory anti-Tutsi communiqués. Opposition parties forced Nahimana to leave the office, but the massacre showed the power of controlling the media. In 1993, the ruling elite decided to start a new radio station, Radio-Télévision Libre des Milles Collines (RTLM). Nominally, the station was private and independent, but in reality connections to high-level government officials were strong. For example, the major shareholder was the president himself. Well acquainted with the power of radio, Nahimana returned to the stage and did much of the work in

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137 Temple-Raston, D., Justice on the Grass; Three Rwandan Journalists, Their Trial for War Crimes, and a Nation’s Quest for Redemption (New York: Free Press 2005)
140 Kirschke, L., Broadcasting Genocide, 23.
141 Ibid., 24.
143 Kirschke, L., Broadcasting Genocide, 40.
organizing the new station.\textsuperscript{144} RTLM was fundamentally different from Radio Rwanda, which was dominated by authoritarian voices reading aloud state communiqués in a formal and outmoded language. In contrast, RTLM provided entertainment: the station broadcasted popular music, the announcers were humorous and the setting was informal. It resembled Western-style radio talk shows.\textsuperscript{145} People could call in to request their favorite songs and give their opinion on the topic of the day. According to Des Forges, “RTLM brought the voice of ordinary people to the airwaves”.\textsuperscript{146} Meanwhile, the station never lost its ties to the government: official voices remained part of RTLM’s broadcasting to maintain the authoritativeness of national radio. The new entertainment element of national radio, however, “added the appeal of being the station to speak for the people”.\textsuperscript{147}

3.2.2.2 RTLM

The first months after the station was launched, RTLM became very popular. Consisting mostly of popular music and without much news or commentary, the broadcasts were reported quite innocent.\textsuperscript{148} However, in October 1993 the station first showed its true colors when the first democratically elected Hutu president in neighboring Burundi was killed by Tutsi army officials. RTLM, instead of focusing on the army’s role in the conflict, blamed the Tutsi population in general. RTLM failed to report the massive atrocities against Tutsi civilians in Burundi following the assassination, whilst exaggerating the abuses of Hutus. Furthermore, RTLM distorted the circumstances of the assassination. According to the station, the president was brutally tortured and even castrated by the Tutsi army, like the old Tutsi kings sometimes did in pre-colonial times to decorate their royal drums with genitalia of the enemies. This false reporting by RTLM was meant to elicit fear amongst the Hutu population in Rwanda, reminding them of the brutality of their Tutsi countrymen.\textsuperscript{149} In the months following, “RTLM repeatedly and forcefully underlines many of the themes developed for years by the extremist written press, including the inherent differences between Hutu and Tutsi, the foreign origin of Tutsi and, hence, their lack of rights to claim to be Rwandan, the disproportionate share of wealth and power held by Tutsi and the horrors of past Tutsi rule”.\textsuperscript{150} The extremist written press mentioned by Des Forges, also supported by extremist government officials, was important in Rwanda and its role in the genocide has been documented extensively.\textsuperscript{151} However, as most Rwandans were illiterate, radio was much more powerful in eliciting fear and ethnic hatred amongst the Hutu population. In the final months of 1993 and the first months of 1994 RTLM increasingly took the role of ‘voice of the people’

\textsuperscript{144} Des Forges, A., ‘Call to Genocide: Radio in Rwanda, 1994’, 44.
\textsuperscript{145} Kirschke, L., \textit{Broadcasting Genocide}, 49.
\textsuperscript{146} Des Forges, A., ‘Call to Genocide: Radio in Rwanda, 1994’, 44.
\textsuperscript{147} Idem.
\textsuperscript{148} Kirschke, L., \textit{Broadcasting Genocide}, 51.
\textsuperscript{149} Des Forges, A., ‘Call to Genocide: Radio in Rwanda, 1994’, 45.
\textsuperscript{150} Des Forges, A., ‘Call to Genocide: Radio in Rwanda, 1994’, 45.
and warned the Hutu listeners to be alert for possible attacks by Tutsi and defend themselves against
the Tutsi threat. Furthermore, the station attacked Hutus who were willing to cooperate with Tutsis.
Sometimes, RTLM moved from general accusations to naming specific people as enemies of the
nation, like the Hutu prime minister who favored a democratic political system with Hutu and Tutsi
representatives. RTLM denounced him as a ‘traitor’ who ‘sold the party to the RPF’. The language
used by the station became increasingly violent, saying that the Interhamwe militia “might rip into
little pieces those thought to support the RPF”. An incident in February 1994 showed that the
RTLM comments and accusations were taken very seriously by listeners. RTLM announced that an
RPF battalion (which was in the capital Kigali for peace negotiations) had begun an offensive in
Kigali and was infiltrating the local population. When the station called on people to search for the
enemies, militias erected roadblocks in the neighborhood almost immediately and started to harass
suspected people. No killings were reported, but the incident foreshadowed the events to come two
months later.

3.2.2.3 “Inyenzi”

In the months preceding the genocide, RTLM stepped up the pace and bitterness of its attack on Tutsi
and Hutu ‘traitors’. Opposition politicians, civil organizations and international community
representatives in the country repeatedly asked the government to stop the inflammatory statements of
RTLM, but government officials claimed the radio station was a private enterprise exercising its right
to free speech. Days before the plane carrying president Habyarimana was shot, RTLM broadcasted
the message that the RPF was planning to attack Rwanda within days to overthrow the government.
On April 3rd, RTLM broadcasted detailed predictions about the magnitude of the bloodshed that was
going to occur if the RPF would invade the country. “RTLM claimed that anyone who upsets the
masses should be prepared to face death at their hands.” These sinister predictions turned into reality
on the evening of April 6 when Habyarimana was assassinated. From that moment on, RTLM became
a powerful weapon in the unfolding genocide. The station was the first source to announce the plane
crash and the death of the president. RTLM was also the first medium to accuse the RPF of shooting
the plan. Furthermore, the new interim government consisting of Hutu hardliners started to use RTLM
and Radio Rwanda to direct the killings that started hours after the plane crash. “They [the
government] relied on both radio stations to incite and mobilized, then to give specific directions for

152 Kirschke, L., Broadcasting Genocide, 54.
154 Kirschke, L., Broadcasting Genocide, 57.
155 Ibid., 59.
156 Ibid., 61.
carrying out the killings”. For example, names and addresses of important Tutsi and opposition officials were broadcasted, mobilizing militias to carry out the killings. Even worse, RTLM announcers often gave direct instructions to kill. Des Forges provides the example of an announcer urging people guarding a barrier in Kigali to kill the Tutsi in a vehicle just nearing the barrier: “Notified soon after that the Tutsi had been caught and killed, the announcer congratulated the killers on the air.” Often, the announcers of RTLM spoke directly to the perpetrators on the streets, as many militia members carried radios with them. UN-commander in Rwanda Roméo Dallaire: “The haunting image of killers with a machete in one hand and a radio in the other never leaves you”.

In addition, RTLM kept inciting ethnic hatred. The station denounced the civil war as ‘the final battle’, and the station continuously fuelled fear among the Hutu by emphasizing the supposed cruelty and ruthlessness of the Tutsi. RTLM announcers claimed there was no point in negotiating with the Inyenzi (cockroaches) and “the cruelty of the Inyenzi is incurable, the cruelty of the Inyenzi can only be cured by their total extermination”. Political leaders were provided airtime to spread their extremist messages, praising the killers for their ‘work’ and emphasizing the importance of eliminating the Tutsi ‘threat’ in Rwanda. Therefore, openly linking the RPF to the Tutsi in general was another important aspect of RTLM’s broadcasting. Every Tutsi civilian was identified as a potential target. Kirschke notes that RTLM “indirectly and systematically advocated the killings of Tutsi by identifying them with the RPF, who, it claimed, had just invaded Rwanda, assassinated the President, and would exterminate all the Hutu if the supposed attack was not immediately repulsed”.

Meanwhile, RTLM maintained the use of entertainment. Anti-Tutsi songs were broadcasted, like Simon Bikindi’s “Je déteste ces Hutu” (“I hate those Hutu”), a song about Hutu who wanted to cooperate peacefully with the Tutsi. Furthermore, interactive broadcasting continued during the genocide. RTLM journalists went out on the streets to interview ordinary people at road blocks, giving them a chance to explain what they were doing and why. Des Forges: “This confirmation by ordinary people of the ‘rightness’ of what they were doing contributed to the legitimacy of the genocide for the radio listeners.” Meanwhile, authorities urged people to listen to the radio because it was a reliable source. After the genocide, many people said radio had taught people to kill the Tutsi before they would get killed themselves. During the genocide, RTLM and Radio Rwanda systematically encouraged people to “remain vigilant”, “stand up like real men”, “defend themselves”, to “remain

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158 Ibid., 49.
160 Kirschke, L., Broadcasting Genocide, 60.
161 Ibid., 67.
162 Idem.
164 Idem.
invincible”, “fight these enemies” and “really ravage them”. Dallaire: “In Rwanda the radio was akin to the voice of God, and if the radio called for violence, many Rwandans would respond, believing they were being sanctioned to commit these actions”. RTLM was never jammed by international organizations like the UN, despite efforts of UN-commander Roméo Dallaire to do so. It wasn’t until July, when the RPF took over power in Rwanda, that RTLM was finally shut down. At that time, approximately 800,000 Rwandans were already dead.

3.2.2.4 Justice

After the genocide, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) found that “RTLM broadcasts engaged in ethnic stereotyping in a manner that promoted contempt and hatred for the Tutsi population and called on listeners to seek out and take up arms against the enemy”. Furthermore, the court established that RTLM “called explicitly for the extermination of the Tutsi ethnic group”. According to the court, a specific causal connection existed between the RTLM broadcasts and the killing of individuals. “Without a firearm, machete or any physical weapon [radio] caused the deaths of thousands of innocent civilians.” Two founders of RTLM, Ferdinand Nahimana and Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza, were sentenced to respectively thirty and thirty-five years imprisonment, guilty of inciting directly and publicly to the commission of genocide and crimes against humanity. Hassan Ngeze, the third defendant in the media trial, was sentenced to thirty-five years imprisonment on similar grounds. Ngeze was chief editor of the paper Kangura, which published the infamous ‘Hutu ten Commandments’ and lists of people to be eliminated by the military and Interahamwe militias.

For the first time since the Nuremberg trials after World War II, an international court prosecuted hate speech as a war crime. In 2008, the ICTR sentenced singer Samuel Bikindi to fifteen years imprisonment for his hate songs, many of which were broadcasted on RTLM. The court found him guilty of inciting the commission of genocide. It was another groundbreaking verdict: Bikindi was the first person ever to be prosecuted for inciting genocide with music.

3.3 Characteristics

3.3.1 Background

During the 1994 civil war in former Yugoslavia, a television producer called George Weiss worked for La Benevolencija Sarajevo, a Jewish humanitarian organization that mediated in the conflict.

165 Kirschke, L., Broadcasting Genocide, 69.
Following his experiences in the war and his personal knowledge as producer, Weiss got the idea of using television to teach people how and why ethnic conflicts evolved into mass violence. Several years later, his idea of television to empower people was enforced after reading *The Roots of Evil; The Origins of Genocide and Other Group Violence*. In this book, psychology professor Ervin Staub explains the common psychological mechanisms that lead to mass violence and genocide. Struck by the apparent simplicity and universal appeal of Staub’s insights, Weiss decided to contact him. It turned out to be the start of a fruitful collaboration. Since 1999, Staub had been visiting Rwanda every year to train social agents throughout the country, together with trauma-expert Laurie Pearlman. After a few years, the Rwandan government asked Staub and Pearlman if it was possible to educate people about trauma and trauma healing through radio broadcasting, in order to make trauma education accessible for every citizen in the country. Staub and Pearlman decided to meet Weiss and discuss the possibility to apply his idea to radio in Rwanda. In 2003, the foundation Radio La Benevolencia was born, its name inspired by La Benevolencia Sarajevo.

In its mission statement, Radio La Benevolencia states it tries to increase understanding of the roots of group violence in the service of trauma healing, reconciliation and the prevention of further violence. More specifically, Radio La Benevolencia wants Rwandans to be informed about the steps that lead to genocide so they are able to act against those steps, should they occur again in future. To accomplish this goal, La Benevolencia produces two radio programs, *Musekweya* ("New Dawn") and *Kuki* ("Why?"). *Musekweya* is an Entertainment-Education radio soap opera centered on the fictional story of two Rwandan communities. The storyline parallels the history of cohabitation and conflict between Hutu and Tutsi in Rwanda, with each community resembling one ethnic group without explicitly speaking of Hutu and Tutsi. Tensions between the groups are the result of government favors granted to one community and not to the other. In response, the relationship between the communities worsens and the more wealthy community is attacked, resulting in casualties, traumatization and refugees. Trying to stop the cycle of violence and discrimination, characters from both communities work together, listen to each other and speak out against the powerful demagogues from each community who urge for more violence. Through this storyline, educational messages are communicated to the listeners. In the journalistic program *Kuki*, the information communicated in the soap opera is discussed and enriched. In this chapter, however, we will focus on the Entertainment-Education intervention *Musekweya*. The radio soap opera was first

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171 Interview with George Weiss, Founder and Director of Radio La Benevolencia, 07/22/2009.
172 Idem.
broadcasted in 2004 on Radio Rwanda, which has good national coverage and is the country’s most popular radio station, and several community radio stations. Nowadays, *Musekeweya* is still weekly broadcasted.

In addition to *Musekeweya*, Radio La Benevolencia employs grassroots activities. In listener groups, the audience discusses the themes mentioned in the radio broadcasts to increase the effect of the media intervention. According to the producers, behavior change is small when people only watch or listen to media programs in a passive state. Furthermore, the listener groups are used to stays in contact with the audience, receive feedback on the radio shows and measure the effects of the intervention. Over the last five years, Radio La Benevolencia has expanded its activities to DR Congo and Burundi, neighboring countries in the Great Lakes Region. In DR Congo, Radio La Benevolencia has plans to produce television shows in the near future. In 2008, the organization started the development of a training centre for journalists, script writers and media managers to share its knowledge about Entertainment-Education media interventions for reconciliation. In this chapter, however, we will focus on the Entertainment-Education radio intervention in Rwanda.

### 3.3.2 Context

Since the 1994 genocide, the political situation in Rwanda has been relatively stable. In 2000, former RPF-leader and minister of defense Paul Kagame was elected president. In 2008, he was re-elected with 94 percent of the votes, although observers criticized the election process. The government included prominent Hutu in high positions, but most observers believe the power has remained in the hands of a small group of the original ‘RPF Tutsi’. Ethnic identity is no longer discussed in Rwanda due to government policy of ‘unity and reconciliation’ in which all civilians are defined as Rwandese. Speaking of Hutu and Tutsi as different ethnic groups is forbidden nowadays. Despite such policies, it could be argued that the genocide only strengthened the importance of ethnic identity. Many people still tend to define each other according to ethnic categories, although usually only in private conversations. “While ending the use of terms that led to terrible discrimination is laudable, it also has had, perhaps unforeseen, negative consequences”. According to Radio La Benevolencia, not talking about ethnic identity could inhibit clear communication of Rwanda’s past history and its future and thereby slow the process of reconciliation.

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178 Interview with George Weiss, Founder and Director of Radio La Benevolencia, 07/22/2009.
However, much work has been done in Rwanda the last fifteen years to repair the damage caused by the civil war. With the help of foreign donor money infrastructure and public buildings have been restored and most of the visible scars of the genocide in the mountainous landscape have erased. Meanwhile, the population number has grown to approximately 10 billion Rwandans, far exceeding the 7.7 billion people living in Rwanda before the genocide.\textsuperscript{181} Still, life expectancy at birth is only 47 years and Rwanda ranks amongst the least developed countries in the world at 165 out of 179 countries (UNDP, 2006).\textsuperscript{182,183} Adult literacy rate is 64.9 percent of the population. Besides poverty, the Rwandan population copes with the invisible scars the genocide left. Many people suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) since the genocide. Many women had been raped, tortured and humiliated, some becoming infected with AIDS. Of the children who survived, 90 percent had witnessed bloodshed or worse.\textsuperscript{184} In the years following the genocide, government and NGOs made efforts to ‘treat’ the collective trauma. At public schools, education about the origins and consequences of the genocide is provided to children. Furthermore, NGOs organized psycho-educational lectures about the origins of genocide, the psychological impact of trauma and avenues to healing.\textsuperscript{185} Despite these efforts, an evaluation study in 2004, ten years after the genocide, showed that still 24.8 percent of the Rwandan population met the symptom criteria for PTSD (Pham et al., 2004).\textsuperscript{186} Caplan: “Certainly today, for survivors and perpetrators alike, Rwanda remains very much a traumatized nation”.\textsuperscript{187}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline
\textbf{Mass medium} & \textbf{Owner} \\
\hline
\textbf{Press} & \\
The New Times & Private \\
Rwanda Herald & Private \\
Rwanda Newline & Rwanda Independent Media Group \\
Umeseso & Rwanda Independent Media Group \\
\hline
\textbf{Television} & \\
Television Rwandaise (TVR) & Government \\
\hline
\textbf{Radio} & \\
Radio Rwanda & Government \\
Radio 10 & Private \\
Flash FM & Private \\
City Radio & Private \\
Contact FM & Private \\
Radio Izuba & Private \\
Radio Maria & Religious \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{183} United Nations Development Program, Human Development Index 2006 (New York: UNDP 2006).
\textsuperscript{184} Caplan, G., ‘Rwanda: Walking the Road to Genocide’, 29.
\textsuperscript{185} http://www.multietn.uu.se/hgs/staff_hgs/pers_homepages_hgs/kaplan_SI04629en_Children_in_Africa_w.pdf
\textsuperscript{186} Pham, P. et al., 'Trauma and PTSD Symptoms in Rwanda: Implications for Attitudes Toward Justice and Reconciliation', \textit{Journal of the American Medical Association} 292 (2004) 5: 610.
\textsuperscript{187} Caplan, G., ‘Rwanda: Walking the Road to Genocide’, 30.
The media landscape in Rwanda is currently pluriform with a mix of state-owned and private media. In figure 1, the major newspapers, radio stations and television broadcasters are listed. Radio is still the most powerful medium in Rwanda, since many citizens are illiterate and not many people can afford to buy a television. A survey conducted in 2003 showed that 62 percent of males and 42 percent of females listen to the radio at least once a week, compared to 11 percent of males and 7 percent of females watching television. Moreover, television viewing is limited to the urban areas. Until today, people have no choice but to watch state-owned Television Rwandaise (TVR). Furthermore, only 4.2 percent of males and 2.2 percent of females read a newspaper or magazine at least once a week.\footnote{Radio La Benevolencija, Design Document Musekeweya (Internal document, 2004) 14.} Internet use is very limited: in 2007, only 3 percent of Rwandans had access to the world wide web.\footnote{http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/country_profiles/1070265.stm#media, 21/08/2009.}

Following these statistics, Radio La Benevolencija chose to use radio as the most powerful medium. State-owned Radio Rwanda, which broadcasts \textit{Musekeweya} weekly, is the most popular station receiving the highest audience rates.\footnote{http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/country_profiles/1070265.stm#media, 21/08/2009.} A private radio station, the first since the genocide, was launched in 2004 and has been joined by a cluster of competitors. In addition to the media mentioned in figure X, there are numerous local newspapers and radio stations in Rwanda. In figure X, only mass media are presented.

In addition to Rwandan media, foreign radio stations are allowed to broadcast in Rwanda. The BBC can be received across the country, while Voice of America and Deutsche Welle broadcast in the capital Kigali.

3.3.3 Target Population

Radio La Benevolencija creates media campaigns that focus on reconciliation after violent conflict, as well as prevention of future violence.\footnote{Vollhardt et al., ‘Deconstructing Hate Speech in the DRC: A Psychological Media Sensitization Campaign’, in \textit{Journal of Hate Studies} 5 (2006) 15: 21} In an early strategy paper, the producers of \textit{Musekeweya} defined the target population and main goals. “Target groups of \textit{Musekeweya} are adolescent and adult uneducated audiences that make up most of the populations in the region. The aim is to provide those audiences with a means of understanding their situation, fears and motives that counteract the ability of hate and polarized media to influence them. It is an education program, designed to enable civilians to recognize basic propaganda mechanisms, as well as advancing their understanding of the roots of violence between groups and endowing them with an approach to understanding and addressing psychological trauma”.\footnote{Radio La Benevolencija, \textit{Great Lakes Reconciliation Radio} (Internal document, 2005) 2.} It is important to note that the target population of \textit{Musekeweya} is very general. The radio soap opera intends to reach out for every adolescent or adult citizen in Rwanda, both Hutu and Tutsi, both survivors and perpetrators. On the one hand, this general target population
follows from theories of Staub in which collective responsibility is a key element. On the other hand, the general target population fits needless into the process of transitional justice in Rwanda.

After the genocide, approximately 130,000 persons accused of organizing or taking part in the genocide were put in prison. In 2002, still 125,000 persons were awaiting trial.\textsuperscript{193} The large number of detainees and several justice problems in Rwanda (for example, many judges were killed in the genocide) made the government decide to use a purely Rwandan form of conflict handling: the Gacaca courts. In Rwanda, local conflicts were often disputed in front of the community elderly, who mediated in the conflict and sometimes performed rituals to solve the dispute.\textsuperscript{194} Following the example of the South African Truth Commission, the Rwandan government decided to use these Gacaca courts in the process of transitional justice. The main idea was to judge genocide perpetrators in front of their own communities and thereby promote reconciliation by enabling every citizen to share his account on the events of the genocide. According to the Minister of Justice, the population who was in the collines (hills) during the genocide would be "witness, judge and party". More than 200,000 citizens were trained to become lay judges and formal rules were developed to judge the acts of approximately 800,000 people who were suspected of war crimes.\textsuperscript{195}

The instalment of the Gacaca courts was a direct incentive for the Rwandan government to support the radio broadcasts of Radio La Benevolencija.\textsuperscript{196} The government feared renewed ethnic hatred following the emotional gacaca hearings and wanted Radio La Benevolencija to produce radio programs for all citizens, not just the survivors. Radio, by far the most popular medium among every ethnic group, was therefore the most suitable option.

3.3.4 Theories
The media interventions of Radio La Benevolencija are mainly based upon the theories of the American psychologists Ervin Staub and Laurie Pearlman. In The Roots of Evil, Staub proposes a universal, multi-causal theory of the roots of genocide.\textsuperscript{197} In a nutshell, his theory focuses on the way individuals and groups psychologically react to difficult life circumstances, such as increased economical problems, political disorganization and societal chaos. Central is the notion that the roots of mass violence are located in the frustration of basic psychological needs, such as the need for security, a positive identity, and connection to others. The frustration of these needs leads people to feel insecure, helpless, confused and vulnerable to destructive ideologies. Individuals will seek to fulfill their needs in alternative ways and turn to sources and solutions that give rise to violence. This

\textsuperscript{194} Idem.
\textsuperscript{195} Idem.
\textsuperscript{196} Idem.
process, which can eventually develop into mass violence, is gradual. “Mass violence does not erupt suddenly, but is preceded by less obvious acts of derogation, exclusion, scapegoating, and other elements of destructive ideologies which often start out in a rather subtle manner.” Combined with several societal factors, such as a lack of critical thinking, open dissent, active bystanders and meaningful intergroup connections, this can eventually develop into mass violence (for an extended summary of his theory, read Staub’s article in *Political Psychology*).\(^{199}\)

Staub’s explanation of the roots of mass violence offers tools to stop the gradual evolution of mass violence. According to Staub, citizens need to be informed about the roots of mass violence. People need to know how to resist manipulation to violence (e.g. hate media) and how to intervene and act as active bystanders in the presence of prejudice, violence and injustice.\(^{200}\) Staub, together with trauma-expert Laurie Pearlman, notes that citizens in post-conflict societies need know how to cope with trauma. For reconciliation to occur, the healing of psychological wounds and truth telling to acknowledge the harm done to victims is essential. Unhealed psychological wounds facilitate the development of renewed mass violence in future, Staub and Pearlman conclude. Therefore, education about both the roots and effects of mass violence is a key element in reconciliation and the prevention of future violence. In collaboration with Staub and Pearlman, Radio La Benevolencia developed twelve core educational messages about the dynamics of prejudice, the origins of violence and trauma healing. These messages will be discussed in the next section about *Musekweeya*’s message design.

For the message design, the producers use Entertainment-Education methodologies developed at the Johns Hopkins University’s Bloomberg School of Public Health, which are primarily used for health education and family planning.\(^{201}\) A handbook about radio dramas, developed by the university’s Center for Communication Programs, guides the writers of *Musekweeya* on what educational messages need to be communicated and in what sequence.\(^{202}\) The main theoretical backbone of Johns Hopkins’ methodology is Albert Bandura’s social cognitive theory, which was discussed in the first chapter of this thesis. Social cognitive theory suggests that individual perceptions, values and beliefs lie at the heart of behavior change. According to Bandura, radio soap operas are able to facilitate behavior change at the individual and system level. Following this line of thought, Radio La Benevolencia states that *Musekweeya* should influence listeners’ set of perceptions,

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beliefs and values about intergroup prejudice, violence and trauma. Characters in the soap opera can teach listeners through their “words and actions, the consequences of their actions, and the characters feelings about their actions”. Furthermore, listeners’ understanding of and belief in these messages will “enable [them] to apply [this] information to their own experience”. In other words, the producers predict that behavioral change is the result of listeners’ understanding and endorsement of the set of values and beliefs promoted by Musekeweya. To maximize the impact of the educational messages, the program’s fictional storyline portrays realistic characters and situations from rural Rwanda. In this way, audience members can identify with the fictional characters, who function as role models (in Bandura’s terms, this is referred to as social modeling). Listeners receive explicit lessons and cues from the characters about the ways Rwandans do and should behave so as to cope with prejudice, violence and trauma.

3.3.5 Formative Research
Radio La Benevolencia uses an ‘audience participation-based message design approach’. In this approach, the audience has an active role in the design of the media intervention. Audience involvement should transforms the communication process from “a linear, one-way sender-to receiver monologue to a circular dialogue, where representative members of the audience reach out to the production team, who then reach out to all other members of the audience”.

In 2004, Radio La Benevolencia carried out a KAP-survey (Knowledge-Attitude-Practice) to consult the Rwandan audience about the project and develop relevant content for Musekeweya. Listener groups were established with diverse social groups in each Rwandan province. These groups got involved in the pre-production and mid-production stage of program design. “The listener group design was developed with one crucial objective: to gain an understanding of the diverse knowledge, attitudes and opinions of our Rwandan audience on issues relevant to our programme content.” In total, 13 listener groups composed of 35 to 40 people were formed, with each group subdivided into four smaller focus groups with ten or fewer participants. In total, 475 Rwandans differing in age, sex and social group (e.g. Hutu, Tutsi and Batwa) participated in the listener groups. A questionnaire was developed to measure listeners’ knowledge and knowledge and attitudes about the roots of group violence, reconciliation and trauma. The questions covered diverse topics, such as attitudes towards

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203 Paluck, E., ‘Reducing intergroup prejudice and conflict with the mass media: A field experiment in Rwanda’, 34.
204 Paluck, E., Reducing intergroup prejudice and conflict with the mass media: A field experiment in Rwanda, 34-35.
205 Ibid., 34.
207 Idem.
208 Idem.
active bystandership, methods for resolving conflict, knowledge of genocides in other parts of the world, opinions on how genocide evolved in Rwanda, attitudes towards forgiving, justice and authority. Furthermore, Radio La Benevolencia asked questions about practical issues such as radio ownership, affordability of batteries and preferred formats and broadcasting times for a new radio program. The questions were asked during the listener group discussions, which were facilitated by researchers from Radio La Benevolencia. According to Fisher, the formative research project has made a “crucial contribution” to Musekeweya. The results have been used in the scriptwriting process. For example, many listeners listed the resurgence of traditional ceremonies such as the cow giving ceremony as crucial for reconciliation and better relations between ethnic groups. A cow giving ceremony was written into the Musekeweya storyline in order to illustrate reconciliation and a positive social vision. A main character, Muzastinda, decides to give his friend Samvura a cow as a gesture of their long, steadfast friendship.

The listener groups continued to exist after the formative research project. At the end of each broadcast of Musekeweya, the groups discuss the episode and the messages discussed in the serial. Regularly, researchers of Radio La Benevolencia visit the listener groups to receive feedback on Musekeweya and check if the listeners understand the educational messages. Furthermore, Radio La Benevolencia intends to insure that members regularly attend the meetings. In the next section about the design of the intervention, the use of listener groups in grassroots activities developed by Radio La Benevolencia will be discussed.

3.3.6 Design

As been stated before, Musekeweya is a radio soap opera, intending to mirror everyday life of ordinary Rwandans. The story is set in rural villages, as 92 percent of Rwandans live in rural areas. The inhabitants of the fictional communities use popular proverbs and jokes, sing traditional songs, drink banana beer, and in general walk through the same daily routines of Rwandan life. Most importantly, they wrestle with the same problems as real Rwandans did in the times leading up to, during, and following the genocide. More specifically, Musekeweya is built upon twelve messages. The fictional characters endorse these messages aloud in a didactic fashion throughout the broadcasts. Frequently, characters explain the messages to other characters at community meetings or during individual conversations. In each episode, one or two messages are emphasized and cycled throughout the soap. The overall storyline rests on several interlaced subplots, each one following different characters and emphasizing different communication messages. For example, one subplot resembles a love story about a boy from the prosperous (resented) community and a girl from the less prosperous (aggressor)

210 Ibid., 20.
community. They wish to marry, but their love is forbidden. When their relationship gets discovered, it causes tensions between the two villages. Another storyline involves the same girl’s brother. He becomes a vicious demagogue advocating war between the two communities. His politics dehumanize the members of the prosperous community, and he eventually goads his comrades into attacking, burning and looting the community. The comic element of the show comes from a subplot starring a ‘town fool’ character - a man who wanders back and forth between both communities, joking about the prejudiced and speaking truth to power. In these examples of subplots, twelve core educational messages are communicated, all derived from the theoretical framework discussed in the preceding section.  

Below, these twelve messages are presented:

1. **Life problems in a society frustrate basic needs and can lead to scapegoating and destructive ideologies.** This message is illustrated in the show when citizens from the less prosperous community lose their crops in a heavy rainfall and experience a famine. Community members hold a meeting where they express resentment toward the prosperous community and make derogatory comments. Then, a wise man stands up and explains to the angry people what their basic psychological needs are, and how the frustration of these needs tends to make people feel insecure, frustrated and helpless.

2. **Genocide evolves as individuals and groups change as a result of their actions.** This message is communicated to stress that genocide evolves in small steps, each consecutive step becoming easier and being part of a ‘continuum of destruction’. Some characters explain this point of view when warning others of the impending clash between the two villages. A narrator who comes on at the end of every show to summarize that episode’s plot also draws attention to this point.

3. **Devaluation increases the likelihood of violence while humanization decreases it.** In the months preceding the genocide, the Tutsi ethnic group was referred to by terms that denied their humanity, such as ‘cockroaches’ or ‘snakes’. In one episode of *Musekeweya*, the youth from both communities form their own organization against the inter-community violence and discuss the dangers of devaluing others and blaming them for social problems.

4. **The healing of psychological wounds helps people live more satisfying lives and makes unnecessary defensive violence less likely.** Most Rwandans have been exposed to traumatizing events during and after the genocide. In *Musekeweya*, the audience is taught that the healing of psychological wounds is essential to make it less likely that individuals become perpetrators of violence.

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5. **Passivity facilitates the evolution of harm doing whereas actions by people inhibit it.** Actively speaking out or acting against prejudice and conflict can help prevent future conflict and (ultimately) mass violence. Bystanders have a responsibility to speak up and to slow or halt the escalation of hate speech, discrimination, and violence.

6. **Varied perspectives, open communication and moderate respect for authority in society make the evolution of violence less likely.** Closely tied to the preceding message, this message states that a closed, inward-looking, strongly hierarchical society in which authorities are blindly obeyed contributes to the evolvement of genocidal violence. In *Musekeweya*, characters like the young girl from the love story, the wise men who are friends, and the brother of the extremist demagogue teach this message by announcing to both communities that they should critically evaluate the words and actions of authority and not blindly obey them. The ‘town fool’ character is a notable personification of this particular message; he fearlessly ridicules both communities’ bad intentions.

7. **Justice is important for healing and reconciliation.** This message is communicated to inform people about the importance of the gacaca process and to encourage them to participate.

8. **Significant connections, deep engagement between people belonging to different groups helps people overcome devaluation and hostility and promoted positive relations.** Characters in the reconciliation radio program point to a lack of trust as a symptom of the communities’ ongoing conflict, and some of the characters attempt to promote a new norm of trust through inter-community activities like the coalition youth group and the collaborative bridge-building project. However, this message is most profoundly embodied by the love story about the relationship between the boy and the girl from opposing communities.

9. **Trauma can be understood.** Rwandans sometimes interpret trauma symptoms as insanity or as supernaturally caused. Several storylines address these beliefs, emphasizing that trauma symptoms can be understood, that trauma is not ‘madness’ and that traumatized people can heal. For example, one character educates people about the specific symptoms of trauma, such as isolation, dizziness and flashbacks.

10. **It is important to tell one’s trauma story and there is a way to tell it that is emotionally safe and constructive.** Closely tied to the preceding message, the belief that trauma can be healed by talking about a traumatic experience is also encouraged. Prolonged avoidance of memories of painful, traumatic experiences limits the healing process.
11. People can help their neighbors heal and help them tell their stories as part of the healing process; everyone can participate in and can contribute to healing. With this message, it is stressed that most people can learn to approach people in pain and listen to them empathically.

12. Healing is a slow process. In every message about the healing of trauma and other psychological wounds, it is stressed that healing is a time-consuming, slow process. Patience, resilience and support is essential to make trauma healing successful.

All programs are edited not only by journalists and communication experts, but also by a team of academic consultants who give feedback on the scripts from the perspective of the underlying psychological theories. These additional steps ensure the theory-based approach and quality of the programs.\(^{212}\) Over the course of a year, each communication message receives focused treatment in at least seven episodes (focused treatment meaning the storyline revolved around making that communication point and also one or more characters made that declarative point). Episodes last for twenty minutes, and a new episode was broadcasted every week.

In addition to the radio programs *Musekeweya* and *Kuki*, Radio La Benevolencija organizes grassroots activities in order to maximize the impact of the radio programming. Listener groups have been founded and its members come together to listen to the radio and discuss the topics mentioned in the programs. Currently, more than 1300 members joined a listener group throughout the country. Thirteen of these groups were formed in the stage of formative research and were mentioned in the preceding section. The producers not only use these discussion groups to receive feedback on the radio programs, but also to increase the impact of radio programming. “While a good radio drama will generate discussion amongst listeners, the radio programmes could have a much greater impact if they were followed by group discussions.”\(^{213}\) Furthermore, the listener groups are used to empower participants to work in their community on reconciliation, peace building and healing.\(^{214}\) The discussion are guided but not directed, as Radio La Benevolencija believes that individuals need to express their personal experiences in relation to the material. As part of the group activities, participants also write poems, songs, stories and testimonies about their experiences. These are used in the road shows organized by Radio La Benevolencija. The road shows are public presentations in local churches and other places where many people gather. Occasionally, actors from *Musekeweya* visit the events, often attracting 300 to 500 people to the road shows. Furthermore, participants from the listener clubs help to organize the road shows. If they are interested and judged appropriate, they


participate in training workshops organized by Radio La Benevolencia to help them prepare to organize and lead new discussion groups. In this way, Radio La Benevolencia aims to extend public discussion throughout the country, in order to maximize the impact of the radio programs and expand the number of people engaged in the project. According to Radio La Benevolencia, the employment of grassroots activities is essential, because “engaging the community in healing and the prevention of future violence is crucial in post-violent societies”.215

3.4 Impact evaluation
In the section about formative research, we have seen that a KAP-survey provided Radio La Benevolencia insight into baseline knowledge, attitudes and practices of the audience before the broadcasts started. However, Radio La Benevolencia also invested time and effort in the evaluation of the impact of its interventions on the audience. First, a nationwide representative study in March 2005 revealed that 89 percent of female respondents and 92 percent of male respondents listened to *Musekeweya*.216 These high audience ratings indicate that *Musekeweya* is a popular radio program, but do not answer the question what effect the radio program has on its listeners. Therefore, Radio La Benevolencia contacted researchers from Yale University’s Departments of Political Science and Psychology to conduct an independent impact evaluation study during the first year of broadcasting. In this section, the impact evaluation study will be discussed.

3.4.1 Method
In the impact study, a group-randomized design was used. Fourteen community listener groups were chosen and randomly assigned to the treatment (*Musekeweya*) or control (a radio soap opera about health issues) group. Eight ‘general population’ villages, two Batwa communities, two survivor communities, and two prisons served as the fourteen research sites, representing “the salient political, economic and ethnic categories of present-day Rwanda”.217 Each listener group consisted of forty participants, balanced for sex (half male, half female), age (half of the group aged 18-30, the other half above 30) and family (only one person from an immediate family was allowed to participate). The sampling procedure was random. After the selection procedure, a baseline interview was conducted to collect information about a participant’s background and check whether the random sampling procedure had divided the sample in two equivalent experimental groups.218 87 percent of participants indicated that they listened to the radio, only 53 percent owned a radio. 99 percent of the participants was in Rwanda during the genocide, 50 percent of them were displaced by the violence for a time of

218 Ibid., 46.
one week to a few years. 69 percent of all participants declared that one or more relatives were killed during the genocide: 100 percent of survivor participants claimed they lost family. 28 percent of participants had a relative in prison during the time of the pretest interview.\textsuperscript{219}

During the first year of broadcasting \textit{Musekeweya}, two research assistants visited the listener groups every month to play each month’s four 20-minute episodes on a portable stereo in front of the participants. In this way, it was ensured that the participants listened to \textit{Musekeweya} (treatment group) or an Entertainment-Education soap opera about health issues called \textit{Urunana} (control group). These listening visits controlled for an important problem of media impact evaluations, which is that they rely on self-reported listening. Furthermore, the research assistants monitored the reactions to the program and the topics discussed by participants during and after the broadcasts.\textsuperscript{220} At the end of the first year of broadcasting, a team of fifteen researchers assistants went to the fourteen listener sites to conduct individual interviews and focus group interviews with all forty participants. In the individual interviews, each participant was confronted with 37 statements, and participants specified how much they agreed or disagreed with each statement. Nine statements measured participants’ personal beliefs with respect to the program’s educational messages, six statements measured perceptions of descriptive (‘the way things are’) and prescriptive (‘the way things should be’) norms portrayed in the program. Furthermore, a series of statements about \textit{Urunana} was added to test the discriminant validity of the intervention. Finally, the statements measured participants’ empathy for other Rwandans, probing whether participants could ‘imagine the thoughts or feelings of’ Rwandan prisoners, genocide survivors, poor people, and political leaders.\textsuperscript{221}

In addition to the individual interviews, researchers conducted focus group interviews, consisting of single-sex groups of ten participants. In the focus groups topics like intermarriage, trauma and violence prevention were discussed. Furthermore, researchers repeated questions from the individual interviews to test whether individuals voiced the same opinions in front of the group as they did in private.\textsuperscript{222} Finally, the researchers monitored group discussions about how to share and supply batteries for the portable stereo and set of 14 cassette tapes of the radio show, which were presented to each community at the end of the data collection. “Given the monetary and entertainment value of a portable stereo, this discussion was of great significance to the participants.”\textsuperscript{223} This observation process captured spontaneous behavior of the group members, as they believed to be ‘off the record’.

\textsuperscript{219} Paluck, E., \textit{Reducing intergroup prejudice and conflict with the mass media: A field experiment in Rwanda}, 47.
\textsuperscript{220} Ibid., 50.
\textsuperscript{221} Ibid., 58.
\textsuperscript{222} Paluck, E., ‘Reducing Intergroup Prejudice and Conflict Using the Media: A Field Experiment in Rwanda’, 579.
\textsuperscript{223} Idem.

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3.4.2 Results

The results show that a yearlong broadcasting of Musekeweya did not change participants’ personal beliefs with respect to the program’s educational messages. For example, there was no difference between the treatment and control groups’ endorsement of the message that violence gradually builds along a continuum. Participants’ beliefs did not change regarding a bystander’s responsibility to intervene when others are promoting violence or intergroup conflict. “Participants who disagreed often recounted a time during the genocide in which they were unarmed or otherwise helpless to stop a group of armed people from killing.” Furthermore, Musekeweya had no significant effect on participants’ belief that marriage among people from different ethnic, regional, and religious groups contributes to the peace, and the radio program did not influence the degree to which listeners agreed to the statement that traumatized people are ‘mad’. In contrast, Musekeweya listeners were less likely than listeners from the control group to believe that traumatized people can recover, showing an effect in the opposite direction than expected.

However, Musekeweya had a positive influence on participants’ perceived social norms. For example, participants’ in the treatment group were significantly more likely to indicate that they should speak up to others, as measured with the statement “If we disagree with something that someone is doing or saying, we should keep quiet.” Furthermore, Musekeweya listeners were much more likely to agree that people should talk about traumatic experiences, were more likely to deny that it is naive to trust people and reported less often that they tell (or would tell) their children that they must marry within their own regional, religious, or ethnic group. In other words, participants from the treatment group changed their perceived social norms in line with Musekeweya’s educational messages. This positive finding is supported by behavioral observations made by the researchers. Musekeweya listeners expressed significantly more empathy for Rwandan prisoners, genocide survivors, poor people and political leaders. Moreover, participants from the treatment group were more actively involved in the deliberation about how to share and supply the stereo, batteries and cassette tapes presented to the community. In the control group, one member of the group often spoke up to propose handing over the gifts to the local authority, who could decide what would happen next. Most of the time, group members supported this motion and close the discussion. However, in the Musekeweya listener groups, the same initial proposal to entrust the gifts to the authorities was often challenged by one or more participants, “claiming that the group should be collectively responsible or should elect one of their members to manage it. Comments about one group’s ability to cooperate

225 Ibid., 581.
226 Ibid., 582.
came up more frequently, such as, ‘We’ve been coming together to listen all of this time, why can’t we come together to listen to this stereo together, just as we did before?’”

227 Paluck, E., ‘Reducing Intergroup Prejudice and Conflict Using the Media: A Field Experiment in Rwanda’, 582.
Conclusion

The number of Entertainment-Education interventions aimed at conflict resolution has increased worldwide. Radio soap operas, street theatre and television dramas are used to convey educational messages about peace and reconciliation to the audience. Of these different types of Entertainment-Education, the radio soap opera remains the most popular intervention type. NGOs and governments invest millions of dollars in Entertainment-Education initiatives, assuming that if media can motivate people into conflict, they must also have the power to exert influence in the opposite direction, thus promoting peace. However, this assumption is not grounded in scientific research. Much is still unknown about the potential power of media in conflict resolution. Social scientists suggest that Entertainment-Education interventions should aim at second-order behavioral change, involving both behavioral and (deeper) value modification of audience members. In this process, audience participation is perceived as an essential ingredient to make interventions successful.

These theoretical predictions need to be tested in the field. It is important that practitioners monitor the impact of their interventions using state of the art scientific research methods, evaluating change at different levels. However, an analysis of existing effect studies shows that the vast majority of evaluation efforts does not meet these criteria. Although audience ratings show that Entertainment-Education media interventions are popular, knowledge about the actual impact of the intervention on the audience is scarce. An important reason for this finding is the lack of proper evaluation methods. Most impact studies are non-experimental and full of biases. As a consequence, conclusions about the impact of the intervention are often non-valid. Therefore, current knowledge about the impact of Entertainment-Education is insufficient to provide clear answers to our research questions. It remains virtually unknown whether Entertainment-Education interventions can contribute to conflict resolution and what makes them successful. As Paluck concludes, “scholars reasoning from various respected theories of social influence, media effects, and intergroup relations could easily disagree about the extent to which media can reduce intergroup prejudice and conflict”.  

In the meanwhile, government and NGOs keep investing money in Entertainment-Education interventions. Future research, using decent scientific evaluation methods, is necessary to find out whether this investment pays off. A clear example of the way Entertainment-Education programs should be evaluated is an impact study measuring the effect of the Rwandan soap opera Musekeweya. Using an experimental research design, this study shows that Entertainment-Education interventions are able to change listeners’ perceptions of social norms. These normative perceptions are backed by behavioral observations, such as active negotiation and cooperation. However, the radio soap opera did not change listeners’ deeper values and beliefs, despite the popularity of the soap opera and the

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228 Paluck, E., Reducing intergroup prejudice and conflict with the mass media: A field experiment in Rwanda, 20.
active involvement of the audience. According to Paluck, the findings suggest that “to change prejudiced behavior, it may be more fruitful to target social norms than personal beliefs”.229

The Musekeweya impact study is limited to the specific context of post-genocide Rwanda. Future research is necessary to find out whether Paluck’s findings also hold for other contexts and other types of Entertainment-Education interventions. Still, the Musekeweya study is interesting because it is the first experimental study measuring the impact of a radio soap opera that tries to acquire so-called second-order change (where both behavioral and value modification are desired). As discussed in chapter two, Rao et al. predict that audience members can learn new ways of dealing with existing problems, but only if there is a climate of social support and collective efficacy in which audience members can overcome doubts and fears and reframe existing realities into culturally-acceptable actions. As Rao et al. state, discussion, dialogue and conversation among audience members are essential in this process. Radio La Benevolencija incorporated these theoretical notions into its strategy. Musekeweya proposes new solutions to cope with interethnic tensions. In other words, the existing reality of post-genocide Rwanda is reframed in Musekeweya’s messages of active bystandership. Furthermore, Radio La Benevolencija encourages discussion, dialogue and conversation by employing grassroots activities. Listener clubs have been founded throughout the country. Members of these clubs discuss the content of radio programs and elaborate upon its implications for the community. Participants are empowered to work on reconciliation, trauma healing and peace building in their communities. Another element of the grassroots activities are the road shows, in which actors visit villages across the country to stimulate dialogue and discussion. These grassroots activities are clearly in line with Rao et al.’s advices to maximize the impact of Entertainment-Education interventions.

The impact study of Musekeweya does not provide evidence for Rao et al.’s theory of second-order change: one year of broadcasting the radio soap opera did not change listeners’ deeper values and beliefs about reconciliation. However, it is much too early to conclude that Entertainment-Education interventions cannot contribute to reconciliation in post-violent countries. Entertainment-Education producers could easily argue that one year of broadcasting is simply too short to influence people’s deeper values and beliefs. Others could argue that changing people’s social norms or actual behavior is much more important for reconciliation than changing people at a deeper level. Again others could question the methodology used in the Musekeweya impact study, or could even question whether it is possible to measure reconciliation at all. Therefore, the first decent field experiment measuring the impact of an Entertainment-Education intervention aimed at reconciliation should not be used to judge future interventions. In contrast, the Musekeweya study should encourage modern Entertainment-Education producers to measure the impact of their work in a way that increases

229 Paluck, E., Reducing intergroup prejudice and conflict with the mass media: A field experiment in Rwanda, 20.
knowledge about Entertainment-Education and reconciliation. Producers not only have the professional duty to produce interesting and popular media programs, but should also consider their role as scientific pioneers in a new and fascinating branch of the media landscape.
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